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" HIS GOING FORTH IS PREPARED AS THE MORNING."—HOSEA VI. 3.  
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THE JUMMA MUSJID, OR PRINCIPAL MOSQUE, DELHI.

# Church Missionary Intelligencer.

## THE RAINBOW IN THE CLOUD; OR, MERCY AMIDST JUDGMENT.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 275).

THE manifestations of a mutinous spirit were by no means limited to the native troops in the vicinity of Calcutta. In far-distant places the same disquietude appeared, evincing that the disturbing causes, whatever they might be, had extended themselves wide as the limits of the Bengal Presidency. Umballah, upwards of a thousand miles distant from Calcutta, as well as Barrackpur, had its incendiary fires. They commenced on March 26th, and continued throughout the month of April up to the 1st of May. The houses and buildings connected with the musketry dépôt were the first attempted; then the European Infantry barracks, with a loss to Government of 30,000 rupees. From March 26th to May 1st, there were no less than fifteen instances of incendiary fires on different nights. Combustibles were used, composed of powder and brimstone, wrapped in fine "dhoties." The cantonment joint-magistrate, in his report, avows his conviction that there existed "an organized leagued conspiracy; and that, although all and every individual composing a regiment might not form part of the combination, still that such a league in each corps was known to exist; and such being upheld, or rather connived at, by the majority, no single man dared to come forward and expose it." Captain Howard concludes by saying, "I hope time will discover the combination which, in my opinion, exists among the Sepoys at this cantonment, and which has been led to, by the reports that have reached them of the disaffection and discontent prevailing in the native army at large. Through this the Sepoy has been deluded and led astray." There is no doubt, that, by whatever instigation, emissaries traversed the land, spreading the taint of disaffection from one military station to another. Kossids were sent from Barrackpur in different directions. In February, a letter from some of the 2d Grenadier regiment solicited the men at Dinapur to support them in raising a disturbance. In the latter end of March, three companies of the 63d Native Infantry at Soores refused to avail themselves of the indulgence of furlough to their homes. They were moved to this by two emissaries coming *incog.* by train from Barrackpur,

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bringing with them a written communication.

The effect of these tentatives was earnestly looked for by the conspirators; so much so, that, even at the early date of Feb. 19, a report was current at Barrackpur to the effect that the native regiments at Mirut had mutinied, and been attacked by Europeans. The disbandment of the 19th increased the number of such agents. The Commissioner at Benares, under date of May 20th, expressly notes this fact—"the country swarms with bands of the 19th and 34th."\* On May 25th, two men were detected at Allahabad trying to tamper with the 6th Native Infantry. They were delivered up by the men of the regiment; but, although apprehended themselves, they had done their work, as the calamitous events which afterwards occurred at that station too plainly showed. Nothing could be more admonitory than these circumstances, which were duly reported to the authorities.

Amidst the various centres of agitation, Lucknow, about the beginning of May, appeared to be the most ripe for an outbreak; but the able Christian who filled, at that time, the high office of Chief Commissioner of Oude, and who has since fallen in the service of his country, by his vigour and promptitude of action, deferred the movement a whole month; an invaluable gain, every moment of which was diligently used in fortifying the Residency, and making the necessary arrangements to meet the coming tempest, which he, for one, saw to be inevitable. On May 2, the 7th Oude Regiment, stationed seven miles from cantonments, refused to bite the cartridge. On the afternoon of the next day, it was reported to be in a very mutinous state. They were forthwith disarmed, and threatened with disbandment. On a reference to the Government in Calcutta, one member, Mr. Dorin, did not consider disbandment sufficient punishment, and urged a timely severity. He very justly observed, "It is little or no punishment to a Local, on five rupees monthly pay, to be dis-

\* Appendix to Papers relative to Mutinies, &c. Inclosure, Nos. 7 to 19, p. 307.

banded in his own country. In many instances it might be rather a convenience to him than otherwise." But his opinion was overruled by the majority, Major-General Low considering "that probably the main body of the regiment refused to bite the cartridges, not from any feeling of disloyalty or disaffection towards the Government or their officers, but from an unfeigned and sincere dread, owing to their belief in the late rumours about the construction of those cartridges, that the act of biting them would involve a serious injury to their caste, and to their future respectability of character." In this opinion Mr. J. P. Grant concurred—"Sepoys are in many respects very much like children, and acts, which, on the part of European soldiers, would be proof of the blackest disloyalty, may have a very different significance, when done by these credulous and inconsiderate, but generally not ill-disposed beings." The case was therefore disposed of by the dismissal of some fifteen Sepoys and the native officers, with one or two exceptions, and the promotion of half a dozen men, all others having been forgiven, although not all trusted with arms.

These disquietudes in different directions ought to have been as the feeling of the pulse, by the action of which the physician is enabled to form a judgment as to the general state of the constitution. The feverish symptoms were strongly marked, and precautionary measures of a decided character ought to have been promptly adopted. But it was not so. The admonitory indications were pronounced to be of no consequence. One measure only appeared to be requisite in order to secure a return to that wonted deference which the natives of India had hitherto yielded to the administrative action of the English authorities, and that was, the disbandment of the 34th Native Infantry, so far as the seven companies were concerned, which had so unequivocally sympathized with the violent proceedings of Mungul Pandey on March 29 at Barrackpur; and for this final act of severity, as it was thought to be, and for this only, Her Majesty's 84th regiment was detained at Calcutta. We have before us the Minutes of the Governor-General and the members of his Council, and, from the perusal of them, it is evident that the disquietude which had manifested itself in so many and various quarters was regarded as merely temporary and incidental, and that the disbandment of the 34th was deemed to be all that was requisite to the restoration of permanent tranquillity. It was thought, therefore, undesirable "to delay any longer to

punish the offenders in the most public way possible, and thereby give a wholesome warning to the native army generally." Alas! the time for warnings and preventives had passed; the taint had spread too extensively; and yet in dealing with this regiment there was opportunity for the exercise of a discriminating judgment. In this regiment there were 200 Mussulmans and 74 Sikhs: all the rest, drummers excepted, were Hindús, and 572 of them high-caste Hindús. All the officers, when examined concerning the state of the regiment, had discriminated between the Hindús and the rest of the force. In the Hindús they had no confidence, especially as regarded the Brahmins, in whose hands nearly all the native influence in the regiment centred, and who exacted from the other castes obedience to their wishes. In the Mussulmans and Sikhs they had confidence, especially in the latter; but they considered both these classes of men to be overawed by the preponderating influence of the Brahmins. The conclusion to which the Special Court of Inquiry arrived, on the evidence placed before it, was to this effect—"That the Sikhs and Mussulmans of the 34th Regiment Native Infantry are trustworthy soldiers of the State, but that the Hindús generally of that corps are not trustworthy."\* Here then, surely, there was opportunity for the exercise of that very discrimination, which, on the mutiny of the 7th Regiment Oude Irregular Infantry, was recommended by the Governor-General, in a Minute dated May 12, 1857—"I would meet the present disquietude everywhere with the same deliberately-measured punishments; picking out the leaders and prominent offenders, whenever this is possible, for the severest penalties of military law; visiting the common herd with disbandment, but carefully exempting those whose fidelity, innocence, or timely repentance, is proved. This has been the course hitherto pursued, and I earnestly recommend that it be adhered to steadily." But the principles which governed the disbandment of the 34th Native Infantry appear to have been altogether different from this Minute. Between the trustworthy and disloyal portions of the force no distinction was attempted to be made; nay, the idea of doing so, according to the finding of the Court of Inquiry, was at once repudiated, the Minute of the Governor-General, under date of April 30th, declaring—"I see no possibility of drawing a line of separation between creeds, in the spirit of the decision given by the Special Court of Inquiry, and

\* Appendix to Papers, p. 148.



which would have the effect of relieving the Sikhs and Mussulmans who were present from the punishment to be inflicted on the Hindús. It would be impolitic and dangerous to attempt it."\* Why would it have been so? If men of one religion misconduct themselves, and men of another conduct themselves with propriety, is the Government to refrain from dealing with them according to their respective merits, lest it should appear to distinguish between creeds? And again, in the Minutes of one of the members of the Council—"It is in the highest degree important to avoid any act which could be supposed to indicate that Government is more indulgent towards certain classes of men amongst its native soldiers, than it is to any other class, on the score of their religion."† But if one man's religion exercises an injurious influence upon his character, and causes him to be a restless and turbulent member of society, and another man's religion exercises a beneficial influence on his character, and renders him a peaceful and useful member of society, is there to be no discrimination exercised towards those men, no discountenance shown to the one, no commendation awarded to the other, lest, forsooth, the Government might be thought to prefer one religion to another? If Christianity makes loyal subjects, and Hindúism disloyal subjects, are the former to remain neglected and passed over, lest the Government should be thought to have "the least preference for one religious creed over another?" Yes, this is literally the startling language that was used in Minutes emanating from the Governor and his Council, in the beginning of May last, that month of awful calamities in India. Who can wonder at the earthquake, when a Government thus decided to ignore even the religion which they knew to be true, lest they should excite the jealousy of that which they knew to be false. Is it surprising, that a Government, Christian indeed as to the private profession of its members, but in its public acts divesting itself solicitously of every thing of a religious aspect, so much so as to hesitate in dispensing justice between man and man, because they were persons of different religions, lest, in doing so, it should be thought to give a preference to one religion above another, should find itself involved in difficulties and extreme embarrassment? What blessing could be expected on such a suppression of all testimony, either in favour of God's truth, or against demoralizing superstitions?

Is it to be wondered at that these false

religions, thus deferentially treated, have yielded, as might be expected, a plentiful crop of disloyal subjects? Some will say their religion has had nothing to do with these disquietudes? Let us take a case in point. On September 18th, an aged Rajah and his eldest son were blown from our guns at Jubbulpur. Shankar Sahae's forefathers had been grand rajahs for 1500 years, until conquered by the Mahrattas. When England obtained possession of that part of India, some forty years back, this man was found in great want and misery. A helping hand was extended to him, and lands and villages bestowed upon him, which yielded about 8000 rupees annually. Yet, when the moment of difficulty arrived, he was found without gratitude to his benefactors, and conspired with others to bring about the customary intents of outbreak—plunder and murder. He was arrested, brought to trial, convicted upon the clearest evidence, and, with his eldest son, sentenced to death. A piteous sight it was to see the old white-haired rajah, calm and with great dignity, preparing himself for the dreadful end which awaited him. Not a muscle did he move as the soldiers bound him to the gun, and tied his hands and feet to its wheels. Afterwards his and his son's remains were left a prey to the dogs and birds. Towards evening, some bones were collected and conveyed to his wife and family. But what had betrayed him to such ingratitude? His religion. In his bag was found the following hymn to Kalf, the Hindú goddess, to whom her devotees believe a human sacrifice to be especially acceptable, and who delights in the blood of man—

"O! great Kalf, eat up the backbiter;  
Trample under your feet the wicked;  
Grind down the enemies, the British, to the dust;  
Kill them, that none remain.  
Destroy their women, servants, and children:  
Protect Shankar Sahae.  
Preserve thy disciples, O Kalf!  
Listen to the call of the humble;  
Do not delay to cut the heads of the unclean race:  
Devour them quickly, O great Kalf!"

He was a traitor, and the Government doomed him to die. But his religion made him such: and who confirmed him in the idea that his religion was true? The Government, whose avowed policy has been carefully to abstain from every act which might lead its subjects to conclude that it had any preference for one religion above another, but which, in all its proceedings, has ever treated Hindúism with far more deference than it has Christianity. If a Government believing Christianity to be true, and idolatry to

\* Ibid., p. 152.

† Ibid., p. 153.

be false, yet lends all its influence to perpetuate the influence of the false system, is not this policy a great lie, and is it not responsible for the consequences which have ensued ? These are the principles which have hitherto governed India. It is time they should be disowned. The cajoling of the natives into the idea that it is a matter of indifference to us what religion they profess, must be abandoned. We must honestly avow our preference for Christianity ; and, while we force it on no man's conscience, by that honest avowal recommend it to the attention of all men as that which is alone deserving of their faith. The policy hitherto pursued merits condemnation under every aspect, as dishonouring to God, unjust to man, and injurious to ourselves.

In the determination to which the Governor in Council came with respect to the 34th Native Infantry, there was to be no discrimination attempted between the trustworthy and disloyal portion of the regiment : all were to be dismissed alike ; yet there were to be some, and those very singular, exceptions. The names of eleven individuals are placed in an exempted list :\* amongst them, Sheik Pultoo, who, by his timely grappling with the fanatical Sepoy, Mungul Pandey, had saved the life of the adjutant, Lieut. Baugh. This man was also promoted to be Havildar. But there are two names that, placed side by side, stand out in curious contrast—the Subahdar Muddeh Khan, the conspirator of January, and in March the inflexible enemy of his former associates, who arrested and handed over to the authorities the emissaries which had been sent to him ; and the Jemadar Durriou Singh, whose testimony, believed by Major-General Hearsey to be according to truth, brought home to him the delinquency of January ; both these men were exempted from the general sentence passed on the regiment. This appears to be a singular decision, for Durriou Singh's testimony was either true or false. If true, Muddeh Khan ought to have suffered with his fellow-soldiers ; if false, Durriou Singh ought to have had no exemption. One member of the Council objected to the exception made in favour of Muddeh Khan, but he was over-ruled by the Governor-General and the other members.

The day arrived which had been appointed for the disbandment of such portions of the seven companies of the 34th Native Infantry stationed at Barrackpur as were present in the lines of the regiment on March 29th. That day was May 6th. The whole of the disposable troops in and around Calcutta were

concentrated at Barrackpur. At daylight, two sides of a square were formed by a wing of H. M.'s 53d, H. M.'s 84th, the 2d, 43d, and 70th Native Infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, consisting of the Body Guard and the 11th Irregulars, and a light field battery, with six guns. When the line was formed, the doomed portion of the 34th, about 400 strong, were halted in front of the guns. The order for the disbandment was read out by the interpreter, Lieut. Chamier, and, after a few energetic remarks on the enormity of their offence, General Hearsey commanded them to pile their arms, and strip off their uniform, which they had disgraced. They obeyed without a moment's hesitation, and, arrears having been paid up, were marched off to Pulta Ghaut, for conveyance to Chinsurah ; the Grenadiers of the 84th, and a portion of the Body Guard, attending their footsteps. It is said that there were half-a-dozen men down whose withered cheeks the tears poured like rain, and the Subahdar Major, believed to be at the bottom of all the treason hatched in the regiment, sobbed outright as he threw the coat which he was never more to wear across his arm.

On the day after the disbandment (May 7th) General Hearsey reported to the Government, that having no further occasion for their services, he had directed the various troops which had been concentrated at Barrackpur to return to their respective cantonments, and that, amongst the rest, the 84th had gone back to their barracks at Chinsurah. In the judgment of the authorities there appeared to be no reason why that regiment should be detained any longer in Bengal. The measures of severity which had been adopted were considered to be sufficiently vigorous to overawe any mutinous tendency which might have had place in the ranks of the native army. Every thing, it was thought, would now subside into its usual calm. It is true, there was uneasiness at Lucknow, but it was considered to be of no importance and on the very same day (May 10th) on which the authorities had under consideration the case of the 7th Oude Irregular Infantry, application was made by their Secretary to the officiating Superintendent of Marine, to obtain from the Peninsular and Oriental Company the services of a steamer to bring back to Rangoon the 84th. Happily no vessel was available before May 13. On that day the "Oriental" was placed at the disposal of the Government ; but on that day the first ominous sound of the storm which was about to desolate India burst upon the ears of the authorities. On May 11th a telegraphic mes-

\* Appendix to Papers, p. 158.

sage had reached Agra from Mirut. It was a private communication from a lady to her aunt, warning her not to proceed on her intended journey to Agra, as the cavalry had risen, committing acts of incendiarism and murder. This intelligence forwarded immediately, reached Calcutta May 18th, and on that day it was decided to retain the 84th, and to use the steamer for the purpose of bringing back, with all the speed possible, every available man of H.M.'s 35th regiment from Rangoon.

And now, day by day, from the northwest, disastrous intelligence was reduplicated, and telegrams, following in quick succession, admonished the authorities that they had reached a crisis of no ordinary severity. A telegram, dated the 12th, confirmed that of the preceding day. The imprisoned troopers of the 3d Cavalry had been released, the jail having been broken open; the Delhi road was in possession of the mutineers; the villagers between Mirut and Agra were in insurrection, interrupting communication, and robbing and ill-using every passenger; the fort at Delhi and the bridge of boats were held by insurgent regiments; the European inhabitants had been murdered. The latter point the authorities at Calcutta could not in the first instance bring themselves to believe. But on the 16th, the awful events were placed without reserve before the Government. At the same time, Mr. Colvin, from Agra (May 13), suggested that the force returning from the Persian Gulf should be summoned straight to Calcutta; and Sir H. Lawrence, telegraphing from Lucknow, urged thus—"Get every European you can from China, Ceylon, and elsewhere, also all the Ghurkas from the Hills: time is every thing."

Let us now mark the action of the authorities. On May 14th, while yet only partially aware of the grave character of events, they had confined themselves to the empowering courts-martial, ordering down from the Punjab frontier a regiment of Irregular Cavalry, to the aid of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, and telegraphing to the Commander-in-Chief, then at Simla, to take measures for bringing down to the plains the European regiments in the hills. The telegraph also conveyed to the Madras Government a request that Her Majesty's 43d Foot and 1st European regiment might be held in readiness to be brought, if required, to Calcutta. But on May 16th, when the awful massacre of Europeans at Delhi had been authenticated, the telegraph action became more urgent and widely extended. The Fusileers from Madras were requested

without delay; the Punjab Commissioner, Sir J. Lawrence, was communicated with, to send down as quickly as possible such of the Punjab and European regiments as could be safely spared. Lord Elphinstone, at Bombay, was made aware, that of the three European regiments returning from Persia, two were urgently needed in Bengal. Besides this, the "Oriental" was despatched at once to Rangoon to embark there a detachment of Her Majesty's 35th and the dépôt of Her Majesty's 84th.

We cannot but advert here to the action of the telegraph as an invaluable instrumentality providentially placed at our disposal at this most fearful crisis, by which the severity of this treacherously-planned and sanguinary outbreak was greatly mitigated, and a much larger effusion of European blood than that which we have to mourn over, mercifully prevented. Let it be remembered that the telegraph wires had been completed only two years before; and that, had this outbreak occurred four years previously, there would have been no telegraph to aid in the emergency. In the absence of its simultaneous action, the sufferings of one station could not have been made available to the warning and preservation of another; and then, instead of one, there would have been many Delhis, where, surprised by the unexpectedness of the insurrection, the Europeans would have been cut down before they had time to stand on the defensive. In addition to this, the delay which would necessarily have occurred in the transmission of intelligence to Bombay and Madras would have retarded the arrival of succour, and placed every thing in fearful jeopardy. But the admirable action of the telegraph accelerated alike the application and the answer. Thus, on May 16th, the telegraph summoned the Fusileers from Madras: they embarked on the evening of May 19th, part in a steamer, the rest in a sailing vessel: this regiment—which has rendered such invaluable aid, and that at such heavy cost, and which we trust, with other regiments that have nobly distinguished themselves in the day of England's peril and India's disaster, will have awarded to them special regimental honours—reached Calcutta on May 23d to 25th, while the detachments of the 35th from Rangoon did not reach until a week later—a week, at such a crisis, of incalculable moment—which placed the Madras Fusileers in the foreground of the battle, and intervened them in time for the preservation of Benares, and the security of the fort of Allahabad.

Let us first glance at the electric telegraph for India, and its formation.

"In November 1853, the construction of the telegraph line from Calcutta to Agra was commenced. On the 24th March 1854, a message was sent over the line from Agra to Calcutta—a distance of 800 miles—which had been completed within five months.

"On the 1st February 1855—fifteen months after the commencement of the work—the superintendant was able to notify the opening of all the lines. From Calcutta to Agra, and thence to Attock (on the Indus); and again from Agra to Bombay, and thence to Madras. These lines included forty-one offices, and were extended over 3050 miles of space. Nor is this all: since the commencement of the past year, the line of electric telegraph has been completed to Peshawur. It has been extended to Ootacamund (on the Nilgherry Hills), and is nearly finished from Rangoon to Meeady (in Ava).

"To sum up in a single sentence: the superintendant has stated, in his last report, that 4000 miles of electric telegraph have been laid down, and placed in working order, since the month of November 1853."\*

Sir W. B. O'Shaughnessy, in his report, refers to some of the difficulties he had to contend with in carrying out this great national undertaking.

"The country crossed opposes enormous difficulties to the maintenance of any line. There is no metalled road; there are few bridges; the jungles also, in many places, are deadly for at least half the year; there is no police for the protection of the lines. From the loose black cotton soil of Malwa, to the rocky wastes of Gwalior, and the precipices of the Sindwa Ghats, every variety of obstacle has to be encountered.

"On the lines that have been mentioned, about seventy principal rivers have been crossed, some by cables, others by wires extended between masts.

"Some of these river-crossings have been of great extent. The cable across the Soane measures 15,840 feet; and the crossing of the Tûnbuddra river is stated to be not less than two miles in length.

"The cost of constructing the electric telegraph in India cannot yet be accurately calculated. The superintendant, in his last report, has stated it as his belief, that the 'total cost of every thing—construction of 4000 miles as they at present stand, working of all the offices for two years, spare stores in hand, instruments, houses, &c.'—will not exceed

21 lacs of rupees, or little more than 500 rupees a mile.

"It is to be observed that the construction of the line, though rapid, is for the most part already substantial. The superintendant states that the line 'for three-fourths of the distance from Madras to Calcutta is superior in solidity to any ever erected elsewhere.' On some portions of its length it stands without a rival in the world. For instance, in the Madras Presidency, the line for 174 miles is borne on stone masonry pillars capped with granite; while for 332 miles it is sustained 'on superb granite, sixteen feet high above ground, in single slabs.'

"Allusion has been made to the physical difficulties which obstructed the formation of the telegraph lines in India; but these were by no means the most serious difficulty with which the superintendant has had to contend. An entire establishment for the working of the lines was to be formed from the commencement; and the materials from which to form it were scanty, and by no means of the best description.

"Hence the superintendant states, even in his last report, that his 'chief and almost insurmountable difficulty' has lain in the sudden and simultaneous training of some 300 persons, employed in sixty different offices. And while the superintendant affirms that the signallers generally are expert, and capable of accurate manipulation, yet, in respect of steadiness and other requisite qualities, he records that there is both room and need for great improvement.

"I could myself bear testimony to the accuracy and rapidity with which the telegraph is worked, but I prefer to quote the recorded statements of the superintendant.

"Referring to allegations of inaccuracy in the telegraph department, the superintendant observes—"I can further establish by facts and official records beyond dispute, that the Indian lines have already accomplished performances of rapidity in the transmission of intelligence, which equal that achieved on the American lines. We have repeatedly sent the first bulletin of overland news in forty minutes from Bombay to Calcutta, 1600 miles. We have delivered despatches from Calcutta to the Governor-General at Ootacamund, during the rainy season, in three hours, the distance being 200 miles greater than from London to Sebastopol. We have never failed for a whole year in delivering the mail news from England *via* Bombay within twelve hours.' The superintendant states that the 'monthly cash receipts have, even in the first year, very largely exceeded the sum

\* Briggs' "India and Europe compared," pp. 133, 139.

anticipated (namely, 10,000 rupees), and that they exhibit a steady and constant increase from month to month.'

"The political and the military advantages which the Government of the country derives from the possession of such an engine of power, are too obvious to call for notice. But two remarkable instances of its efficacy, which have fallen within my own immediate knowledge, will afford an illustration of its political value, which will not be without interest.

"When Her Majesty's 10th Hussars were ordered with all speed from Poona to the Crimea, a message requesting instructions regarding their despatch, was one day received by me at Calcutta, from the Government of Bombay, about nine o'clock in the morning. Instructions were forthwith sent off by the telegraph in reply; and an answer to that reply was again received at Calcutta from Bombay in the evening of the same day. A year before, the same communications for the despatch of speedy reinforcements to the seat of war, which occupied by the telegraph no more than twelve hours, could not have been made in less than thirty days.

"The other instance was of a similar character.

"When it was resolved to send Her Majesty's 12th Lancers from Bangalore to the Crimea, instead of Her Majesty's 14th Dragoons from Mirut, orders were forthwith despatched by telegraph, direct to the regiment at Bangalore.

"The corps was immediately got ready for service. It marched 200 miles, to Mangalore, and was there before the transports were ready to receive it.

"In both cases the effect was the same. The electric telegraph enabled the authorities in India to give to Her Majesty's Government, in its hour of need, two magnificent cavalry corps of not less than 1300 sabres, and to despatch them to the Crimea with a promptitude and timely alacrity which exceeded all expectations; and which, in the circumstances of the previous year, would have been utterly impracticable.

"On the 7th of February 1856, as soon as the administration of Oude was assumed by the British Government, a branch electric telegraph from Cawnpur to Lucknow was forthwith commenced. In eighteen working days, it was completed, including the laying of a cable, 6000 feet in length, across the river Ganges. General Outram was asked, by telegraph, 'Is all well in Oude?' The answer, 'All is well in Oude,' was received soon after noon, and greeted Lord Canning on his first arrival."\*

\* Briggs, pp. 139-144.

Truly, since that report was drawn up, the value has been tested in a manner that never was anticipated. Little was it imagined when the Government of India—then apparently in the zenith of its power—directed the establishment of that great work, that in two years the electric flash would be awakening the English throughout India to a sense of their imminency of danger. The expatriated Jews, in the reign of Ahasuerus, were once in extreme peril: they were all to have been slain in one day; and when, through the intercession of Esther, the king's purpose was changed, the difficulty was to give them timely warning, and all the most rapid modes of transit then in use were put into requisition to expedite the needful intelligence. The letters, written in the king's name, and sealed with the king's ring, were sent "by posts on horseback, and riders on mules, camels, and young dromedaries." But if the posts travelled at the best slowly, there were nine months of grace to elapse before the meditated stroke was to be inflicted. But how was the awakening voice to be conveyed from the focus of insurrectionary action in the North-West Provinces, far as Peshawur on the one side, and Calcutta on the other, when there were not, in some places, as many days to spare as the Jews had months? The message of the telegraph, winged with the speed of electricity, sufficed; and that was done in minutes, which otherwise would have been the work of days and weeks.

Let us look to the Punjab, and mark with what promptitude and vigour the able administrators of that province improved the opportunity, and, by prompt action, warded off the danger. Their minds acted with the vigour and quickness of the electric flash. They at once grasped the realities of things. No preconceived notions or opinions, no deference to settled generalities which had grown up amidst the stagnation of former times, but which were altogether unsuited to the present emergency, were permitted for an instant to have any weight against the testimony of facts. New political phenomena had suddenly manifested themselves, and new modes of action were imperatively demanded and promptly carried out.

At Lahore, in the presence of four native regiments, one cavalry and three infantry, there was only one regiment of European infantry, weakened by the cholera of the previous year, and by absences or detached services, to about 600 men, with a few companies of artillery. On the 12th, a correspondence was detected coming through the post-office, in which the 16th was fixed upon as the date when the native soldiers should rise

and murder every Sahib at the station. On the 13th, arrived the intelligence of the disastrous events at Delhi, and, on the same day, by a skilfully-arranged plan, the four native regiments were disarmed, and the tiger deprived of the teeth and claws with which he hoped to injure. At Peshawur were concentrated no less than eight native regiments, and only two European regiments. So soon as the Delhi tidings reached, a council-of-war was held, and a movable column of troops, whose fidelity could be depended upon, organized for the Punjab. The worst of the native regiments was ordered to the frontier posts, and other preparations for an emergency, such as removing the treasure and securing the bridge at Attock, were expedited. The 21st was understood to be the day on which the Sepoy outbreak was to take place. The best dispositions were made of the Queen's troops, and the artillery, which had been on the *qui vice* day and night, placed in position. At midnight, intelligence arrived that the native infantry at Nowshera had risen in revolt. A council-of-war was immediately convened, and four regiments were disarmed in the morning. Other decided measures followed. An incendiary native newspaper, published in the city, was suppressed, and the editor hung; pretended beggars and fakirs arrested; and levies made from amongst the hill-men. Had the same vigorous action been pursued in the lower provinces, and the native troops, wherever it was practicable, been at once disarmed—had this been done at Dinapur, where Her Majesty's 10th, under the most pressing appeals for troops from endangered quarters, were detained as a watch and guard on the three native regiments cantoned there, the bloody massacre at Cawnpur might never have occurred, and the safety of Lucknow have been long since secured. We refer especially to the fact, that at Dinapur, three native regiments were permitted to retain their arms, until, on July 23d, it pleased them to walk away with them, and that an entire European regiment was detained at that place, at a great crisis, when its services were urgently required elsewhere, as one of those calamitous misjudgments to which may be traced the worst, perhaps, of the Indian catastrophes.

If on no other grounds, at least as a preventive measure, the disarmament of the native regiments ought to have been decided upon, and promptly executed. The Sepoys evidently, throughout the Presidency, were in a state of great excitement, and, so long at least as it lasted, it would have been well to have deprived them of the power of doing mischief. Had the same hesitation been permitted

beyond the Sutlej as at Calcutta, the Punjab could never have been able to furnish to our necessities that powerful column, headed by the lamented Nicholson, which decided the fall of Delhi. At Barrackpur assuredly the Sepoys had manifested enough of a disloyal and mutinous disposition to convince every reasonable person that they were not to be depended upon. Not only were they badly disposed themselves, but from Barrackpur, as a great focus of rebellion, emissaries were sent forth, as we have seen, in different directions, to tamper with other portions of the native troops. Yet were they allowed to retain their arms, until, as we shall see by-and-by, Calcutta was placed in the greatest imminency of peril. It would be in the highest degree unjust to attach the blame of these misjudgments to the present Governor-General. The dread conspiracy which has convulsed India was all planned, and, to a considerable extent, organized previously to his arrival. In profound secrecy, and under the pressure of terrorism, had all been prepared. The few who wished us well, and would gladly have forewarned us of our danger, dared not to do so. He looked to the experience of those who had preceded him, for the information by which he was guided, until the time came when personal knowledge would enable him to draw conclusions for himself. General Outram's telegraphic message, "All is well in Oude," and, if all well in Oude, the most recently acquired of our possessions, then all well throughout India, was the assurance which greeted Lord Canning on his arrival. It is true there were some who had ventured, in a memorial addressed to the Governor-in-Council, to express their conviction that all was not well; that there was misrule in the executive, and disaffection on the part of the people. The language of the Missionaries in their memorial was fearless and faithful. After an enumeration of various evils to which the people were subjected; the working of the zemindary system, by which the Government was defrauded and the people cruelly oppressed; the corruption of the village police; the inaccessibility of the courts of justice, as well because of their distance as their dilatory and expensive proceedings; they thus proceed—"Your memorialists feel themselves bound to declare that they view with alarm, as well as sorrow, the continuance of the evils which they have so long deplored, and the effects of which are seen in the demoralization and sufferings of the people; and that they believe that measures of relief can with safety be delayed no longer; as, from information they have acquired, they fear that the discontent of the rural popula-

tion is daily increasing, and that a bitter feeling of hatred towards their rulers is being engendered in the native mind.\* These were strong statements, and, coming as they did from the only body in India which had no class interests to serve, might well command immediate and earnest attention. How was the memorial met? The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Halliday, declines to consider "the picture which they had drawn of the general condition of the rural population of Bengal as a correct statement of facts;" and expresses his "absolute dissent from the statement made, doubtless in perfect good faith, that the people exhibit a spirit of sullen discontent on account of the miseries ascribed to them, and that there exists among them that bitter hatred to the Government, which has filled the memorialists with alarm as well as sorrow." In forming a judgment on this important document, the Governor-General was entirely in the hands of others, as he had no personal experience of his own; and in his Minute he very candidly acknowledges this to be the case. "I cannot adduce, in support of my opinions on the subject, the experience derived from personal intercourse with the natives, from frequent opportunities of observation, spread over many years, which has enabled the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to speak upon it with such high authority; but I can say, with perfect sincerity, that, after availing myself to the best of my power of such information and testimony as is within my reach, I am led to the conclusion, that the statement of the memorialists, if it is intended to be a general representation of the prevailing condition of the people of Bengal, is greatly overcharged." He declines, therefore, to concede the commission of inquiry which they solicited, but admits the existence of great social evils, and avows his purpose to carry out ameliorative measures. "I am as thoroughly convinced as the memorialists can be, that the condition of the people of Bengal cries out loudly for amendment, and that this amendment is in a great degree in the hands of Government. . . . The memorialists will not, I trust, have long to wait for proof that, in regard to those two means of amelioration, the improvement of the police and of the judicial system, the matter is ripe for action."

Lord Canning's true position is now before us. He landed on the shores of India impressed with the idea that the vigorous administration of his predecessor had so tho-

roughly established and consolidated our rule in that country, that the period of his office would be one of uninterrupted peace, and his duties would mainly consist in the development of the internal resources of the country, and the social improvement of the people. Instead of this, there supervened an alarming crisis which had never been in the least anticipated. On the commencement of disquietude among the Sepoys, he of necessity deferred to the judgment of those who were conversant with native character. Happy would it have been for the country, happy for himself, had the example and prompt decision of the Punjab authorities exercised more influence upon his mind, than the counsel of those immediately around him. But it was not so, and the native regiments were suffered to retain the arms with which we had furnished them, to be used against us when the moment arrived which was most opportune for them, and most dangerous to us.

Thus the action of the Calcutta authorities and of those in the Punjab presented the strongest possible contrast. On May 21st the native regiments at Peshawur were disarmed, and on the same day the reply of the Governor-General in Council was transmitted to the members of the Calcutta Trade Association. On the previous day a special meeting of that body had been convened, "to take into consideration precautionary measures for the preservation of life and property in the event of an insurrection amongst the Sepoy regiments stationed both at Barrackpur and Fort William." The result of their deliberations was an offer of their services to the Government, either by acting as special-constables, or in such other way as might be thought expedient, suggesting, at the same time, that their services should be made available in some manner, as they deemed "the present crisis a most serious one, in which every possible means should be brought into action for the suppression, if possible, of riot and insurrection." The Governor in Council declines their services on two grounds, first that he had "no apprehension whatever of any riot, insurrection, or disturbance amongst any class of the population of Calcutta;" and, secondly, because, "if any should occur, the means of crushing it utterly and at once are at hand." And yet what had been the state of Calcutta two days previously? A new plot to seize Fort William, concocted by the Sepoys of the 25th Native Infantry, was providentially discovered, as previous attempts had been to which we have referred. On

\* Petition of Protestant Missionaries in and near Calcutta to the Legislative Council of India.

Sunday, May 18th, the bugles suddenly sounded, the drawbridges were all drawn up, the ladders withdrawn from the ditches, additional guards placed upon the arsenal, European sentries placed upon all points of the ramparts with loaded muskets, and armed patrols kept moving through the fortress during the night. An express was forwarded to Dum Dum, for the wing and headquarters of Her Majesty's 53d, and the entire regiment was concentrated there on the morning of the 19th. We can understand the apprehension entertained by the gentlemen of the Trade Association, and their anxiety that measures should be adopted for the security of European life and property; but the freedom from all apprehension, which the Government professed to retain amidst the general disquietude, and their rejection of the offer of service which was made to them, is unintelligible. But not only were the services of the members of the Association declined, but a rebuke administered. They had anticipated the possibility of an insurrectionary movement amongst the native regiments at Barrackpur. This was censured. "The Governor-General in Council is sorry to see, that in the letter of the Secretary of the Association, it is assumed that disaffection has been evinced by the Sepoy regiments throughout India. His Lordship in Council would greatly regret that such an impression should go abroad. Not only is it certain to lead to exaggerated fears amongst the civil population of the country at large, but, without speaking of the armies of Madras and Bombay, it is not just as regards the army of Bengal. There are in the army of this Presidency many soldiers and many regiments who have stood firm against evil example and wicked counsels, and who at this moment are giving unquestionable proof of their attachment to the Government," &c. We can never sufficiently regret this unwillingness on the part of the authorities to admit the deep-seated disaffection of the Bengal army. Convince a man that there is danger, and there is every reason to expect that his energies will be aroused to action; but he who shuts his eyes on the evidence of facts, either adopts no precautions, or, at the best, very insufficient ones. Had the authorities opened their eyes to the extent of the danger, and proceeded at once manfully and vigorously to grapple with it, a large measure of the calamities which supervened might have been averted. The resolutions of the native community, expressive of confidence in "the fidelity and attachment of the native army in general, and of the people of India, to the British

Government," were perused by his Lordship in Council "with unmixed satisfaction." Not contented with these replies, which, however unintentionally so, were calculated to discourage the honest loyal man, and to encourage the disaffected in the belief that he might carry forward with impunity his secret plans, until all was ripe for action, the authorities put forth a "General order," bearing date May 19. In this singular document the Governor-General in Council expresses his satisfaction "to find that conspicuous instances of loyalty and attachment to the Government have occurred in the ranks of the native army of Bengal;" and convinced that "in the ranks of that well-tried and heretofore faithful army there would be many who, by meritorious deeds, would evince their unflinching allegiance to the state," provides for their reward by the promotion of non-commissioned officers and soldiers to the commissioned ranks of the army, and the admission of native officers and soldiers to the "Order of Merit," in cases of distinguished gallantry or exemplary loyalty to the state.

The native regiments seemed to have resolved, that if the authorities were disposed to be blindfolded, no effort should be wanting on their part to help on the delusion. On May 26th, the 70th Native Infantry volunteered for special service against the mutineers. In their petition, which was signed by the Subahdar-Major, five Subahdars, and six Jemadars, on behalf of all the soldiers, they stated, that as European troops were going up to Delhi and other places, to coerce the mutinous and rebellious there, they wished to be sent with them also. "In consequence of the misconduct of these traitors and scoundrels, confidence in us is weakened, although we are devoted to Government; and we therefore trust that we may be sent wherever the European troops go; when, having joined them, we will by bravery, even greater than theirs, regain our good name and trustworthiness. You will then see what really good Sepoys are." On receiving this communication, the Governor-General proceeded to Barrackpur, and, at a parade of troops there, ordered for the purpose, delivered to the 70th Native Infantry an address, from which we make some extracts. "Your petition gives me pleasure, because it is an open contradiction of the rumour which has gone abroad, that the faithlessness of some regiments has tainted all within their reach. You have refuted the unjust suspicion nobly." So far as words are concerned, they had done so, but these remained to be verified by correspond-



ing actions. We had yet to learn the utter faithlessness of the Bengal Sepoy, and that he is never less to be depended upon than when most loud in his protestations of loyalty. It was decided that the loyal 70th should be sent to the North-western Provinces by country boats about June 15th, but before that day arrived it was found necessary to disarm them, as we shall see by-and-by.

We shall now proceed to indicate the arrivals of the various European regiments, and the force thus placed at the disposal of the Government for the earlier necessities of this great crisis. The 84th was already in hand, and was to be pushed up the country, the 53d being retained for the defence of Calcutta. The Madras Fusiliers, 900 strong, reached Calcutta on May 23 and subsequent days. The 35th, from Pegu, arrived about May 30th, and the 37th from Ceylon, with Captain Maude's Horse Artillery, about June 13th. These would have been all that the Government, at the first emergency, could have summoned to its aid, but for the opportune return to Bombay of the regiments which had been employed in the Persian war. That we consider to be one of those Providential interferences on behalf of the English race at this time, which ought to be recorded and remembered. The termination of the war with Persia was sudden and unexpected. Many had looked for a prolonged occupation of the conquests we had made in the Persian Gulf; and by some the conclusion of peace was deemed precipitate and unwise. The troops at Mohamrah in the beginning of May were preparing to spend the summer there. They had commenced to build huts for themselves, using the date-trees which abound there as posts, and were just about to cover the roofs with mats and shingle, when the news of peace arrived. On May 8th, Sir James Outram returned from Bushire for the purpose of breaking up the force under his command; and the next morning, accompanied by General Havelock, proceeded to review the different corps. In the evening, the 78th assembled in marching order in front of their lines, and on Colonel Stisted, the commanding-officer, giving the order to march, moved along, a native band accompanying them, to the river side, where a small steamer and flat were waiting to take them on board ship. On nearing the general's tent, they halted in front of it, and Sir James, who was not in uniform, came out to bid them good bye, and addressed them briefly on leaving the army which he commanded. When he alluded to the possibility of their being sent to China, one sturdy Scot ex-

claimed in a loud and spirited tone, "We will meet them ten to one hurrah!" The involuntary cheer was taken up by all present, and repeated again and again. Ten to one they have had to meet: not in China; that God suffered not; but on a nearer field, where the struggle has been arduous indeed. Under Havelock, they and their fellow-soldiers fought that series of desperate engagements which rescued blood-stained Cawnpur from the hands of the cruel Nana, and relieved Lucknow before the vindictive multitudes by which it was hemmed in had overcome the constancy of its brave defenders, and perpetrated anew atrocities, the remembrance of which can never be erased, so long as a Mohammedan mosque or a Hindú temple remain to remind us of them. Until these abominable systems, stained as they are with the blood of innocents, have been swept away, and the land washed from its deep stain of blood by the living power of Christianity, then, and not until then, can these wrongs cease to be remembered.

Let us consider next the points to which it was desirable that the attention of the authorities needed at once, and with vigour, to be directed. Amidst the difficulties of his own position at Lucknow, the good and able man who administered the affairs of Oude perceived and suggested such measures as were of most urgent necessity. In his communications with the authorities, Sir Henry Lawrence specified Benares, Allahabad, and Cawnpur, as points which required to be occupied by Europeans, and placed beyond the possibility of danger. "Keep Allahabad quite safe;" "Keep Benares safe;" "Cawnpur ought to be reinforced with all speed." Such were his warnings. He felt that on the retention of these key positions depended the communications of Calcutta with the North-western Provinces, and with himself. Let us refer to them. Benares, distant from Calcutta by land 421 miles, and by river 669, where the great trunk road from Calcutta first strikes the Ganges, and therefore the place of rendezvous to detachments of troops advancing from Calcutta by steamer or by land carriage—the sacred city of the Hindús, with its ghâts, and mosques, and temples—where, in their assaults on this stronghold and centre of heathenism, a number of valuable Missionaries from different organizations had been concentrated—that this should be permitted to fall into the hands of the insurgents, would have been to reduplicate the great catastrophe of Delhi. Again, Allahabad, district and city, were both important. The district, an old British territory, intervened

between the newly-annexed and unsettled Oude country and the independent Raj of Rewah, forming, with Cawnpur, the neck of communication between the expanded area of the North-west Provinces and the lower districts of Behar and Bengal, and thus necessarily the high road for fugitives from the horrors of Delhi and other places to a refuge at Calcutta—the importance of this is at once obvious. And then more especially the city of Allahabad, 74 miles from Benares, situate at the south-eastern extremity of the Doab, on the tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna rivers, the latter of which is here crossed by the East-Indian railway; with its fort, rising directly from the banks of the confluent rivers, a bastioned quadrangle, about 2500 yards in circuit, one of the largest arsenals in India, containing arms for 30,000 men, and 30 pieces of cannon—what a stronghold this would have been to the rebellious Sepoys, from whence they might have laid waste the adjacent country, and which a siege-train and regular approaches could alone have sufficed to reduce. And lastly, Cawnpur, 124 miles north-west from Allahabad, on the right bank of the Ganges, as a commercial entrepôt, the river being navigable downwards to the sea, a distance of 1000 miles, and upwards to Sukertal, a distance of 300, and, because of its cantonments, might well claim solicitude. The cantonments are situate in a sandy plain, on the right bank of the Ganges, extended in a semicircle for nearly five miles. There were the many hundred bungalows, the barracks of the troops, and the bazaars, the bungalows of the officers and residents in their garden enclosures, full of forest trees, fruits, and vegetables, while from the centre of the cantonments, on the highest ground, rose two buildings of imposing exterior, the assembly-rooms and the theatre. Devoid alike of artificial and natural defences, this place needed special protection. Moreover, its position as a doorway to the north-west added greatly to its importance, and increased the responsibilities of the Government to make due provision for its safety.

How, at the commencement of the outbreak, were these important places circumstanced as to troops, whether Native or European?

At Benares there lay the 37th Native Infantry, the Sikh regiment of Lúdíanah, and the 13th Irregular Cavalry at Sultanpur, Benares. With the exception of a field-battery with about thirty men, there were no European soldiers at Benares. So early as May 10th, the 37th had shown symptoms of

disquietude; and it was beyond dispute that no dependence could be placed on them. At Allahabad was cantoned the 6th Native Infantry, and a portion of the Sikh regiment of Ferozepur. On the first sounds of alarm from the north west, 109 artillery invalids had been ordered from Chunar to garrison the fort. We may here observe, that the 6th Native Infantry, on June 2d, volunteered to serve against the mutineers, if required. On June 3d they received thanks from the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, and on June 6th they broke out and murdered their European officers. At Cawnpur there lay the 1st, 53d, and 56th Native Infantry, together with the 2d Oude Irregular Cavalry. The European regiment which had been there, the 32d, had been transferred to Lucknow; and for the defence of this important station, built, as we have already stated, on a dead level, and possessing no fort or place of refuge, there remained about fifty European artillerymen.

It was not without reason, therefore, that Sir H. Lawrence, by repeated telegrams, urged on the authorities at Calcutta the necessity of providing, without a moment's loss of time, for the safety of these important places. Not only did he do so, but he suggested the centre from whence succour might with promptitude be conveyed. In a telegram from Lucknow, bearing date May 17th, he says—"The fort (Allahabad) ought to be made quite safe. Could not two companies of Her Majesty's 10th be pushed up to the fort?"\* Where, then, was the 10th? At Dinapur!

Dinapur is an important military station, on the right bank of the Ganges, about ten miles west from Patna. Its distance from Calcutta is 411 miles. Its distance from Benares by Ghazipur is 145 miles; or by Buxar, which is nearly mid-distant, 132 miles. Hence its distance to Allahabad, 207 miles, and to Cawnpur 331 miles; that is, little more than half the distance between Cawnpur and Calcutta, which by land is 628 miles.

Now at Cawnpur were brigaded three native infantry regiments and one of cavalry, with no other European force than fifty-nine artillerymen and six guns; and at Dinapur there were brigaded three regiments of native infantry, and one entire European regiment. Cawnpur and Allahabad, important places, were at the mercy of the native troops, amongst whom there existed considerable excitement. They needed immediate reinforcements. Was it not most reasonable to expect that Dinapur could have afforded

\* Appendix to Papers, p. 191.

them? Sir H. Lawrence asks if two companies might not be spared. Could not Dinapur have spared a wing of the 10th? Dinapur, with the remaining wing, would have been as well off as Calcutta, which, for a length of time, was left with a wing of the 53d to meet emergencies; and better off than Benares, which was without any European soldiers, a field-battery excepted; and if the wing of the 10th had been transferred to Allahabad and Cawnpur, Dinapur, with fewer native troops to combat, and more accessible to reinforcements from Calcutta, would still have had the advantage. What was the answer of the authorities? "It is impossible to send an European company to Allahabad. Dinapur cannot be weakened by a single man."\* How deeply to be regretted that determination; for if Sir H. Wheeler had been promptly aided with some 400 of the 10th, with such additional aid as Sir H. Lawrence could have rendered him on the emergency, he might have disarmed the native regiments, and placed the station in security, just as we shall find General Neill, at Benares, on June 4th, dispersing, with a small force of some 240 Europeans, three native regiments.

But if not from Dinapur, from whence were the succours to come? From Calcutta: that was the decision of the authorities. The 84th, already in hand, were to be despatched forthwith, and the Madras Fusileers so soon as they arrived.

This arrangement is not at once intelligible. A distant post is threatened, and needs immediate reinforcements. At Calcutta there is a regiment which might be used for this purpose; but the distance is great, the time short, and the means of transit, as we shall perceive, very imperfectly organized. It is just possible that it may not arrive in time to avert the danger. Within half the distance is stationed another European regiment. If this were pushed forward promptly, timely relief could be afforded. But no, this cannot be done, for three regiments of Sepoys were cantoned at the same place, and the diminution of the European garrison would have been the signal for an outbreak. Why, then, were they not disarmed? If the fact of their being in arms detained in inaction one out of the only two European regiments which were available at the moment, then, in their uncertain temper, they were a source of weakness rather than strength, and the example of the Punjab authorities ought to have been unhesitatingly followed. Deprived of their arms, less than half the European regiment

would have sufficed to hold them in check, and the rest of that force would have been at liberty for the prompt relief of the endangered places.

Meanwhile the excitement at Cawnpur was very fearfully increasing, and Wheeler's telegrams became more and more urgent. Under date of May 21st, he says, "A good deal of excitement, and some alarm, prevailed last evening regarding the 2d Cavalry. That corps had sent emissaries into the camps of the three native infantry corps, asking if they would support them in the event of outrage." On May 21st an outbreak at that place appeared imminent: the guns were placed in position, and every preparation made to meet it. But about eleven at night, to the unspeakable relief of the large number of Europeans who had collected there as to a place of refuge, fifty-five Europeans of Her Majesty's 32d regiment and about 250 troopers Oude Irregular Cavalry, marched in from Lucknow. For so urgent did Sir H. Lawrence consider the position of Cawnpur to be that, notwithstanding his own critical circumstances, with a single European regiment to control the entire of Oude, he hesitated not, out of his own slender resources, to send help to Cawnpur. But, besides this, Sir H. Wheeler in his critical circumstances had solicited assistance from a native noble, who had been on terms of social intercourse with the English, and in whose friendliness he had the utmost confidence. "This morning," says Sir H. Wheeler, "two guns, and about 300 men of all arms, were brought in by the Maharajah of Bithúr. They, being Mahrattas, are not likely to coalesce with others."

So soon as he was aware that the reinforcements for Cawnpur were to come from Calcutta, Sir H. Lawrence inquired—"When may Her Majesty's 84th be expected at Cawnpur?"\* The answer he received bears date Calcutta May 24th—"It is impossible to place a wing of Europeans at Cawnpur in less time than twenty-five days." Twenty-five days! and, as about six of them had elapsed, the 84th having commenced to move up from Calcutta about May 19th, a wing from Calcutta could not be placed at Cawnpur before June 12th; a date, as we shall see, altogether too late for the urgency of circumstances, for the mutiny at Cawnpur occurred on the 4th, and at Allahabad on the 6th. Surely so lengthened a delay ought to have indicated Dinapur, and not Calcutta, as the place from whence Cawnpur ought to have been strengthened. Even supposing that Dinapur

\* Appendix to Papers, p. 187.

\* Appendix to Papers, p. 315.

could not remain with a diminished force, still surely it could have spared half a wing until a similar amount of force had been pushed up from Calcutta; and then, before the Calcutta reinforcements had reached Dinapur, the Dinapur reinforcements would have reached Cawnpur. That would have been not later than June 1st; and those few days saved would have verified Sir H. Lawrence's words, that, at such a crisis, "time is every thing." But Government decided otherwise: "No troops could be spared from Dinapur." And yet they were spared. Two days after the above reply was given to Sir H. Lawrence Benares applied for 100 Europeans; and on that very day Government referred the commanding-officer at Benares to Dinapur—"Consult General Lloyd by express: he will best know whether he can spare 100 men from Dinapur."\* The result was, that 157 men, with four officers, of Her Majesty's 10th, reached Benares by dāk and carriages on May 30th and 31st.†

At the same period, what had Sir H. Wheeler received of the succours from Calcutta? The authorities had calculated that by the 1st of June 100 men of the 84th would have reached him‡ That was the utmost of the arrangements that had been made for him; and even this was not verified. On May 30th, he had received seventy-one men of the 84th; and as disquietude was increasing at Lucknow, on the next day, May 31st, he remitted to Sir J. Lawrence the fifty men of the 32d Foot which had been lent to him. On that very day the *emeté* took place at Lucknow, in which Brigadier Handscomb and two officers were killed, and others wounded. On June 2d, Wheeler telegraphs from Cawnpur, that up to the previous night he had received ninety men of the 84th and fifteen of the Fusiliers. He could not have received much more after that, for, according to the Government arrangements, on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of June, eighteen men daily, of the Madras Fusiliers, were to reach Allahabad. Supposing that all these reached Wheeler before the roads became closed, on June 4th, this would have made the total of his reinforcements to have been 159 men; and to this we must annex the following communication, the last received from him, dated June 3d—"Sir H. Lawrence having expressed some uneasiness, I have just sent him, by dāk gharrs, out of my small force, two officers and fifty men of Her Majesty's 84th Foot: conveyance for more not available. This leaves me weak, but I trust to

holding my own until more Europeans arrive."\*

In the forwarding of the 84th, there appears to have been great tardiness. They left Calcutta a week before the Fusiliers; and yet, on the occurrence of the outbreaks at Cawnpur, Benares, and Allahabad, on the 4th and 6th of June, there were nearly as many of the Fusiliers to assist in the preservation of European life as of the 84th. On May 29th Wheeler complains—"Europeans arriving but very slow here." The fact was, weak bullocks were employed, and although the troops had the advantage of a line of railway so far as Raneegunge, 120 miles from Calcutta, yet between that and Benares time was lost. From Shergotty, therefore, on the great trunk road between Calcutta and Benares—297 miles north-west of the former, and 131 miles south-east of the latter—a telegraphic message was forwarded to Calcutta, bearing date May 30th—"Gun bullocks would be most useful between Raneegunge and the Soane, if they could be sent from Calcutta in time: if there are carts, the daily despatches can be increased, but not otherwise. Gun-bullocks would save a day, as they travel faster than our little animals. The Allahabad bullocks had better be stationed along the line between Benares and Cawnpur. We shall be able, I hope, to convey 700 men at once, if necessary, from Allahabad to Cawnpur, of course not daily."† The reference to the Allahabad bullocks connects with a telegraphic message forwarded to the Government from the commissariat officer at Allahabad, bearing date May 28th, and to the following effect—"Cawnpur wants Europeans: if allowed, can give 1600 siege-train bullocks, and Cawnpur 600 bullocks, which, with available Government bullocks, and private train-waggons, and magazine-carts, can convey 160 Europeans daily from the river Soane to Cawnpur."‡ Thus the organization was complete for the upper part of the journey, but on the lower portion of it, between the Soane and Raneegunge, the arrangements were inefficient, and delay occurred. Sir H. Lawrence had already, and repeatedly, warned the authorities on this point. In a telegram dated May 26th he says—"I strongly advise that as many extra dāks be laid as possible from Raneegunge to Cawnpur, to bring up European troops. Spare

\* Appendix to Papers, p. 369. † Ibid. p. 353.

‡ Ibid. p. 327. The Soane is a large tributary of the Ganges, which, rising in Gondwana, four or five miles east of the source of the Nerbudda, pursues a sinuous course, generally north-west, until it falls into the Ganges on the right or south side, ten miles above Dinapur.

\* Appendix to Papers, p. 190.

† Ibid. p. 342.

‡ Ibid. p. 350.

no expense." Yet were the troops suffered to be retarded by the inefficient means of transit provided for them, so that what they gained by the railway from Calcutta to Raneegunge, they lost by the weakness of the bullocks between Raneegunge and the Soane; until at length, at the eleventh hour, when the opportunity was nearly over, the officials who were charged with this duty were reminded of conveyance-power at their disposal, which, but for the telegram from the Director-General of Post-office, Shergotty, they would never have thought of. They remembered 100 ordnance bullocks at Dum Dum, and 192 ordnance - bullocks at Calcutta, and these, on June 1st, were ordered to be sent by rail to Raneegunge,\* from thence to be distributed, according to the directions of the post-office authorities, along the great trunk road, for the purpose of assisting the bullock train in conveying European troops to the North-western Provinces. It was also recollected that General Lloyd, at Dinapur, was able to render valuable assistance, and, on June 2d, an express was forwarded from Shergotty, ordering him to send down, without delay, all the spare government bullocks from Dinapur to Shergotty, to the number of 250; Lloyd, in reply, forwarding, on June 4th, the day of the outbreak at Cawnpur and Benares, to Shergotty 200 bullocks. Still later, on June 9th, other means were thought of, and General Lloyd was required to forward the public elephants, forty-six in number, to Shergotty, making up, with others from Dacca, no less than 100 elephants, to assist in the conveyance of European troops to the disturbed districts.† It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Cawnpur might have been strengthened before the outbreak by several hundred of European troops, if only there had been an energetic improvement of the available means of transit. The often-importuned and earnestly-expected relief might have been forwarded, either from Dinapur, with the elephants and bullocks at Lloyd's disposal, or else by an acceleration of the troops pushed forward from Calcutta. This was not done, and Wheeler, with a handful of men, was left to contend with unparalleled difficulties, and struggle in vain to protect a crowd of helpless women and children from the hosts of human fiends that surrounded them.

The cloud in this portion of the narrative is dark indeed, yet may we recognise the bow in the cloud. The advance of troops, although not quick enough to save Cawnpur, was just

in time for the rescue of Benares. General Neill arrived at that city on June 8d, with a detachment of his regiment, the 1st Madras Fusileers, and found sixty of his men and three officers, by whom he had been preceded. A company of men were two days in rear, and three more were following by bullock train; and he had arranged to start with a detachment for Cawnpur on the afternoon of the 4th, when intelligence was received of the mutiny of the 17th Native Infantry at Azimgurh, distant north by Juanpur eighty-one miles. Joined by the city people and jail prisoners, they had attacked Lieutenant Palliser, who, with some of the 13th Irregular Cavalry, had been sent to escort treasure from Azimgurh to Benares, and his infantry escort, sympathizing with them, had seized the treasure. The 37th Native Infantry having, on previous occasions, shown a mutinous disposition, Brigadier Ponsonby, the officer in command at Benares, consulted with General Neill as to the disarmament of the 37th, so far as their muskets, but permitting them to retain their side-arms. "I urged," writes General Neill, "its being done at once, to which he agreed, and left my quarters to make his arrangements, directing me to be present with the Europeans, as per margin,\* at five P.M. The Sikh regiment, in which Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon placed much confidence, and a party of about seventy of the 13th Irregular Cavalry, who were despatched, were to join the Europeans in their demonstration. Brigadier Ponsonby came on parade at the hour appointed, but I observed that he appeared far from well, and perfectly unable to act with energy or the vigour required on the emergency. We moved up the Europeans and guns towards the 37th, the Sikhs advancing upon the other flank of that corps, followed by irregular cavalry. On approaching the bells of arms of the 37th, the Sepoys of that corps seized their arms, loaded them, and opened fire upon us, which was immediately returned with considerable execution by the artillery and Europeans, the Sikh regiment not having yet come up. At this time, several of our men fell wounded, and the brigadier was on his back on the ground, seemingly struck by a stroke of the sun, and declared himself quite unfit for any thing, and begged that, being the next senior officer, I would at once assume command, which I accordingly did, and directed a dash on the

\* Three guns of No. 12 field battery and 30 men, under Captain Olpherts. Her Majesty's 10th, 150 men and 3 officers. Madras Fusileers, 60 men and 3 officers.

\* Appendix, p. 353.

† Further Papers relative to Mutinies, p. 26.

lines, with the Europeans and Sikhs in line on each flank of the artillery. I was on the right of our men in the lines when an alarm was given, and I found the Sikhs had suddenly halted, wavered, and eventually gone about and dispersed, having first, however, fired at and tried to shoot their commanding-officer and adjutant, and fired upon and wounded several other officers, and fired upon the squadron of irregular cavalry drawn up in rear of them.

"I believe, from all I have observed and been told, that, with a few exceptions, the Sikhs were supposed to be quite staunch: they seemed in the greatest spirits, and anxious to be led against the 37th. The cause of their sudden panic and extraordinary conduct is supposed to have been the turmoil caused in their rear by a Sowar of the 13th Irregular Cavalry having fired at and attempted to cut down the Brigade-Major, Captain Dodgson, on his riding up to assume command of them by the Brigadier's order (their own commanding officer having been killed before reaching parade by the men of the 37th Native Infantry). On hearing the shot and shouts, the Sikhs turned round and fired on their officers and our men; one man who had fired at Colonel Gordon was immediately shot by one of his Havildars.

"The artillery, on observing the disaffection of the Sikhs, opened upon them with considerable effect: they broke and ran, as did the irregular cavalry. After this I completed the expulsion of the 37th regiment from their lines, and burnt them, and withdrew my men and guns into position in the barrack, securing myself for the night.

"Early next morning I sent out parties and brought in the arms, accoutrements, and colours of the 37th, that had been left in their lines, as also some of the Sikhs. I also arranged with the civil authorities to remove the treasure from its most insecure and un-military position in the civil lines, and detached a party, consisting of 100 men of Her Majesty's 10th and Madras Fusileers, and twenty-five Sowars (irregular cavalry), under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, and had it all brought up and secured in the barracks.

"On my arriving here, I had observed and expressed my opinion on the insecurity of this treasure, under charge only of a native guard of Sikhs, who, however, stood firm, and deserve the greatest credit for their loyal conduct. I consider the peril in which this treasure has been placed has been for some time imminent; and I feel assured, that had the steps taken against the 37th been deferred until the following

morning, the outbreak would have taken place that night when unprepared, and no efficient assistance could have been rendered by the troops to the European families in cantonments, who would have been left to the mercy of the miscreants let loose on such an occasion. I had a party of Madras Fusileers at a building called the Mint, and arranged with the Brigadier before going on parade, that, should any disturbance occur, all the families should go there for protection. This was carried out, the party of Europeans there giving confidence and acting as a check to plunderers: the mutineers, who broke and fled, deserted cantonments rapidly, many of them throwing away their arms. I now hold the barracks and mint-house, between cantonment and city, with my Europeans, and have some native guards of trustworthy men as pickets in different parts of cantonments, and feel the cantonments are all safe; and when a few more European troops come up, I intend planting a picket at the church, when all the houses in cantonments may, I consider, with safety be again occupied. About ninety of the irregular cavalry remained faithful, and are now doing duty, patrolling and keeping off the "Badmashees" from the city from entering cantonments. About 190 of the Sikh regiment, who were on treasure and other guards, are still with us, and remain faithful. A few of them I have promoted for their good conduct when the regiment broke and fled. A further report will be made on this subject, as well as regarding some men of the irregular cavalry, whom I have also promoted for loyalty and good conduct."\*

Four days previously, and Benares was destitute of any European force, the field-battery excepted, and a handful, perchance, of the troops that, in driblets of eighteen, were being forwarded from Calcutta to the emergency of Cawnpur. One day's more detention on the road, and General Neill would not have been in time to confirm, by his energy and decision, the wavering purpose of the Brigadier: the 37th would have been permitted to retain their arms for one night more, and that night would have been one of mutiny and massacre. When important interests are at stake, and the time of opportunity is brief, how great the value of a day! It was this conviction that was wanting amongst the officials at Calcutta: they acted as though there was time to spare. In a telegraphic message to Sir H. Wheeler from the Secretary to the Government, dated Cal-

\* Further Papers, &c., pp. 57, 58.

cutta, June 1st, the authorities communicated to him the arrangements they had made, and which they deemed to be sufficient—

“The Secretary of the Government of India to Sir H. Wheeler and the Commissioner at Benares. *Calcutta, June 1st* (Telegraphic). We reckon that 100 men of Her Majesty’s 84th will have reached you by this time. To-day, to-morrow, and next day, 18 men daily, of the Madras Fusileers, will reach Allahabad. On the 4th, 8 men; on the 7th, 96 men; on the 8th, 100 men; on the 9th, 90 men; and on the 10th, 90 men by dāk and bullock-train. About the 9th, 138; about the 13th, 105 men; and about the 14th, 198 men by steamers.”\*

Nearly 1000 men in all! But, with the exception of the first 150 on the list, all too late for the defence of Cawnpur. The first five days of departure from Calcutta were the five precious and important days; and, on these, dribbets only were sent, as appears from the marginal statistics introduced into a communication from the Government Secretary to the officiating Commissary-General, dated Fort William, May 19, 1857.

“To leave Howrah, by rail from Ranee-geunge, by Transit Company,

On the 19th, 1 officer and 18 non-commissioned and privates.	
.. 20th, 0	.. 21 ditto;
.. 21st, 1	.. 18 ditto;
.. 22d, 0	.. 21 ditto;
.. 23d, 1	.. 18 ditto.”

Benares was saved, and the fort at Allahabad, two days afterwards, was providentially preserved from the treacherous mutineers. The loyal 6th, on the very evening when they responded with cheers to the thanks of the Governor-General for their offer of service before Delhi, rose by signal, when the officers were assembled at mess, and murdered no less than seventeen of them. The fort, but for the energy and decision of one officer, would have fallen into the hands of the insurgents. The main-guard consisted of men of the now rebellious 7th. It was of

\* Appendix to Papers, p. 350.

necessity that they should at once be disarmed, and that promptly, before they had the opportunity of admitting the mutineers. But this could not be done without the co-operation of the detachment of the Sikh regiment of Ferozepur, which, with the pensioners from Chunar, completed the garrison. Could the Sikhs be depended upon? “The volunteers were assembled, armed with rifles and revolvers; the order was given to pile arms; the Sepoys hesitated; two guns, which were in readiness, were pointed at the guard; and then, just at the critical moment, the Sikhs, distracted and excited by the firing outside, faltered and wavered. But their officers stood firm, and the guns were just about to be discharged, when two or three of the Sepoys began to lay down their muskets, and the Sikhs, instantly recovering themselves, disarmed and stripped the others. The whole crisis ended in a few minutes, and the fort of Allahabad was saved.”\*

The Madras Fusileers were now pushed on from Benares to Allahabad—not in dribbets of 18, but in bodies of 50 and upwards each day. General Neill reached the fort on the 11th; Major Stephenson, with 100 men, on the 12th; so that on the 16th there were concentrated there 270 Fusileers and 7 officers. But what might have sufficed in the first instance to prevent the cowardly Sepoys from taking the initiative, did not suffice now, when they were in open insurrection. Neill telegraphed to the Government, that, for the security of the fort, not less than 500 Europeans would be requisite, with half-battery at least of field-battery. All above 500 should be pushed on to Cawnpur; but the telegram concluded with these words: “I have heard nothing from Sir H. Wheeler: the road from this place is quite closed.”† And so it remained, until forced open by the fighting army of Havelock—too late for the preservation of European life. Before Nana Sahib was smitten with defeat he perpetrated the atrocities of Cawnpur.

\* Friend of India, July 9th.

† Further Papers, &c., p. 63.

## THE RECOGNITION OF CASTE INCOMPATIBLE WITH CHRISTIAN LEGISLATION.

In a previous Number we directed the attention of our readers to the system of caste, as one defiant of the authority of God, and prejudicial to the interests of man.\* We have just received a communication from a valued

correspondent at Calcutta, M. Wylie Esq., which confirms all that we attempted to say on this subject, and with an honest indignation exposes all the enormities of caste to the eye of the British public. We have compromised ourselves with this system in our administration of India. We have hoped by doing so to conciliate the high-caste native. We forgot that, even if this policy succeeded,

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\* Vide article, Caste in its Stringency of Action, as exhibited in Travancore, “Church Missionary Intelligencer,” vol. viii. p. 251.

it would be at a heavy cost, and that we should win the favour of man at the price of God's displeasure. But it has not succeeded. Our bitterest enemies have been the high-caste native, the Brahmins and the Rajpoot, to whose religious scruples we exhibited such deference. If we are to prosper in our future government of India, we must recognise no caste distinctions in governmental services and employments: no indulgence ought to be shown to the scruples of the high-caste man. There are duties to be performed to which, if his caste fastidiousness will not permit him to condescend, he must stand aside, and make room for the low-caste man, who has no such difficulties. It would be an act of righteous justice to see the Brahmin degraded from that position of superiority which he has arrogated to himself, and the Pariah enfranchised and dealt with as a free man. Now is the time to strike for the overthrow of caste. "If India be destined, in the counsels of Providence, to look up once more among the nations of the earth, it will only be by unlearning the institution of caste, and by adopting the religion of her present rulers, with all its temporal and spiritual blessings." We shall now pass on to Mr. Wylie's article.

"I find that I have not written to the Church Mission House since the 20th of July. Since then, many terrible and wonderful events, mingled with many auspicious illustrations of Divine power and goodness, have crowded upon us. And now we are on the eve of the cold weather, the Commander-in-Chief leaves, God willing, for the north-west; and a campaign will be commenced for reconquering Northern India.

"The forces against us have received a severe check and discouragement at Delhi, but there are still distinct bodies of the rebels in Oude, in the Gorruckpur district, in Rohilcund, at Rhotás in Shahabad, at Gwalior, at Bandani, Malwa, at Joudpur; Lucknow and Saugor are still in danger; and a large part of the North-west Provinces, part of Behar and Rajputana, and a large part of Central India, have been devastated, and are now covered with marauders. Our Delhi army is greatly reduced and weakened, so that its troops cannot be expected to do much further service. Our British reinforcements are beginning to arrive, but can only be sent up to Allahabad at the rate of about 4000 men a month. A famine is looked for in a vast extent of country; and elements of disturbance still remain in many places, from Peshawur to Hydrabad. I will not enter into detail concerning any of these things, for each week will cast some new light upon them; and I

am desirous rather of inviting the attention of the readers of your "Intelligencer" also, to a subject of permanent interest, which involves, as I conceive, at the present time, practical duties of high importance.

"I allude to THE RELATIONS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA TO CASTE.

"So far as I have been able to judge, this subject, from the first, has been the most important of all. The causes of the insurrection, the workings of the native mind in the progress of the insurrection, and the means suggested by Christian wisdom for averting similar calamities in future—all these subjects, as they severally have come under discussion, have necessarily led to the consideration of caste. We found that the pretext for the mutiny, in the first instance, was caste. We met with evidences on all hands that there was a real, and not an affected apprehension that caste was in jeopardy, and that the chief danger apprehended was from the use of polluted cartridges. The mutiny being then in full development, we next found all scruples of caste yielding to the thirst for blood, and any cartridges appeared to be acceptable which could be used to destroy European life. And then, lastly, if we began to contemplate the places for a future native army, the first problem to be solved was the management of caste.

"I believe that the subject is of vast importance, and that Christians in Great Britain will do well to gain an intelligent apprehension of it, and to act on the convictions they form, with prompt and united determination. We have an opportunity now of beginning afresh, of establishing a new policy, and, if we discern aright our duty to Him who 'made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth,' we shall have little difficulty in discovering what that policy should be. And happily we shall find that in this case (as in all others) our solid permanent interest entirely coincides with our duty.

"In considering the insurrection, I think that we should regard caste as the root of the whole matter. It is true that there have been political causes, and I am one of those who think that great benefits may result from a full investigation of them—the revenue system, the machinations of native princes, the state of the police and the judicial system, the form and the spirit of the Government, and so on. In like manner, it is true that the insurrection has assumed a Mohammedan character, and has been chiefly sustained by the vehemence and fanaticism of Mohammedan devotees, who have reckoned on the rewards of martyrdom if they perished in this Tihad, or religious war. But



still, in all probability, there would have been no mutiny, (and, if no mutiny, no insurrection,) but for caste. *That* was the first pretext; *that* was the spot on which all intriguers placed their forces of mischief; and, beyond all controversy, it was the war-cry of caste that first effectually roused the native soldier to the required pitch of desperation. Without this, the Mohammedans must have stood undisguised in their treason, and they would have had no sympathy on political or religious grounds from the Hindús, with whom the tradition of their old misgovernment is familiar, and to whom their religion is repulsive. But when the Mohammedans had first artfully inflamed the Hindú mind with fears for caste, there were hopes of a general and universal combination against the British Government.

“What, then, is caste, and what has been our relation to it? It is important that caste should be understood at home. There are old Indians who represent it as simply a distinction of social rank, similar to our social distinctions between peer and peasant. There are others who throw a halo of poetical fancy around it, and treat high caste as a synonym for high honour and high breeding. But we must come to plain unromantic facts.

“Caste, in its present manifestation, is comparatively a modern idea. There is little or no vestige of it in the oldest Hindú writings. It is an impious falsification of the divine revelation of the creation of man. In the beginning God made our first parents, and, making them in His own image, He could regard them as ‘very good,’ in the day when He triumphed in the completed work of His glorious creative power, and all the sons of God shouted for joy. Hindúism, or rather, I should, say Brahminism (which is modern Hindúism), perverts this record, and tells of Brahma creating four classes or races of human beings. Of these, the Brahmins sprang from his head, the Kshetriyas from his arms, the Vaisyas from his thighs, and the Sudras from his feet—all with diverse moral natures. Of these, the first and last alone remain in undisputed descent. The other classes are commonly believed to have merged in the higher and lower; and, in the practical development of the system the country, if the Brahminical system had fall away, would be filled only with oppressors and the oppressed—the pride of birth and the consciousness of degradation. But a new element is introduced by foreign conquest. First the Mohammedans, and then the British, subjugate the country; and a rank and power superior to the proudest Brahminism—a rank and power of an indisputable, unmistakeable kind—intervenes to disturb all the old rela-

tions of native society. Brahmins find that they are taxed, like other men, punished like other men for violations of the laws, deprived of all recognised claim to public support from the rulers of the land, and they are driven to enlist in the army, or to become traders for a livelihood; while, on the other hand, Sudras, relieved from the pressure of prejudice, begin to exert their faculties in new pursuits, accumulate wealth, gain the influence which riches purchase; and ultimately the Brahmin, in many cases, is the dependant, and almost the slave, and the Sudra finds that ‘money answereth all things’—even buys connivance at his most open violations of the rules of caste. And then, further, under such a Government as ours, when a learning superior to that of the Brahmins is developed, when education spreads among the people, and the old fables of the priesthood (once received as infallible truths) become the jest of the schoolboy, and true geography, and true history, and true science, are found to contradict legends which were formerly treated as sacred revelations, the whole native mind begins to be unmoored. And then, further still, if mechanical science, with inventions like steam-boats, railways, and electric telegraphs, and the growing demands of trade, forcing developements of commerce even in the most remote corners of the country, begin to create a new sort of ambition—to create totally new conceptions, new habits, and new influences—Brahminism necessarily sinks lower and lower: it cannot maintain any thing like its old ascendancy, and, to the eye of every intelligent observer, its tendency to extinction is obvious.

“Let us conceive such a state of things; and then imagine a Christian Government stepping forward to arrest the downfall, and selfishly seeking to perpetuate its own dominion by guaranteeing the honours and the dignity of this tottering folly.

“I have said that I believe that an intelligent apprehension of this subject by the British public is most important, and I should be very thankful to see an effort made to represent it in a form calculated to fix the popular mind. Let me mention some illustrations of the system, which might be used to reveal its character. We hear of the Rajput, with his high caste, his lofty courage, his quick sense of honour, and the like. Strip him of all his drapery, and see him murder all his female children, because he cannot afford to spend as much as will satisfy his sense of dignity on their weddings. His courage, I may be allowed to hint, has not shone very brilliantly in any recent encounters; and his real character, I presume, may be more accurately judged by his want of natural affection, than

by his strut, his imposing demeanour, and his skill as a swordsman. So again with the highest order of Brahmins. Read the works of some people, and you will conceive of Brahmins as of a race of holy ascetics, sitting between fires, or parched and starved in the wilderness. But look at reality, and for one devotee, you will meet a thousand idle, pampered beggars, or cunning traders, or commonplace agriculturists; and if you look at the highest of all, you meet the Kulins, with their liberty of marrying any number of wives, and you may trace these men conferring honour upon family after family for money; marrying, and then deserting child after child, and finally selling themselves to the highest bidders, who undertake to support them and endow them with riches, if they will settle down in their houses, and abandon all the rest of their obligations. If you look back, you will find that all the wives of such men were expected to die on their funeral piles. And if you look at other classes of Brahmins now, you will see some living in the grossest possible debasement and wickedness in temples supposed to be holy; others assisting in the Churruck poojah, where ignorant people are subjected to cruel tortures; or at festivals like the Hooly, where the vilest passions and the worst habits are indulged in honour of the wickedness of a fabled god. And descending from these things to Brahminism in common life, what is it but vulgar arrogance and assumption, juggling astrology, playing with the delusions of the people, and an affectation of a natural and moral superiority, which has no existence in fact? If you meet a pundit, his knowledge is childishness: he can play on words, string together involved apothegms, repeat charms, and run through the mazes of a crabbed metaphysics. If he descend to practical usefulness he is lost, and therefore he shuts himself up in his philosophy, 'falsely so called,' and dreams his life away in a round of unmeaning penances, vain repetitions of formal prayers, and studies of Sanskrit legends, not one title of which are worth reading.

"The *absurdities* of the system are remarkable. One man may be a coppersmith, a second a carpenter, a third an oilman, and a fourth an agriculturist; and they are so simply and solely because their fathers were so before them. But it may happen that the first two have no mechanical skill, and ought not to be artisans; and that the last two are peculiarly suited to some mechanical employment. Caste steps in nevertheless, and stereotypes their employments from generation to generation. Doubtless the succession of father to son in the same trade is common in all

countries, and peculiarly so in eastern lands; but in India, caste operates to render that a matter of religious duty which properly should be simply a matter of taste and convenience. It fixes inexorably the profession of every man, without reference to his qualifications or desires, and thus cripples the intellect, represses enterprise, and checks trade and improvement. In our own happy country we see constant instances of success attending the industry and talents of the humblest members of society; and we rejoice, with a pardonable national complacency, when we see on the bench a man like Lord Tenterden, raised by his own merits from the position of a poor barber's boy, and we exult in the constitution which opens the highest pathway of honour to the very poorest of our people. But in India, caste prohibits to society the countless advantages of a free and unfettered competition. It decrees to one set of men one kind of employment, and to another set another kind, without the slightest power to perpetuate either the needful qualifications, or the desirable preference for any.

"But when it is exhibited in the army, these absurdities appear more remarkable than ever. In England, a poet very justly says—

'What can ennoble fools and cowards?

Alas! not all the blood of all the Howards.'

But in India, a man in the lowest ranks of the military service, the worst soldier, it may be, in his regiment, the most ignorant, and the most useless, judges of himself, and is judged by others, not by such tests as his military qualities, but by his caste. His officer, Native or European, is esteemed in his eyes as altogether inferior, if inferior in the one point of caste. The result, of course, is a capricious subordination, and doubtful and equivocal discipline. The commanding-officer has to consider, not merely the health, comfort, and drill of his men; he must go further, and consider their scruples on endless points the most trivial, and on which he will find, even among men of caste, endless diversities of sentiment. There is, therefore, behind the chief authority in the army, a power greater than itself—a power that sways with varying force, and with fitful impulses, with a strength sometimes discernible, and at other times quite unseen and unknown, a large mass of the soldiery. We fancy that our rules and our proclamations are governing the army, but, in fact, it is governed by a power over which we have no control: and then, with strange infatuation, we bow down to this secret influence: we avow our subjection, and then boast of our faithful, loyal army!

"But the *oppressiveness* of the system is conspicuous too. See it fairly carried out, and

you will find the degradation of the lowest castes so complete, that, in Southern India, they dare not come near a man of high caste without sounding an instrument to give warning of their approach.\* Or see it in the abject prostration of the Sudra everywhere, stooping down to kiss the Brahmin's feet, and reverently drinking the water in which he has dipped them. And see it still more manifest in the odious separation of man from man, when the sick or dying implores aid in vain from men of other castes, and they think that it is the will of God, their Creator, that they should shut up their bowels of compassion, and look on without sympathy or compassion. You may see all this in India; and, without seeing it, you may *imagine* what caste is, but you will not be able fully to understand it.

"In its practical effect on intercourse between Europeans and natives, its spirit is perhaps more obvious than in any other form. The European enters the native's house, and the first idea his presence suggests is defilement. He must not be allowed to touch a single article of food, or a single vessel used in eating or drinking. The native will be obsequious in public; he will stoop to the lowest arts to conciliate favour; but all the while he regards his European employer as an outcaste, and he connects pollution with his touch.

"And then, again, in its unrelenting persecutions, caste manifests its intensely-inhuman spirit. Major Scott Waring, in one of his anti-Christian tracts—written in the great controversy forty-five years ago, respecting the admission of Missionaries to India—narrates a case which well illustrates the system, and which he evidently thought entitled to tenderness and respect. 'In the year 1766,' he says, 'the late Lord Clive and Mr. Verelst employed the whole influence of Government to restore a Hindú to his caste, who had forfeited it, not by any neglect of his own, but by having been compelled, by a most unpardonable act of violence, to swallow one drop of cow-broth. The Brahmins, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, were very anxious to comply with the wishes of Government: the principal men among them met once at Kishnagurh, and once at Calcutta; but after long consultation, and an examination of their most ancient records, they declared to Lord Clive, that, as there was no precedent to justify the act, they found it impossible to restore the unfortunate to his caste; and he died soon after of a broken heart.' This, no doubt, is a specimen of the working of the system. The most trivial offences are magnified into great crimes.

\* Vide "Caste, &c., vol. viii. p. 251.

Judgment, mercy, and faith are neglected, and the cleaning of cups and platters is made a matter of importance. What comes out of a man, out of the *heart*, is not considered: what he eats is made a matter of strict regulation, and is treated as a matter of divine appointment. Men are turned out of caste for such offences as eating or smoking with persons of inferior caste, for making marriages out of their caste, and for all kinds of things which ought to be purely subjects for each one's own free, unfettered liberty of choice. And when thus excommunicated, the whole annoyances and vexations of social tyranny are brought into play. Men are dealt with as degraded, and petty cruelty pursues each victim in all his occupations, breaks his spirit, dishonours his family, and, at death, denies him the rites of his religion.

"But is all this really the legitimate fruit of the system, or its corruption and abuse? Certainly, it is all the inevitable result and the manifest fruit of caste. I may be repeating trite quotations, but at the present time it is doubtful if such quotations can be repeated too often, and therefore I will ask you to consider the following passages. They are taken from the article on caste by the Rev. K. M. Banergea, in the 'Calcutta Review,' where they are given as well in the original Sanskrit words, as in English, with the authority stated for each quotation.

"'The Brahmins alone existed in the beginning.'

"'All being one, Brahma did not enjoy it.'

"'He largely created the Kshetriyas of excellent nature.'

"'He created the Vaisyas for the purpose of acquiring wealth.'

"'He was not satisfied, because there was a want of servants or slaves.'

"'He therefore made the order of Sudras.'

"Such is the Hindú fable of the creation of man!

"Then we find the distinctions among men as follows—

"'The Brahmin is the exalted lord of all castes. To him should gifts be made with faith and reverence. The Brahmin represents all divinities in himself, a visible god on the earth, who saves the giver in the impassable ocean of the world.'

"'All the Brahmins are excellent, and always to be honoured without discrimination, whether they are learned or unlearned. Those excellent Brahmins, who are guilty of such crimes as theft, are offenders against themselves, not others. Brahmins are masters of the Kshetriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras: they are masters of one another, and are to be worshipped, being earthly gods.'

“ He who does not immediately bow down, when he sees his tutor or a Brahmin, or the image of a god, becomes a hog on the earth.’

“ Whosoever bears but a drop of water which has been in contact with a Brahmin’s foot, all the sins in his body are immediately destroyed. Whosoever carries on his head the holy things touched by a Brahmin’s foot, verily, verily I say, he is freed from all sin. Whatever good man worships a Brahmin, going round him, obtains the merit of going round the world with its seven continents.’

“ Even wicked Brahmins are also venerated, but not Sudras, though of subdued passions. The cow that eats foul things is better than the pig with good dispositions.’

“ A king, even though dying from want, must not receive any tax from a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, nor suffer such a Brahmin residing in his dominions to be afflicted with hunger.’

“ Never shall a king slay a Brahmin, though convicted of all possible crimes. Let him banish the offender from his realm, but with all his property secure, and his body unhurt.’

“ A once born man who insults a twice born (a Brahmin) with gross invectives, ought to have his tongue slit. If he mentions their names with contumely, an iron *style*, ten inches long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth. Should he spit on him through pride, the king shall order both his lips to be gashed. If he seize the Brahmin by the locks or, by any part of the body, let the king, without hesitation, cause incisions to be made in his hands.’

“ Let no kinsmen, while any of his own class are at hand, cause a deceased Brahmin to be carried out by a Sudra; since the funeral rite, polluted by the touch of a servile man, obstructs his passage to heaven.’

“ Servile attendance on Brahmins learned in the Vedas, chiefly on such as keep house, and are famed for virtue, is of itself the highest duty of a Sudra, and leads him to future beatitude.’

“ A man of the lowest class, who, through covetousness, lives by the acts of the highest (*i. e.* gives employment to Brahmins), let the king strip him of all his wealth, and instantly banish.’

“ No superfluous collection of wealth must be made by a Sudra, even though he has the power to make it; since a servile man, who has amassed riches, becomes proud, and, by his insolence or neglect, gives pain even to Brahmins.\*

“ The question here arises, How far is the recognition of this system consistent with British jurisprudence? The answer must be, Not at all. In effect, caste is a species of slavery, and slavery in the worst form, for a

slave may possibly be emancipated, but the degradation of the lower castes is perpetual. What, then, shall we say to the recognition of this system by the British Government? It scarcely required Somerset’s case (that noble result of Granville Sharp’s philanthropy) to establish the principle that slavery can exist in England. ‘What ground is there,’ said Lord Mansfield, in his eloquent judgment, ‘for saying that the status of slavery is now recognised by the law of England? that *trover* will lie for a slave? that a slave-market may be established in Smithfield? I care not for the supposed dicta of judges, however eminent, if they be contrary to all principle. The dicta cited were probably misunderstood; and, at all events, they are to be disregarded. Villeinage, when it did exist in this country, differed in many particulars from West-India slavery. The lord never could have thrown his vellein, whether *regardent* or in *gross*, into chains, sent him to the West Indies, and sold him there to work in a mine or in a canefield. At any rate, villeinage has ceased in England, and it cannot be revived. The air of England has long been too pure for a slave, and every man is free who breathes it: every man who comes to England is entitled to the protection of the English law, whatever oppression he may heretofore have suffered, and whatever may be the colour of his skin.’

“ It was this decision that inspired the muse of Cowper in his noble burst of humane and patriotic feeling, when he exclaimed—

“ I would not have a slave to till my ground,  
To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,  
And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth  
That sinews bought and sold have ever earn’d.  
No: dear as freedom is, and in my heart’s  
Just estimation prized above all price,  
I had much rather be myself the slave,  
And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him.  
We have no slaves at home: then why abroad?  
And they themselves once ferried o’er the wave  
That parts us, are emancipate and loos’d.  
Slaves cannot breathe in England: if their lungs  
Receive our air, that moment they are free;  
They touch our country, and their shackles fall.”†

“ This is no empty boast. But when we carry our British rule to India, behold us giving sanction to a system which is based on a false theory of the natural degradation and inferiority of the vast majority of the people, and permitting an arrogant class, who are the least industrious and productive in the community, to deal with multitudes, who, in fact, are born with precisely similar physical and moral constitutions, as defiled and polluted creatures! We hear something of the same kind echoing across the Atlantic from

\* *Vide* Calcutta Review, No. xxix. 1851.

† The Task, book ii.

the Great Dismal Swamp, and from the plantations of Cuba, Mexico, and Brazil; but our English nation, instead of assenting to the theory of the necessary degradation and perpetual servitude of the negro race, pants to do justice to Africa, and on no enterprises does the public favour more firmly rest, than on the schemes to carry civilization, commerce, and the gospel of peace, up the Niger and the Zambesi. Is it not strange, then, that in India we should appear as the patrons of a system, which only differs from slavery because it is more offensive, more absurd, and more unscriptural; and that here, in this great country, we stoop to build the edifice of our power on the conciliation of the native mind in its subjection to this irrational despotism, and this cruel superstition? Surely we came to India for higher ends than these! Surely we are strong enough to liberate ourselves from the necessity, if hitherto there has been the necessity, of pandering to this anti-social delusion, and we may henceforth vindicate our national character for justice, and the reputation of our jurisprudence for freedom and equity, by broadly proclaiming that all men shall, in the eyes of our laws, be regarded as equal, and shall be dealt with according to their deeds, and not according to their ancestry! If we are true to ourselves, if we are true to mankind, this will be our policy. We shall not abandon in India, or conceal here, the principles which distinguish us at home, nor shall we permit our Indian Government to lend its powerful influence to the maintenance of theories and practices among the Hindús, which will cast dishonour on our history.

“ Indeed, there is singular inconsistency in our conduct. At home, public sympathy warmly supports the benevolent statesman who legislates for the protection of the unprotected children in mines and factories, who labours to extend social reforms and religious instruction, and to rouse even the most depressed and the least hopeful classes to independent industry, to self-reliance, and to a sense of their duty as moral and accountable beings. Christian benevolence searches for its objects in prisons, in emigrant ships, in convict ships, in the garrets and cellars of the worst districts, in the priest-ridden peasantry of Ireland, in the European foreigners and the East-Indian seamen, who frequent our shores. But in India we are content to lend our aid to fasten the fetters of social slavery on a majority of the population.

“ But there are higher, far higher considerations than these. To many national customs and prejudices in the lands we conquer it may be wise to yield; but where, as in this matter of caste, the first step we take

must be the practical denial of that which is most surely believed amongst us, namely, the only true record of the creation of the human race; where every step of exaltation of the Brahmin rests on no other foundation than the authority of a pretended but an utterly false revelation of their divinity; where every step of the process of degradation of the other castes proceeds, with our connivance, in violation of the sacred law of love, and is excusable only on the theory that these men were designed by God to perpetual debasement, while His own word in our hands most plainly declares the contrary; surely we have good cause to pause and consider if we are not rushing on the thick bosses of His armour in proud and selfish rebellion.

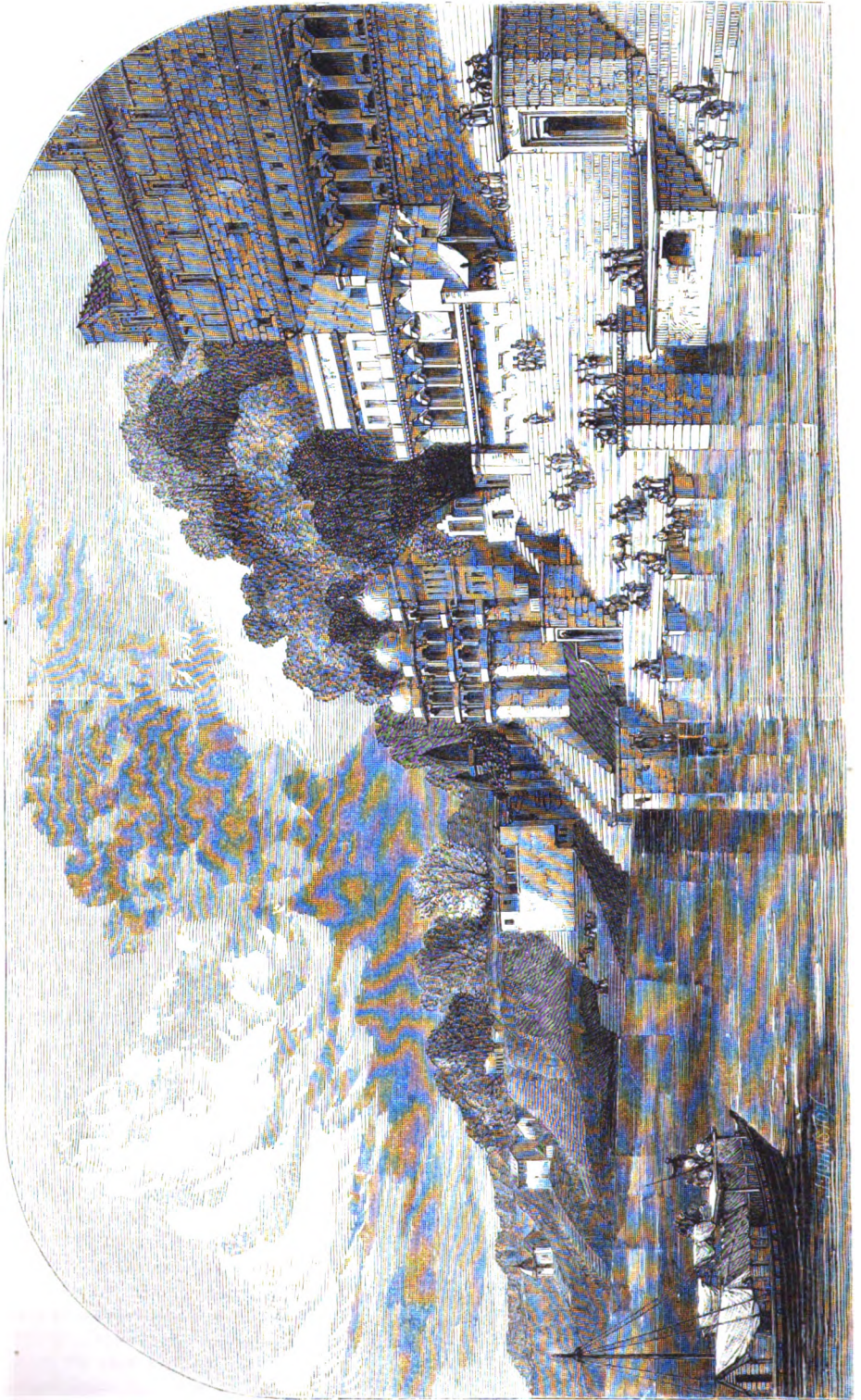
“ We are gravely told, that in no other way can we secure our dominion. We must buy the loyalty of our soldiers, and purchase obedience to our laws, by adopting the theory of caste. We are to treat as true that which we know to be false. Against the evidence of all experience, we are to recognise in the Brahmins a permanent natural superiority, mental and moral, and in the Sudra an irremediable natural inferiority. We are to conciliate favour by pandering to the pride of birth, and to deprecate opposition to us on the ground of our religion, by systematically ignoring some of its first principles. This is to be our policy for securing our power and the affections of the people. But it will not prosper. We have sown the wind and have reaped the whirlwind. The accumulated sins of successive generations, in their disregard of God's word, and in their cruelty to man, have been visited upon us; and had it not graciously pleased the Lord to mitigate His judgment, to restrain some and to thwart others of our enemies, this day would not have seen a thousand Christians alive in all Northern India. And now, if we will build our hopes of future peace on this same old policy, worse things may soon come to us, and a more formidable conspiracy may effectually teach our nation that ‘God is not mocked, for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.’

“ The consideration of the best mode of securing a really wise and Christian policy in India will, I have no doubt, occupy your Committee. If Wilberforce, and Charles Grant, and Lord Teignmouth, in 1813, had to strive for the recognition of Christian Missions in India, an equal duty now devolves on the Christian statesmen of England, in the present generation, to strive for the non-recognition of caste. There is nothing at present to justify the hope that there will be any favourable action here or at home of a spontaneous kind.

The recent despatches from the Home Government on the subject of Education are calculated, in a great measure, to nullify the Education Despatch of 1853; and the spirit of the Government here has been indicated in too many ways to be mistaken. One of the last boats launched from the Government dockyard was, by express order, called the 'Deva'—a name for the horrible Hindú goddess Kalf. When a proclamation was at last issued for a day of humiliation, the invitation was addressed to 'all faithful subjects,' and was purposely made applicable to Hindús as much as to Christians. And in all the earlier proclamations of Government there seemed to be a deliberate omission of all mention of God and His providence, and of all reference to Him. Indeed, the first public document here which acknowledged His hand at all was the first of General Havelock's despatches. Only a few days ago we had a new indication of the spirit of the Government, in the omission (unprecedented for many years, I believe, in the history of the army) of public prayer on the presentation of colours to the Calcutta volunteers. A far different spirit has animated the Board of Administration in the Punjab, and, happily, we have seen there the result, in a most remarkable fulfilment of the promise, 'Them that honour me I will honour.' If we are to influence Government, we must be up and doing. There is evidence that there is a predominance of the old leaven somewhere, and that it is by far the most powerful influence in the whole mass. Let it not be thought that this is a light matter. If you look back, and consider how, in former days, we gave our strength to Hindúism; if you consider how, even recently, we have had gifts offered at Hindú shrines by the Indian Government (I have even heard of a personal offering by Lord Auckland at Muttra), and that to this day we are practically teaching Mohammedanism at the Madrissa; you may judge of the length to which worldly expediency may carry us. But I do not wish to convey the idea that this matter of our public policy should be the sole object of our consideration at the present time. In common with most men who have thought at all of these things, I believe that the chief hindrance to the progress of the Gospel in this country hitherto has been the influence of the ungodly lives of professing Christians, and that our Missions have hitherto been utterly disproportioned to the extent of the country and the magnitude of the population. These are things to be remedied, fully as much, and fully as earnestly, as our public policy; and I should be truly thankful

to find that Christians at home were laying to heart the whole matter, and were learning, in reference to the case, the whole case of India, 'what Israel ought to do.' There is too much reason to fear, that when the immediate excitement caused by these fearful calamities has passed away, Great Britain will relapse into her inexcusable listlessness on all subjects relating to India, and that we shall see a renewal of old follies and old errors. But, oh! there will be terrible hazard if this be the result; for the Oriental mind, unmoored as it now is, will not speedily be restored to its former condition. The habit of submission, and the awe of the European, have been broken; there are many elements of evil in the midst of us and around us; and if the Lord be not pleased graciously to establish our security, vain will be the help of man, and vain the acts of his expediency. At this moment, though I hope and believe that victory will attend our arms, it is impossible to overlook the contingency of a more appalling catastrophe at Lucknow than any we have yet known, and of fresh complications in our affairs. It is a great comfort to think that at home so many have lifted up their united hearts in prayer that our rulers may be guided aright; and it is a great comfort, too, that the direct influence of Christian men in our public affairs, and their interest in India, are increasing. I am sure that you must have read with thankfulness the speeches on Bengal by Mr. Kinnaid and Mr. Dunlop in the House of Commons last May; and I think I know of others who are desirous to take up the subject of India in earnest. Mr. Kinnaid's pamphlet (embodying his speech) has been read here with great gratification, and the Missionary Conferences have expressed their warm thanks for the able advocacy given by him and Mr. Dunlop to their petition. Much more, however, remains to be done. The great fact, that hitherto it has been the custom of the British legislature to inquire into Indian affairs only once in twenty years, speaks for itself. *This* certainly is not 'justice to India.' The result has been, a sad amount of misapprehension, and the neglect of India from session to session. From what I saw when at home, I believe that most men shrink from the subject, from a consciousness of their lack of information. But now, surely, all who have any influence will discern their duty thoroughly to acquaint themselves with the condition of the population of this great empire, and to watch with constant care the proceedings of the British Government, as well as the work and progress of our Missions."





DUSUMADE GHÁT, AT BENARES.



## HOW SHALL OUR WRONGS IN INDIA BE BEST AVENGED ?

**THERE** is a cry for vengeance heard from the shores of India : it is gathering force, and is borne across the wide ocean to our ears. It is the cry of those who have suffered grievous injuries at the hands of the native race, and who now demand retribution. So forcible is it in some quarters, that men seem for the moment to have put aside the gospel and its forbearance, as irreconcilable with their excited feelings, and to have accepted as their presiding influence the vindictiveness of the Korán. So stern is this demand, so determined the aspect of those who have identified themselves with it, that, as we have been assured on reliable testimony, a very unhappy effect has been produced on the well-disposed portion of the native population in the metropolis of British India. They fear what may ensue, when British power, having crushed resistance, rises once more to undisputed and universal ascendancy over the land. Nor is it only so in Calcutta : from other parts of India the same cry is heard. One European newspaper, from a distant quarter, demands that "Delhi be razed to the ground ;" and that the numerous villages in its vicinity, where fugitives have been maltreated, should be visited with utter destruction. "We would send no commission to pitch its tent near them, and allow the guilty to escape. We would, we say, mark them all down. A day of retribution should be appointed. Every thing should be done by the nicest calculation. The troops should be moved in small parties from different parts, and the guilty villages hemmed in, and our men should do the rest."

Well, no doubt the wrongs have been great—unprecedented—without a parallel in the history of nations. The low, tile-roofed house, not far from the Assembly Rooms, at Cawnpur, where English women and children were pent up for the slaughter, in whose every room stains of blood are to be seen on walls and floor ; where the walls are riddled with pistol bullets ; the central open court, where stood the tree which served as a gallows for ladies, its trunk full of bullet-holes, and gashed with sword cuts, and in the gashes long hair ; and then the dreaded well, full of unutterable horrors, the grave, and, in many cases, the living grave of those wronged ones ; while yet in the grass between the house and wall may be seen lingering traces of what has passed, torn scraps of clothing, a child's shoe, a sock ;—well we can understand how the breast of the gallant soldier heaves with in-

dignation, and his heart becomes more resolute, and his arm more strong than ever for the conflict that is before him. We can understand how, for an instant, the horror which is felt at such atrocities transfers itself to the entire race, so that men turn from them with loathing, and they become outcasts from our pity. Even those who have been engaged in philanthropic efforts for their improvement feel as if they could do no more, and long to transfer themselves and their benevolence to any other portion of the human race. We repeat, the wrongs have been great, and the rebound of the heart, sudden and powerful. It is a natural reaction, but one which, unless moderated and coerced within due bounds, will render the European as bloodthirsty in avenging wrong, as the Sepoy in gratuitously inflicting it. Unless restrained, Satan will advantage himself of it to alienate race from race, and render each an object of deep-seated hatred to the other. That, indeed, would be a dire consequence. If the European, as he collects his resources, and over-matches his enemy, should insist on full retaliation, then the page of history would have to record, not only the treachery of the insurgent, but the fury of the avenger. In avenging ourselves, we should bring ourselves down to a level with our injurer. Having exacted the payment of our debt in blood, we could reasonably claim no sympathy from posterity. The Hindú would have, also, his tale of wrongs, his reminiscences of injury, to bequeath to future generations, to be carefully treasured up, until the opportunity should occur, when the Hindú, like the Englishman, might exact his vengeance.

We have now an opportunity of achieving a most glorious victory. Gallant have been the exploits of our devoted officers and soldiers. Few in number, exposed to hardships and privations, enduring a pressure of fatigue from day to day, beneath the burning sun of India, far beyond the estimated capacity of the European constitution, they have accomplished deeds, which, in the annals of warfare, have never been surpassed. Havelock's brigade forcing its way through a succession of sanguinary engagements from Allahabad to Cawnpur, and thence to Lucknow, and there contending with a flood of insurrection which just yielded so far as to open a path to the beleaguered Residency, and then, closing again in one fiery circle of bitter wrath, pressed forward the siege as determinately as though it had never been interrupted ;—that noble

band, a forlorn hope on an extended scale, must be placed high amongst those who, to save the lives of others, have sacrificed their own. The crisis had come: resistance had been prolonged to the uttermost. The mines of the enemy were rapidly advancing. A few hours more, and their ruined defences could yield no more protection, and then happy would they be who should die, and not live to endure the repetition of Cawnpur atrocity. But God sends help when, to the perception of man, the hope of it seems gone. What a moment was that, when, as she lay prostrate on the earth, the ear of the Scotch woman recognised the pibroch's well-known sound! How could she mistake that sound, associated with all her early, her happiest associations—home and friends, as to the past, and hope and deliverance as to the future? It thrilled not only on her ear, but on her heart, and God vouchsafed deliverance. Let the survivors of that gallant force be honoured with all the honours which Victoria's royal hand can bestow on them. Alas! that they should be so few, and that the gallant Christian—no worse soldier because he feared the Lord—who led them on from victory to victory, has at length succumbed to the overstrain and pressure of responsibility which was laid upon him. Havelock is no more! He lived to see that realized for which he had wrestled in prayer, as well as with the enemy—Lucknow relieved, and its exhausted garrison and trembling women and children placed in security; but he did not live to hear of his country's recognition of his services, and the scant and tardy honours which were yielded him. But he does not need them now. Higher honours have been bestowed on him; rewards, not of debt, but of grace, which He who is King of kings and Lord of lords, bestows with munificent hands on his faithful servants.

But there is a nobler victory which we wish the nation to achieve: it is, to forego vengeance, and embrace the opportunity to render good for evil. We plead not for the ringleaders, the men who, from motives either of ambition, or vengeance, or greed of plunder, have swayed to their purpose the ignorant multitudes over whom they have had influence: we plead not for the murderer—"Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." We plead not for the mutinous Sepoy: let him be punished, only, where not inconsistent with the ends of justice, let death be commuted to transportation; but we plead for the race. Although numbers of them have been so far guilty, that, taking advantage of the prevailing confusion, they have plundered, and been unruly, and possessed them-

selves of the property of Europeans, still let there be mercy.

We ought to be forbearing, for the first wrong was committed by ourselves. The wrongs which they have done to us have sprung out of injuries which we have inflicted upon them. The evils they have inflicted upon us have been great, but the injury which we have done them has been still greater. They have killed the body, but, after that, there was no more that they could do; but we have helped to destroy the soul. We have kept back from them the true religion of God, and have left them under the power of hurtful superstition. That has been our national policy. We knew the religion of the native to be false; we had ocular demonstration continually presented to us as to its demoralizing action; we saw it to be full of defilement, of cruelty; that its practical influence was to make the man worse than he otherwise would be, and unfit his soul for heaven. We beheld these masses of men, whom Divine Providence had placed under our rule, living and dying in ignorance of God; yet we decided not to concern ourselves about these things. We deprecated all interference with the religious prejudices of the natives, lest they should resent that interference, and become discontented with our yoke. Private enterprise might, indeed, attempt to enlighten them, but it was with a reluctant consent on the part of those in authority, given, not heartily, but because they could not withhold it. But, in our governmental capacity, we set aside Christianity, and ignored it in the presence of the natives. We countenanced their idolatry; we administered the revenues of idolatrous temples, paid the priests and dancing-girls, and honoured the processions by military salutes. English Christians, in vested with high official dignity, have presented offerings at idol-shrines; and our army, when retiring from Afghanistan in 1842, brought back the gates of the temple of Somnath, with the intention of their being replaced in the gateways of the ruined fanes, as a national tribute to the idolatry of India. Protestant England was thus to avenge "the insult of 800 years." When Mahmoud of Ghuzni (a Mohammedan) desolated the infamous shrine where the Linga was worshipped, and, as tradition goes, deported the gates as the memorial of his iconoclastic zeal, our whole political action was such as to lead the Hindú to believe that his religion was a good one for him, and confirm him in his adherence to it. Proofs of this are not wanting. We know of one wealthy native favourably disposed to Christianity, so much so that he endowed, in

one of the leading cities of North India, a college for the education of native youth, which, from its commencement, has been under Missionary superintendence, and where scripture truth is taught as an integral part of the educational course—that man having experienced a prolonged mental conflict on the great question of religion, his conviction being in favour of Christianity, but his resolution unequal to meet the obloquy which an open profession of it would entail upon him, until, at last, the hour of death came, when his convictions so closely pressed him, that it seemed as though he must yield. But he withstood them, and died a heathen. One consideration turned the balance against God's truth, and the good of his own soul. He said, "Were our religion false, the British Government would never have countenanced it as it has done."

Instead of weakening, we have strengthened the delusions under which the Hindús laboured. We have been contented that they should be ignorant, unholy; that they should be the heirs of domestic unhappiness and national degradation, if so be we might have a quiet rule. Provided our revenue was peacefully collected, we were satisfied that they should remain, as their forefathers had been before them, blinded and perishing heathen, born in darkness, and living and dying without hope, and without God. In our governmental capacity we have intercepted, instead of transmitting, the light of the gospel. We have intervened as an eclipsing body between the Sun of Righteousness and the inhabitants of India, and thus prolonged their darkness. What the religion is, under the power of which we have been content to leave them, let another paper in this Number be consulted. Can we be surprised that we have found them what their religion made them? Did we really expect it would be otherwise? Were we so unreasonable as to hope that we should find them loyal, peaceable, and industrious, when they were left under the sway of evil superstitions, which give a virulent development to all the unhappy tendencies of the human heart?

Are they, then, more blameable than we are? On which side does guilt most heavily accumulate? They have committed atrocious crimes, so evil that they cannot be mentioned. Yes, but their religion has familiarized them with these things. The social life of the Hindú abounds with iniquity. Can humanity and compassion, have any place in the heart of that man who murders his daughters as quickly as they are born? His religion discountenances not his doing so. Were he

to eat with a European, or a Pariah, he would be an outcast; but he only commits infanticide, and continues as he was before, a high-caste man, the spoiled and petted favourite of the system.

Vengeance! Let us look to ourselves. In our residentiary position in India, have we exemplified the gospel, and wisely yet perseveringly laboured to make the poor, dark heathen acquainted with it? Have Englishmen so lived as to prove to the native, by superior conduct, that they were under superior influence? Has there been no ground for the reproach addressed to the Jew of old—"The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you?" We have found the Hindú a man of treachery and blood; but if we have shut him out from the only influence which would have made him otherwise, we must forbear, not avenge. He has done evil, knowing no better: we, knowing better, have refrained from doing good.

We have inflicted a great wrong on India, and India has inflicted great wrongs on us. Shall this reciprocation of evils be continued, and become, as it progresses, of a more aggravated character? It can only be arrested by rendering good for evil. We have not only wronged the heathen, but obstructed the gospel. Let us hasten to repair that injury—one which has recoiled on ourselves; for in hindering the gospel we have sown calamities for ourselves. Let us avail ourselves of the present opportunity to commend the gospel by showing the natives that it teaches us "not to avenge ourselves, but rather give place unto wrath."

There is a large portion of the native population of the Bengal Presidency—the largest proportion we are persuaded—who have not been implicated in this outbreak. They have stood aloof. The fear of man has been upon them, and they were afraid to do otherwise. Yet their sympathies were more with us than with the insurgents. The more thinking men amongst them are attentive observers of all that has been going forward. They have marked the action of the mutinous soldiers, the high-caste Brahmins and Rajpúts, and their accomplices—and they have been amazed; for even their acquaintance with the depth of Hindú depravities had not prepared them for the atrocities perpetrated on the helpless women and children of Europeans. Thus has an effect been produced on their minds unfavourable to idolatry. They look to see what will be the action of Christianity. If it be misrepresented by those who profess it, as though it were, according to its principles, to be cruel and avenging, they will adjudge it,

in their own minds, to be nothing better than their own heathenism. But if men restrain themselves under its influence, and spare when they might smite, and show mercy when they could inflict vengeance, an impression in

favour of the gospel will be made amidst the thinking portion of India's population which will amazingly facilitate the further labours of the Missionary.

### TIDINGS FROM THE NIGER.

TIDINGS of the Niger expedition have just reached us, and we hasten to place them before our readers. The enterprise is an arduous one, to penetrate into the heart of those vast and populous countries which lie between the Kowarra and the Tshadda, and open communication with the many nations which there have so long been shut up in heathen and Mohammedan darkness. No reasonable man could entertain the idea of its being effectuated without difficulty, and some measure of untoward circumstances. It will not cause discouragement that the exploring steamer, the "Dayspring," has been wrecked upon rocks in the river's bed, some distance above Rabba, and abandoned as irrecoverable; and it is with thankfulness we are enabled to add, that no life had been lost, and that the whole party were encamped on the river's bank, about eight miles from Rabba, at a place called Jeba.

But with this drawback we may indeed say that the intelligence brought us is of the most encouraging character, and justifies the expression of a hope that a new era of opportunity has dawned on Africa, when, through a more varied and extensive agency than has yet been brought into action, the Gospel message shall be spread far and wide. The conviction brought to our own mind by the perusal of the various letters which have reached us from different members of the expedition, has been of such a gladdening character, that we are bold to enumerate these good tidings to our friends.—Africa is open; the Niger Mission has commenced; the chiefs and people welcome us; the providence of God has opened a way for the evangelist to proclaim the message of peace; and if we have only, as God's professing people, the faith and zeal to fill up with suitable effort the measure of opportunity, there is placed before us a prospect of usefulness such as has never been surpassed, if ever equalled, in the history of Christian Missions. We have come into a land which the waters have spoiled. Tribulation and national disquietudes have passed like a flood over these portions of the African continent. But just now there is a subsidence of the waters, and it appears to be precisely the moment to cast our bread upon the

waters, that we may find it after certain days. We have been for some months absorbed in India: it has been in many respects a painful concentration of thought: the mind, in its effort to grasp that involved and complex subject, has become consciously strained, as the eye does when fixed long and intensely on one object. It is refreshing just now to look from India to Africa, and change the scene from the banks of the Ganges to those of the Kowarra and its tributaries.

The "Dayspring" left Fernando Po on June 29, 1857. Our Missionary force on board was far otherwise than we had intended, and instead of several native agents of tried character from Sierra Leone, we had only one associated with the Rev. S. Crowther, the Rev. J. C. Taylor. The causes of this disappointment will be found in the "Intelligencer" for last September. Still, even this may have been purposely and wisely ordered. It is nothing new in the history of Missions to find the Gospel cause promoted by the events, which, on their first occurrence, appeared to be of a seriously obstructive character: nor are the occasions unfrequent, in the course of God's dealings with men, when, in the accomplishment of some great object, a numerically small and apparently feeble agency has been preferred to one on a larger scale. If the work of Missions has peculiar difficulties, it has also peculiar consolations, and this is one, that reverses prepare its way to victory, and that it waxes strong out of the midst of weakness.

On July 3d, the Brass mouth of the river was entered, and the Niger reached through the creeks on the 13th. The progress was slow; the "Dayspring," not a very lively craft herself, being retarded by having in tow the "George" schooner, heavily laden with goods for the Confluence. At Aboh, a name well known in connexion with previous expeditions, the vessels remained two days; and at this spot, where a Christian teacher had been so often promised, Mr. Crowther would gladly have located an evangelist had one been available. But in the anticipation of some one being soon sent, perhaps by the consort steamer, the "Sunbeam," expected to arrive at the river's mouth about the end of the

year, he ordered the Mission ground to be cleared of grass, and building materials to be provided, so that when required there might be no delay in the erection of a temporary house. One of the chiefs, by name Orise, in whose district the land is situated, readily charged himself with this preliminary work. At Ossamare there was the same willingness on the part of the people to receive Christian teachers. They tendered their best land for buildings. The only difficulty to the immediate commencement of Missionary work at this place was again the want of the agent, and all that could be done was to defer these anxious people with promises of a speedy return.

Onitsha, important from its market, and the number of people, of various races, who assemble there for commercial purposes, appeared most suitable to be selected as the head-quarters of the Mission on the lower course of the Niger. The commercial branch of the expedition decided on the establishment of a factory at this place, near the water side; and in the suburbs of the town, about a mile and a-half inland from the factory, a site was chosen for the Mission station. To this initiative of permanent effort on the banks of the Niger, the Rev. J. C. Taylor was appointed, and the following instructions were delivered to him, on the departure of the expedition, by the Rev. S. Crowther—

*“Onitsha, July 31, 1857.*

“MY DEAR BROTHER—Though we are about to separate for a season, yet you are not alone: ‘Lo, I am with you always,’ is the faithful promise of the Lord of the harvest to His disciples: this will also be realized concerning us.

“I doubt not the Society will take immediate steps to strengthen your hands. Before parting, I wish to direct your attention to some particular and most important points, preparatory to the establishment of a new Mission like this.

“1. Cultivate friendship with all the people as much as possible, so as to gain their good will and confidence.

“2. Your ministerial duties will be very simple and plain. At first you will have to teach only by conversation, when you visit the people, or they visit you, rather than by direct service. Be instant in season and out of season. May the Lord give you wisdom to win souls to Himself!

“3. You will need much patience to bear and forbear with the ignorance and simplicity of the people. They are like babes.

“4. It will be most advisable to attend to the reduction of the language; correct the

Primer in the course of using; improve and enlarge the Vocabulary; and make as much translations as you can.

“5. Try to get the names of the tribes and countries around you, and ascertain as much as possible their relative position to each other, and distance, and how far their intercourse with the coast, and at which point, whether at Brass, Bonny, or Calabar, and whether by land or water.

“6. Be not disappointed if you find the people do not act up to their engagement: it is rather a matter of surprise that they do so much; they must be taught the lessons of justice and truth, and that by our own example. We must first show that we place confidence in them to fulfil their engagements, by making them small advances, as I have done at Aboh, till they are acquainted with day labour.

“7. All our first buildings must be temporary, but as good and comfortable as we can make them with present materials, till we are better established, and know more the resources of the locality. It is necessary that one small house should be made at Aboh, and one at Ossamare, as soon as practicable, so as to be able to locate teachers at once in each of these places, on their arrival from Sierra Leone, or for Missionary occupation during a periodical visit; but the first and most important place to which your attention shall be chiefly directed is Onitsha, which appears to be the high road to the heart of the Ibo nation.

“8. Should I not be able to pursue my journey to Abbeokuta by land, as it is anticipated, you will see me again after our Mission to Sokoto. By that time you will have heard from the Parent Committee, to whom you must write by every opportunity.

“9. Keep regular journals, and omit nothing of your proceedings and your notices of the country and customs of the people, for the information of the Parent Committee.

“Should any one be sent to join you in the Ibo district, and no specific instructions are given by the Society respecting his location, he should be stationed at Aboh as the next place claiming our attention.”

We commend this native brother, on his restoration to the people and country from whence his parents had been carried into exile, and this commencement of the arduous yet honourable office of kindling up amongst the masses of poor dark heathen on the Niger’s banks the light of gospel truth, to the sympathy and prayers of God’s people in this land. There is much to encourage hope and expectation. The king and his chiefs appear well disposed and tractable, and, under kind Christian teaching, of that tone and character

so wisely indicated by Mr. Crowther, many stray sheep from amongst the Ibo people will, with the blessing of God, be gathered into the fold of Christ.

At Idda, the state of things was much more encouraging than on the occasion of the two previous expeditions. The old Attah was dead. Some of our readers may remember the tedious formalities through which the European deputation which was sent to wait on him in 1841 was constrained to pass, before access could be obtained to his presence, as well as the monarch's attempt at grandeur—his red velvet *tobe*, bells around his legs, with large quantities of beads around his neck, and carpet slippers, big enough to fit an elephant.\* The results of that interview was not of an encouraging character, the attention of His Majesty directing itself almost exclusively to the presents which were delivered to him. Thirteen years after, and the same man still reigned: there were the same tedious formalities; there were the same silk-velvet *tobe* and crown of white beads, and the same quantities of strung cowries, coral, and beads, covered his neck. But Idda had evidently deteriorated under his rule, nor did the Attah appear to have cared as much for his subjects as for his velvet *tobe*; at least the deterioration in their condition was much more manifest. Dissentions had prevailed, population had diminished, and grass of luxuriant growth covered the deserted sites. But now, in 1857, the old Attah had died, and his son had succeeded him, from whom Mr. Crowther met a most kind reception. He appears to be a decided improvement on the old stock, and likely to do more good for his country than his forefathers had done. On being reminded of the promise which the old Attah had made, to receive Christian teachers, and give land for Mission premises, he immediately appointed a man to accompany Mr. Crowther about the town, and help him to the selection of the best spot which could be found. This accordingly has been done, and it remains for us to send forth as expeditiously as possible an efficient labourer, and thus occupy, while it still remains open, this door of usefulness.

Igbegbe, at the Confluence, was next reached. The aspect of things here, and the measure of encouragement, will be best collected from Mr. Crowther's own remarks. He says, under date August 26, 1857—

“In Igbegbe, at the Confluence, we were most warmly received, and the assurance that we were now about to make a permanent stay

\* *Vide* Schön and Crowther's Journals of the Niger Expedition in 1841, p. 84.

with them gave unbounded delight. A spot of land is cleared for the factory, on the south side of the town, near the river; and I have taken some open ground on the north side for our Mission station: not being quite so near the river, it will not be disturbed by traffic. Dr. Baikie and Lieutenant Glover have engaged to provide funds for a church connected with the station, and I have already ordered materials for the erection of the temporary necessary buildings in the Mission premises.

“On Sunday, the 16th, I commenced public teaching in the town, by way of conversation on the religion of Christ, which was attentively listened to by those who were present. Schön's Hausa translations of St. Matthew and St. John were introduced, the text of which was compared with the Arabic text of my Bible, which I made Kosumo, my Arabic interpreter, to read, to satisfy the Mohammedans, some of whom were present, and desired to see the Arabic copy of the Christian Bible. My subject was the conversation of Nicodemus with Jesus. Sunday-school was commenced by making use of the alphabet from the Ibo Primer. On the 19th, Dr. Baikie, who was very anxious that something should be begun by way of day-school, offered the services of Mr. Preddy, a Christian trader, whom he had brought with him from Sierra Leone: the Galadima gave five boys to begin with. On Sunday, the 23d, I occupied my place again in the antehall of the Galadima's premises, where a number, from forty to fifty, as many as the room could hold, came together, whom I addressed from the golden rule of our blessed Saviour, ‘Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets;’ to which they paid satisfactory attention. This text, which was carefully read on Saturday in Hausa, and which I made Kosumo to read in Arabic, was again subjected to comparison; when I told them, that if they should be in doubt of any text which might be read to them from the New Testament, they could prove it from the corresponding text in the Arabic Bible, a copy of which I presented to the Galadima. I had Sunday-school afterwards.

“Had I some one to leave here, the work would have been continued without interruption. Not only the children, but the adults also, are anxious to be taught to read from the character of the Anasara. Mr. Preddy will continue the day-school.

“As regards the relative position of Igbegbe at the Confluence, and of Idda, the capital of

Igara, the following remarks may be of some service—As a dépôt, and centre of communication by the river, Igbege possesses superior advantages to any other place. But when the situation of the town itself, and the number of the inhabitants, are taken into consideration, Igbege is inferior to Idda. At the rising of the rivers, Igbege is entirely reduced to an island by lakes around; and even now we cannot communicate with the neighbouring towns without crossing a swampy creek, nearly the distance of a mile, ferried lengthwise by canoes. This place was chosen by the inhabitants of old Odokodo, more as a place of refuge from the attacks of the Felatahs than for its otherwise superior situation. If Europeans be stationed at Igbege, they will be able to judge, in course of time, whether a European house would not be preferable in any of the towns at the foot of the hills, from opposite Mount Purdy, upwards to Mount Crozier, or on Adimpa (properly Danapa), hill, which appears entirely dry, and open to the sea-breeze from the south and west; or, if they prefer it, on the opposite side of the river, on the lands ceded for the model farm in 1841, but not so much inhabited by natives as the left side of the river. A place on Mount Patta, for occasional change, would be found of great use, and much benefit would be derived from it. It appears to me that the town of Idda, the capital of Igara, possesses very superior advantages over Igbege, with regard to its dryness of soil, its elevated situation, between two and three hundred feet from the level of the river, its openness to every breeze, the greater number of its inhabitants, and the facility of extending Missionary operations inland to Akpoko, which borders on the Mitshi, and the extensive country of Kororofa, on the bank of the Tabadda, with whom the Igaras have communication and intercourse by internal trade.

“I feel persuaded that the Niger Mission will work to advantage, if Onitsha and Idda are taken as starting-points by land, and Igbege by the river among the heathen population, especially towards Tshadda.”

From Idda upwards the river scenery becomes strikingly beautiful. Ridges of hills burst into view, and, as they are approached, new ranges disclose themselves. Instead of the wearisome mangrove swamps of the coast, mountains rise, with all the wildness and variety of volcanic formations, and a new and beautiful vegetation gratifies the eye. Occasionally travellers are reminded of well-remembered scenes on the Clyde or the Rhine; but the illusion is soon dissipated, for there are strange denizens in these African

waters which have no place near home: crocodiles, ten or twenty feet long, sleeping gently, as though secure from molestation, and hippopotami blowing around the ship by night, and blowing away on the shoals by day. As the steamer passed upwards from the Confluence towards Egga, new rivers were discovered—the Romfi and the Lafun. The first was discerned from the Rennell mountains, flowing from east south-east, its mouth having escaped notice as the steamer passed up. They are both affluents of the Kowarra, but are not marked on any chart. Where the Lafun enters the main channel, Allen notes, “Probable mouths of Kudunia.” It is a tributary as broad as the Thames at London Bridge, the current very rapid. As we become better acquainted with the Niger, we shall no doubt find that it is the chief artery to a vast series of river ramifications, which are spread like a net-work throughout the vast territories of Sudan. The Niger is to Africa what the Yang-tze-keang is to China, the way of approach to interior nations, provided of God as a means of peaceful communication between man and man, but hitherto shut up through man’s jealousy of his fellow, or, like the Niger, unimproved through timidity and want of enterprise on the part of civilized nations. We believe the day has well nigh come when these great river-roads shall be applied to the purposes for which they were intended; and that, in the happy combination of Missionary and commercial effort, by which the existing Niger expedition is characterized, we have the inauguration of that river to beneficial purposes.

Egga was the ultimate advance of the suffering expedition of 1841. It was then described as the largest town which had been met with on the bank of the river, the population being rated at 7000 or 8000. The Felatahs were then actively engaged in aggressing on the various Sudan nations; and on the south bank of the river, from Illorin, as an advanced post, the Yoruba kingdom was strongly assailed. The dread and fear of these invasions had fallen on all the nations; and Rogang, the chief of Egga, was in mortal dread of Sumo Zaki, the Felatah King of Rabba. His sympathies evidently were with the English, and he would gladly have co-operated in the objects they had in view, had he dared to do so; but he was afraid even to come on board the “Albert,” lest it should be said at Rabba, “Rogang has joined the white people;” and, so soon as the white people had returned to the sea, he should remain to endure the consequences. The cessation of war, and the abolition of the com-

plex system of internal slavery, are great social changes, which can never be accomplished suddenly or abruptly. Treaties agreed upon and signed, unless they embody the free-will purpose of a nation, are observed only just so long as the superior power is present to enforce them: if this be withdrawn, the treaty is at once set aside. The strong current of human desire has undergone no alteration; it flows in the same direction, and the artificial embankment is soon swept away. We still aim at the same great objects as were contemplated by the expedition of 1841, but the mode of action by which we hope to attain them, if more aggressive in its character, is more sure in its results. We seek to introduce such influences as shall alter men's minds, and render them, without any treaty-obligations, our active friends and co-operators. At the time of the first expedition, the indications of native industry, and prosecution of various manufactures, under every disadvantage, were especially pleasing. Some 200 looms were at work throughout the town. The cloth produced from them was uncommonly neat, and of various hues, white or striped-white, blue, and red. The webs were three inches wide, and about fifty or sixty yards long. They were afterwards sewn together to any length or width which might be required. The weaving is done by the men: the women are occupied in preparing the dyes. Besides these, potters were busy at their vessels of clay; blacksmiths at their anvils; and grinders of Indian corn at the stones.

The houses, like those of Idda, are of a conical shape, but the doors higher, so that it is possible to enter them without knocking the head against the lintel: the walls are of clay mixed with straw, so as to render them more durable: they are without windows, and with but one door. Some of a superior character are built with two walls, about two feet distant from each other, the outer wall forming a kind of verandah, so as to keep the inside dry and cool.

Unlike Idda, Egga does not appear to have suffered loss since the time of the first expedition. On the contrary, it was found to be more densely populated. Intestine war had broken out between the Felatah rulers, Sumo Zaki, of Rabba, and his brother, Dasaba, of Lade, amidst the fluctuations of which both towns, Rabba and Lade, had been wasted, and the populations had been compelled to seek a refuge in the lower parts of the river, where they would be less exposed to the depredations of the Felatah soldiery. The population is stated to have increased from 8000 to 12,000.

Egga must be considered as the centre of the Nusi, or Nufe, nation, called by the Yoruba people "Tagba," a numerous section of the African race, extending from the Confluence, along the left bank of the river, to Rabba, and beyond it. It presents, therefore, the precise position to which some of our Sierra-Leone Christians, themselves expatriated Nusia, or the children of such, may be transferred, with every prospect of usefulness, to be evangelists among their countrymen, as are Samuel Crowther among the Yorubas, and J. C. Taylor among the Ibos. We cannot forbear casting back a longing look on Sierra Leone, as we thus review the important centres of operation which present themselves on the banks of the Niger; amongst the Ibos, Aboh, and Ossamare; amongst the Igari, Iddah; the Confluence amongst the Igbara and Kakandas; and Egga amongst the Nusis. We have sent forward two men to spy out the land, and they send us back a good report. They ask the church to come up and take possession of it. It is not to the European Missionary the demand is so much made, as to the Christian natives of Sierra Leone, who have been so marvellously dealt with. Providentially brought out of their country, that they might become converts to the faith of Christ, they are now invited to go back to the parent stocks, and become the instruments of light to their heathen countrymen. We look to Sierra Leone to take up with energy the Niger Mission. This is the work—the great and noble enterprise for which she has been under preparation for a long series of years; a field of many languages, requiring just what Sierra Leone is capable of affording—a many-tongued agency. We reckon much on the Christian energy and promptitude of Bishop Bowen, whose safe arrival at Freetown, and hearty reception, we have learned by the last mail; and we trust that the "Sunbeam" will leave Sierra Leone for the Niger, having on board many experienced and devoted men, willing to consecrate the rest of their lives to the great work of Christian Missions on the Niger's banks. "Here," exclaims the veteran pioneer of the Society—himself an African, the Rev. S. Crowther—"here are extensive openings before the Society, but how to occupy them is the next and most important question. Ought there be any difficulty with the church, if heathen kings and Mohammedan rulers put no obstacle in the way of fulfilling Christ's last command to His disciples, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature?'"

Nay, it would prove our unfitness for the



great work to which we have been providentially summoned, if at the present moment there were any hesitation. We have long toiled and prayed for Africa. Now is the long wished-for moment, when effectual help may be yielded her. With what a strong Mission should we not haste forward to plant the standard of the gospel in new countries where the voice of the evangelist has never yet been heard! Haste, haste, the moments are precious! The deep waters of the Niger flow not more surely to their ocean home, than the stream of time to the vaster ocean of eternity, and thousands of souls are borne onward to whom Jesus is a stranger.

In leaving Egga, the expedition was about to enter on new regions, as yet unvisited by a Missionary, and to penetrate into the heart of Sudan, that vast extent of African country which awaits our cultivation. Here are "fertile lands, irrigated by large navigable rivers and extensive lakes, ornamented with the finest timber, and producing various species of grain, rice, sesamum, ground-nuts in unlimited abundance, the sugar-cane, &c., together with cotton and indigo, the most valuable commodities of trade. The whole of Central Africa, from Bagirmi to the east as far as Timbuctoo to the west, abounds in these products. The natives of these regions not only weave their own cotton, but dye their home-made shirts with their own indigo."\* The far-famed Niger, and its branches, give access to these regions, and here has been the great battle-field, where Islamism, by commercial enterprise and acts of predatory warfare, has been aggressing upon a weak heathenism, trampling it down and establishing itself with a rude dominancy in the sovereignty of these lands. From the Confluence upwards, its encroachments had been perceptible in the nominal adherence of numbers, who still remained heathen at heart, and had adopted the new profession from motives of expediency. With the exception of Egga, where, from the disquietudes which prevailed northward, there had been a great influx of Mohammedans, Islamism, from the Confluence to Rabba, has but a very partial hold upon the people. "In many towns and villages, such as Edere and Muye, Kakanda towns, between the Confluence and Egga, each containing about 3000 inhabitants, Mohammedans are very rare: in fact, at Edere there was not one. The same may be said of Toi, small groups of three villages above Laird's Point, near the foot of

Rennell mountains: in one of these groups, except a youth, there were none professing Mohammedanism. This is the state of a great many towns and villages, both among the Kakandas and Nuſis." Islamism has not therefore had time to complete its subjugation of these countries, and consolidate its dominion. The empire is yet divided, and the entrance of Christianity on the scene of action is seasonable. There is yet opportunity, although there is no time to be lost. We do not mean that Mohammedanism is impregnable, or that, if it had succeeded in completing its line of defences, that then we should consider its position unassailable, and turn away from it in despair. There is no stronghold of the god of this world with which the pure gospel cannot successfully contend; but it is an advantage to come in before Mohammedanism has completed the absorption of the heathen systems, and while the populations, disunited on the subject of religion, are more approachable. Every friend of humanity must desire to see the progress of Mohammedanism in these regions arrested, not only because it prides itself upon a system, which the rude heathenism of the African nations does not pretend to, and is therefore more presumptuous and bold to do battle against God's truth; but because of the cruelty by which it is characterized in Africa, and the multiplied calamities which it inflicts upon the conquered nations. Wherever Mohammedanism advances, the slave-trade appears with it, and prospers under its protection. Mohammedans are the most extensive, as well as the most merciless, of slave-dealers. Dr. Barth, in his third volume, describes the desolation wrought by the predatory incursions of the armies of Bornu amongst the rich and fertile regions which lie between the Benuwe and Shari, and the sanguinary prosecution of slave-hunting amid the peaceful villages. In a single day not less than a thousand captives were brought in. "Not less than one hundred and seventy full-grown men were mercilessly slaughtered in cold blood, the greater part of them being allowed to bleed to death, a leg having been severed from the body. Most of them were tall men, with pleasing features." The Felatahs have been to the African tribes on the banks of the Niger and Tshadda a scourge similar to that which the Kauris prove to be amongst other nations farther east. It is time indeed for the introduction of restraining and healing influences; and we trust and pray that God may now permit the work of Christian evangelization to go forward with a permanent effort amidst these inner nations, one which may never

\* Barth's Travels, &c., in North and Central Africa. Preface.

intermit until the gospel, in its peaceful and tranquilizing results, be felt and recognised in contradistinction to the barbarities of that evil system which would dispute the palm of ascendancy over Africa.

The expedition was about to approach Rabba at a singularly opportune moment, when the irritating action of intestine war amongst the Felatah rulers was stayed for a moment, and in the calm which prevailed they were disposed to yield a more favourable reception to its members and objects, than, under other circumstances, could have been expected. We quote from Mr. Crowther's communication, which is full of interesting facts.

"Sept. 22—Hearing that Sumo Zaki, the ex-king of Rabba, has returned from Sokoto, and Dasaba, of Lade, has returned from Illorin, that both have been reconciled by the Sultan of Sokoto, and were living in the war-camp at a place called Bida, in the interior, on the back of the Admiralty range, and that a tributary stream, called Lafun, would bring us close to the camp, the 'Dayspring' was directed thither from the main river on the 9th instant, when the Lafun was found to be about 200 yards wide, and varied in depth from three to five fathoms. We ascended it between the Admiralty range for eleven miles, according to the course of the stream, to the ferry called Wuyagi. It would be navigable for the 'Dayspring' yet further up. On the 14th, we went to the camp at Bida, about thirteen miles from the Lafun; and on the 15th we had an interview with Sumo Zaki and Dasaba, in their separate camps, by whom we were most warmly received and liberally entertained. They are waiting for the subsiding of the rains, when they all intend to remove from the camp to rebuild Rabba. Sumo Zaki is the acknowledged king, and Dasaba is next to him in rank, he being a younger brother. The Sultan of Sokoto proposed Dasaba's returning to Lade, and Sumo Zaki to Rabba; but Dasaba prefers being together with his brother at Rabba, so the matter was again submitted to the approval of the Sultan of Sokoto. Isa, the son of Ederisa, late King of Nufi, is to share a certain district made over to him, and be tributary to no one: his seat will be the site of Gbara, the former capital of Nufi, which is to be rebuilt about the same time as Rabba: the site of Gbara is immediately on the right bank of the Lafun, about five or six miles from the main river, and is one of the finest situations in the Nufi country."

The result of this interview, the first which

has taken place between a Christian Missionary and the Felatah rulers, our readers will desire to be made acquainted with. It is encouraging beyond all we could have anticipated. "*Sumo Zaki and Dasaba have not only offered the whole river to us for trade and commerce, with their protection, but they have also given us full permission to teach the heathen population under their government the religion of the Anasara, and promised me a place for a Mission station at Rabba, on their return thither. I think the Society should lose no time, but take them at their word, and at once establish agents among them.*" True, indeed, there is not a moment to be lost. We know not how soon the mood of these kings may change. The wind may blow from a new quarter: other influences may arise, and the inconstant ones will shift with it. The door is open, let us arise and enter. Soon, if we delay, some restless spirit may arise from within, and abruptly close it; and although it be true we serve under One "who openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth," yet is it also true, that if His servants procrastinate when a favourable crisis invites them to instant action, He often allows the opportunity to close for a season, to teach them promptitude when it be next presented to them. Again we appeal on behalf of Africa. We would summon all that is left of the energy and zeal which once lived and burned in the heart of a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, and the host of noble men who traveled in its cause. We would call upon all who have inherited their spirit, to take up again, with the holy resolution of earlier days, this long-cherished object, and give completion to the series of efforts which have been put forth for the good of Africa. A Christian Mission amongst the Nufis at Rabba, in the heart of Sudan, where, once centralized, it may ramify as far as Kane and Sokoto in one direction, and, in another, conjoin with Yoruba and its extending Missions—how glorious! What a reproach to Christians, both here and at Sierra Leone, if they hesitate an instant to accept the invitation which Samuel Crowther has forwarded to them from the heart of Africa. Let it have not a mere nominal acceptance, which defers all effort to some future period which may never come, but one that binds us to immediate exertion, and that upon a scale corresponding to the greatness of the opportunity.

Of the importance of Rabba as a great central position, when rebuilt, Mr. Crowther thus speaks—

"Rabba is situated on cliffs ninety-six feet above the level of the river, at the rise of

the water, by actual measurement. The ruins extend along the river to the distance of a mile and upwards, with an extensive open country inland. From the cliffs, the highlands in the Yoruba country are in full view, and Saraji Hill, a halting-place on the way to Illorin, is seen at a distance on the opposite shore. The situation of Rabba, with the cliffs in front, is very similar to that of Idda, in Igara, but more open, and is the direct route from Kano to Illorin, with horses, donkeys, ivory, slaves, and other articles, only suitable for native markets. This place will be a mart of great trade when rebuilt again, especially if fostered by a trading establishment. European and Asiatic goods find their way here across the desert, and some were brought to us on board for sale. The population we met at Bida could not have been less than 60,000; and when the scattered remnants in different towns and villages along the banks of the rivers come together, the population of Rabba will amount to 70,000, composed of Fulanis, Nufis, Haussas, and a mixed body of Yorubas and Egbas, who are in the service of the Felanikings as warriors. Here, and at Illorin, are the principal strongholds of Mohammedanism. It is an important point gained if Christianity is allowed a place among them: although no immediate efforts be attempted for the conversion of Mohammedans, yet judicious arrangements should be made, so as to induce a spirit of inquiry through the only way they have, the reading of the Arabic Bible, at the same time that the reading of the Hausa language is taught as a medium of communication. It has been discovered that the Hausa language is not so generally known among the Nufis as was at first supposed. In some villages there was not a person who could speak it, and they were generally found to be heathens; but in the capital, Rabba, it is very much spoken among the mixed population. The Hausa, in every sense of the word, is a commercial language, known by those who travel about the country as traders and merchants, and by the mallams, who establish themselves as teachers and schoolmasters, at the same time that they carry on their trade among the people. In every town and village we made any stay at, I always sent Kosumo on shore to search among Arabic papers in possession of the people, to see if he could discover any translations into any of the native languages, but he has not yet seen one: invariably copies of the Korán have been produced, entire or in parts, in Arabic. We shall yet persevere in our inquiry."

At Rabba the further proceedings of the expedition became a matter of serious consideration. The original plan, as laid down

in England, from local circumstances was found to be impracticable. It was intended that Mr. Crowther, on the arrival of the steamer at the Confluence, or at Rabba, should pass on to Sokoto, while the steamer, penetrating farther up the river, perhaps as far as Bousa, endeavoured to open a communication with Lagos, by way of Abbeokuta. But the arrival of the expedition synchronized with that period of the year when, the latter rains having fallen, all the rivers, brakes, and swamps were at their full height, so as to render land travelling to Sokoto a matter of great difficulty. Besides this, all experienced persons dissuaded them from attempting to take the steamer to the rocks above Bousa. It was at first, therefore, purposed that a visit should be made to Illorin, with a view of opening communication between that town and Rabba, and so through Abbeokuta to Lagos, while the "Dayspring," returning to the Confluence, should await the "Sunbeam," and return with despatches and stores from England. By that time access to Sokoto would become more feasible, not only because of the subsidence of the water, but because an opportunity would be afforded of travelling under the protection of an escort, which, having accompanied Sumo Zaki from Sokoto, would then be returning to that place. These purposes were, however, subsequently changed, and it was decided to take advantage of the height of the water, and proceed as far as possible up the river before it began to fall; the despatches for England and the coast being forwarded by Sumo Zaki's messenger to Illorin, from which place the mail was to be taken to Abbeokuta. The transmission of the mail was at once attempted, and, we rejoice to say, has been completely successful. An overland mail has been established across the Yoruba country, and it is thus that we are able, at so early a date, to communicate to our readers the events which have transpired on the Niger (Kowarra). The despatches sent from Rabba, October 6th, reached Salisbury Square, London, on January 6th—just three months in transition, a rapidity of communication certainly unprecedented in the history of African enterprise. Surely this teaches us that the new Mission to Rabba, which we earnestly advocate, will be no isolated undertaking, but one for which the way is prepared. The basis of action has been already provided, and through the Yoruba country these localities may be rapidly communicated with, their wants ascertained, and supplies of men and means, as may be required, forwarded by the great road of the Niger.

The further advance of the steamer was, for the present, prevented. As we have already stated at the beginning of this article,

she was wrecked on the rocks above Rabba.\* There, on the river's bank, our friends are stayed; and however disappointing this check must be to many who are deeply interested in the expedition, yet we believe it will be overruled for good. The locality where they have been detained is the precise one where it is needful that a firm footing should be made, and our recently-formed connexions with kings and chiefs be confirmed and established. An opportunity is afforded us of making ourselves thoroughly acquainted with the site of the new Mission, and the people among whom we are to labour. Kindly feelings will be generated, and sympathies interchanged. A transient visit might have been forgotten, and left behind no permanent effect; but impressions resulting from a continued residence of months amongst them,

\* The "Dayspring" was wrecked on October 7th. Mr. Crowther's narrative of the event and its consequences will be introduced in our next Number.

will be lasting. Our friends on the banks of the Niger are even now engaged in preparing the place to which the Mission-tree shall be transplanted, with every prospect of a healthful growth.

Meanwhile, let us do our part, and that heartily, and at once. "I should be very glad," writes Mr. Crowther, "to know the intentions of the Parent Committee respecting the Niger expedition before my return to Abbeokuta. It is important for me to know, if possible, before leaving Rabba, that I may at once take advantage of the permission of Sumo Zaki and Dasaba to make such arrangements towards establishing it at Rabba, thus connecting the Yoruba Mission with the Niger from this point. Let us go up at once and possess it, for the Lord has opened a door of access unto us among the heathen tribes of the interior; and who knows but the day of the Gospel-light may dawn also among the half-enlightened followers of Mohammed?"

## REMARKS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF NATIVE CHURCHES.

It has pleased God so far to bless Missionary effort, that Christian formations have been raised up amidst the masses of the heathen — patches of verdure which evidence that fertilizing influences are abroad. The growth and development of these native churches and congregations, are of primary importance. The foreign agency can only elicit initiative results; but the grand agency, by which the evangelization of large masses of people is to be accomplished, must be raised up from amongst themselves. We look to these native churches and congregations as to those vital points of action from whence our future resources are to come; and it is a subject of earnest and prayerful solicitude with all Parent Missionary Societies, that, in the tutelage which they exercise over them, they may promote, by every suitable means, their progress to a healthful maturity. Some notices on this subject, referring to the means which have been used, and to ulterior measures which, perhaps, at no distant period, will be requisite, may not be uninteresting. They refer chiefly to such Christian congregations as have been raised up from amongst the heathen, by the action of Episcopal Missionary Societies.

The object of Missions is to communicate the knowledge of the gospel of Christ, according to the Saviour's command, "Preach the gospel to every creature."

The results to be attained by the faithful discharge of this great duty are two-fold: first, an internal work upon the soul of man,

whereby he becomes a new creature in Christ Jesus, and meet for the heavenly inheritance; and, secondly, an outward work, in the raising up of congregations and churches, through whose instrumentality the gospel shall continue to extend itself to the regions beyond.

It is to this latter part of the subject that attention is directed in this paper.

The undertaking is initiated by a foreign agency, whose work is temporary, and whose duties are peculiar. Their work is that of an evangelist. It was in this character that the apostles went forth. They itinerated over a certain district of country: they did so without any assumption of authority, in humble guise, and amidst hardship and privation, often working with their own hands that they might obtain the necessaries of life: they went forth evangelizing, teaching, and preaching Jesus Christ; sometimes in the way of individual intercourse, sometimes surrounded by large assemblages of people. The only instrumentality which they used for the attainment of results was the preaching of the gospel: the only influence on which they depended was that which cometh from above. It was only as this gospel took hold upon the hearts of men, and moved them to repentance, that such results as they looked for were produced. In this first stage of Missionary work there is no room for any other office than that of the evangelist. The work to be done appertains to him alone. If a bishop go out in this initiative of the work, he must be prepared to merge his speciality as a bishop

in the more general character of an evangelist. It was so that the apostles acted. They combined in their own persons all ecclesiastical offices; and, when occasion required it, as invested with authority, they could ordain, and arrange, and otherwise fulfil, the office of the episcopate. But until the more advanced state of the work required such functions to be exercised, they acted simply as evangelists, and suffered the more special office to remain in abeyance until called for.

Bishops are not required in Missionary action until congregations have been collected, and churches formed. Until then, the work to be done is exclusively that of an evangelist, there are no materials adapted to the special action of the episcopate. If a bishop enter on a field of labour at this early period of its history, it must be to do the work of an evangelist, and defer for the present the exercise of episcopal functions. The only element on which episcopal action could be brought to bear at this early period, is the Missionary agency. But this is by no means desirable. On the contrary, it is greatly to be deprecated, as having a tendency to cripple the action of the evangelist, and to deprive him of that disembarassment from official restraint and undue interference, which are indispensable to the successful prosecution of his work.

The second stage of the Missionary undertaking is when the more diffusive work begins to resolve itself into congregations. These, at first, are feeble and delicate in their constitution, and require that the evangelist should engraft a new office on his original one, and become the nursing-father of the infant church. But he should consider this as an exceptional state, from which he should desire to relieve himself as quickly as possible, that he may give himself wholly to his proper work as an evangelist. We find Paul suspending for a season his evangelistic labour, that he might remain at a given spot to foster an infant church which had been raised up there. At Corinth, "he continued a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them;" and at Ephesus, when he had separated the disciples, he disputed "daily in the school of one Tyrannus; and this continued by the space of two years."

Congregations, therefore, when raised up, should, as soon as it may be possible, be provided with a native pastorate. This was Paul's procedure. He revisited the places where he had been instrumental in raising up congregations; and, while exhorting the disciples to continue in the faith, "ordained them elders in every city." The modern evangelist is called upon to assimilate his

action to that of the apostle; and that not only in order to the preservation of his own freedom of action as an evangelist, but also as essential to the well-being of the infant church. The attempt to construct a pastorate out of the foreign agency, by which the work was initiated, cannot be made without prejudice to the native churches: they will become stunted in their growth, and reduced to a state of feeble dependence. Whereas, if the materials used for the formation of the native pastorate be such as are yielded by the native churches themselves, then a motive to improvement is afforded of the most important character, and the whole body participates in the glow of healthful encouragement. Moreover, the pastor and the people, of the same race, and using the same language, more readily adjust themselves to each other. The people understand their pastor. He is one from amongst themselves, and engages their sympathies. He is not too far in advance of them, so as to discourage them with the idea that his point of progress is inaccessible to them, until they abandon the effort in utter hopelessness; but they see in their own pastor one from among themselves, in advance of them, undoubtedly, as to Christian character and influence; but they are encouraged to press forward, in the belief that what was possible for him is attainable by them likewise; and thus pastor and people grow together.

It should be an object, therefore, so soon as a congregation has been formed, to seek out one who may be fitted to act as its pastor. To the grand pre-requisites enumerated by Paul in his epistles to Titus and Timothy, nothing should be superadded. There is a danger lest we be not content with these, and so retard the ordination of the native until he become fashioned in some measure after our European notions; until he become more educated, more conversant with European languages and modes of life. But the congregation is more injured than the candidate benefited by the delay; and, in proportion as the native pastor becomes Europeanized, is he rendered less fitted for the office of pastor to a native flock, just emerged from heathenism, and carrying with them into their new life many of the peculiarities of the old state in which they had lived so long, which the European agent, who has never experienced such a transition, cannot allow for, but which the native pastor understands, and knows best how to remedy. It is true, that even after the native pastorate has been to some extent raised up, the presence and experience of the European Missionary will still be necessary. Over these tender, and, to a cer-

tain extent, experimental organizations, the foreign agency will need to watch, in the way of counsel and advisory influence, until they arrive at the point of reliable self-development.

It is important, therefore, in organizing a native pastorate for the native flocks, that we should be content, in the first instance, with that amount of qualification which is comprehensive of a gracious heart, an understanding conversant with the Scriptures, and a tongue apt to teach in its own vernacular. As congregations improve, and, with the growth of Christianity, there is a proportionable development of intellect and civilization, a corresponding measure of higher qualification will be requisite in the candidates for the native pastorate. Let this be provided for by the timely organization of seminaries and institutions for the training of a native ministry.

But here a wide distinction must be observed to exist between Episcopal Missions and those carried on by Christian bodies which have adopted another mode of ecclesiastical organization. In the latter, the evangelists have the power of selection and ordination in their own hands, and, when they deem it necessary, they can meet and exercise it. The episcopal evangelists must have the aid of a bishop, and the episcopate must intervene to ordain the candidates for the native pastorate.

Hitherto this has been effected through colonial bishops, sent out, not with any specific reference to the wants of the native churches, but to exercise a general superintendence over such offshoots of the parent church at home, as have been transferred to the colonies and dependencies of the British empire. When, in such dependencies, there happen to be Missionary results grouped together, and episcopal functions have been required to be exercised, the bishop has for a brief period come within the limits of the Mission field, and lent his temporary assistance to the work. And hitherto this, although not without some amount of inconvenience, has sufficed. The language of a Memorial put forth by the Church Missionary Society, upon the extension of the Episcopate in India, may here be appropriately introduced—

“The Committee most thankfully acknowledge the wise, mild, and paternal way in which the Episcopate has been hitherto exercised in India, and the freedom of action which has been properly allowed to Missionaries. But at the same time they must as frankly declare, that difficulties of a serious kind, even in this early stage of their operations, have been caused by occasional attempts to apply regulations existing in England, and

adapted to the parochial and territorial organization of the church at home, to ministerial labours in the midst of the unevangelized population of India.”

But we must expect eventually to enter on a new phase of Missionary results. We shall have to deal, not merely with isolated congregations, feebly shining here and there amidst the wide-spread darkness of heathenism, but with groups of churches marvellously raised upon the same platform of effort; great Missionary centres, evangelizing bodies, reproducing among the heathen around that aggressive action by which they were evangelized themselves. Already we see indications of this in our Tamil congregations in the south of India. They are advancing towards maturity and sound consolidation, and becoming more and more deeply sensible of the relation in which they stand to their heathen countrymen around. Hence they have begun, as a collective body, to put forth Missionary effort.

When that point of advanced progress has been attained, it will be necessary that free scope should be afforded the native churches for the employment of all their energies; and that they should have unrestricted opportunity of using, in the service of the Great Head of the church, all those gifts and graces which have been bestowed upon them. It will then be necessary that their functional organization should be completed, and that the ordaining power should be permanized amongst them. But then the episcopacy must be native, and raised up from among themselves.

The very same considerations which require that the native pastor should be raised up from the midst of the congregation over which he is to reside, render it equally imperative that the episcopate should be of the Mission itself, springing up out of its own resources, and thus endued with a facility of adjusting itself to that particular sphere of action which it is intended to occupy. To permanize a native church under the continued superintendence of a foreign episcopate, would be to stunt its growth; nor can it ever, under such circumstances, attain to that stability and independence of action which will enable it to be a reproductive church. The objections to such an arrangement, are not such as can be removed by any augmentation of the colonial episcopate. Independent of all other considerations, such as the nearness or distance of the episcopal seat, the union or otherwise of colonial offshoots with native churches under the same episcopal jurisdiction, there is this vital and irremovable objection, that the episcopate is not homogeneous with the church. If it be necessary, at a certain

stage of progress, that the foreign agency should be superseded by a native pastorate, equally necessary will it be, at a still more advanced stage of progress, that the foreign episcopate should give place to a native episcopate, which, growing out of the native church, will be incorporated with its vitality, and carry with it its entire sympathy.

So far, then, as the native churches are concerned, we deprecate the augmentation of colonial bishops. As such, it is preferable that they should not be permanized in the bosom of a native church. They will best

promote its interests by occasional visits; and for this purpose it is not necessary that they should be multiplied beyond the necessities of the colonial churches. Until the time come when the appointment of a native bishop is practicable and desirable, let the European Missionaries continue to act as the *επισκοποι* of the native churches and pastors, with such aid in matters of ordination, &c., as the colonial bishop, within whose territorial jurisdiction they may be placed, is capable of yielding them.

## HINDU IDOLATRY, A ROOT OF BITTERNESS.

THE Indian question has occupied a large measure of our attention; but we have our justification in the fact, that no more important subject has ever been submitted to the consideration of British Christians. The policy of this country with respect to its Oriental dependency has been characterized by an unworthy compromise of high responsibilities. To conciliate the heathen, we have concealed our convictions of the truth of Christianity, and have cast disparagement on that pure faith, to which we are indebted for all our high pre-eminence. As a nation we have been providentially preferred to the government of India, because, possessed ourselves of the invaluable blessing of scriptural Christianity, we were in a position to commend it to India, and to facilitate the extension of its influence amongst the Hindús, without in the slightest degree interfering with liberty of conscience. Our disengenuous policy has been at variance with this providential purpose. The *beau ideal* of our administrative action has been so astutely to steer our course, as to exhibit no preference for Christianity above Hindúism; but we have often deviated from the mid-channel. In our anxiety to avoid all recognition of Christianity, we have approached too near the opposite shore, and have been betrayed into various unseemly recognitions of idolatrous systems, which are alike dishonouring to God and injurious to man. Our bearing has not been in favour of Christianity, but against it; and our influence has tended to infidelize the Hindú, by leading him to conclude that we were indifferent to all religions, or else to confirm him in his adherence to those old systems which we honoured with a notice which was denied to Christianity.

Can we be surprised that calamities have supervened on a policy so obstructive of the purposes of God? What are those purposes? Is there any uncertainty respecting them? Shall not Christianity prevail? Shall it not

rise to its promised ascendancy on the ruins of those false religions which have fostered evil, and filled the earth with misery? And what if a nation's policy, instead of harmonizing with, contravenes the purpose of God? It must either be repeated of and forsaken, or that nation be dealt with as an obstruction, and removed in wrath. Already God's displeasure has been unequivocally manifested. What if the same policy be persisted in? That is the important question which now remains to be decided. No more grave matter has ever been submitted to the consideration of this country. Its satisfactory solution is the great solicitude of the present time, nor is it possible to estrange ourselves from India and its concerns, until, by the blessing of God, this great object has been attained—one on which the welfare and prosperity of England are as vitally involved as the welfare and prosperity of India.

There is no doubt that defective and superficial views, as well with regard to Christianity as to the various systems of religious error which oppose its progress, have very materially conduced to the evasive policy which has hitherto prevailed. Men have not been convinced how excellent is the faith which has come from God Himself; how powerful in its influence for good, and how essential to the regeneration of the human family. Neither have they been aware of the power of evil which pervades religious falsehoods, and the stimulation which they apply to all the worst propensities of the human heart. They have not considered Christianity to be so essential to the true welfare of man as to place them under an imperative obligation to promote it; and heathen systems have been regarded as puerile and innocuous things, which, if they did no good, at least did no harm. Let a man open his own heart to the sunshine of the gospel, and he will soon be convinced how needful it is for others. He

who, in destitution of this inward conviction, is summoned to the administration of human affairs, must needs be defective in the measures which he originates, because, unacquainted with the true element of human improvement, he sets aside that which is of most value, and confides in remedies of inferior efficacy. The statesman who knows not the value of Christianity in the experience of his own heart, is imperfectly qualified for the discharge of his high responsibilities.

The erroneous opinions which have prevailed respecting the innocuousness of false religions is best corrected by an investigation into their character and practical influence on human society.

The mythology of the Hindús is the deification of iniquity. In its multitudinous deities are to be found the personifications of all the corrupt movements of the human heart. The earth under a curse is not more fertile in weeds, than the natural heart in the abounding of iniquity. The gods of Hindúism symbolize these vices. They need, therefore, to be numerous; and so, amidst the endless variety, each heart may find that which best suits it, and to which it clings with a tenacity proportionate to the strength of its besetting sin. Thus the man is depraved; he is licentious or sanguinary under religious sanction. His religion bears no testimony against him because of his misdeeds, but stamps them with its approbation as religious acts. "Never did a people more thoroughly succeed in feigning and fabricating gods, 'altogether like unto themselves;' and being once feigned and fabricated, these gods become, in turn, the patrons of evil in every form in which it can possibly manifest itself in hearts that are 'deceitful above all things and desperately wicked.' Are there deities who patronize vice of the grossest description? They must have their own peculiar emblems and rites. Hence it is that their votaries do religiously indulge in secret orgies and abominations, which, in a Christian land, would make many a hackneyed profligate to shudder. Hence, too, the annual dedication, at the Indian temples, of thousands and tens of thousands of unhappy beings, who, under the designation of 'the wives of the god,' are taught, both by parents and priests, to regard themselves as his special favourites, being privileged, by means of their arts and blandishments, to increase the number of his votaries, and thus to engage and perpetuate his favour and protection; so that wantonness is diffused under the warrant of divine authority, licentiousness is legitimated as religious worship, and the oblations of moral pollutions actually consecrated as acts of devotional

homage. Are there deities who delight in cruelty and blood? They too must have their peculiar emblems and rites. Hence it is, that in honour of them, and to purchase their favour, such numbers of deluded votaries are constantly found engaged in practices the most cruel and sanguinary."\* Under such depraving influences, what must be the state of human society? It is like the bodies of the slain left unburied on the field of battle, and exposed to the action of a powerful sun—a moving mass of corruption. Sarely India is full of evil deeds, the produce of its foul idolatry. The ghât murders of the Ganges, the sick, forsaken of their relatives, and left to die unaided; let such testify to the manner in which superstition paralyzes the workings of natural affection. Many of these forsaken ones, with proper care, would have recovered; but there they lie, without a shelter to screen them from the scorching sun by day and the chilling damps by night. "You see a wretched creature writhing in agony, and no means whatever employed for his recovery or relief. You propose to supply some remedy. Your offer is scornfully rejected. 'He was brought here to die,' say those around him, 'and live he cannot now.' There you see some young men carrying a sickly female to the river. You ask, 'What is to be done with her?' The reply may be, 'We are going to give her up to Gunga, to purify her soul, that she may go to heaven, for she is our mother.' There you behold a man and woman sitting by the stream, busily engaged in besprinkling a beloved child with the muddy water, endeavouring to soothe his dying agonies with the monstrous but plaintive lullaby, 'Tis blessed to die by Gunga, my son!'—'to die by Gunga is blessed, my son!' There you behold another seated up to the middle in water: the leaves of a sacred plant are put into his mouth: he is exhorted to repeat, or, if he is unable, his relatives repeat on his behalf, the names of the principal gods. The mud is spread over the breast and forehead, and thereon is written the name of his tutelary deity. The attendant priests next proceed to the administration of the last fatal rite, by pouring mud and water down his throat, crying out, 'Oh mother Gunga, receive his soul!' The dying man may be roused from insensibility by the violence: he may implore his friends to desist, as he does not yet wish to die. His earnest supplications and the rueful expression of his countenance may stir up your bowels of compassion, and you may vehemently expostulate with his legalized murderers in his favour. They coolly

\* Duff's "India and Indian Missions," p. 178.



reply, 'It is our religion; it is our religion. Our Shashtra recommends him to die for the benefit of his soul.' They then drown his entreaties amid shouts of 'Hurra bol! Hurra bol!' and persevere in filling his mouth with water, till he gradually expires, stifled, suffocated, murdered in the name of humanity—in the name of religion! and that too, it may be, by his own parents, by his own brothers or sisters, by his own sons or daughters."\*

Thus India's idolatry might be made to pass before us, and we should find it full of unutterable horrors—the life-destroying pilgrimages to various shrines, in which thousands perish annually under the destructive influences of evil excitement still continue. There is Juggernaut, the Moloch of the East, with his foul and cruel orgies. There is the island of Ganga Sangor, and its ruined temple, where, twice a year, crowds of infatuated Hindús resort to bathe in the waters, many of them from the most remote parts of India. Or let the annual festivals be remembered—the Dúrga-púja, in all its phases; the impulse given to the idol-makers in fabricating the temporary images, which are to be revered as gods, in sufficient numbers to meet the demands of the thousands and tens of thousands who flock to purchase them; the consecration of the images by the Brahmins, and, lo! the textile fabric of hay, sticks, and clay, becoming a god! And then, in thousands of separate houses, commences the worship, amidst thronging multitudes who fill the halls of the wealthy natives. The devotees prostrate themselves, and costly offerings are presented to be distributed amongst the attendant priests. These are given in astonishing profusion. "In general it may be said that the bulk of the rich and poor expend by far the larger moiety of their earnings or income on offerings to idols, and the countless rites and exhibitions connected with idol-worship. At the celebration of one festival, a wealthy native has been known to offer after this manner—eighty thousand pounds of sweetmeats, eighty thousand pounds weight of sugar, a thousand suits of cloth garments, a thousand suits of silk, a thousand offerings of rice, plantains, and other fruits. On another occasion a wealthy native is known to have expended upwards of thirty thousand pounds sterling on the offerings, the observances, and the exhibition of a single festival, and upwards of ten thousand pounds annually afterwards, to the termination of his life."† Such is the extravagance of idolatry, which not unfrequently reduces native families from affluence to poverty. To

this is to be added the stimulation that is applied to the sensuality of man's corrupt nature; the females of abandoned character, hired expressly for these occasions, their gay dresses, glittering jewels, wanton dances, and indecent songs. Thus the process of social demoralization is prolonged from generation to generation. Or shall we pass on from the Dúrga-púja to the bloody ceremonies of the Churuk-púja, in honour of Siva the destroyer, and his consort, Parvati, under the form of Kali, the most cruel and bloodthirsty of all Hindú deities, in whose character the vindictiveness of man finds full sanction and encouragement—Kali, who revels in blood, especially the blood of man, and commands her worshippers, if they would be like her, and obtain her favour, to delight in the destruction of human life. Can we wonder that the most zealous and consistent worshippers of Kali have been found amongst the Thugs and Dacoits, and that in no part of the world is there such utter recklessness as to the preservation of human life as in semi-civilized India? The upas-tree of Java, in the fabled deleteriousness that was attributed to it, presents a just symbol of the blighting influence of the Hindú system on all the actings of moral life in man. The country around the spot where it grew was said to be so utterly barren, that for a distance of ten or twelve miles not a tree, nor a shrub, nor even the least plant of grass, was to be seen: all was dreariness and desolation. The poison which it yields is of a deadly character, and used in the manufacture of destructive implements. Delinquents, sentenced to die, were selected for the dangerous office of braving the unwholesome atmosphere of the tree, that they might obtain the poison. They were cautioned to attend to the direction of the wind, and to approach the tree before the wind, so that the effluvium might not reach them. But, to crown the horrors of the undertaking, the wind was so inconstant in its action that it never could be depended upon, so that, in approaching the tree, the criminal was almost sure to perish. Such was the fable. It is realized in the effects of Hindú superstition on the human soul. That is a gigantic upas tree which is centralized in the land, and diffuses far and wide its noxious influence. Moral life, social virtues, natural affections, all that ennobles man, all lingering traces of that better state, when he was made in the image of God—all are ruined and utterly extinguished. None escape its deleterious power; for, with the inconstancy of the fabled wind, it is ever variable in its actings, so as to affect every phase of the native mind, and involve all in one dread scene of

\* Duff's "India," pp. 233, 234.

† *Ibid.*, p. 255.

utter demoralization. And is this the unholy system which English statesmen have treated so deferentially, that, to conciliate it, they have not hesitated to discountenance the saving, sanctifying faith of the Lord Jesus Christ? All interference with the religious scruples of the natives have been earnestly deprecated. Missionary action have been deemed an unwise and unnecessary procedure, and men in high station would have interfered to prevent it, had they not feared to arouse a wholesome reaction from the mother-country.

But hitherto we have viewed Hindúism only in its more public and national manifestations. If we would see it in its full injuriousness, we must look into the private life of the Hindú, at least so far as it be possible for us, for the *penetralia* of his domestic arrangements are carefully screened from the observation of the European. If all that is transacted within the secrecy of the private dwellings could be laid open to us, we should be amazed and horrified. Could we know all the details of Hindú private life, and then compare them with the tranquil, happy arrangements of English Christian life, we should be astonished at the contrast. In the light of Christianity we should perceive and shudder at the loathsomeness and cruelty of Hindúism. We should be cognizant of crimes, pollutions, oppressions, sufferings, of which we have happily no conception. Evil and repulsive as are those issues of Hindúism which venture forth into the open daylight, they are as nothing to the abominations which are transacted in secret, and beneath the surface of society. The social organization is all corroded, eaten into, by the ceaseless action of encroaching vice, so that there is not a sound spot left, and the language of the prophet may with truthfulness be applied, "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot, even unto the head, there is no soundness in it, but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores: they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment."

We are in a position to place our finger on one domestic crime which is of frequent occurrence in the bosom of Hindú families—**INFANTICIDE**. We have read of this crime in connexion with China; and no doubt that land is deeply stained with the blood of innocents. But India is alike unnatural to her offspring; so much so, that it is doubtful which of the two shall be deemed most infamous in this respect. An important volume\* has

issued from the press, on the origin, progress, and suppression of Indian Infanticide, and we proceed to place before our readers a summary of the information it contains, referring such of our readers as may desire a more enlarged acquaintance with the subject, to the book itself. Long since the strong arm of British law had been stretched out for the preservation of infant life in India, and mothers have been prohibited from casting their offspring into the deep stream of the Ganges, as a propitiatory offering to the sacred rivers of Bengal. But we knew not then the horrors of Hindú domestic life, "the cold-blooded infanticide which is now the bane of India, the destruction of female children at the moment of their birth." Let the *purda* (curtain) be raised, "which screens from public gaze the zenana of the Hindú," and let us look within.

"Let us suppose the birth of a daughter announced to a father—by a look rather than a word—he is still the parent, and nature's voice is not wholly silenced; let the babe live but one short hour, and nature will claim her own. But no; regret and grief are visible in his face; he does not trust himself to speak; he gives a sign too easily understood, and leaves the rest to his domestics: 'it is the affair of the women.' Perhaps he is at the moment seeking to soothe his feelings with his hookah, and its condiment of *bang*;\* if so, his fingers quickly mould a portion of it into the form of a pill, which he gives in silence to an attendant: this is immediately placed in the roof of the infant's mouth, where it becomes softened by the saliva, and flows with it down the throat, soon throwing the poor babe into its first and last long sleep. If this be not at hand the mother's breast is smeared with a preparation of the juice of the datura (*Datura alba*), or the Mudar plant (*Asclepias gigantea*), or the poppy, and the infant drinks in a deadly poison with its first draught of milk. It is said, that among some of the Rajpút tribes, it is customary to dig a hole and fill it with milk, and place the newborn babe in it, when she is quickly drowned. Some, again, dispense with the milk, and actually bury their infants alive!†

This unnatural crime prevails amongst various sections of the Hindú race, but more especially among the Rajpúts. The Rajpúts are one of those waves of kindred races which, from North-western Asia, by successive invasions, overflowed the valley of the Ganges, and which are now known by the generic name of Hindús. The order in which they advanced

\* "Indian Infanticide: its Origin, Progress, and Suppression." By Rev. John Cave Browne, Assistant-Chaplain Bengal Establishment. W. H. Allen and Co.

\* An intoxicating decoction from flax or hemp, mixed by Hindús with their tobacco for smoking.

† "Indian Infanticide," pp. 5, 6.

on the aboriginal population—the remnants of which are now to be found in the jungles and hilly districts of the country—appears to have been, first the Sudras, then the Brahmins, who possessed themselves of religious as well as secular power, and who contrived, when the latter was wrested from them by the Kshetriyas, to retain their priestly influence. The Rajpúts appear to have been amongst the most recent of these invading races. Their central position is in that vast district of country intervening between the Sutlej and the Nerbudda, called Rajpútana, but from thence they are dispersed over all the northern and western parts of the peninsula. “Among this race, wherever located, infanticide prevails.” “The high-born Rajpút, of whatever clan—Chohan, Rahtore, Jarejah, or Kutch—stains the proud escutcheon of his once brave and chivalrous race with the life-blood of his daughter, lest that blood, of such vaunted purity, should flow into meaner veins, or she remain unmarried, and therefore, as he thinks, dishonoured.”\*

What are the motives which prompt to the commission of this unnatural crime?

“The first motive, doubtless, is pride of caste; and it operated thus throughout the whole of the Hindú nation. It is an established custom that a female may not marry into any caste or tribe which is not at least of equal rank with her own. To marry an inferior is, in their eyes, a degradation; but to remain unmarried is actual dishonour. Not believing in the existence of female virtue, they regard marriage as a woman’s only safeguard against shame and infamy. Thus a daughter becomes, from the very first, a source of great anxiety to the Hindú. He cannot allow her to pass even the early years of childhood unbetrothed, or to attain the first stage of puberty unmarried, without incurring the risk of grievous dishonour. One of his first cares, then, must be to provide a fitting husband for her; and his selection must be made from another tribe, or another division of his own tribe, of at least equal, and, if possible, superior rank to his own. It is clear that this very selection affects his pride of caste: it involves an admission of the equality, if not superiority, of, perhaps, a rival tribe or clan. Nor is this all: not only is his pride of caste thus wounded, but he has to submit to a personal degradation far greater, and that, too, of life-long duration. From the day of his daughter’s marriage—when on bended knees he presents her to the husband of his choice, prays him to accept her,

and even pays him ‘almost divine honours’—from that day he becomes subject to his son-in-law, and is in every way treated by him as an inferior. Indeed, to such an extent is this carried, so thoroughly does the Hindú, as the father of a married daughter, sink in the social scale, that the very title ‘father-in-law’ (Soosur) is used as a common term of scorn and reproach. This position the proud Hindú foresees, and resolves, if possible, to avoid. Rather than submit either to the humiliation of seeking for a husband worthy of his daughter, and the indignities which her marriage would subject him to, or to the still more dreaded alternative of seeing her remain unmarried, and, as he thinks, dishonoured, he destroys her at her birth. So deplorably false is his code of morals, that he is led to regard the murder of his own child, as preferable to the risk of losing caste or honour.

“The natural result of this principle will be, that the higher the caste or tribe, the more frequent will be the crime. The higher born the Hindú, as a general rule, the more proud is he of his birth, and the more sensitively alive to the preservation of his dignity; both of which would be so seriously affected, as he thinks, by having to provide a husband for a daughter. And statistical research most fully confirms this: every step we ascend up this ladder of castes† we find females become fewer and fewer, till, on reaching the top, they altogether disappear. So glaring is the disproportion between the sexes among the high-caste Hindús, that the most casual observer cannot fail to be struck by it; and the fact of such a disparity has often been urged in confirmation of the suspicion that they did not suffer their girls to live. But such an admission can very rarely be extorted from them: generally speaking, they vehemently repudiate the imputation; and the explanation which they offer is one in which it is difficult to decide whether blasphemy or absurdity preponderates. They profess to ascribe it to the ‘will of Heaven’ marking them out in their ‘pride of place’ as objects of its especial favour by giving them only sons!

“Pride, then—the pride of birth—engendered and made hereditary by the very nature of the Hindú social system, may be justly regarded as the primary motive to infanticide. But there is also another motive, scarcely less powerful, and one from the influence of which no caste or tribe is alto-

\* *Vide* “Ward on the Hindús,” part iii. chap. iv. sect. 32.

† This does not apply to Brahmins, who are believed to be generally innocent of this crime.

\* “Indian Infanticide,” p. 8.

gether free, and the existence and extent of which was not, we venture to think, sufficiently recognised in the earlier attempts which were made to suppress the crime to which it so materially contributed: it is poverty—that poverty which results from the exorbitant expenditure which prevails among them at the marriage of their daughters. It is easy to trace the connexion between these two motives, and to see how the latter had its origin in the former. Pride of high birth tempted to display, at any cost, on such occasions, until such extravagant display grew to be regarded as essential to, and, indeed, as proof of, high birth. . . . .

“The Hindú, if he would escape the imagined degradation of his daughter marrying an inferior, or the disgrace of her remaining unmarried, is compelled to provide a husband for her, and to pay for him too; and that, not according to his own means, but according to the relative rank of his house and that of his son-in-law elect. Nor is the dower (Daega)—enormous though that sometimes is—the half of what he is obliged to spend in contracting the marriage for his daughter. Presents in money, clothes, jewels, sweetmeats, and what not, on at least a score prescribed occasions between the betrothal (Buddun) and the marriage (Shadee), must be made to every one who can claim kith or kin to the bridegroom.

“But the crowning triumph of extravagance and imposture is reserved for the marriage-day itself. Then the house of the bride’s father is surrounded by a flock of ‘harpies,’ as rapacious, and scarcely less loathsome than those foul creations of Virgil’s brain. These are known by the name of Bhâts and Chârans. They are to be found in all parts of India, and everywhere unfortunately exercise a baneful influence over all classes of Hindús . . . .

“The Bhâts are the bards or minstrels; and their office is held in such great respect, that to kill or to beat one of their order is not only considered disgraceful, but most ominous, if not fatal to the worldly prospects, and even the life, of the perpetrator of the act. The Chârans, too, are bards, but their distinctive character is that of heralds, or genealogists; and their authority as living records of family descent and rights is so high, that they are frequently made the referees in the investigation of rival claims to property. In some parts of India, especially in Guzerat and Rajpútana, the general respect for their office, and their reputed courage, make them the safest guards for the transmission of the most valuable property, in whose custody it is considered sacred. There are few among the wealthy Hindús who do not retain, as part of their household, a family Bhât or Châran,

that on festive occasions their names may be blended with the praises of the gods and heroes chanted by the former, and with the glorious exploits of their ancestors recounted by the latter. And we may be sure these men do their best to make their presence welcome by bestowing a due amount of flattery on their patrons. Such, of course, are of the better sort, though only to prove the more rapacious when occasion offers.\* There are others, too, of the lowest class, abounding in the cities and villages, where, claiming a right to be present, and to be paid, at every marriage that may take place, they levy such a tax on the inhabitants as to become a burden and a curse.

“The English reader must not, then, picture to himself, as the concomitants of a Hindú marriage, some venerable harper heading a group of brethren of the lyre, like our friend the ‘aged Ferrand,’ with his neighbouring minstrels, who had flocked around him, adding their ‘tributary lays’ to honour the bridal of the ‘Fair Maid of Lorn.’† A more truthful picture he will find in the words of an older poet:

“‘Ambubaiarum collegiæ . . . .

· Mendici, mīmæ, balatrones, et hoc genus omne.’

“The Bhâts and Chârans (bards and heralds) alike prostitute their honourable office to the most mercenary ends. They gather together from miles around, like vultures on their prey, bringing with them all the idle and the dissolute, who on such occasions—be they minstrels, dancers, buffoons, barbers, or beggars—all pass for Bhâts and Chârans. Such is the motley group that, under that once honourable but degraded name, flock around the house of the bride’s father, demanding ‘largess,’ not

“‘With symphony, and dance, and song,’

but with a din, and discord, and clamour, to which the very ‘marrow-bones and cleavers’ of a band of London butchers’ apprentices would be a dulcet harmony. On such a day, not a man, or a woman, or a child, or even a donkey or a dog, but is worth his rupee; and if some luckless giver of the feast be bold enough to resist such extortion, he must do it at the risk of personal indignity and insult, if not actual injury. He must be prepared to have his own name and his daughter’s branded with every term of contumely and scorn, instead of being lauded as worthy of a high-born race; and to receive jeers and curses in

\* The Rajah of Odeypore is said to have given a lac of rupees (10,000*l.*) to his chief Bhât on the occasion of a marriage in his family.

† *Vide* Scott’s “Lord of the Isles.”

the place of flattery and benisons. Very few men are prepared for this; and therefore, reluctantly, and with the best grace they may, they succumb to a custom originating in vanity and false ambition—now sanctioned by centuries of usage, and fostered and perpetuated by the dreaded influence of those who batten on the spoil. One such day of reckless extravagance often entails a life-long want, and a debt which that life is all too short to repay, and which thus becomes a heritage of misery to those who come after. The man of substance, perhaps, feels but little the thousands and thousands of rupees which he thus squanders; but the poor man (and India furnishes but few exceptions to the proverbial connexions between high-born pride and poverty)—the poor man, whose daily wages rarely exceed four annas (sixpence), cannot thus, to celebrate his daughter's marriage, scatter to the winds two or three hundred rupees (20*l.* or 30*l.*), his hard-earned, closely-stored savings, or, more frequently, his dearly-effected loan, without rueing the day that his daughter was born.

“Under such a system, who can wonder that the Rajpút, and, more or less, every Hindú, ‘mourns when a daughter is born to him, and rejoices when he has a son? The one brings disgrace, anxiety, or, at the very least, heavy expense upon his house: the other increases his wealth and his dignity.’”\*

Mr. Cave Browne, in his interesting volume, traces the various efforts made for the suppression of this crime, first by native princes, and subsequently by the British authorities, to whom, in 1789, the existence of this crime first became known. Mr. Jonathan Duncan, when resident magistrate at Benares, detected its existence amongst a race of Hindús, called Rajkumars, resident on the frontier of Joudpur, adjoining the country of Oude; and both there, and in the more influential position of Governor of Bombay, he was indefatigable in his efforts for the correction of this evil—efforts in which he was ably assisted by Major Walker, the Resident of Baroda. A race of Rajpúts, called Jarejahs, in that neighbourhood, were approached with a view to their amelioration. Agreements were entered into with the Jarejahs, by which the latter pledged themselves to the abandonment of the practice; but the utmost which was attempted was a penal suppression of the crime, and the effect produced on the native mind was partial and ineffective. Their disposition towards it was in no degree altered, and they committed it whenever the fear of detection was not before their eyes. It is deeply to be

regretted that, in these laudable efforts, one false step was taken. It was not understood that this crime was one of the branches, bearing poisonous fruit, which sprang from the root of Hindúism; and that the only true way to destroy the branch was to weaken the vigour of the root. Instead of this, the very forms of agreement entered into with the rajahs recognised the Hindú system, and placed it in such a light as to confirm the people in their belief of its truth. The agreement entered into with the Jarejahs of Kattiawar runs as follows—“Whereas the Hon. English Company and Anandrao Gaikawád (Guicowar) having set forth to us the dictates of the Shastras, and the true faith of the Hindús,” &c. &c., “we do hereby agree, for ourselves and for our offspring for ever, for the sake of our own prosperity, and for the credit of the Hindú faith, that we shall from this day renounce this practice,” &c. This we may be assured of, that so long as we continue to found our efforts for the amelioration of native society in India on a recognition of the Hindú system, so long must those efforts prove to be ineffectual, and recoil on ourselves in bitter disappointments, and that necessarily in the way of cause and effect; for the influence of the system on its votaries is such as to indispose them to our alterative measures; and thus, by our equivocal procedure, we are imparting new vigour to that which, in fact, constitutes our main hindrance and obstruction.

The anti-infanticidal action at Bombay eventually resolved itself into the “Infanticide Fund” of 1825, composed of all fines under 20,000 rupees imposed on tributaries for breaches of the peace, or other misconduct, from which pecuniary assistance on the marriage of daughters has been rendered in quarters where there had been a practical renunciation of the iniquitous custom. In the district of the Kattiawar there appears to be an encouraging increase of the female population; in 1845, the Jarejah females being to the males as 2334 to 6617; and in 1850, as 3423 to 7502. Among the Jarejahs of Cutch, in 1842, the proportion had been 701 females to 6208 males; and in 1852, the numbers stood thus, 1723 females to 6761 males.

But we must pass on to more modern efforts; and it is remarkable that the area of territory over which the philanthropic exertions of the British officials have been most energetically put forth, has been that throughout which the conflagration of the existing mutiny has raged most furiously. The late Mr. Thomason, when magistrate of Azimghur in 1836, had his attention drawn to the virulent action of this crime. “He found it prac-

\* Indian Infanticide, pp. 9—17.

tised by the Rajpúts of the Baees, Rughunsee, and Gowtum tribes, who resided chiefly on the borders of the Oude territory," a fine manly, independent race of men, of prepossessing address; but amongst a body of them, numbering some 10,000, not a single daughter was forthcoming. Mr. Thomason thus refers to the incidental circumstance which made him aware of the existence of this enormity. "I discovered it accidentally whilst engaged in revising the settlement of the Pergunnah, and encamped in that very Tuffah (subdivision) of Koooha. In conversation with some of the zemindars, I happened to mention one of them as the son-in-law of another. This mistake roused a sarcastic laugh, which was explained by the brief exclamation of a bystander, 'Where will you find a daughter in Koooha?' Inquiry once roused, the truth was palpable. They freely admitted the practice themselves, and it was a matter of notoriety."

Mr. R. Montgomery was at the time assistant to Mr. Thomason, and, on his appointment to the magistracy of Allahabad, sought out the crime with the same anxious zeal for its suppression. He found it prevailing to a fearful extent amongst three Rajpút tribes on the borders of the Rewah territory; and adopted, at once, counteractive measures. At the expiration of three years the results appeared in the preservation of 28 girls, and the expression of a hope by Mr. Montgomery, that, "now that so many girls are alive, the minds of the people are beginning to get reconciled to the custom of sparing them."

Advancing from Allahabad into the Mid-Doab, we trace out the same crime. A census was taken, for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent the population had been affected by the famine of 1838; and in carrying out this, Mr. Unwin, the magistrate of Mynpurie, discovered, "that no single Chohaní (female Chohan), young or old, was forthcoming." A system of watchful inspection was established; and the result was, that "Chohan girls began to appear in villages and families, where, before, the birth of one had never been known." "There is at Mynpurie an old fortress, which looks far over the valley of the Eesun river. This has been for centuries the stronghold of the Rajahs of Mynpurie—Chohans, whose ancient blood, descending from the great Pirthee Raj, and the regal stem of Neem-rana, represents *la creme de la creme* of Rajpút aristocracy. There, when a son, a nephew, or grandson, was born to the reigning chief, the event was announced to the neighbouring city by the loud discharge of wall-pieces and matchlocks. But centuries had passed away, and no infant daughter had been known to smile within those walls. In

1845, however—thanks to the vigilance of Mr. Unwin—a little granddaughter was preserved by the rajah of that day. The fact was duly notified to the Government; and a letter of congratulation, and a dress of honour, were at once despatched from head-quarters to the rajah. Marked progress attended the measures put forth in this district. "In 1843, not a single female Chohan was to be found in the district; in 1845, fifty-seven had been saved; in the following year, the number was trebled; and by 1851, there were 1480 girls living under six years of age." Mr. C. Raikes, who succeeded Mr. Unwin at Mynpurie, followed up with vigour the measures which had been so hopefully commenced. In conjunction with Mr. Tyler, the Commissioner of the Agra division, he decided on a meeting of "all the Rajpúts from the neighbouring districts of Agra, Etawa, Furruckabad (Futteghur), and Putteah, with those of Mynpurie.

"Few who have had occasion to travel from Cawnpur to Agra, will have failed to notice the little oasis which presents itself in that desert of dust. About one hundred miles from Cawnpur, and seventy short of Agra, on the banks of the river Eesun, surrounded with rich foliage and verdure, is the civil station of Mynpurie. In the midst of the large and handsome public buildings for secular use, the eye at once detects—a sight too rare in Indian civil stations—a Christian house of prayer, as perfect an English 'village church' as India can boast. Its well-proportioned tower, rising amid the surrounding trees, carries back the mind to some peaceful hamlet in Old England; and the charm is strengthened rather than dispelled by the correctness and beauty of the whole building.\*

"This picturesque spot was the gathering-place of all the neighbouring Rajpúts, who had been invited to discuss the Sumaon measures for ridding themselves of a custom fraught with so much misery and crime. A few days before, some of the more distant chiefs had come in, and pitched their camps in the shady mango groves of Mynpurie.

"On the morning of the 5th of December, the usually quiet little station was full of life and bustle. All began to make for the place of meeting, which was an open space adjacent to the Court-house. There were proud rajahs with their imposing cavalcades of elephants, camels, and horsemen; there were talook-

\* It is a fact worthy to be recorded, that Mr. Unwin and Mr. Raikes, who had thus laboured together at Mynpurie in the cause of humanity, and whose united piety had erected this house of prayer, have been recently (within three months of each other) raised to the Judicial Bench in the Sudder Court of the North-West Provinces.—March 1856.

dars (large landed proprietors) and zemindars (smaller proprietors or village-holders), on horseback or in palanquins, with their smaller retinues; and a goodly array of poorer, but scarcely less proud, Rajpûts, in humble vehicles or on foot, all eager to take their part in the proceedings, and to reap their share of the benefits which were hoped for from so wise a policy.

"Every thing seemed to promise most favourably, when a difficulty arose which had well-nigh scattered to the winds all the labours and hopes of the assembled magistrates, and deferred to an indefinite period the accomplishment of this good work; which, too, would have made its future accomplishment all the more difficult for the present failure. No sooner were they all invited to be seated in the tents provided for them, than all their community of interest in the suppression of a common evil was in danger of being lost in the feelings of mutual jealousy and rivalry, with which each one claimed for himself the first place in the assembly. There was no 'Garter-King-at-Arms' to expound the laws of precedence; no seneschal who

'Knew

How to assign their rank its due.'

Moreover, the unanimity of the meeting was further endangered by the unwelcome presence of a person named Poke Pal Singh, who came to represent a rajah whose title to that rank could not be traced to the fountain of Rajpût honour, but had been obtained through favour of the Company. To give a place among themselves to one who himself was neither Chohan, Rahtore, Budharea, nor even Kuchwaha, and only the representative of a nominal rajah, was more than the haughty and high-born Rajpûts, the descendants of the sun and the moon,\* were prepared to submit to. However, by great tact, these obstacles were removed; and the chiefs, who had broken off into small groups, to give vent to their indignation, or had retired in high dudgeon, were gradually pacified, and were induced, by appeals to their politeness, to re-assemble and take their seats in the tents provided for them, without much regard to order or rank.

"The scene," says a writer who witnessed it,† "was a very gay and an impressive one. Most of the chiefs had splendid robes, either of cloth and gold, or brocade; their attendants clustered round with arms, silver sticks,

\* The Rajpûts are divided into two great classes, claiming descent respectively from the moon and the sun.—See Tod's Rajasthan.

† Quoted in Raikes's Notes on the North-West Provinces, p. 39.

and chowries. There was the boy Rajah of Mynpurie on one side, just coming into life—a life, too, in his case, promising many cares and some dangers; on the other side was another Chohan chief, the old Rajah of Purtabneir, looking already like a mummy, but wrapped up in shawls and brocade. Then came Poke Pal Singh; and close by him, looking very haughty and somewhat disgusted, remarkable by his quaint conical head-dress, was the manly young Rajah of Rampûr, the chief Rahtore of these parts'

"In the midst of these, as they sat around, stood six or seven local magistrates, with Mr. Tyler, the commissioner, at their head, assisted by all the leading native officials of the district."

"For three long hours did these gentlemen go about among them, explaining questions, meeting objections, until they had succeeded in persuading nearly every Rajpût present to affix his signature to the agreement—"the charter of their unborn children." Such a sight could not fail to strike the assembled Rajpûts. 'They might well,' as says the same eye-witness, 'go home and tell their families, that though the government of their country was in the hands of foreigners, it was carried on none the less by men who were neither strangers to their wants, nor indifferent to their happiness.'"

Looking farther to the north-west, we find that, in the Agra district, measures for the suppression of the crime were commenced by Mr. R. Gubbins, the magistrate, in 1851. In many villages of the Rajah of Bhuddawar, female infanticide was notoriously practised to such an extent, that scarcely a girl was ever allowed to live. When encamped in one of the Pergunnahs, where the crime was said to be most prevalent, he summoned some of the leading zemindars to his tent, with the view of eliciting information from them. "One of them pointedly observed, 'In the Albhaya villages, the existence of the crime can be proved by the fewness of the daughters. If they do not kill them, what can become of them?' Another, when asked whether the Kûnwur clan of Bhudoriabs killed their female infants, replied, 'I never heard of the marriage of a daughter in any of the Kûnwur villages: I therefore suppose they kill them.' A third, when pressed with questions regarding the reputed practice among various clans, closed the subject with this remark—"Sir, most of the villages practise it more or less. What is the use of further questions? Count the boys and girls, and you can decide the question yourself."

\* Indian Infanticide, pp. 84—88.

We shall not pause to examine the special character of the stringent measures adopted by Mr. Gubbins, but pass on to the results.

"In a single village (Futtehpur), in April 1851, only two girls were alive in thirty Rajput families; and their lives had been preserved under very peculiar circumstances.

"One of these belonged to Inrut Singh Thakur, and had been preserved in obedience to a vow made by the father, after losing two sons successively, that he would preserve his next child, whether it was male or female. The second girl was the daughter of Gopal Singh Thakur, and had been preserved by the accident of her mother having been absent on a visit to her own family in Oude when the child was born.\* In this village, in December 1853, Mr. Gubbins found no less than eleven girls under two years of age, who, with their mothers, were collected at the house of one of the principal Albheya zemindars, where Mrs. Gubbins visited them, and distributed presents among them. In other villages there was a similar increase. It appeared, from the last year's returns from the suspected villages, that the increase of the number of girls in two and a-half years was seventy-five per cent. The increase, as might have been expected, was the greatest in those villages in which the crime had been most prevalent. Taking forty-two of these villages which were believed to have been most addicted to the crime, it appears, that between May 1st, 1851, and January 1st, 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.†

We have not completed our review of the subject. One of the most important provinces of our Oriental dependency—the Punjab—remains for consideration. But from the information thus far placed before our readers, we are justified in eliciting two points for special consideration. First, That a man's status in the Hindú system is wholly unaffected by acts of moral turpitude. A man may be a murderer, one of the deepest dye—a parricide, his hands stained with the blood of his own infant daughters—yet he may continue to be a high-caste man, and on public occasions, such as the meeting at Mynpoorie, claim, and have

\* Mr. Gubbins's Infanticidal Report, par. 10.

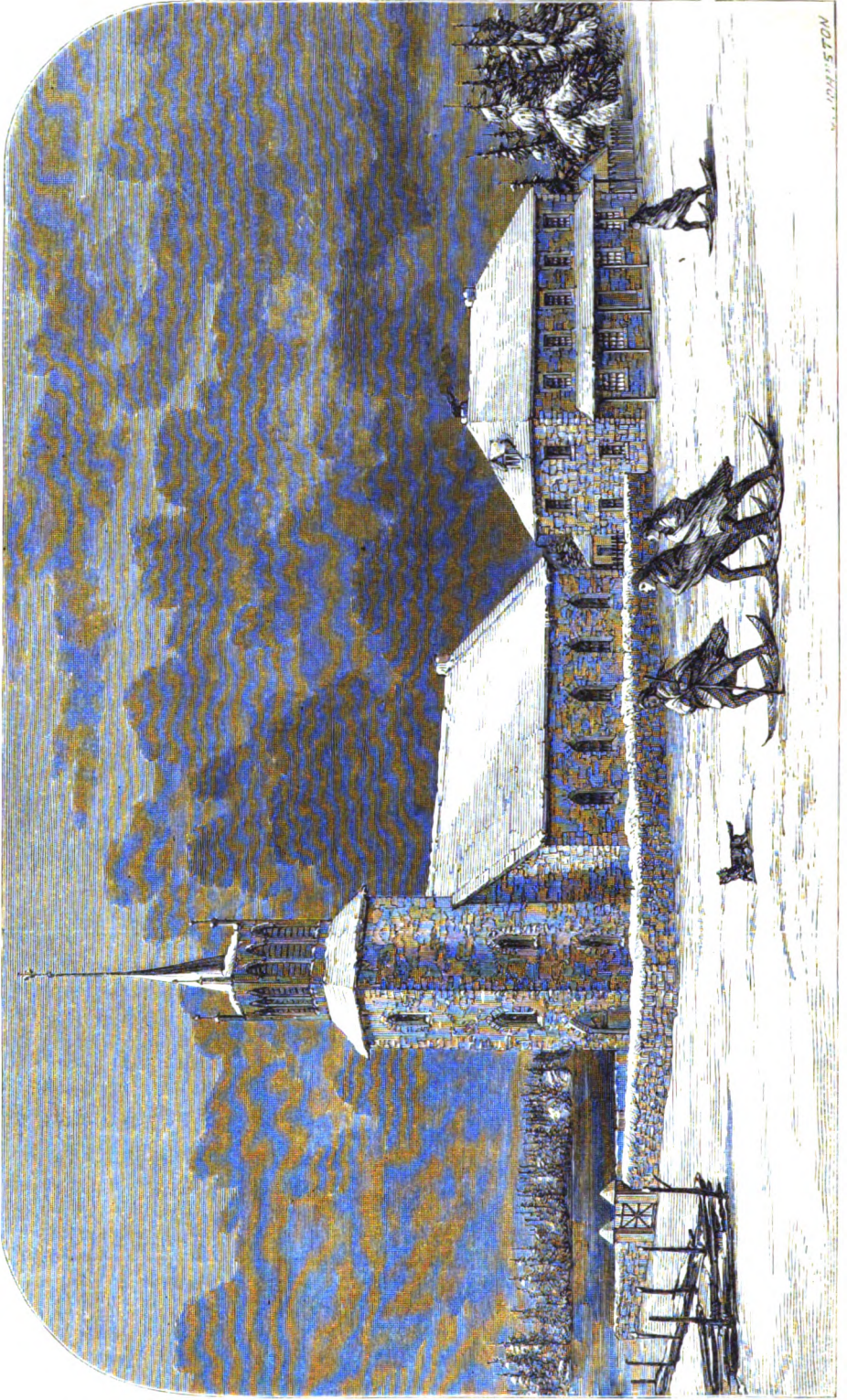
† Indian Infanticide, pp. 105, 106—Mr. Gubbins's Infanticidal Report, par. 10.

conceded to him by British officials, the precedence which he thinks to be his right; but if he were to fraternize with one of inferior caste—eat of his food, or help him in a moment when life was in danger, and thus contract ceremonial uncleanness—however excellent his character and exemplary his conduct, he would be degraded and become an outcast. The whole system, therefore, in its practical working, is totally destructive to a sense of moral obligation. So long as a nation remains under an influence so full of evil, it is impossible that its social regeneration can be effected. The religion of the people is their disease: it is only as this is successfully counteracted and removed that health can be restored. The various overt acts of crime to which legislation is directed are but the outbreakings of the deep-seated evil that is within. To confine attention to these while the parent influence is neglected, nay, more than that, fostered and encouraged, would be regarded in the light of medical science as empirical. The poison in the system must be attacked, and care must be taken that the remedy employed be sufficiently vigorous to prevail against it. That remedy is, the truths of Christianity. This alone with penetrative power can reach the inner parts of Hindú life, and there meet and expel the evil; and that Government acts wisely which, in every becoming way, facilitates the spread of the one great corrective, irrespective of which its best efforts for the improvement of the people must be vain.

The second consideration which we would put forth is, the remarkable fact, that the area over which the rebellion has raged most furiously has been the same throughout which the efforts for the suppression of infanticide have been carried out most vigorously. This appears remarkable, yet it is capable of solution. Bring the principles and practice of pure morality into immediate contact with a carnal heart, and you have a re-action. The depraved native rebels against the interference, and becomes more hostile. The practices of the Hindús are crimes in our eyes: in their estimation they are permissible, or at least commendable: his religion does not prohibit; but our laws proscribe and punish them. Is it surprising, if opportunity presents itself, that the depraved nature reacts and breaks out into hostility? Satanic influence is no doubt actively operating at such a moment to feed the rebellious principle in man, and render it more furious and inveterate in its outbreak.







ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH AND PARSONAGE, RED RIVER.

W. L. CHAMBERLAIN

## THE HUDSON'S-BAY TERRITORIES.

DURING the last session of the Imperial Parliament, a Select Committee was employed in considering the state of those British possessions in North America which are under the administration of the Hudson's-Bay Company. The near approach of the period when the licence of exclusive trade granted in 1838 for twenty-one years to that Company would expire, alone sufficed to render such an investigation necessary. But there were other and pressing considerations. Canada claimed an extension of frontier, and the privilege of advancing her colonists and settlements within the limits of those over which the Company claimed exclusive jurisdiction.

In addition to questions arising between Canada and the Hudson's-Bay Company, the importance of Vancouver's Island, as well from its commanding site as its internal resources, had become more duly appreciated in this country, and its improvement and interests required to be provided for.

The witnesses examined before this Committee were men of all others the most competent, from their experience of these territories, to afford reliable information. Amongst them were some of our most distinguished Arctic travellers—Sir John Richardson, Sir George Back; also the Governor of the Hudson's-Bay territories, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, &c. The Blue Book, therefore, which embodies the labours of this Committee, presents a mass of highly valuable evidence, from which may be gathered much that is alike novel and instructive. To this task we now address ourselves, confining our remarks for the present to that area of continent eastward of the Rocky Mountains.

These mountains, which are elongated from the north to the south, as the gigantic spinal column of this vast territory, rise in their dominant peaks to the height of from 12,000 to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, and enter the region of perpetual snow.

"The northern part of the chain, which touches on the Mackenzie, is so much lower, that even its summits are denuded during the short summer of that district, and perennial patches of snow exist there only in shady crevices which have a northerly aspect. . . Several passes which traverse the chain do not rise more than 6000 feet above the sea level, and, being free from snow in summer, may be crossed in that season by packhorses, and even by waggons. The more northern of these passes have long been known to the fur-traders: the southern ones have lately been explored, and used by the multitudes

who have hurried from the United States to California in search of gold. Up to the 60th degree of latitude the chain runs nearly parallel to the coast of the Pacific, and not far distant from it. The descent to the level of the sea is consequently rapid on the west, a configuration which M. Guyot has noted as peculiar to the new world, while in the old continent the short slopes are turned to the south, and the long ones towards the north. A large triangular corner, which belongs to the empire of Russia, and extends westward to Behring's Straits, has a different physical character, in the existence of a transverse series of active volcanoes. The width of the chain is stated at from forty to one hundred miles, and the central parts and peaks are said to consist of granite and other igneous rocks. The eastern slope towards the Atlantic commences by a belt, formed mostly of sandstone, 150 miles in width, which rests on the shoulder of the chain, with an inclination of about thirty-seven feet in the mile in its descent from 8000 feet above the sea to 2500." \*

The territory extending eastward from these rocky barriers to Hudson's Bay and the Atlantic, divides itself into the barren grounds, the thickwood, and the prairie country.

The prairie ground lies nearest the base of the mountains. It commences at the elevation of 2500 feet, and presents the appearance of a moderately undulated, or, as it is locally named, "rolling plain," having a breadth of 700 or 800 miles. It is intersected by rivers, great arteries, and their tributaries, on the banks of which are "belts of woodland and clumps of trees that encroach on the prairie, intercepting grassy lawns, and producing remarkably fine park scenery, which is often enlivened by small lakes." The prairie-land, "narrowing as it goes north, runs out on the 60th parallel, having, after passing the Saskatchewan, been much indented by the woods which feather the numerous rivers that drain the declivity."

The woodland district, which, between the 50th and 55th parallels, obtains a breadth of 600 geographical miles, extends from the prairies eastward to the Atlantic; while to the north of the forest region the barren grounds prevail, their greatest north and south extension being on the eastern coast.

"On the shores of Hudson's Bay and the Welcome this tract reaches from the 60th or

\* Sir J. Richardson's "Boat Voyage through Rupert's Land," vol. ii. pp. 162—164."

61st parallel to the extremity of the continent, but narrows to the westward; since the boundary-line of the woods takes a diagonal, or north-east direction from the 91st meridian, and, before reaching the 120th, has risen to the 67th parallel. Further to the north the barren grounds form a border to the Arctic Sea, of greater or less breadth, according to the northerly prolongation of the continental promontories, since the southern limit is nearly coincident throughout with the Arctic circle, on which it approaches Behring's Straits—clumps of spruce fir, the usual outliers of the forest, having been observed on Buckland, or Noatak River, which falls into Eschtcholtz Bay. The fertile alluvial deposits of the rock-sheltered valley of the Mackenzie interrupt the continental continuity of the barren grounds, by carrying the woods nearly to the sea-shore; but there seems to be no other material indentation of the barren district, and even on the Mackenzie the valley is bridged, as it were, by the naked summits of the alpine ridges.\*

Glancing at the country from its southern frontier, the Red-River districts around Lake Winnipeg come under review. "The Red River takes its rise from three different heads, all within the limits of the United States. The western source is Lake Travers: to the east of it is the Otter-tail lake, which is the principal source. Its waters, on being discharged from the lake, flow for some distance in a south-westerly direction; after which it turns to the north-west, and joins the stream from Lake Travers; then in a northerly direction, and becomes navigable for boats of considerable burden. The third source is Red Lake, which sends its tributary waters to swell up the volume of the Red River, which flows nearly due north through one of the richest alluvial valleys in this part of the world, and which falls, after flowing 400 miles, into Lake Winnipeg. The Winnipeg River from the south-east, the Red River from the south, the mighty and majestic Saskatchewan from the west, with a multitude of streams of lesser form, seem, on their coming into contact with the great primitive formation, which commences at 65° west longitude, and forms a girdle round Hudson's Bay, and at some distance from it, till it ends at Dease and Simpson's Strait on the Arctic Sea, to have agreed on forming for themselves a bed in the eastern part of the great limestone formation, which belongs probably to the old calcareous strata. The eastern shore of this great sheet

of water is bound in its whole length by granite, gneiss, and trap-rocks, a continuation of the Lake-Superior formation, and probably containing similar mineral treasures. The western side is bounded by limestone, rising in many places to the height of twenty or thirty feet. At the Grand Rapids there is a section, about sixty feet deep, covered with a thin layer of earth. This immense bed of limestone extends many hundred miles to the west, and probably joins the coal-beds stretching from the foot of the Rocky Mountains towards the east.

"The Red-River colony is placed on the limestone formation, which crops out at the distance of thirty miles from the lake, and, on ascending the river, is to be seen over a distance of ten miles. The stone is excellent for building, and takes a very fine polish when dressed. Churches and dwellings have been built with it, and it is apparently hardening in the air.

"The limestone makes its appearance on hills on each side of the river, and at some distance from it.

"The soil of the Red River is composed of the debris of granite and limestone, with a large proportion of decayed vegetable matter. The soil is from twelve to eighteen inches deep: under it is a thick bed of tenacious clay, of a bluish colour, and nearly impervious to water. The west side of the river may be called prairie land: the east side are wooded lands. The woods consist of oak, elm, ash, bass or white-wood, maple, birch, Scotch firs, pine, cedar, tamarac, spruce, and poplar. The soil is extremely fertile, and, when well cultivated, yields large crops of the finest wheat, weighing from 64lb. to 70lb. per imperial bushel. The yield per acre is often as high as sixty bushels, and has occasionally been known to exceed that . . . Barley grows well if the ground be not too rich, or the season too wet . . . Oats thrive well, and give good returns. Maize, potatoes, beet-root, onions, carrots, and turnips, are cultivated, and give profitable returns. The soil of this colony is admirable for growing hemp and flax. Horned cattle thrive well . . . horses are abundant . . . The climate and soil seem to be peculiarly adapted or favourable to sheep."†

The colony, which occupies along the banks of this river, and its affluent, the Assiniboine, for an extent of thirty miles, contains a population of 6523 souls, being an increase in seven years of 1292. The value of property

\* Sir J. Richardson's "Boat Voyage," vol. ii. pp. 270, 271.

† Appendix No. 7, Select Committee, pp. 381, 382.

in the Settlement, consisting of houses, barns, stables, stores, agricultural implements, boats, canoes, water-mills, wind-mills, threshing-mills, horned cattle and sheep, was estimated, in May 1856, at 111,000. The population consists of Canadians and their offspring, Europeans and their descendants, with some 400 or 500 Christian Indians inhabiting the lower part of the Settlement towards Lake Winnipeg. As to the physical state of this population, the testimony of Bishop Anderson is full and satisfactory. When asked his opinion regarding their intelligence, and their means of supporting themselves, his reply was, "They have very much more of the comforts of life than the average of farm-labourers at home; and I think every year there is a great measure of intellectual development going on among them. We have very good schools—better than the average of parochial schools."\* The half-castes constitute by far the most important element of population, numbering, at Red River alone, between 1800 and 2000. Their intelligence and thriftiness do not equal those of the pure-blooded Europeans, who are of Scotch extraction, and now few in number; but still there is satisfactory growth amongst them in these respects, and, with the persevering use of suitable means, every prospect of improvement. One of them has occupied the position of magistrate on the bench; another, a short time back, was the only medical man at the Red River; and another is a valuable and devoted clergyman of the Church of England.

As families increase, and the original allotment becomes too small, the people go further up the Assiniboine as squatters. This affluent, which meets the Red River from the west, about fifty miles from Lake Winnipeg, lying throughout its entire course within the British boundaries, presents along its banks, for a distance of 200 miles and upwards, a very great extent of valuable land, fit for cultivation. One of its tributaries, the Moose River, takes its rise near the great bend of the Missouri, and falls into the Assiniboine about 200 miles above its junction with the Red River.

As the settlement has increased in numbers, and in the extent of land brought under cultivation, the want of a market where the surplus produce might be disposed of has been strongly felt, and efforts have been made by the inhabitants to free themselves from this isolation. The official route of the Hudson's-Bay Company by York Factory and Hudson's Bay is distant, difficult, and open

only for a short period of the year. The portals of that entrance are of ice, and the folding-doors beneath are of snow, which, in the summer period of the year, barely open enough to permit the Company's ships to enter, and, after a short visit to York factory, escape again before the ice barriers close fast for the long and dreary winter. The ships generally arrive about the 10th or 15th of August, and get away again by the 15th or 20th of September; and by Sept. 25th there have been 20' of frost. The transit from York Factory to Red River has to be accomplished in open boats, ascending the rivers and lakes by which Lake Winnipeg finds an outlet into Hudson's Bay, a difficult and tedious route, in which thirty-three portages have to be surmounted, one of them three quarters of a mile in length. Subsequently, the great lake itself has to be crossed from north to south, to the mouth of the Red River. It is evident, that for the districts north of the lake the access by Hudson's Bay is the most feasible; but for the districts south and west of the lake, which are the most capable of cultivation, it is altogether contrary to the physical arrangements of the territory; and the attempt to confine the communication with the civilized world to that one outlet is unnatural, and, as such, cannot be sustained. In fact, the colonists, as might have been expected, have broken through it, and opened a communication with Minnesota, United States. The intervening tract is prairie land, and may be traversed without difficulty—in summer with horses and waggons, and in winter with dogs and sledges. In June 1856, 300 carts left the Red River for Minnesota; and this last summer they were expected to number not less than 1200. Many of the young men from the Red River go for employment to Minnesota, and pass the winter in the prairies—being much esteemed as dexterous axe-men, and able industrious servants—and return in the spring with the fruit of their labours. It is evident that this colony has outgrown the possibility of being detained in an isolated condition, and that its aspirations after free intercourse with the more advanced communities to the southward cannot longer be repressed. The question that remains to be decided is simply, whether it be most conducive to the general national interest of England, and the true welfare of the Red-River Settlement, that this sympathy should be with the United States, rather than with our own province of Canada. As to the practicability of the route between Canada and the Red-River district, there was found amongst the witnesses a great diversity

\* Minutes of Evidence, 4383, p. 244.

of opinion. That route, by Lake Superior, Fort William, and Rainy Lake, into Lake Winnipeg, has been traversed, both by Sir G. Simpson and Sir J. Richardson: by the former gentleman no less than forty times; by the latter on several of his journeyings northward, extending over a period of nearly thirty years. It is the old route which had been customary with the North-west Company, by which they introduced supplies and exported peltries. The canoe-route between the nearest points of Lake Superior and the Red River is 500 miles; and, more directly, between 250 and 300 miles.\* Of the availableness of this route for canoe purposes there appears to be little room for doubt. The portages need to be cleared, and the navigation improved in some small shallow streams that must be passed; but we are assured, on the testimony of one gentleman thoroughly conversant with the details of Rupert's-Land travelling, that a sufficient force of men, with an ample supply of tools, would make the road passable in a month or two. The points of occupation should be Fort William, the Lake of a Thousand Islands, and the point of the boundary-line terminating on the Lake of the Woods. At an after period, when the portage roads are completed, tramways may be laid down, and trucks used for the conveyance of heavy stores and baggage. Improved portage roads and river-navigation would enable settlers from Canada to locate themselves on the banks of the Kaministiquioia and Rainy rivers, or other suitable places. That such places exist is attested by individuals who have had opportunity of making themselves acquainted with this country. Sir G. Simpson, in his "Voyage round the World," gives a glowing description of that portion of it that lies between the Lake of the Woods and the Rainy Lake. "From Fort Frances downwards, a stretch of nearly 100 miles, it is not interrupted by a single impediment, while yet the current is not strong enough materially to retard an ascending traveller. Nor are the banks less favourable to travellers than the waters themselves to navigation, resembling, in some measure, those of the Thames near Richmond. From the brink of the river there is a very gentle slope of greensward, crowned in many places with a plentiful growth of birch, poplar, beech, elm, and oak. It is too much for the eye of philanthropy to discern through the vista of futurity, this noble stream, connecting as it does the fertile shores of two spacious lakes, with crowded steam-boats on its bosom, and populous towns on its borders."

\* Col. Crofton states the canoe route to be 700 miles, and, as the crow flies, 500. Minutes, p. 181.

The testimony of the Bishop of Montreal, on his visit to the Red River in 1844, is precisely similar.

"The rude and rocky solitudes through which we passed, exhibited at intervals, many scenes of romantic beauty, and the features of the landscape assume, in some few instances, a softened character, as in the Rainy Lake River, and the lower part of the Kaministiquioia, where green sloping banks are crowned with a full foliage of well-grown deciduous trees, and fringed by luxuriant shrubs and bushes. Most of the lakes abound in small rock islets, covered partially or wholly with wood. Parts of the Ottawa—I do not speak of those which are within the verge of established civilization, and which comprehend some remarkable objects of attraction—are very beautiful; and nothing can exceed the romantic rapids known by the name of the Culbuta and the Calumet, in that river, at the latter of which the Government is engaged in constructing a slide for timber, which has already produced a nascent village. But the hand of the Creator has also gemmed the wilderness with minor decorations, and the eye is often refreshed by the sight of flowers, or trees and shrubs, in blossom. I forbear to particularize them, yet I cannot refrain from mentioning, that in parts of the downward route, in July and August, our way was enlivened by the greatest profusion of wild roses and highly-scented white water-lilies of extraordinary beauty."\*

Mr. Robert M. Ballantyne, who voyaged in 1845 from Lake Winnipeg to Fort William, on Lake Superior, has also left on record his experiences of these districts—

"There is nothing, I think, better calculated to awaken the more solemn feelings of our nature (unless, indeed, it be the thrilling tones of sacred music) than these noble lakes, studded with innumerable islets, suddenly bursting on the traveller's view as he emerges from the sombre forest rivers of the American wilderness. The clear unruffled water, stretching out to the horizon—here embracing the heavy and luxuriant foliage of a hundred wooded isles, or reflecting the wood-clad mountains on its margin, clothed in all the variegated hues of autumn, and there glittering with dazzling brilliancy in the bright rays of the evening sun, or rippling among the reeds and rushes of some shallow bay, where hundreds of wild fowl chatter, as they feed, with varied cry, rendering more apparent, rather than disturbing, the solemn stillness of

\* "Bishop of Montreal's Journal," p. 19.

the scene—all tend to 'raise the soul from nature up to nature's God,' and remind one of the beautiful passage of Scripture, 'O Lord, how manifold are Thy works: in wisdom hast Thou made them all; the earth is full of Thy riches.' \*

After having surmounted Rat Portage, they entered "on the glorious expanse of Lac du Bois, or, as it is more frequently called, the Lake of the Woods."

"We swept round point after point, and curve after curve, of the noble river, which displayed to our admiring gaze every variety of wild and woodland scenery; now opening up a long vista of sloping groves of graceful trees, beautifully variegated with the tints of autumnal foliage, and sprinkled with a profusion of wild flowers, and anon surrounding us with immense cliffs and precipitous banks of the grandest and most majestic aspect, at the foot of which the black waters rushed impetuously past, and, gurgling into white foam as they sped through a broken and more interrupted channel, finally sprang over a much shrouded cliff, and, after boiling madly onwards for a short space, resumed their silent and quiet course through peaceful scenery. The forest about this part of the river wore a much more cheerful aspect than those of the lower countries, being composed chiefly of poplar, birch, oak, and willows, whose beautiful light green foliage had a very pleasing effect upon eyes long accustomed to the dark pines along the shores of Hudson's Bay." †

The tide of Canadian emigration is now rapidly advancing westward. It does not affect the cold districts which lie on the north of the River St. Lawrence, but the districts bordering on the lakes which are really habitable and susceptible of improvement. Between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, there remains but little land to be taken up. Moreover, the settler prefers the prairies of the western states to the labour of clearing the forest; and thus, as the route from Lake Superior by the Lake of Woods is opened, and the wooden platforms at the portages—which, since the time of the North-west Company, have fallen into decay—have been repaired, the adventurous pioneers of civilization, advancing up those pleasant streams and fairy lakes, will push onward into the Red-River districts, and the prairie land beyond. The craggy and uninviting character of the north shore of Lake Superior points them onward, as though they were to find a home

beyond; while the western shore is well reported of, and, in fact, is now in direct communication with Canada and England. The traveller can go from Montreal to Toronto without transshipment; thence by railway, a distance of between ninety and one hundred miles, to a port on Lake Huron; thence by steamer to the head of Sault St. Mary; and from thence the navigation of Lake Superior lies open to Fort William. On the American side there is already regular steam traffic.

But for the opening up of full communication between the Red River and Canada, more than a canoe route is requisite; and the point on which there has been much diversity of opinion is as to the practicability of a road being constructed. The Canadian legislature entered on the investigation of this question. On that occasion the gentleman at the head of the Woods and Forests branch of the Crown Land Department, stated his conviction that an excellent waggon-road, clear through from a British port on Lake Superior to Fort Garry on the Red River, a distance, allowing for curvatures, of 400 miles, might be made at a cost of 250*l.* per mile. Sir George Simpson, on the contrary, considers that not only is a waggon-road impracticable, but that even the canoe route which he has travelled, in consequence of practical difficulties and impediments, could never be improved into a regular course of navigation; difficulties of such a nature that they could not be overcome, unless, to use his own strong language, "the Bank of England were expended upon the improvement of the country." Experience alone can test the accuracy or otherwise of these opinions; and the Canadians are resolved that the solution shall not be a far distant one, for we are informed that the disputed road has been actually commenced by them.

Nor can we be surprised at the solicitude manifested by the legislature and people of Canada; for, if not occupied by British subjects, these districts must soon become Americanized. The natural outlet of the Winnipeg country is in the direction of the Valley of the Missouri, and already the van of American colonization has advanced as far as Otter-tail Lake, 150 miles north of St. Paul's, and within 400 or 500 miles of the British frontier.

Such, then, is the position in which the Red-River districts, and the vast sweep of territory which runs westward to the Rocky Mountains, is placed in reference to its Canadian and American neighbours. Both desire to advance within its borders; the Americans, at least the first straggling pioneers, with a view to share in the advantages of the fur-trade, in respect

\* Ballantyne's "Hudson's Bay," pp. 223—225.

† *Ibid.*, p. 237.

of which they are already competing with the Company on the frontier; and the Canadians, that, by early settlement and colonization, they may prevent the Americans outflanking them, and cutting them off from the possibility of access to the Pacific. There must be an influx of population from some quarter, and that at no distant period. It will be fraught with danger to the Indian, but we cannot prevent it if we would. We must endeavour to prepare him as we best can for the changes which await him. By the invigorating action of Christianity, he may be strengthened and sustained, so as to be enabled to hold his ground in the presence of the white man. To endue the Indian tribes with this conservative element, we must labour diligently, and with increasing effort, feeling that our time is short. If colonization be unavoidable, let it be British. The prairie districts of Winnipeg and Saskatchewan must be retained. Through these, communication may be opened with our possessions in the Pacific, and, by railway extension, Vancouver's Island be connected with Canada and the mother country. Of all other harbours and stations on the western coast of America, the position of Vancouver's Island is the most commanding. It is the great British harbourage for the Pacific. Its direct connexion with us is more than a Canadian question: it is a national question—a national *desideratum*: and of all routes for the laying down of railway extension westward towards the Pacific, that which is to be found within the limits of the British dominions is admitted universally, even by the Americans themselves, to be the most feasible. Leading and influential Americans, who have investigated the subject, have not hesitated to express that conviction.

It may seem premature to advert to such great changes, which it may be thought belong to a future generation rather than our own. But in America there is an accelerated progress in events which contrast very strongly with the more deliberate movements of the old world. Cities of nineteen or twenty years old contain a population of 110,000. Maps constructed with the greatest care some twenty-five years back, so far as the westward territories of the United States are concerned, have become obsolete. The chart of Rupert's Land, indeed, remains the same; but the tidal wave is rapidly approaching the frontier of this hitherto isolated territory. It, also, will soon be visited by change; and it remains for all who are interested in its welfare to exercise such forethought, that these changes may be carried out with as small amount of evil, and as much of good, as may

be practicable. At present, the decision of the Select Committee promises to place before Canada an open door for action. They have considered it to be essential that the just and reasonable wishes of Canada should be met, and that there ought to be annexed to her territory such portions of land in her neighbourhood as may be available for purposes of settlement. The districts on the Red River and the Saskatchewan are specified as amongst those most likely to be desired for early occupation; and a Bill, having in view arrangements between Her Majesty's Government and the Hudson's-Bay Company, by which these districts may be ceded to Canada on equitable terms, is contemplated being introduced during the present Parliamentary Session.

For ourselves, it is a matter of great encouragement and thankfulness, that, through the labours of Christian Missionaries, the Gospel of Christ has made such progress amongst the various elements of population, and more especially those sections of the Indian tribes which are most likely to be affected by such changes. The testimony of the Bishop of Rupert's Land on these points, in which he is so deeply interested, is most encouraging and satisfactory. He states, that from amongst the native Indians there may be from 8000 to 10,000 who are more or less acted upon by Christianity; a very large proportion, if, as Sir G. Simpson states, there are not more than 55,000 Indians east of the Rocky Mountains. Wherever the climate permits it, they adopt industrial habits, and cultivate the ground; and an Indian settlement is in some measure like a parish at home, where they have their little farms around them, and some of the comforts of life. The ameliorative influence of Christianity is evidenced in the increase of population, &c., and the Indian settlement at the Red River is cited in proof of this, the total number of baptisms in fifteen years having been 545, and of deaths, 308; leaving a balance in favour of the increase of 237. The Bishop referred to the introduction amongst them of the syllabic character—the abridgement of the Indian words—which, when written alphabetically, are of cumbrous length; the facility with which they acquire these characters, so that in three days they can learn enough to puzzle out the system for themselves, and in a week they learn sufficient to go away and read their little books for the winter. Thus, when compelled to be absent at their hunting-grounds, they can have family-worship night and morning, and Lord's-day worship when that day comes round. They use the syllabic character for



the purpose of correspondence, and write to one another as freely as we do.

There are now sustained by the Church Missionary Society, in the Hudson's Bay territories east of the Rocky Mountains, 13 Missionary stations, 11 English clergymen, 3 native clergymen, and 19 country-born and native teachers. The communicants number 774; and in eighteen schools there are 780 scholars.\* The stations are dispersed over the face of the country as far north as the Churchill River and York Factory, Hudson's Bay. Some are in the Red-River districts; others are westward of Lake Winnipeg, on the Saskatchewan and in the Missinippi. Other stations, with their branches, encircle the southern and eastern shores of Hudson's Bay.

Before we conclude this article, it may not be uninteresting to our readers if we follow up our geographical researches, and place before them such information as we may be enabled to collect.

Looking westward of Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegos, which run on the west of, and parallel to, Lake Winnipeg, we find a country well adapted for the abode of civilized man. "For a breadth of 100 miles the country is covered with a dense growth of timber, intersected by beautiful streams running down from the Riding and Duck Mountains; some to the lakes, others to the south, falling into the Assiniboine River. The lakes are full of various kinds of fish of the very best quality; the plains to the south feed large herds of deer and buffalo." The fur-bearing animals are also plentiful in this district. The mountains, it is well known, contain much iron-ore. Some of the richest brine-springs in the world are in this locality.

From Lake Winnipeg to Fort Carlton, on the Saskatchewan is a wooded country; and from thence to Edmonton, on the north of Saskatchewan, there is a succession of prairie lands. At Cumberland, upwards of 300 miles due north of the frontier, wheat has been raised successfully. Remarkable evidence was given as to the productive capabilities of this part of the country by R. King, Esq., who went out in 1833 as surgeon and naturalist to the expedition in search of Sir John Ross. The course taken by that expedition was from Montreal, as the starting-point, to Lake Huron; from Lake Huron, leaving the Red-River Settlement on the left side, passing across Lake Superior, then on to La Crosse lake; from thence to Athabasca, down the Slave River to Great Slave lake; down the whole course of the

Great Slave lake, and the Great Fish River to the sea, at the estuary of that river. When asked whether he considered any portion of that territory available for the purposes of settlement, he replied, "Yes, I found a very large country, as it appeared to me at that date. I hold in my hand one of Arrowsmith's very best and recent maps, he being the great authority on that country; and the square piece of country, which I always looked upon as a fertile valley, is there distinctly shown. It is bounded on the south by Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan: it is an enormous tract of country. Cumberland territory is, according to Sir John Richardson, I find, several thousand square miles. Then it is bounded by the Athabasca lake on the north. . . . The sources of the Athabasca, and the sources of the Saskatchewan, include an enormous area of country, if you take those boundaries. It is, in fact, a vast piece of land, surrounded entirely by water. When I heard of Dr. Livingstone's description of the splendid country which he found in the interior of Africa, it appeared to me precisely the kind of country which I am now describing. I may state that I passed through a great portion of that country; but of course what I am saying now, as to the larger portion that I am speaking of, is not only from my own personal observation upon it, but from inquiry upon the spot, seeing the nature and extent of the country. This large portion, which I describe as within this area, I looked upon as the most fertile portion which I saw."† This country was observed by Mr. King both in spring and autumn, but more particularly in the earlier season of the year, when the ascent of the rivers afforded him superior opportunity. He found a rich soil, interspersed with well-wooded country, there being growth of every kind, and the whole vegetable kingdom alive. The soil he describes as a black mould, evidently alluvial, this being the character of the whole of the country at Cumberland House. The abundance of limestone indicated the productive capabilities of this tract: there was every sort of fruit, and the birch, beech, and maple, abundant; so vast and splendid in their growth as to bear comparison with the magnificent trees which are to be seen round Kensington Park.

The average temperature of this district Mr. King considers to be about the same as that of Montreal. There is no doubt that great errors have been made, by supposing that the shores of Hudson's Bay may be considered as a criterion of temperature for the entire breadth of the continent, and that we

\* These numbers are taken from the last Annual Report, 1856, 1857.

† Minutes of Evidence, 5611, p. 312, 313.

may judge of the western from its eastern portions. The climate of the American Continent is in close analogy with that of Europe and Asia, and "is affected by the same causes precisely, varied in a greater or less degree, in different localities, by circumstances peculiar to each. The west side of the continent of Europe and Asia is warmer on the same parallel of latitude than the east side, because the west has an ocean to the windward of it, the prevailing winds being westerly. The cause and effect are precisely the same on the continent of America, only in a somewhat greater degree, from having a larger and warmer ocean to the windward of it, and a colder sea to chill its eastern shores. The greater coldness of the North Atlantic, on the eastern shores of America, is caused by the mass of ice that annually drives southward through Davis's Straits. No such icebergs reach the same latitude in the Pacific." The isothermal lines rise northward as from the Asiatic continent they approach Western Europe; they again become depressed as they approach the eastern coast of the North-American continent; and again, with a very sudden reaction, curve northward as they pass the Rocky Mountains. Thus, Vancouver's Island is very little to the north of the isothermal line which touches Dublin, Bristol, London, Vienna, &c. Col. Lefroy, in his testimony, refers to this improvement in temperature, that everywhere in America, the further you go westward along the same parallel of latitude you come to a milder climate. Thus, at Fort Simpson, on the Mackenzie, about latitude 62°, barley grows very well indeed; while, advancing eastward in the same latitude, you come to scenes of utter desolation.

We are quite aware that isothermals of a whole year bring before us the distribution of temperature only on the broadest principles of generalization; and that, in order to ascertain the exact climate at any given locality, we need to know, not only the mean annual temperature, but its distribution into the several months and seasons. The quantity 12 may be subdivided into the slightly unequal portions of 5 and 7, or into the marked inequalities of 2 and 10, and so in places of the same mean annual temperature: in one the winter's cold may be but slightly depressed, and the summer's heat as slightly raised, above the average temperature; and in another the inequality between the two seasons may be very great indeed. "The isothermal of 50° goes through London and cuts the northern part of the Caspian Sea, the southern extremity of the Canadian lakes, &c. Yet Lon-

don can neither boast of the grapes which Astrakhan produces in finer quality than even Spain or the Canary Islands; nor of the ice on the other side of the Atlantic, which is actually brought to London,"\* the winters of these places being much colder and the summers much hotter. Yet, although, even in the most favourably-situated portions of the Rupert's-Land territories, the winters be protracted, and the extreme of cold severe, there is nothing in this which acts injuriously on human life, provided it be screened by those guards and precautions which civilization enables man to adopt; and we therefore find our Missionary labourers in Rupert's Land singularly healthy and long-lived. It is not the degree, but the character of cold that renders it injurious to man. The height of latitude affords but a very imperfect approximation to the character of cold, or the nature of the climate. "Men who are competent, from personal observation, to give an opinion, assert that the cold is more apparently intense, at any rate far more disagreeable, at Fort Churchill, in latitude 59°, than at Peel's River, upon the Arctic circle, and that vegetable life is more easily nourished at the latter, in the Rocky Mountains, than it is 10° farther south, upon the shores of Hudson's Bay."

We have referred to agricultural operations carried on by our Christian Indians at Cumberland. It is remarkable that this is not the first attempt of the kind that has been made in that direction. Mr. King, in approaching within thirty or forty miles of Cumberland House, found there a little colony of about thirty persons, consisting of a Canadian, an Englishman, and Half-breeds. They were engaged in farming operations, and had some 1000 acres and upwards under cultivation. The wheat was looking very luxuriant; and there were potatoes, barley, pigs, cows and horses.

This appeared to have been commenced under the auspices of Governor Williams, the predecessor of Sir George Simpson. He is said to have been ordered away from that part of the country, and the farms which he had erected were suffered to fall into decay. The colonists, at the time of Mr. King's visit, were much disquieted, as they had received orders to suspend their labours, and that at the moment when their fields were in a high state of cultivation. Such is Mr. King's testimony. He found the colony there twenty-

\* Wenham Lake, the celebrated dépôt for ice, is situated about 1½° north of the London isothermal.

four years ago, and it has now ceased to be, and its traces so completely obliterated, that, since the formation of our Mission in the vicinity of Cumberland, no mention has been made in any of our Reports of such an effort having ever been in existence.

It may not be amiss, before we terminate this geographical analysis of these territories, if we advert to the lake and river systems of North-west America. A chain of lakes stretches across the continent in a north-north-west direction: Lake Superior, Lake Winnipeg, Deer Lake, Wollaston Lake, Athabasca Lake, Great-Slave Lake, Marten Lake, and Great-Bear Lake. Lake Winnipeg, the first, which lies entirely within the limits of Rupert's Land, has in its immediate vicinity several other lakes, Moose Lake, Muddy Lake, Winnipegosis and Manitoba Lakes, all evidently portions of the same lake-basin. This lake, 230 miles long by forty wide, receives from the south and south-east the waters of the Red River and Winnipeg, the Berens River on the east, and, from the west, the great River Saskatchewan. By the Nelson River, and another outlet, it finds its way into Hudson's Bay—channels which, from time to time, are found to be insufficient to carry off the surplus waters, so that about once in every twenty-six years they overspread, and are forced back with a mighty inundation along the course of the Red River.

Northward of the Nelson, and parallel to its course, lies the river-basin of the Missinipi. It is a Cree appellation; "misi or mitchi," in Cree, signifying "much or great," and "nipi," "water," while "sipi," means "river." It is, therefore, nearly synonymous with Mississipi. The Missinipi is also called the Churchill, or English River. At Frog Portage, and elsewhere, the two basins, that of the Saskatchewan and Churchill, "are divided from each other by rocks only a few feet high, over which, in times of flood, the waters pour," so that the two may be viewed as one great valley, through which two large rivers flow, their trunks running parallel to each other. Deer and Wollaston Lakes discharge their waters into the Missinipi, although, singularly enough, the latter sheet of water is affirmed to send a stream from its north end into Athabasca Lake, as well as, from its south end, into the different river-system of the Misinipi.\* Further up its course the latter stream communicates with the Methy, Buffalo, Clear, and Isle-à-la-Croise Lakes.

The Saskatchewan and Churchill run transversely across the continent from the Rocky

Mountains to Hudson's Bay. Their direction, therefore, speaking generally as to their final issue, is from west to east. These systems, and the extent of territory which they occupy, separate between two vast systems—one the Mississippi, prevailing in its course from north to south, and the Mackenzie, from south to north; the one finding its home in the Gulf of Mexico, the other in the Arctic Sea. The dividing brim between the Missinipi basin and the Mackenzie-River valley is at Methy Portage, which is upwards of 1700 feet above the sea. It is after passing this portage that the traveller descends into the magnificent valley of the Clear-water. This valley, termed Washakummow by the Crees, according to Sir John Franklin's testimony, is not excelled, or even equalled, by any that he had seen in America for beauty. The view from the Cockscorn, the precipitous brow which, from a height of 634 feet, overlooks the valley, "extends thirty or forty miles, and discloses, in beautiful perspective, a succession of steep, well-wooded ridges, descending on each side from the lofty brows of the valley to the borders of the clear stream which meanders along the bottom."

The most southern branch of the Mackenzie is the Elk River, named also the Athabasca. Its rise is in the Rocky Mountains, where the elevation is 16,000 feet. Near its sources are some of the feeders of the Oregon, and many tributaries of the Saskatchewan. Flowing through prairie lands, it receives the waters of the lesser Slave Lake, and afterwards those of the Deer Lake. After its exit from the Athabasca Lake, it is joined by the Peace River from the west, the largest branch of the Mackenzie, the united stream assuming the name of Slave River. Although the oaks, the elms, and the ashes, which reach the Saskatchewan basin are absent here, the scenery continues to retain its woodland character; nor is there any marked change in this respect until the shores of the Arctic Sea are approached. "The white spruce continues to be the predominating tree in dry soils, whether rich or poor; the Banksian pine occupies a few shady spots; the black spruce skirts the marshes, and the balsam, poplar, and aspen fringes the streams; the latter also springs up in places where the white spruce has been destroyed by fire. The canoe-birch becomes less abundant, is chiefly found in rocky districts, and is very scarce north of the Arctic circle. It still, however, attains a good size in the sheltered valleys of the Rocky Mountains, up to the sixty-fifth parallel. Willows, dwarf-birches, alders, brambles, gooseberries, white cornel, and

\* Richardson, vol. ii. p. 200.

mooseberry, form the under-ground on the margin of the forests."\* The river, on leaving the Great Slave Lake, bends first westward and then northward. This bend of the Mackenzie may be considered as the termination of those prairies which extend from New Mexico. After a course of 150 miles, it is joined at Fort Simpson by a large tributary from the south-west, called the River of the Mountains. At Fort Liard, on this river, about the 60th parallel, the climate is such that "barley and oats yield good crops, and in favourable seasons wheat ripens well." The river on its course continues to receive many affluents, and, amongst others, the Great Bear River, until at length, in lat. 68° 55' N., the trees suddenly disappear, and soon after, the Great Mackenzie, disengaging itself from the continent through which it had forced its way, enters the Arctic Ocean.

We have thus cast a hurried glance over these vast regions, the greater portion of which yet remain unvisited by an evangelist. Our most advanced Missionary station towards the Athabasca districts and the valley of the Mackenzie is that at Church Mission Point on the Missinipi or English River; but the priests of the Church of Rome are in advance of us at Isle-à-la-Crosse. We cannot be surprised, therefore, if, amongst our friends at Red River, there exists an earnest desire to institute researches into the outlying regions towards the Arctic Sea, and obtain some accurate information as to the numbers of the Indian tribes, and the prospects that exist of carrying forward with effect amongst them Missionary operations. It is remarkable that one of the witnesses before the Select Committee has not hesitated to express his conviction, that while the more southern tribes—the Crees, Ojibways, &c., who have largely shared in the demoralizing influences connected with the fur-trade competition, and the introduction amongst them of ardent spirits, have diminished to an extent that, but for the growing action of Christianity amongst them, threatened them with extinction at no distant period: the more northern tribes who remained, because of their distance, comparatively untouched by such influences, have decidedly increased rather than diminished. Accordingly, on the return of the Bishop of Rupert's Land from England in October last, a meeting of the Missionaries at Red River was convened, and a decision arrived at, which will test the accuracy of such views. It will be found in the following letter from our Missionary, Archdeacon Hunter, which we will

now place before our readers. It is dated November 4, 1857—

"I have recently proposed to the Bishop that I should visit Mackenzie River next summer, and spend the following winter there in visiting the different posts on the Mackenzie, as far down as Peel's River, and, perhaps, the Arctic Sea; and then branch out and proclaim the gospel in the 'regions beyond,' and open up the way for future Missionary operations in the far north. At Cumberland we drove out the priests: they are now gone beyond us, into the Isle-à-la-Crosse and Athabasca districts, and six more priests have arrived here this autumn, some of whom will, no doubt, enter the Mackenzie-River district next summer. We must endeavour to outflank them, and take possession of Fort Simpson, the head-quarters of the Mackenzie-River District, and spread the light of the blessed Gospel far and wide around. I purpose, God willing, to go alone: Mrs. Hunter and family will remain here, and Mr. Kirkby will attend to the duties of this parish. I shall leave with the Long-Portage Brigade in June next, and be absent from here about a year and a half. The distance from here to Peel's River, at the Mackenzie, must be from 3000 to 4000 miles, and it will require the whole of the next summer before I shall reach that point, and I am anxious, if possible, to go down to the Arctic Sea, and visit the Esquimaux on the coast. Mr. Watkins has an Esquimaux servant, from whom I hope to learn something of the language this winter, and perhaps I may induce him to accompany me. During my journey I shall visit the following posts—Norway House—Christ Church, Cumberland, Cumberland House—Mission Point, English River—Isle-à-la-Crosse—Fort Chipewyan, Athabasca—Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake—Fort Simpson, Mackenzie River—Norman, Good Hope—Macpherson, Peel River—and Mouth of Mackenzie River, Arctic Sea; thus traversing the whole land from south to north, from 50° to 69° north. The Bishop desires me to say that my proposal has met with his cordial approval. I hope it will meet with the sanction of the Parent Committee, and enlist their prayers and sympathy for me during this long and arduous journey. I anticipate with much pleasure the joy of planting the standard of the cross on the banks of the mighty Mackenzie, and, if God will, the Arctic Sea, where the foot of the Missionary has never yet trod. I should be thankful if I had an unmarried Missionary to accompany me, who might remain at Fort Simpson, and form a permanent station there. Should God put it in the heart of any minister to come,

\* Richardson. vol. i. p. 137.

he might arrive here in May next, by the way of the States and St. Paul's, Minnesota territory, and to be in time to take his seat with me in the boat for the Arctic regions. If not, I go in faith, not single-handed or alone, for the Saviour will be with me to bring me on my journey, and give me favour in the sight of the heathen: and I am sure our noble Society will do what it can to send out by the

nextship one or two single men for the Mackenzie-River Mission. If not, and I am permitted to return, I shall feel almost emboldened to ask permission to come home, and plead with my dear friends for this object. If we delay another year, the Mackenzie River will be in the hands of the priests, and we shall have lost the golden opportunity."

## INDIA—THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

THE Church Missionary Society, in its Memorial to the Queen, referring to the position of neutrality between the Christian and false religions which the Government of India has hitherto professed to occupy, has besought Her Majesty "that the existing policy will no longer be professed or maintained; but that, as it is the belief of Your Majesty and this Christian nation, that the adoption of the Christian religion, upon an intelligent conviction of its truth, will be an incalculable benefit to the natives of India, the countenance and aid of Government will be given to any legitimate measures for bringing that religion under their notice and investigation."

When it becomes a duty to urge upon an individual the necessity of amendment in his general character and actions, it is of necessity, if we would have our remonstrance tell with full force upon his mind, that we should be prepared to indicate some specific point in his conduct in which his defectiveness of principle has unequivocally shown itself. The Church Missionary Society has so framed its Memorial; and having objected to the general character of our administrative action in India, proceeds at once to notice one branch of that administration in which there has been defective action, and where correction is needed of an important and decided character—"That since the Government, in addition to maintaining its own educational establishments, offers grants-in-aid to all other schools which provide a prescribed amount of secular knowledge, according to the principles laid down in its educational despatch of July 19, 1854: the Bible will be introduced into the system of education in all Government schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude, and the source of those Christian principles upon which Your Majesty's Government is to be conducted." Thus the whole question is brought to a practical issue; and what we consider to be faulty in our general policy, and the nature of the improvement which is needed, are at once made manifest. Hitherto our aim has been

to denude our Oriental policy as much as possible of all reference to Christianity, lest we might be suspected of interfering with the religious scruples of the natives; and thus, from all plans of education sustained by Government, there has been a studied exclusion of the Christian element. The Memorial claims that the Bible be admitted into the schools and colleges; in other words, that the systematic avoidance of that becoming recognition which is due to Christianity, as the truth of God, and the religion of our convictions, should give way to a frank and candid avowal of its truth, and of our conviction that it is for the best interests of Hindús and Mussulmans under our rule in India that they should consider and embrace it.

In this matter of education the whole question of our general policy has been narrowed to a point, and here the battle of principle will have to be fought. On the result which may be effectuated here, we are persuaded the issue of the entire movement will depend. We have addressed ourselves to a gigantic undertaking. The launching of the "Leviathan" symbolizes what has to be done. That ponderous craft was unwilling to be moved, although the object was to launch her into her own proper element, where she might have freedom. Not only did she yield no co-operation, but the inert mass, settling itself where it was never intended to be stationary, offered every resistance, and tested to the utmost the resources of scientific skill and human power. And when it moved, it was only inch by inch it did so: nor was this movement continuous, but often interrupted; and there were discouraging moments, when the machinery succumbed to the strain which was put upon it, and some were disposed to think that the effort would prove a failure. We admire the unconquerable perseverance of those who, having applied themselves to the undertaking, refused to renit their efforts, and, apparently gathering strength from reverses, brought out new ap-

pliances, and met each new difficulty with renewed resolution. Our undertaking is more arduous. We shall find it no easy matter to move statesmen and officials from the old traditional principles on which our Indian Empire has been reared to its present magnitude. Although it be evident that to remain stationary is to forfeit the labours of the past, and that, if progress is to be made, our Indian administration must be launched upon a new and free element, yet will there be resistance; that sort of resistance which, although it cannot reply to arguments, refuses to be influenced by them. It is an undertaking, therefore, which requires the hearty and persevering co-operation of all who are convinced that our past government of India, in every other respect beneficent in its action, and solicitous to ameliorate the condition of the vast population in that country committed to our care, through an unhappy misapprehension of its duty, has been defective in one vital point, and has thus obstructed itself in all its measures for the improvement of that people.

Yet it is to be feared, that in approaching this educational question, we do not carry with us that full force of union which is so desirable and requisite, and that some, who concur in general objections to the policy of the past seem to hesitate and shrink back from that specific application of those objections to which we have adverted. Many, equally zealous with ourselves for the extension of gospel influence throughout India, decline to unite with us in the prayer of the Memorial, that the Bible be introduced into Government schools and colleges. Some remarks may be permitted, which may perchance, in a feeble measure, help to remove this hesitation, and secure the co-operation of all who feel convinced that, as a nation, we have been under correction because of the past, and that God expects of us amendment as to the future.

The people of India are in a state of the most deplorable ignorance. It appears scarcely necessary to expend one word on a fact of such universal notoriety; and yet it may be well to regard somewhat fixedly a state of things which we are disposed to deal with superficially, just because we admit it to be true, and to bear the testimony of one or two individuals, who, from their official position, have had opportunities of access on this subject to full and accurate information.

In 1848, a scheme was prepared by the late Mr. Thomason, then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-western Provinces, for the promotion of vernacular education in certain

districts, selected, in the first instance, for the purpose of a tentative proceeding. In connexion with this movement, reports were drawn up of an elaborate character; and it is from an official summary of these reports, addressed by W. Muir, Esq., Secretary to the Government of the North-western Provinces, to the Government of India, and bearing date Agra, August 4th, 1853, that we introduce the following passages—"The Memoir on the statistics of indigenous education in the North-western Provinces, which was printed in 1850, abundantly shows, that before the commencement of these operations, there was scarcely any appreciable agency for the education of the masses. Very few adults were possessed of reading and writing, and the prospect of any improvement amongst the young was almost hopeless."\*

It will be observed that there is an omission in this passage of all reference to the educational efforts of Missionary bodies. As schools established on a Christian basis, it might probably have been considered inconsistent with the religious-neutrality position assumed by the Government to introduce any mention of them. It is also true that education is not the primary object of Missionary Societies, and is handled only so far as consists with the great work of evangelization, and therefore that large numerical results in the way of education could not be expected from them. Still some appreciable agency was at work, and something done, before Government had awakened to the duty of relieving the prevailing destitution; and that which has been done, so far as quality is concerned, is of the most valuable character, and far more promotive of the real welfare of the people than the secular teaching to which unhappily the Government has confined itself.†

In the perusal, therefore, of extracts from Government reports, it must be remembered

\* Selections from Records of Bengal Government, No. 22, p. 8.

† Mr. Muir in his report, has stated that printed books were scarcely at all used. But there were some, and an Appendix to his report contains a list of Hindî, Urdû, and Persian publications, which had issued from the presses. Of Hindî books, twenty-eight had been published: of these, fifteen had issued from presses in connexion with Missionary work—the Secundra and Allahabad Mission-presses. Of Urdû books, twenty-two had been published: of these, seven had been issued from the Secundra press. Of Persian there had been five, of which none had come forth from the Mission-presses. And of Urdû and Hindî two, of which one had been from the Secundra press.

that the comparison lies exclusively between Governmental efforts and the destitution of the people, and that valuable agencies are at work, although not to such a numerical extent as materially to affect the correctness of the view which they present to us.

It must not, however, be concluded, that in all official documents there is the same omission of reference to Missionary educational efforts. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Halliday, in an able Minute (1853), in which he places before the Council of Education his views on vernacular education, expressly refers to them, and that, too, in high terms of commendation. "It is notorious that Missionary vernacular schools have succeeded when ours have failed; and with proper inspection we can be sure of their good working. I think that the time has come when we may wisely use the services of these laborious, zealous, and earnest men." Mr. H. Woodrow, also a Member of the Council of Education, in a Minute (1854), in which he contends for the extension of grants-in-aid of Missionary schools, expresses his conviction, "that Missionary vernacular-schools are now more efficient, and consequently better attended, than Government vernacular schools."

We now recur to the extracts from Mr. Muir's report, pointing out the inability of the people to help themselves in the matter of education, and the necessity of effort in their behalf. He observes—"The learning formerly communicated to the mass of the people, by such means as were within their reach, was of the lowest character. It was mostly formal and technical—an exercise of the memory rather than of the understanding, communicated either orally, or in a rude-written character (Kaithi). Printed books were scarcely at all used; and Urdú was seldom taught as a language, or employed as a vehicle of instruction." During the brief period of effort to which the summary refers, a little more than three years, much praiseworthy exertion appears to have been put forth; a considerably-increased number of youths had been brought under instruction; the character of that instruction had been raised; and a vernacular school literature created. An additional stimulus was given to the incipient improvement by the announcement, on the part of Government and the Sudder Board of Revenue, that all persons in Government employ would be required to read and write. Still, the portion meted off from the vast wastes of ignorance, and thus brought under cultivation, was but limited indeed. In the eight selected districts, the

closest research of the Inspector general of Schools could not discover "that more than 209,123 persons, out of a male-population of 4,270,565, or less than five per cent., were able to read and write in the most imperfect manner. But besides these more-favoured localities, there were twenty-two Regulation districts in which no commencement of effort had been made; and beyond these extensive boundaries there lay, in one direction, the hill-population of Kemaon and Dehra, and in another, the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, and Jaloun throughout whose teeming populations there prevailed a total deficiency of all means of education, except such as were afforded by the old indigenous schools.

We may be permitted here to give a sketch of one of these unimproved nurseries of learning, on which the people had been entirely dependent until the movement, which may justly be named the Thomason movement, for the educational improvement of the masses, had commenced an indigenous vernacular school—"busily employed in the laborious physical exertion of shouting out certain arithmetical tables with the whole power of the small lungs of the urchins. . . . The bright-eyed little fellows were squatted upon the clay floor, without order or regularity, and were repeating, in a sing-song chorus, what was first uttered with a strong nasal twang by the master. Arithmetic was the only branch in which they exhibited any degree of proficiency, and, in this, one or two small boys worked out puzzling additions and multiplications of odd and fractional numbers with wonderful quickness and facility; but it was evidently a mere laborious effort of memory, without any attempt to expand the intellect or educate the senses. Of geography, geometry, or any thing else, they seemed to know nothing whatever."

Such was the condition, as to education, of the North-western Provinces in the year 1853, the increase in the number of boys in the eight experimental districts, which, as the result of the new movement, had been raised from 17,000 to 30,000, being the only set-off, as far as Government efforts are concerned, to the dark picture we have drawn.

Let us now look at the lower Provinces. We have before us a report, dated Aug. 23, 1855, from Mr. H. Woodrow, Inspector of Schools. Ten districts had been assigned to his Inspectorship.

- |                       |                 |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1. The 24 Pergunnahs. | 6. Dacca.       |
| 2. Baraset.           | 7. Backergunge. |
| 3. Jessur.            | 8. Tipperah.    |
| 4. Pubna.             | 9. Noakally.    |
| 5. Furriddpur.        | 10. Chittagong. |

From this report we introduce one pregnant extract.

"In a letter, which I lately addressed to the Director of Public Instruction on general education of the masses, I showed, from the results arrived at in the educational census of England and Wales, that we might, in Bengal, expect to find 25 per cent. of the population between the ages of four and twelve years, that is, in the age fit for education; that of this number the girls would be

$\frac{2}{7}$ , and the boys  $\frac{7}{11}$ ; and as the girls, for statistical purposes, may be omitted in an education census of Bengal, that there would remain nearly nine per cent. of the population as boys fit for instruction. If, from various causes, 25 per cent. of this number are disabled from attending schools, or are instructed at home, which is the proportion allowed in England, there would still remain nearly seven per cent. who might attend school. The result is shown in the accompanying table—

Districts.	Population	Boys between the age of 4 and 12 years.	Boys who ought to be at School.	Boys who are in the Gov. English schools.	Boys in the Gov. Vernacular Schools.
24 Pargunnahs, exclusive of Calcutta	461,000	41,400	32,270	102	144
Baraset .....	466,000	43,740	34,020	179	140
Jessur .....	893,000	80,370	62,510	140	70
Furridpur .....	557,000	50,130	38,890	125	..
Dacca .....	542,000	48,780	37,940	409	..
Pubna .....	862,000	77,580	60,340	173	..
Rackerunge .....	737,000	66,330	51,590	236	..
Tipperah, Noakally, Chittagong .....	1,371,000	123,390	95,970	195	..
	949,000	85,410	66,430	152	..
	6,858,000	617,220	480,060	1711	354

According to the proportion of those actually in school to the rest in England, the total number in Bengal would, out of these 480,000, be [nearly] 380,060 boys. But there are now under instruction,

Government English Schools . 1711  
Government Vernacular Schools, 354

2065.

Education for the masses has, therefore, to be commenced in East Bengal."

Out of the great aggregate of more than 480,000 boys who ought to be in school, 2065 only were in attendance at Government schools so recently as two and a-half years back. Mr. Woodrow observes, "I report only the results of my own inspection, and the information I have obtained as to the general results of education in my district. The Baptist and Independent Missionaries have favoured me with some statements as to Jessur, Dacca, Baraset, and have promised more." But supposing that the maximum of Missionary results were placed before us, and to these were added the efforts of private schools, which "in the neighbourhood of Calcutta are numerous, and some of them in a very efficient state," a vast deficit would still remain—a mass of youthful humanity entirely dependent on the infirm support of indigenous education. Nor is this, in Bengal, in any degree superior to the kindred procedure in the north-west.

"The education of a Bengali child usually

begins at five or six years of age, and lasts for about five years . . . In this time they begin in tracing letters with their fingers on a sandboard, or on the floor. They then proceed to writing with a reed-pen on a palm-leaf; learn letters or words, with tables of numeration, money, weights, and measures, and the correct mode of writing the distinctive names of persons, castes, and places. They subsequently acquire the elementary rules of arithmetic, with the simplest cases of the mensuration of land, and commercial and agricultural accounts, together with the modes of address proper in writing letters to different persons. Up to this stage the pupil writes with ink made of charcoal, which rubs out, and with a reed-pen held in the fist. The last stage of this course of education is writing with lamp-black ink on paper, and further instruction in agricultural and commercial accounts, and in the composition of letters. In country places the rules of arithmetic are chiefly applied to agricultural, and in towns to commercial accounts. The whole of this limited course is taught orally, and varies according to the ability of the teacher, for printed books are not employed. The imperfections of the plan can, therefore, be readily imagined. They are thus summed up by Mr. Adams:—"The scholars are entirely without instruction, both literary and oral, regarding the personal virtues and domestic duties. The teacher, in virtue of his character, or in the way of advice or reproof, exercises no



moral influence on the character of his pupils. For the sake of pay he performs a menial service, in the spirit of a menial. On the other hand, there is no text or school-book used containing any moral truths, or liberal knowledge, so that education, being limited entirely to accounts, tends rather to narrow the minds, and confine its attention to sordid gain, rather than to improve the heart and enlarge the understanding.' This description applies, so far as I at present know, to all indigenous elementary schools throughout Bengal. In the interior of Bengal, and even within the limits of the twenty-four Pergunnahs, where English education is unknown, the system described by Mr. Adams is still that in existence."

Let us now glance at the report of the Inspector for Behar, bearing date Dinapur, August 21, 1855. In this province there appeared to be, at this time, a growing appreciation of the value of English education, the returns of nine English schools presenting a total of 1094 boys. But the more difficult and important mission is the introduction of vernacular education for the masses of Behar, where "superstition, bigotry, and ignorance, contend for the pre-eminence." Everywhere throughout India it is difficult to make progress in presence of an ignorance so gross and firmly established, that "even the more enlightened and 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." But the indisposition, great everywhere, acquires 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. . . . 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."

Such, is the condition of the population of Behar: not only ignorant, but hostile to any effort which had for its object the removal of that ignorance. Let the extracts from the different reports, as we have given them, be viewed in combination. What a picture do they present of the Bengal Presidency throughout its vast extent! midnight darkness overspreading the whole land—a darkness which might be felt; ignorance, not only of divine, but even of useful knowledge; the human intellect left without any other material on which it might employ itself, save the defilements and puerilities of the Hindú mythology. What a stagnation of mental power! These dense masses of ignorant and prejudiced humanity remind us of the Dead Sea and its heavy waters; the sea in which there is no life, where the waters, corrupted with an admixture of salt, sulphur, and bitumen, are too sluggish to be moved by the passing breeze. It is only when the hurricane descends from the scarred mountains around, that they become fearfully agitated, and, rising in ponderous waves, meet and crash against each other as with the sound of a sledge-hammer.

What can be expected of a nation so circumstanced! A great social evil is spread abroad throughout the land; one from which crime must be generated in every variety and abundance. If unwholesome marshes send forth pestiferous influences which injuriously affect the health of a neighbourhood, and cause fevers to prevail, it becomes the duty of those in authority to adopt sanitary measures. But how unwholesome the *miasmata* which arise from these low swamps of ignorant and unimproved humanity, which spread abroad vast and wide as the millions of India's population! What measures, then, have been originated by the Government of India with a view to the removal of this ignorance? A semi-official publication has been placed in our hands—"Memorandum on the Improvement in the Administration of India"—which, amongst other notices, presents a digest of what has been attempted in the matter of education. The institutions supported or endowed, with a view to the preservation of oriental literature from decay, are first referred to; and then the introduction of the study of the English into all the higher places of instruction under Government influence, and the use of the English and vernacular as the medium of education.

But the education of the masses through the medium of their own vernaculars does not appear to have been thought of at an earlier date than fourteen years ago. In 1848, the Lieut.-Governor of the North-western Provinces proposed the establishment, throughout those provinces, of that system of village-schools to which we have already referred, and which, in the first instance, it was considered best to introduce experimentally into eight districts. The measure proving successful, its extension to all the thirty-one districts of the North-western Provinces, was subsequently sanctioned, at a total cost of 17,207*l.* As an improvement on this plan, *hulkabundi*, or circle-schools, were next organized, several villages, conveniently situated, being grouped together, and in a central situation a school established, at the joint cost of all the villages.

"In Bengal the establishment of 101 vernacular schools had been authorized by the Government in 1844, shortly before the first proposals of Mr. Thomason. The schools were established at the places where they were thought most likely to succeed;" but, excepting in a very few cases, they failed to attract scholars, the old indigenous schools, where nothing worthy the name of education was afforded, proving more popular. In 1853 and 1854, accordingly, this system was superseded in favour of the plan already adopted in the North-western Provinces, of "a visitatorial staff, model-schools, and aid and encouragement to indigenous schools. The estimate of the plan on the experimental scale proposed amounted to about 7000*l.* per annum. There was a normal-school at this time at Agra, for the masters of vernacular schools, which was working very well. At Calcutta the Sanskrit college furnished a considerable number of masters suited for village-schools."

Thus, education, so far as the masses are concerned, has been entirely of recent origin, and at the time when the memorable Education Despatch of July 1854 was set forth, was in quite an infantile condition. Nor is this true only of the Bengal Presidency, but of Madras and Bombay likewise. One extract from the "Memorandum" will suffice for a brief view of these Presidencies, so far as education is concerned.

"The history of education at Madras, up to a recent period, presents little beyond a record of failures. A plan was proposed by Sir Thomas Munro in 1822, and approved by the home authorities, for the establishment of provincial, district, and tehsil-schools, throughout the Presidency, at an estimated cost of 5000*l.* per annum. Schools were established,

but they proved failures, and were abolished. The University of Madras was nominally established by Lord Elphinstone's Government; but in the only department of it which was really proceeded in—the lower department, or "high school"—the success was by no means great, and the number of pupils was quite disproportionate to the expense. The whole subject of education came under reconsideration in 1852, when a plan was laid down by Government, which provided for the education of all classes in a way very much in accordance with that which has since been laid down for adoption throughout India; comprising a central institution at the Presidency, provincial colleges, for high schools, zillah and *tehsil* schools, with a system of inspection or visitation, and grants-in-aid. The University at Madras was at once remodelled; but little progress had been made up to 1854 in carrying out the other parts of the plan, beyond the establishment of provincial schools at Cuddalur and Rajahmundry.

"The principal places of education in the Bombay Presidency are the Elphinstone Institution at Bombay, and the College at Púna. These institutions, partly founded by native subscriptions, and partly by Government, were designed to afford a collegiate education of a high class, through the medium of the English language, a staff of professors being maintained for giving instruction in mathematics, English literature, natural philosophy, logic, mental and moral philosophy, political economy, &c. A high school was attached to the Elphinstone Institution, and a Sanskrit department to the Púna College. In 1854-55 there was only one district of the Presidency in which there was not a Government English school. Vernacular schools had been established in many places at the expense of Government; but as the plan had not long been adopted of requiring any part of the cost to be defrayed from local resources, operations in this direction had been much limited by want of funds. Under a plan brought into operation shortly before 1854, the establishment of a school by Government was made conditional on a portion of the expense being defrayed by the inhabitants; and, under this rule, vernacular education was in the course of steady extension up to 1854. A normal class for masters of Mah-ratha schools existed at Púna, and one for masters of Guzeratti schools at Surat."

The Educational Despatch of 1854, intended to give additional impulse to the operations of Government, preceded the fearful outbreak which has so desolated the Bengal Presidency by the brief interval of two years and nine

months, and had no time afforded it of yielding any large measure of result. Much was contemplated, but little of positive good was effected before the storm burst upon us. The development of large educational measures, intended to repair the negligences of former years, has been suddenly arrested; nor is it possible that they can be resumed until the inundation has subsided. Meanwhile time is afforded for thought and consideration as to the character of the contemplated arrangements, whether they be in all respects such as are suited to the necessities of India.

The educational measures of Government have been throughout defective in one vital point. They have been framed and prosecuted in a purposed exclusion of the Christian element. In the governmental institutions secular instruction was alone to be imparted. Nor did the Educational Despatch of 1854 introduce any decided change in this respect; nay, it recognised and reinforced the old principle. The education imparted was to remain as it had been, exclusively secular; and in the Government notifications, promulgating, in the different vernacular languages, the new system of grants-in-aid, it was deemed advisable "distinctly to assert in them the principle of perfect religious neutrality on which the grants will be awarded."

Throughout all the ramifications of governmental education, religion was to remain uninterfered with. That was to be the fixed and unalterable principle. The education imparted was neither to commend Christianity to the heathen youth, nor diminish in the slightest degree the influence of their own false systems over their minds. Each material presented was to receive the same gloss of intellectual improvement, but to remain essentially the same as it was before; and the Hindú, and the Mohammedan, and the Parsí, were to go forth without alteration as to their religious sentiments. That was the theory. It has not been carried out in practice. True, Christianity has remained unnoticed. We put this point in the mildest form, and to assume the accuracy of the language employed in paragraph 84 of the Despatch (Educational) of 1854—"Those (Government) institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India, and to effect their object it was, and is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools, and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be, and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent or to discourage any explanations which the pupils may, of their own

free will, ask from their masters on the subject of the Christian religion, provided that such information be given out of school-hours. Such instruction being entirely voluntary on both sides, it is necessary, in order to prevent the slightest suspicion of an intention on our part to make use of the influences of Government for the purpose of proselytism, that no notice shall be taken of it by the inspectors in their periodical visits." We apprehend that this paragraph indicates rather what it was desired should be the practice for the future, than what had actually prevailed during the past. But admitting that all which is embraced therein had been the customary procedure, still we say that practically the issue is the same. No doubt, in these libraries there were numerous volumes, and there was a Bible amongst them. It was not refused, —one copy, at least, of God's inspired record, and revelation of His love to sinful man—standing room upon the shelf. But it was deprived of its distinctiveness as the Bible, and reduced to the level of ordinary books. There was nothing to indicate to the native youth that there attached to it any peculiar value, or that it had any special claims to his attention. There was nothing in the instruction he received to render him cognizant of its existence, or induce him to remove it from its place on the library shelf, and open its pages. He might ask questions of his masters on the subject of Christianity out of school-hours, but the inquiry was to originate with himself; and what was there to suggest it? Certainly, then, there was nothing in these institutions to commend Christianity to the notice of the heathen, and so far the principle of religious neutrality was strictly adhered to. Neither do we imply that there was any instruction given in the tenets of the Hindú or Mohammedan religions: no, not even in the Sanskrit institutions at Calcutta and Benares; institutions designed to be of a philological character, in which the Sanskrit language and literature are taught mainly in subserviency to the important objects of a vernacular literature, and in which the Shasters are not taught, nor instruction given in the dogmatic theology of the Hindús. But we say that in these institutions, the theory in which they were established has been violated. If Christianity was not commended to the notice of the Hindú student, his native faith was interfered with; for the effect of the secular instruction given him was utterly to destroy its influence over his mind. The students were to go forth from these colleges untouched as to religion. Instead of this, they have gone forth, many of them, without any religion at

all. They learned enough to be convinced of how false were all the paternal superstitions which their childhood had received, but they had not learned enough to be aware of that true faith which God has provided to be substituted in their place. Their education unmasked error, but it did not reveal truth. Their instructors took from them what they had, but gave them nothing in its place; and these institutions have been infusing into the life-blood of India a new and dangerous ingredient, a semi-infidelized element, and something more; divested of all religious restraint, restless and revolutionary, recognising no superior in God, and therefore impatient at the idea of being held in subordination by man.

We say, then, that these institutions, in practice, have been at variance with the principle on which they were established. They were intended not to touch religion. They have done so. They have interfered with and displaced from the minds of numbers the influence of the Hindú system. The Hindú youth has been induced to enter these colleges on the assurance that he was to be dealt with only in the way of secular education; and in going forth from them he has found, that so far as religion is concerned, he has ceased to be a Hindú. We plead, then, on his behalf. We say that these institutions have inflicted on him a cruel wrong. We prefer to have him under the influence of a false religion, than without any religion at all; for in the one case, however mistaken and repulsive his views may be, there is still the recognition of a divine superior; but in the other case the existence of God is dealt with as a fable, and instead of ignorance and superstitious prostration of mind we have intellectual hardihood and impious scoffing. We repeat, that in the educational system hitherto pursued a great wrong has been inflicted on the people of India. We have no right to interfere with their religion, unless we are prepared to present them with a better. In our Missionary action we never propose to ourselves the process of first reducing men to infidelity, and then proceeding to raise them from a negation of all religion to a belief of the truth. We should consider that a dangerous and unjustifiable process, and fear lest, in such a mode of transfer from a false to a true religion, the man should be lost in the abyss between. Rash and precipitate as we have often been pronounced to be, yet in Missionary work we pursue a more candid and safer course. We do not disguise from the native that we wish him to become Christian, and that we mean to use every becoming means for the accom-

plishment of that purpose; but we proceed to eject error only by the introduction of truth, just as the darkness is gradually dissipated by the entrance of light. We do not desire so to cast out the unclean spirit of superstition as to leave the heart empty, lest he enter in with greater force as the unclean spirit of infidelity, and the last state of that man become worse than the first.

We say, then, that the mode of educational procedure which has hitherto prevailed in India cannot be sustained. We are quite ready to admit, that when it was initiated no such practical issue as that of infidelity was ever contemplated. No, undoubtedly; but it is apparent now. It cannot be denied. It is a matter of notoriety that the Hindú system cannot bear the light even of mere secular instruction; and that if this alone be given to the Hindú student you destroy its existence in his mind, and leave him without any religion at all. No Government has a right to irreligionize its subjects: nor can it be surprising that a Government which so deals with the native youth entrusted to its care should become an object of bitter hatred to thousands in the land. For what must be the feelings of Hindú parents when they receive back a youth from a Government college where he has been in attendance, and find him a blasphemer of their gods, and in temper and bearing just what infidelity makes a man—proud, imperious, a despiser of his parents; in short, a new and evil element in Hindú social life, a root of bitterness and fearful aggravation of its pre-existing misery? Already the grievous mistake into which we have lapsed has yielded its bitter fruits. In Nana Sahib we have the specimen of what the native becomes under the influence of secular education. We have had amongst natives who have continued in bigoted attachment to their false creeds, many cruel enemies; but has Nana Sahib's gentlemanly polish rendered him less cruel, less treacherous than the bigoted Hindú or Moham-medan? Externally assimilated to us, he remained within, the same vile and coarse material, and when we reposed confidence in him he betrayed us.

There must be a change in our educational administration, and now Government must either, in all its educational institutions, identify itself with Christianity, or else, withdrawing from all direct connexion with education, confine itself to the grant-in-aid system. Which course shall it pursue? We reserve the discussion of that question for another paper.

## NIGER EXPEDITION.—LOSS OF THE “DAYSRING.”

THE REV. SAMUEL CROWTHER'S NARRATIVE.

BEFORE we introduce to our readers Mr. Crowther's journal, we would notice some points respecting the territory in which, for a season, the expedition has been stayed, and the political state of these parts of Africa, which led us to entertain the expectation, that, as we continually find to be the case in matters connected with the advancement of the Gospel kingdom, out of this adverse circumstance, the loss of the “Dayspring,” permanent good will be made to spring.

The country is that of Nupi, the Nufi, and Nyffe, of previous writers, the same to which an extension of our Mission through the Yoruba country would directly lead us, and which our Nufi Christians of Sierra Leone have long wished to revisit as their native land, and one for whose evangelization they desired to labour. This country, of ancient date, is “situated to the eastward of the Kwórra, and bounded on the south by Igbara. Its inhabitants, now partly Moslems and partly pagans, are a very ingenious and trading race. Among their articles of manufacture, are cloths, braas ornaments, and necklaces made of pebbles, which they cut and polish for the purpose. Their language is peculiar; and as their traders travel over a wide extent, it may be heard spoken in many places. Fully one-half of the population employs no national mark, and that used by the remainder consists of a short cut proceeding from near the inner angle of the eye, in a slight curved, diagonally direction, about two-thirds across the cheek. Nupe, its people, and its language, are in Hausa known as Takpa (Tappa).”

This territory and its people have been rendered tributary to the Felatahs. Internal divisions among the Nupes appear to have prepared the way for this. “A good many years ago two persons contended for the throne, namely, Mamagia (often Mangia and Magia) and Ederisa. The former referred his case to the Felani, who, as umpires, divided the kingdom between the claimants, but making both pay tribute to a third person called Asumo, and hence named Asumo-Saraki. This person, a Pulo by descent, if not by birth, was son of Mallam Den'do, often also called Mallam Musa, by a Hausa woman, and was a grandson of the Sultan Bello. Before he was thus placed over the country, he had quarrelled with, and tried to kill, his half-brother, Dasaba, who, however, escaped from him, first across the Kowarra, and finally to Ladé. Ederisa's head-quarters were about Egga, while Asumo-Saraki and Ma-

magia resided at Rabba. On the death of Mamagia, Asumo-Saraki seems to have assumed the entire rule of Nupe, especially as Ederisa left no heir. All the feelings of Asumo-Saraki being Pulo, the Nupe people supported Dasaba, who, as his mother was a Nupe, might be looked on more as one of themselves. Thus assisted, about 1845 or 1846 he attacked his brother, defeated him, and destroyed Rabba; after which Asumo-Saraki took refuge in the Hausa country. . . . Dasaba fixed himself at Ladé. Dasaba, who is also called Mahamasaba, or, by contraction, Masaba, is of a cruel and tyrannical disposition, and was dreaded alike by his subjects and his neighbours. In the early part of 1854 his people rose against him, drove him into exile, and selected in his stead Báziba, the son of Mangia. Dasaba fled to the Yoruba country, and was received and sheltered by the Mohammedans of Illorin.” Subsequently, however, Dasaba, assisted by Mohammedans from Ibadan and Illorin, under promise of better conduct for the future, had induced his subjects again to receive him.

At the time, then, of previous expeditions the whole country was in a distracted state and there could have been no hope of usefulness. When Laird and Oldfield were in these interior waters (1832, 1834) the Fulani were wasting their land, especially on the western or Kakanda side of the river, and the terrified inhabitants were seeking refuge on the opposite bank, which for many miles was covered with their barracoons, or temporary huts, hastily erected of mats. The approach of the Fulani horseman was preceded by columns of smoke, town on town being set on fire. “The scene at night was imposing: the fire, catching the dried grass, ran furiously along the ground, excited by a strong breeze from the westward, which rolled the dark mass of smoke over the river. The shrieks of the unfortunate wretches that had not escaped, answered by the loud wailings and lamentations of their friends and relatives, encamped on the opposite bank of the river, at seeing them carried off into slavery, and their habitations destroyed, produced a scene which, though common in this country, had seldom, if ever before, been witnessed by European eyes.”\*

At the period of the Tshadda expedition in 1854, the confusion still continued, the war between the Fulani brothers, Asumo-Saraki and Dasaba, raging at the time. As the

\* “Laird and Oldfield,” vol. i. pp. 247, 248.

"Pleiad" was going up, the people were taking refuge on the islands, and slaves were to be seen in every direction; many unfortunate persons, who had become sufferers in the war between Dasaba and his brother, and such as had fallen a prey to the Fulanis at the destruction of Panda—the Fundah of Laird—being scattered about the country in all directions by their captors.

The war between the brothers has ceased: they are in friendship, and the country enjoys a little respite. At such an auspicious moment the Gospel enters with the olive-branch of peace.

In the great and blessed work of introducing Christianity and its blessings among the tribes and natives which dwell on the banks of the Niger and Tshadda, several languages will need to be employed—the Oru, or Brass, spoken to the extent of 100 miles from the mouth of the Nun; the Abo, a dialect of the Ibo language, comprising a district of 50 or 60 miles along the Niger, and in its various dialects extensively spoken in the interior; the Igarra, used to the extent of 110 miles along the river's course, as far as the Confluence; the Kakanda, a dialect of the Yoruba, found now chiefly on the left instead of the right bank, whence this people have been driven by Dasaba; the Nupe, to which we have already referred; and the Felani. Then, along the course of the Tshadda—the Igbara, on the right side; next to it the Doma, or Arago, of the Yoruba class; then, on the left side, the Mitsi, and beyond it the Kororofa. But Missionary action will be greatly facilitated amongst those tribes by the general use of one language among them, the Hausa; one in which the elementary difficulties have been overcome, and considerable progress made.

We now introduce Mr. Crowther's narrative of the loss of the "Daysring:"—

"Oct. 6—Our letters and despatches for England and the coast being ready, Sumo Zaki's messenger was sent to convey them to Illorin, from which place the mail was to be taken to Abbeokuta. Having put Sumonu in a canoe to convey him to Fànagun, the landing-place on the other side of the river, about 2 P.M. we weighed for a further ascent up the river. Passing Zigozi, Lufua, and Luisi, villages on the right bank of the river, we came up to the mouth of the Osin, a tributary stream, which flows from Yoruba on the right bank, on the bank of which was the village of Albele, and anchored for the night a little above the confluence of the Osin and Kowarra. There had been many and contradictory accounts of this stream, so we could not arrive at a satisfactory understanding about its

navigableness either for canoes or boats; but the fact that the Nupe people ascend it far into the interior to make canoes and float them down to the Kowarra seems to favour its navigableness to within a moderate distance of Illorin, though the people do not make use of it as a means of conveyance or traffic to the mouth of the Kowarra. This we hope still to ascertain by further inquiry.

"Oct. 7—Weighed early this morning. As we cleared the lowlands and approached the rocky hills between which the river forced its passages, the scenery was most charming and picturesque. On the right side of the river are the rocky hills, about 300 feet high, which serve as boundary-lines between Nupe and Yoruba: the former claim the hills as a part of their belt of lands on the right side of the Kowarra, though not inhabited, on account of their height and craggy surface: not being habitable for the Nupes, and leading direct to Yoruba, these hills are generally called Yoruba hills, though, properly speaking, they are by right Nupes. On the left is a hilly island, on the north side of which the village of Jeba stands. The peculiar and novel appearance of these adjacent parts of the river I cannot sufficiently describe. Following the curve of the stream on the right side, with abundance of water, from three to four fathoms as we rounded Jeba island, the Kowarra was again found in three divisions, forming two rocky islands in the midst of the streams, one of which was inhabited, and called Kasangi: on the other is a huge rocky sugar-loaf peak, standing about 250 feet high in the centre of the bed of the river. The pilot was asked which of the passages we should take, and said both were passable. Still, to make sure, the villagers were asked. They said the other passage had plenty of water also. The passage on the right side of the sugar-loaf island was taken, and the pilot was particularly requested to point out every spot where rocks were under water, that they might be noted down. There was plenty of water, varying from two to four fathoms. Soon after, we came to another passage, through which water rushed into the main channel on the right side from rocky beds: this forms another rocky island abreast the peak. The lead continued to go on, when we came to the upper part of the sugar-loaf island, and to a small creek on the right side, which here joins the main channel. Before us were two great blocks of rocky islets, one standing about 50 feet high and the other about 10 feet above the surface of the water. The true passage being doubtful, the ship was stopped, and Lieutenant Glover went to sound, first the creek, and then the three pas-





THE WRECK OF THE "DAYSPRING" IN THE KWORRA (from a drawing made on the spot, wide p. 99.)



sages between the island and the two great rocks. Having found enough water three fathoms outside the smaller rock, and the gig of five oars being able to stem the current of five knots through this narrow passage, it was calculated that the "Dayspring" would be able to pass through with her full power. While the ship was at anchor, and sounding going on, the chief of Gbiaja, one of the villages on Jeba island, came to salute us: four canoes came alongside, but said nothing of a better passage than this. Having cleared the canoes from alongside, the anchor was taken up, the ship dropped down a little, and directed to the narrow channel at half her speed, the chief engineer standing by the engine; the second engineer was stationed close by on deck to pass word, and Lieutenant Glover took his post by the helmsman. For a few minutes the ship was put to her right course by half her speed, and then with her full power of 120 revolutions, but she could not keep up: she was drifted a little, and her head struck upon the rock on her port bow. The engine was stopped for a moment to allow her to drop a little, when she was started again with her full power. For a few moments she stood steadily before she recovered herself and made ahead fairly. By this time the current and eddy had caught her on the port side, and she was drifted on the rocks in the bed of the river on her starboard side, where she remained fast, and soon began to make water in the engine-room and in the aft cabin. The pumps were set to work, and immediate measures taken to heave her off, and put to the nearest sand bank or shore. In the mean time every thing was being removed away from the aft-cabin. The fore-cabin and fore-castle being perfectly dry, things were ordered thither as the best place for their security, which was accordingly done.

"The hawsers being made fast on the rock from the quarter-deck and to a tree on shore from her bow, the capstan and windlass began to work, when, upon a sudden jerk, she began to heel, and was about shipping water from the portholes on the port side opposite the current. As it was becoming dangerous, all hands were ordered on shore, and then as many things as could possibly be landed. As the water was gaining in the hold and in the engine-room, steam was blown off and the boiler discharged. Having but two boats, the gig and the dingy, we should have been in very great difficulties had we not received ready assistance from the native canoes which were just about us.

"All the people were landed on the nearest sandbank, just showing out from the fall of the river, with as many things as could be taken out. A better footing being the next

matter of consideration, Dr. Baikie and Mr. May went to look for one. Towards evening we removed on shore and cleared a piece of land of grass, where temporary tents were made for the night: the canoes continued to help in landing things till late in the evening. Lieutenant Glover and Captain Macintosh remained last on board; but, as the ship continued gradually to heel, and taking water through her portholes, it was not safe for any one to remain on board over night, as she was expected to go right down before daylight. We were thankful that, in the midst of hurry and bustle which unavoidably must take place on such an occasion as this, not a life was lost.

"Oct. 8—Last night we had a heavy tornado, with copious rains: however, we managed to pass it the best way we could. Rain-coats, mats, and umbrellas over our heads, helped us through. As it was dawning, all our eyes were directed towards the situation of the 'Dayspring,' scarcely expecting to see her above water, but she was there: her head was sunk in the water to the break of the engine-room and aft-cabins; her stern stood above the water. She had rested on some beds of rocks during her gradual slide, and the weight of water in her fore-castle fore-cabin, with the force of the current over her bow, forced her head downward, while she rested amidships: her keel was hanging about two feet out of the water, the rudder and fan suspended, as it were, in the air, and her port side under water. In this position she continued rocking, and to slide gradually with her head downwards. Attempts were made, and more things were recovered. By the rains of last night, and upon further inspection, it was found that we had encamped in a swampy ground; therefore another drier and more elevated spot was selected, and some hands were sent to clear it, under the direction of Lieutenant Glover. All hands were busy, one way or another, landing things from the ship, clearing grass, or drying wet things. Messengers from the neighbouring villages came to sympathize with us in our trouble. Then we were told that when Mr. Beecroft was here some years ago he anchored off one of the villages, and went up the river in his boat to seek out the right channel, and that he took the left side of the river, through a creek, instead of the middle passage. The whole of the passages will be examined by Lieutenant Glover.

"Oct. 9—I was busy in erecting a tent or shed of mats for myself and for some of our interpreters, while others were being made of sails and awnings for the ship's company in general. Having sufficiently covered them

to afford shelter for the night, we all removed from low and swampy, to a drier and more elevated ground, which was much more pleasant: every effort will be used to make it as comfortable as possible. The 'Dayspring' continued to slide deeper, head downwards, into deep waters; and visits to her were dangerous.

*Oct. 10*—We were busy about our tents and sheds, and clearing the grass from the grounds around. Provision market was opened for the natives, who readily supplied us with stock, yams, and vegetables; but in order that we should not be overstocked, every Tuesday and Friday were particularly named as market-days at our camp; but they came daily.

*"Oct. 11: Lord's-day*—Had service a little earlier, at 10 A.M., to avoid the great heat of the sun upon the canvas, of which the large tent was made. No sermon being prepared during the bustle of the week, and from other circumstances, I read, for our mutual edification, the Tenth Homily of the United Church of England and Ireland, on good order and obedience to rulers and magistrates.

*"Oct. 12*—All hands were busy in drying wet things and damaged goods, and improving the camp. The engineers paid a visit to the 'Dayspring.' As the water began perceptibly to fall, a large hole was discovered on her starboard bottom; but as her port side was still under water, they could not tell the amount of damages done to her. Yet her present position led them to think she was irrecoverably lost, and the captain, finding he could not do any thing to save the ship, abandoned her.

*"Oct. 13, 14*—After much consultation as to the best steps to be taken, it was decided that the wreck should be sold, and the intelligence of our situation communicated, so that the 'Sunbeam' might come up and supply the place of the 'Dayspring' as soon as possible. It could not but be expected, from the excitement, exertions, and consequent exposure and fatigue attending the desertion of the ship, passing two nights in temporary sheds in a swampy ground, the first place we had a firm footing, before other tents were erected on an elevated ground, which caused much labour by day, and, worse still, sleepless nights from swarms of mosquitos, whose grassy nests we had disturbed, that all hands would suffer more or less from these circumstances. Mr. Dalton, who had been suffering from diarrhoea some time previously, was much worse after the excitement of the first and second day was over: he became very ill in consequence, and it required no ordinary care and attention to keep him from the effect of the weather in our very exposed tents. It was afterwards discovered, by

comparing the temperature of my mat-shed, opened four feet all round at the bottom, with mat-screen to be opened for ventilation or closed up as occasion required, with that of the canvas tents, that mat roof was by far much cooler than that of canvas, which drew immense heat into the tent from the hours of 10 A.M. to about half-past 4 P.M.; it was therefore proposed that a roof of mats with bamboo-poles should be erected, according to the pattern of my shed. While materials were being collected, my shed was opened to the sick, and to all who desired a change from the canvas tent during the heat of the day. Being somewhat more settled in our camp, consisting a company of fifty persons, viz. twelve Europeans and thirty-eight black men, I opened regular morning and evening prayers in my shed at half-past 5 A.M. and 8 P.M., to be attended by as many as were disposed.

*"Oct. 17*—It being decided to send down to the Confluence to look for the 'Sunbeam,' which was expected from England, a messenger was sent to Ndasesi, the chief of Rabbah village, to procure two canoes to go direct to the Confluence with a party to communicate the tidings of the fate of the 'Dayspring.' Two canoes were sent, but they could not take any one beyond Rabba without the king's knowledge and order, lest they should implicate themselves. As there was no alternative, messengers were sent to the king at Bida, to ask his permission for two canoes to the Confluence.

*"Oct. 18: Lord's-day*—Service at half-past 10 A.M.: preached from Matthew xxi.28—32: had the evening prayers at the usual time.

*"Oct. 19*—Sumonu, our mail messenger to Illorin, returned this afternoon with two messengers, one from Shita, the king, and the other from Maiyaki, the war-chief of that place, to acknowledge the receipt of the mail, and to tell us that the only difficulty in the way of forwarding it was, without a messenger from us to go with theirs to Abbeokuta, that, as Illorin and the King of Yoruba were not on very good terms, the King of Yoruba, through whose town the mail has to pass, would suspect it was a charm intended to do him hurt, and would implicate them in difficulties. So the King of Illorin requested one of our own men to accompany his messenger as our representative to Abbeokuta: this would obviate all difficulties. Though we were disappointed that the mail had not yet gone, we were thankful, and have resolved to send some one direct from us, as soon as we have made up other letters to go with the December mail.

*"Oct. 20*—This afternoon the Illorin messengers returned home.

*"Oct. 23*—Went out after an early breakfast

with Lieutenant Glover, who was going to trace the passages of the river, and to pay a visit to the chiefs of the neighbouring villages, and to thank them for their sympathy and the assistance they rendered us by the use of their canoes and men. We visited Kpasua and Jeba villages, both of which are pagan. At Jeba two images of human figures, male and female, stood in the verandah of the god's house. The old chief was not in a very good humour with us, the present of a fathom of Turkey red cloth, which was given him, being as much as we could spare under present circumstances, did not seem to please him; he was not like the chief of Kpasua, who was not only pleased and thankful, but anxious to make suitable returns for what he received. He gave us a mat—a very useful article to us at this time.

"Oct. 24.—As we could not complete our visit yesterday, nor Mr. Glover his traces of the river passages, we went out this morning, and landed first at Kasangi, where we obtained various information as to the river, and which of the passages gets dried up, and which contains most water during the dry season. Mr. Beecroft took the passage in front of the villages Kasangi and Gbiaja, off which he anchored for some time, till he found the right channel. The chiefs of this village promised us every assistance in their power to haul the ship from the rocks, should their aid be required. From Kasangi we crossed over to Gbiaja. It was the chief of this village who came alongside just before we struck, and whose canoes rendered us great assistance in landing our people and things. We gave him many thanks for his kindness, and a fathom of Turkey red cloth, and a small snuff-box: he was quite pleased to receive the acknowledgment, and in return gave us a fowl. From Gbiaja Mr. Glover began his traces of the numerous passages in these rocky beds. The first passage on the right side of the river, abreast the Ketsa island and peak, had three or four fathoms of water; but the currents, which ran through it with great eddies, were so strong, that the gig of five oars could not stem them. We returned and tried the creek, previously sounded on the 7th inst.; and as the river was getting low, the beds of rocks which ran across it became visible, and it was impassable for the boat. The channel between shore and the rock, fifty feet high, was taken, and it was with great effort that the boat stemmed it, as the rush of the current and eddy was threatening. The passage attempted with the 'Dayspring' was the best at that time which could have been chosen, before the creek along-shore was discovered. Lieutenant Glover

having completed the tracings of these network passages, we landed on the island where the worshippers of Ketsa, the god of the sugar-loaf-peak, reside, and met three boys on shore, who ran, seemingly with a panic, to bring tidings to their fathers. Before we had taken a few steps towards the village, the priests came out, with their clothes cast over their shoulders, in great rage, to demand the business which brought us there. Sumonu, our Nupe interpreter, aware of the consequence of our visit, kept in the boat, and was very slow coming out till I called him. After the second priest had a very long talk with him, which amounted to reprimand, because he ought to have known better, the matter was explained, and amicably settled. Since our ship struck, we have been told by many of the natives what they believed in part to be the cause of our disasters. It is the belief of all the nations that Ketsa, the god of the peak, has a particular dislike to red clothes; and no one passing up and down the river in their canoes dare put on any till they have cleared it a long way: that we, having red things about our ship, excited the anger of the god, which they believed was the cause of the fate of our ship. Some three or four nights ago there was a constant beating of drums, singing, and dancing in the village. On inquiry, we were told the Ketsa was about to be worshipped. All these particulars made us more inquisitive to visit the village, and see, if possible, the shrines of Ketsa. The first cause of complaint, and of the priests' anger, was, that the next morning after our ship struck, they came to sympathize with us, but that no notice was taken of them; so they kept to their village, and forbade their wives to come to and trade in our market. The second cause was, that we came to them with our red dresses, contrary to the law of Ketsa, which forbids any one to approach it with such colour; nor even are they allowed, during the time of its worship, to put their shirts on, as we saw they were obliged to put on country cloths only, whereas we came there contrary to the laws of Ketsa. When he had exhausted his store of complaints, we explained to them the cause of the seeming indifference with which they thought we had treated them; that being strangers, and in such an unsettled state, it was impossible for us to know everybody, nor the villages from which they came to visit us; but now, being somewhat settled, we began to seek them out; and hearing that their god disliked red clothes, we brought them nothing, as we had given red cloths to their neighbouring chiefs. Mr. Glover told them, that as to his red clothes, he would never change them: they were what he

used in his own country: that if he changed his red dresses he must change his red face also, which they said was impossible. I asked if their Ketsa forbade their drinking of palm-wine, eating of fowls, mutton, or beef, whether that prohibition was binding on others also. Then they burst into a fit of laughter, and said it was not. I told them that the law of Ketsa, as regards red clothes and wearing shirts, was applicable also: it was binding on them, but not on us. The matter being thus brought to an amicable end, they promised to pay us a visit to-morrow, which, being the Sabbath, I took the opportunity to tell them was the day of Soho (the great God), who made of one blood all nations of the earth (here I took hold of Mr. Glover's hand, and that of our Nupe interpreter, we being of three different nations, yet God has made us all alike in the members of our bodies, pointing to each separately): the Great God who made these great waters on which we came here, the long ridges of hills which hemmed us round, and the high hill of Ketsa, which stands in the midst of the great waters, is the God whom we worship, fear, honour, and love, and nothing else; that to-morrow was His day, in which we do not buy, nor sell, nor work, it being dedicated to His service. They were quite surprised to hear that we had a sacred day also. We told them we should be glad to see them on Monday, and returned to our camp.

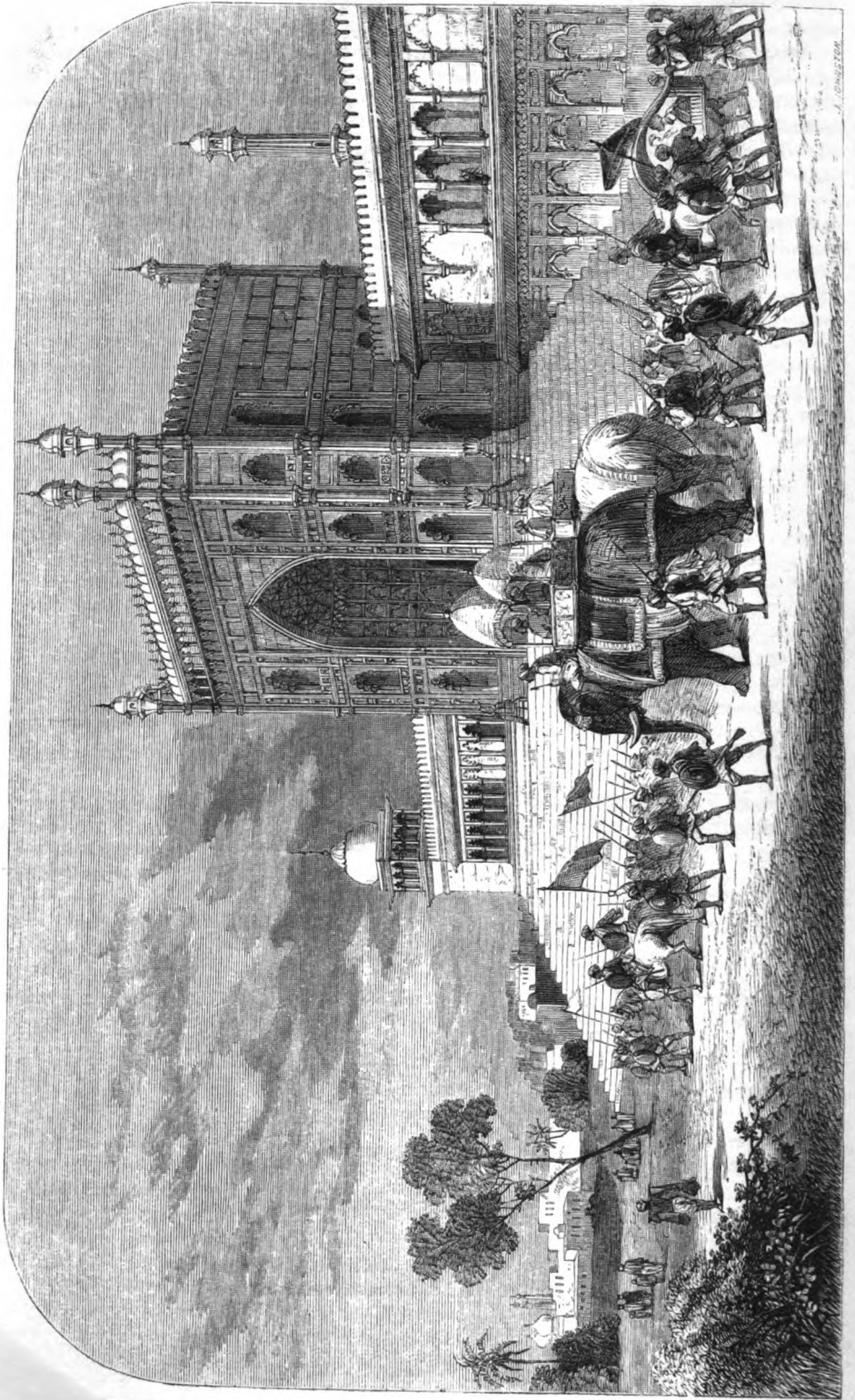
"Oct. 26—This morning, Landukolo, assistant priest to Doro, the chief priest of Ketsa, came from the sacred village Dorofo, to visit us according to his promise of Saturday, when we went over the matter of our Saturday visit again. He said he came in his country-cloth cast over his shoulders, because he dared not put on a shirt during the time of the ceremony of Ketsa. We asked particulars about this god, whose residence is the cave under the sugar-loaf-peak. He said, Ketsa was an ancient god, held in very great veneration by the kings of Nufi from old time, as he was told by tradition. The cause of Ketsa's aversion to red clothes he could not tell us. We expressed a wish to see the shrine of Ketsa, and the cave in which he lodges; but we could not get him to promise to take us there. However, he would be glad to see us in the village of Dorofo or Tye. From him we had the confirmation that the portion of the country on the left side of the river, where we now encamp, occupied by a division of Nupe, called Gbedegi, was formerly inhabited by the Yorubas; but they were driven away by the king of Nupe to the opposite shore, behind the hills which are called Yoruba hills; and that the remnants of the Yoruba families who remained behind,

composed the tribe of Nupe, now called Gbedegi—*gbede* being a Yoruba word, which means "to understand a language," with the Nupe termination *gi*, which means "little"; Gbedegi then was applied to a people who understood the (Nupe) language a little. It is very singular that the priest of Ketsa is obliged to know something of the Yoruba language to make him efficient for his office, as the ceremony must be performed in that language. I asked whether the Yoruba kings ever sent over to worship Ketsa, but he had no recollection of any of them having ever done so. Women are forbidden to make mention of the name of Ketsa. I called an old Yoruba female slave, who was in this place about three months before the Albaruka came to Rabba, as she had been so long here, and a pagan, that I might glean some particulars of this god from her; but she was so afraid to mention the name of the god, that I scarcely got any other information from her than that the priests performed the ceremonies in the Yoruba language, and the head priest was the only person who could go into the cave. After we had got from the priest what he was willing to tell us, Dr. Baikie gave him a knife and a small zinc-case mirror, for a present, for which he was thankful.

"Oct. 28—Sumo Zaki and Dasaba, hearing of the fate of our ship, immediately sent messengers to all the heads of the villages on the river, from Zigozi to Mazi, to go and inspect the position of the 'Dayspring,' and gather all the villagers together, cut sticks, and push the ship from the rock afloat into the water, and to take care that not an article be missed from the ship during the time of their working at her. Five of these headmen came this morning, headed by the chief of Zigozi, with the king's messengers, to deliver the king's message. The doctor thanked the kings for their very good intention, and the chiefs for their promptitude in coming to execute the king's orders. They were requested to wait till the water had fallen, and the state of the ship was properly ascertained: then, if their aid was needed, he would avail himself of the king's kindness and their readiness to help. After some presents were given them, they went to see the position of the ship, according to the king's orders, that the messengers might be able to report from personal inspection. The kings and their subjects had no idea of our huge ship, and they were struck with wonder when they beheld the 'Dayspring,' like a mass of iron, hanging on the top of the great rock. Their goodwill was accepted for the deed.

"SAMUEL CROWTHER."





EASTERN GATE OF THE JUMMA MUSJID, DELHI.

## A WORD IN EXPLANATION.

We have dealt largely and freely with the Indian Question in the pages of this periodical; yet, is there not a cause? Heavy calamities have come upon us in that country, such as were never anticipated. Far-seeing men there have indeed been, who apprehended that at no distant period a struggle might ensue, but it entered into the heart of none amongst us to conceive that it would be one stained with such unparalleled atrocities. And even now, although the angry tide of insurrection has been stayed from further progress, yet with what loss of valuable life has not this been accomplished! with what expenditure of national wealth! Millions which, under happier circumstances, might have been expended in developing the great resources of India, and in promoting the happiness of its people, have been sown in those dread furrows of war, which yield so plenteous a harvest of mutual destruction.

When national disasters supervene, it becomes a duty to investigate their causes. When the armies of Israel were defeated before Ai, there was an anxious scrutiny as to the existence of any evil in the camp which might have provoked the Divine displeasure. This examination is more especially the duty of the Christian portion of the community. Worldly men will confine themselves to human and incidental causes, as sufficient to account for all that has transpired. But those amongst us who fear God, know that without God's permission a sparrow does not fall on the ground; and while it be that afflictions often proceed directly from His hand, as trials of faith, it is also certain that calamities such as those which have come upon us in India, involving so much of moral evil, can be regarded in no other light than as the natural and necessary consequences of national sins and inconsistencies. Nations as well as individuals have their responsibilities with this difference, that in the case of nations the reaction of violated responsibilities overtakes them in time, whereas in the case of individuals it is often deferred to eternity. When from selfish motives, nations contravene their professed principles, and, instead of with loyalty conforming themselves to the will of Him to whom they owe their greatness, become obstructive of His purposes, and that with an unhumiliated and persisting mind, the Lord permits their own sins to work out their own natural results; and these, in the way of a tremendous reaction, become their punishment. "They have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind." "Fools, because

of their transgression, and because of their iniquities, are afflicted;" but it is that they may "cry unto the Lord in their trouble," and then "He saveth them out of their distresses." By the consequences of sin God awakens attention to the sin itself, and thus leads to humiliation and repentance. We cannot but conclude that this is the true interpretation of events in India: that in our institutions there we see the natural results of something wrong, in which we have committed ourselves—something very contrary to the intentions of God, else the issue would not have been so terrible—something respecting which we were very insensible, otherwise so rough a stroke would not have been needed to awaken us.

It becomes then the duty of all who recognise God, in his righteous administration of the world, to look into these things, to search into our national acts in India, and see upon what principle our policy and government have been conducted. This duty, in our humble way, we have endeavoured to discharge.

May we be permitted to say, that it has been with no wish of instituting an unfriendly criticism into the proceedings of any legislative department that we have done so. With the political aspect of the question we have nothing to do. The matter has been viewed by us simply in connexion with the interests of the gospel. It is not a change in the machinery of government for which we have contended, but a change in the principle on which that government has been conducted. Grave alterations may be effected in the functional organization, and yet, while the form be changed, the old principle of evasive policy, which has wrought all the mischief, be conserved. So far as the religious interests of India are concerned, we might then find ourselves not in an improved, but in a still more embarrassed, condition. Only let the principle of action be amended, and existing arrangements, with comparatively slight modification, may be preferable to new ones, which may look well in theory, but, when attempted to be reduced to practice, may not work effectively. Our remarks have been invariably directed to the principle of government—not the form. No doubt the principle has been seriously blameable; but the blame attaches not to any particular Administration, or Board, or Governor-General in Council, but to the nation. Our policy in India has been a national policy, and our acts national acts; for in this free country, such is the force of public opinion,

that it is impossible for any Government to persevere for any length of time in a policy which is contrary to the conviction and conscience of the nation. But our Indian policy has been perpetuated through generations; it has been handed down to those who are now in office from others who preceded them; and yet the nation, with few exceptions, was silent, and entered no protest, until the existing calamities supervened. It is, then, at the door of the nation that the sin lies; and we must take care how we attempt to make any particular body of men the scapegoat of our national offences. The policy in India had its origin in the low standard of public opinion which prevailed at home; and it is impossible we can so disconnect ourselves from it, as that we should be in a position to say the fault is with those who administered a policy which could not have been persevered in had it been distasteful to the nation.

The position which it has been the desire of the Church Missionary Society to occupy, in connexion with this great Indian Question, will be found admirably set forth in the following letter from the Earl of Chichester to the Chairman of the East-India Board. We recommend it to the perusal and earnest consideration of our readers, as a document in every respect lucid and satisfactory.

“THE EARL OF CHICHESTER TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EAST-INDIA BOARD.

“*London, March 2, 1858.*

“SIR—As the President of the Church Missionary Society, I have the honour to inclose a copy of a Memorial to the Queen, from the Members of that Institution, together with an explanatory statement of the allegations and opinions which it contains.

“I have reason to believe that the first of these documents has been seen by some of the Members of your Honourable Court, and considered by them to be disparaging to the character and administration of the Indian Government.

“Although it is no part of my duty to offer on this occasion any opinion of my own upon the past or present administration of Indian affairs, I beg leave to express my conviction that the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, in preparing this Memorial, were quite unconscious of any feeling of hostility or disrespect towards the Court of Directors.

“Not a few of the gentlemen whose names are subscribed, have passed many years in the Company's service, and are deeply concerned in maintaining its character and reputation.

“We are, however, convinced, after long experience, that the avowed policy of the Indian Government on questions of religion has not been favourable to the progress of Christianity.

“Representations to this effect from the Missionary body have been made to the Government on several occasions during more than the twenty-five years of my connexion with the Church Missionary Society, and I am quite aware, and most thankfully acknowledge, that during that period some very important modifications and improvements have been effected.

“There are, nevertheless, certain great principles of government which, as the Honourable Directors are well aware, are, in the opinion of many persons, essential to an honest and beneficial discharge of that great trust which Providence has committed to the British nation with the sovereignty of India.

“Amongst these principles we recognise, as you do, the paramount duty of religious toleration—the injustice as well as impolicy of interference by Government with any man's religious opinions or professions—and the obligations to administer the law without respect of persons or religious creeds.

“But, quite consistently with these principles of religious toleration, we have conceived that it became the Christian nation to whom India had been subjected to manifest in a less mistakeable manner than has hitherto been the case its own Christian profession, and its honest desire that every opportunity should be afforded to the people for instruction in the truths of the gospel.

“The testimony of our Missionaries, and other residents in the East, seems to prove, beyond reasonable doubt, that the beneficial effect of a just toleration has been materially diminished, if not entirely neutralized, by the belief of the natives that their rulers were not sincere in their wish for the progress of Christianity.

“It seems, indeed, sufficiently obvious, that if the toleration enjoined in the New Testament is to be a means of recommending Christianity, it must emanate from lawgivers and rulers who afford unmistakable evidence of their own allegiance to the religion and sovereignty of their divine Master.

“Whilst, therefore, we deprecate the interference of Government in the direct propagation of the gospel, we ask for such modifications in the system of public instruction, and in the avowed principles of Indian legislation, as may convince the natives that their Christian rulers honestly tolerate what they do not approve, but can only approve or promote what they believe to be true and con-



ducive to the moral welfare of their subjects.

“It would, indeed, be unjust and unreasonable to charge upon the Government of India the whole responsibility of any amount of failure that may be said to have attended past efforts to evangelize the country.

“No one can be more sensible than myself of the high Christian character of many of those great men who have earned a name in history by their acts and administration in the government of India; and even the faults referred to in the Memorial, and which were

sanctioned by some of them, were faults not peculiar to Indian statesmen or rulers, but common to a large section of statesmen in this country.

“I will now only ask you, Sir, to believe that, in transmitting the inclosed documents, I do it with feelings of sincere respect for the Honourable Court of Directors, and in the full persuasion that the subjects referred are already receiving their candid and careful consideration.

“I remain, &c.,  
(Signed) “CHICHESTER.”

## INDIA—GOVERNMENT ACTION AND MISSIONARY PROCEDURE: A CONTRAST.

THE disposition to inquire into the causes of the late calamitous outbreak in India still continues, and, so far from diminishing, appears rather to increase in its intensity. We cannot be surprised at this. Let a fire take place and a building be consumed, and forthwith an investigation is instituted; and if it be a public edifice, as the Royal Exchange, or a church, the inquiry becomes a matter of general interest. The costly edifice of British supremacy in India has been wrapped in flames, and the civilized world has marvelled at the sight. The conflagration has been of devastating power, and at one time it seemed as though it were hopeless to arrest its progress, and the whole palatial fabric must inevitably be reduced to ruins. The main building has been preserved; but if itself comparatively uninjured, yet it rears its stately head amidst smoking ruins, and the wreck of numberless out-stations, which had been erected from time to time as advanced posts, and constituted alike its ornaments and defences. The Bengal Presidency presents at this moment a scene of desolation, and the advance of British civilization has been thrown back tens of years. Can we be surprised if the national mind be excited, and the inquiry be eagerly urged as to the true causes of so great a calamity? We believe that such a scrutiny is precisely the result which such a calamity was intended to accomplish, and we trust it will continue to be prosecuted with impartiality and diligence until the truth is ascertained.

It is now generally admitted that the native army, from causes inseparable from the peculiarity of its organization, had long been in an unhealthy and insubordinate state, and that the recent mutiny was the expression of pre-existing disaffection. Men of high position, of mingled ability and experience, had

not hesitated, again and again, to express their apprehensions on this subject. Yet the dread explosion did not take place until the year 1857; and some special influence must have come into action about this time, which served to precipitate the crisis.

Other causes may have been in operation, and we doubt not, when the confusion has subsided, and opportunity has been afforded for deep and searching investigation, many and strange things will come to light. But we cannot hesitate to express our conviction that a religious panic was a chief element of mischief, and that there did exist, especially but not exclusively, amongst the Sepoys, a strong persuasion that a compulsory interference with their caste usages was contemplated. We are aware that some of our contemporaries dispute the accuracy of this assertion. The “Calcutta Review” for December last, in a very able article on the Indian crisis of 1857, denies the existence of such a feeling. “We must protest altogether against the attempt to connect the deplorable events of the last six months with religious feelings, jealousies, fears, or any thing purely religious whatever.” And it sustains this opinion, first, by the substance of a speech delivered at a public meeting of the British Indian Association, Calcutta, by a Hindú Babú, in which he first disclaims the idea of the outbreak being attributable to any religious apprehensiveness; and secondly, because, if the moving cause had been of a religious character, the fanaticism of the Mohammedan and Hindú never could have combined. Now, the opinion of the Babú does not carry with it much weight to our minds, because we are persuaded that Anglicized Hindús can never be true exponents of the state of mind which prevails amongst the masses of their countrymen, who have remained un-

affected by modernizing influences; and with respect to the joint action of Mohammedan and Hindú, we can well conceive their forgetfulness for a season of their mutual animosities in presence of a common object of dislike.

We are disposed, therefore, to rule an opposite conclusion on this question, and to consider that religion has had very largely to do with the existing disturbances, and has constituted one of the chief operating causes. The testimony is so strong, and so various, that we cannot shut our eyes upon it. The Governor-General's proclamation of May 19th is expressly intended to dissipate such a feeling. "The Governor-General in Council has warned the army of Bengal, that the tales, by which the men of certain regiments have been led to suspect that offences to their religion, or injury to their caste, is meditated by the Government of India, are malicious falsehoods. The Governor-General in Council has learnt that this suspicion continues to be propagated by designing and evil-minded men, not only in the army, but in all classes of the people. He knows that endeavours are made to persuade Hindús and Mussulmans, soldiers and civil subjects, that their religion is threatened secretly, as well as openly, by the acts of Government; and that the Government is seeking, in various ways, to entrap them into a loss of caste, for purposes of its own." The Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, in a proclamation to the Hindústani soldiers of the Bengal army within his Government, directs his observation to the same point. "You know well enough that the British Government have never interfered with your religion. Those who tell you the contrary, say it for their own base purposes. The Hindú temple and the Mohammedan mosque have both been respected by the English Government." That such an apprehension did exist amongst the native soldiers of the Government we have no doubt. It was diligently nurtured and fed by crafty and designing men; and the Mohammedan element, which has never been otherwise than disaffected, and pervaded by an intense fanaticism, availed itself of this strong excitement, and used it for its own purposes. Mohammedanism is antagonistic to a Christian Government in a political and religious point of view. This is its habitual frame and temper, to cease from which would be to change its nature; and it is only as the system begins to die out, and lose its vigour, that this hostile spirit becomes modified. "Mohammedanism is more absolutely antagonistic to Christianity than any other form of heathen-

ism . . . ; other forms of heathenism have long ceased to make conquests. Mahomedanism, like Christianity, lays claim to the mastery of the world—to be conquered by the sword, according to the Korán; by the word, according to the Gospel. The Christian may—at least the Protestant Christian—nay, is bound to live peaceably under any Government, because his Master's kingdom is not of this world: the Mussulman may remain quiet as long as he is conscious of his weakness, and his impotency to throw off the yoke of infidels. But when the standard of the Prophet of Mecca is raised, the soul of every Mohammedan is stirred by the sight to its inmost depths; and at the cry of 'Din, Din,' the Mussulman shakes off the torpor of everyday life, and of acquired habits, and rushes forth, as the war-horse, at the sound of the trumpet and the clang of arms." Now, the habit of Hindúism is the reverse of this; it is lethargic, indifferent, more ready to submit itself to, than resist, oppression. A state of active disquietude and open antagonism is for Hindúism, an abnormal state, one superinduced by special causes of irritation, and which can last only for a season, when, after a momentary paroxysm it subsides again into its customary inertness. Hindúism in 1857, from whatever causes, reached such a crisis; and Mohammedanism, which had craftily helped on the exasperation, promptly took advantage of it. We find enough in the Blue Book to substantiate this view. The officer in command at Midnapur writes to the Governor, in the month of June—"We were warned by a native to watch every hour of the night; that Mussulmans were anxious to subvert the Raj; and that there was no head, as there were no men of sufficient influence, but that they were at work with the regiment to tamper with the men." As the irritation increased, the Mussulmans in the different regiments were heard to boast that their Raj was coming round again.

The Province of Behar, in the month of June and July, was in a state of profound uneasiness. The Mussulmans generally were badly disposed. At Patna, on June 21st, the Commissioner found it necessary to arrest the leading members of the Wahabí sect of Mohammedans in that city, and to retain them as hostages for the good behaviour of the sect, which, numerous and peculiarly dangerous from its organization, was ready to merge all its differences with other Mohammedans, in order to join in a crusade against the Christians. On July 3d, a body of 200 men, with green flags, and cries of "Din, Din," broke into the premises of the Roman-Catholic Mission,

and shot down Dr. Lyell, principal assistant to the opium agent, who, with nine Sikhs, had hastened to render help. Pir Ali, a Mussulman bookseller, was the principal in the riot. The letters found at his house disclosed an organized Mussulman conspiracy to re-establish Mohammedan supremacy, and to overthrow the British Government. Another of the insurgents, who was wounded, made similar disclosures, stating that a plot had been in existence for some months, and that men were regularly paid, and money distributed, to excite the people to fight for religion and the Padishah of Delhi.\* The same movement may be traced in the Dinagepur district, where a Ferazi Molwi, and others of the same sect, had spread reports of the intention of the Government forcibly to convert native children to Christianity, causing thereby the removal of children from vernacular schools. The results, in the Province of Behar, were such as might have been expected. In August, the native corps at Dinapur, the 7th, 8th, and 40th Native Infantry, mutinied, and, crossing the Soane, made their way to Arrah. There, being joined by Babu Koer Sing, a well-known Zemindar of the district, they plundered the treasury, destroyed public and private property, and beleaguered the residents, who, with fifty Sikhs of Captain Rattray's regiment, had taken refuge in a house fortified by Mr. Civil-Engineer Boyle, of the East-India Railway. This was followed by the mutiny of the 8th Native Infantry at Hazaribagh, and of the Ramghur battalion at the various places which its detachments occupied.

On the 24th of August three retainers of the ex-king of Oude were placed in confinement in the gaol at Allipur; and on the 16th of the same month a person, who had resided for some time at Calcutta under the assumed title of Bishop of Bagdad, but whose real name was Syed Hossein Shubber, was arrested, with five followers, and placed in the great gaol at Calcutta. The correspondence found on him proved him to be connected with the ex-king of Oude, and his minister, Ali Nukki Khan, and, with others known to be advisers of the ex-king, were confined in Fort William. Many other facts of the same kind might be gathered out of the mass of documents, but these will suffice. The conclusion forced on our minds, by a review of the whole series of events—the evident attempt at simultaneousness of action in all the more serious outbreaks, the undoubted activity of emissaries under various disguises, more especially as

fakirs, the seditious correspondence seized at various places—irresistibly constrain us to a conclusion directly the reverse of that which has been urged by the writer in the "Calcutta Review"—that there has been a widely-ramified conspiracy, of a politico-religious character, in which the Mohammedans were prime movers, and who, in consequence of a special disquietude and irritation existing in the Hindú mind, were enabled to accomplish an open act of rebellion. The proclamation of the king of Delhi, as Emperor of India, was the great inauguration of the outbreak. As the tide surged in the direction of the great Mohammedan centres, and gathered itself around the old Mohammedan dynasties, the quarter from whence the impulse came, and the object contemplated, were alike clearly shown; while significant facts were not wanting to indicate what the Hindús had to expect eventually, if, through their aid, the Mussulmans were successful in the overthrow of the British Raj, such as the forcible conversion to Mohammedanism of Hindús, Brahmins, yea, Brahmin Sepoys, and fellow-mutineers at Delhi and other places.

Now, the Mohammedan element we dismiss for the present from further consideration. That it should be restless and disaffected, and ready to avail itself of any favourable opportunity for disloyal action, is precisely what might be expected. It is its nature; and we are not surprised at it. But the abnormal state of Hindúism, and its religious disquietude, this is the phenomenon on which we would concentrate our attention. "Of this disastrous and extraordinary revolt," writes the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors (July 19th), "the only one of the causes that is 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 people of the North-Western Provinces, that it is the fixed design of the British Government to interfere by force with the religious liberty of the people."

Strange infatuation indeed! And how is it to be accounted for? Some, for British Government, would read Missionaries; and, adjudging the whole to be the result of Missionary action, proceed at once to the condemnation of all such procedures as indiscreet and dangerous. But it is forcible interference which the natives have been apprehensive of; and that never has been attempted by Missionaries. Their only weapon has been the word of God; the only influence which they have ventured to look for has been the power of the Spirit of God on the conscience; their only mode of action has been that of per-

\* Further Papers, No. 5, p. 11.

suasive and patient continuance in well-doing. Unattended, save by a few native Christians, they have gone into the midst of populous cities, where there has been no array of British power to protect them, and openly, and without disguise, have delivered their message of repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; yet none have injured them. The Missionary has been no Government official; he has carried with him no authority, administered no law; he has exacted no deference from the people. Sometimes they have staid to hear his address; others have been indisposed to do so, and have gone away. The people have been free to do as they pleased; and they have felt it to be so. The Missionary has had his schools; and he has conducted those schools on a scriptural basis; and frankly made it known to the people that his intention was to teach their children Christianity, as equally his duty, and for their good. But it was quite optional with them to send their children or not. His schools, unlike the Governmental schools, had no connexion with the general agency of the Government; nor were revenue collectors or tahsildars employed to secure the successful working of the system. There was no influence brought to bear that could be in the slightest degree suspected of carrying with it any thing of a compulsory character. The native was left free, and he understood this.

On this point there appears to exist some considerable misapprehension. Reference was recently made by a noble Earl in the House of Peers to the reports of Mr. Chapman, the Inspector of Public Instruction for the Province of Behar, and the existence, as stated therein, of a deep-rooted prejudice against the educational measures of the Government. That such a feeling exists is undoubted. But the Missionary schools were immediately referred to on the above occasion, as if this deep-rooted prejudice was directed against them, and had been produced by their action. We beg permission to discriminate. The Government schools elicited this feeling, because the natives viewed them as carrying with them a compulsory influence. The first vernacular schools attempted in the Lower Provinces were placed in the hands of the revenue authorities. The same plan was followed on the introduction, under the Thomasonian system, of vernacular education into the North-Western Provinces. The schools were connected with the general economy of Government, by the instrumentality of tahsildars, officers brought into personal and intimate contact

with classes of persons in their districts. The executive of Government was thus brought to bear on the working of the schools; and the influence thus exercised was viewed by the natives as of a compulsory character. The people felt that they dared not to refuse those who exercised an immediate influence over their prospects and fortunes. But just in proportion as the system availed itself of the influence of authority was it disliked. And this dislike has unhappily extended itself to the modification of the system which has been introduced into the Lower Provinces, where a special agency of inspectors and sub-inspectors have been appointed, altogether distinct from the usual executive. One duty of the sub-inspectors is to visit the indigenous schools of the country, with a view to their improvement. But this step has been productive of strong alarm. Let us hear Mr. Chapman's testimony—

“Of the teachers visited, many have certainly looked upon the advent of the sub-inspector with suspicion and dislike, if not with actual terror, especially the Mussulman teachers. A report was industriously circulated at Chupra that it had been made a criminal offence to keep a teacher at all; and that the educational officers were appointed to report all transgressors. The head sub-inspector was actually greeted by a poor teacher with a beseeching prayer that his heinous offence might be overlooked for this once. Insult and abuse, too, have occasionally not been spared, though, generally, evasion only has been resorted to. One teacher did not know the low Nagri character; another only kept a school during the rainy weather; a third would do all we pleased when the cold weather came; and so on. Many held back from taking the loan of our books, under a vague fear that some penalty might subsequently be demanded of them if their boys were badly taught. I need not say that my efforts have been directed, as much as possible, to remove such fears. I require no engagements and no contract to be entered into by those accepting our books on loan, beyond a promise, that, in the event of not producing their boys for examination, they will return the volume. Of those that have taken our books, by far the greater number are residents of the neighbourhood of the large towns.”

Undoubtedly the people were afraid of compulsory interference. The Government educational staff have found persuasion in their hands a useless weapon, and therefore have had recourse to something more stringent, at least, if the extracts from Mr. Chapman's report, on the occasion referred to, be

accurately given. He says — "I therefore find it more effectual to take for my starting-point, and to allow my subordinates to do the same, that it is the order of the Government that the people should now educate their children; and that the people ought to be satisfied that the Government would not command that which is not good for them. Having laid down this principle, we then proceed to prove, by every argument at our command, that, in so doing, Government has no intention whatever to interfere with the religion of its subjects."

This last quotation throws light upon the entire subject. It has been an unhappy element in this complex question, that Government has been ever disclaiming all intention of interfering with the religion of the natives at the very time when, in the opinion of the natives, they have been in the most decided manner doing the very thing which they disclaim; and, by their authority, constraining the people to various measures which they considered to be at variance with their religion, and designed to be, eventually, subversive of it. Knowledge, in Behar, is considered as profane and dangerous; and the Government educational system is supposed to be part of a general scheme "for the forcible conversion of the natives to Christianity."

It was not, then, from the Missionaries, but from the Government, that the natives of India were apprehensive of interference with their religion. Strange that it should be so, for to remain free from such a suspicion has been the great object of the Government; and to this all their policy has been directed. Our Government in India has been afflicted, from its commencement, with an excessive fear of interfering with the religion of the natives, lest their prejudices should be offended, and the quietude of our rule be disturbed. So powerful has this apprehensiveness been, that, previously to the renewal of the Company's charter in 1813, our policy was antagonistic to the free action of the gospel, and its extension amongst the natives of India. The times of the renewing of the Company's charter have been the seasons when the question has been most powerfully agitated. The resolutions of the British House of Commons in 1793 were becoming the dignity and position of a Christian legislature — "Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that, for these ends, such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually

tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement." That resolution embodied the principle and germ of all that the friends of Missions have ever wished for or purposed. But several proprietors of East-India Stock were violently opposed to the line of conduct here indicated; and, at a public meeting, the resolutions of the Commons' House were violently impugned, the objections which were urged, when stated, generally amounting to this — "That sending Missionaries into our Eastern territories is the most wild, extravagant, expensive, unjustifiable project that ever was suggested by the most visionary speculator; that the principle is obnoxious, impolitic, unnecessary, full of mischief, dangerous, useless, unlimited. The plan would be dangerous and impolitic; it would affect the peace and ultimate security of our possessions. It tends to endanger and injure our affairs there most fatally; it would either produce disturbances, or bring the Christian religion into contempt," &c. We are disposed to think that some are to be met with, at the present day, whose opinions are so far behind the age, that in the above *resumé* they would not discover much to which they could not readily subscribe. A little modification, perchance — a little softening down of the roughness of expression — and the thesis is that which meets their approbation. For the use of such antiquarians in opinion it might be well to reprint Charles Grant's observations "On the state of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals, and the means of improving it," written chiefly in 1797, and printed, by order of the House of Commons, in 1818. In this document he deals comprehensively with the whole subject. He depicts the moral state of the people of Hindústan, "a race of men lamentably degenerate and base — retaining but a feeble sense of moral obligation — yet, obstinate in their disregard of what they know to be right; governed by malevolent and licentious passions; strongly exemplifying the effects produced on society by great and general corruption of manners; and sunk in misery by their vices, in a country peculiarly calculated, by its natural advantages, to promote the happiness of its inhabitants." He traces the demoralization of these many nations to their religious system, and enumerates various tenets and institutions which cannot do otherwise than debase a people. Amongst these may be specified ceremonial and pecuniary atonements, by which the guilt of sin may be expiated, without any sorrow for the past or amendment as to

the future; the doctrine of transmigration, whereby a man's actions here, whatever be their complexion, are considered to be the inevitable results of what has taken place in a prior birth, so that they are his destiny — nor is it possible for him to be or act otherwise; the character of the gods, and the histories connected with them, full of impurities, frauds, cruelties, and every corrupt excess and indulgence, &c. He then insists upon the great national duty of communicating to so suffering a people the blessings of Christianity. "Shall we be all, in time to come, as we hitherto have been, passive spectators of this unnatural wickedness? It may well, indeed, appear surprising that, in the long period during which we have held those territories, we have made no serious attempt to recall the Hindús to the dictates of truth and morality. This is a mortifying proof how little it has been considered that the ends of Government and the good of society have an inseparable connection with right principles. We have been satisfied with the apparent submissiveness of the people, and have attended chiefly to the maintenance of our authority over their country, and the augmentation of our commerce and revenue; but have never, with a view to the promotion of their happiness, looked thoroughly into their internal state." "The most important communication which the Hindús could receive . . . would be the knowledge of our religion . . . Wherever this knowledge should be received, idolatry, with all the rabble of its impure deities, its monsters of wood and stone, its false principles and corrupt practices, its delusive hopes and vain fears, its ridiculous ceremonies and degrading superstitions, its lying legends and fraudulent impositions, would fall. The reasonable service of the only and infinitely perfect God would be established; love to Him, and peace and goodwill to man, would be felt as obligatory principles. It is not asserted that such effects would be immediate, or universal; but admitting them to be progressive, and partial only, yet how great would the change be, and how happy at length for the outward prosperity and internal peace of society among the Hindús!" One extract more from this admirable document, which we would gladly see reprinted at the present day, for the especial benefit of those who are disposed so grievously to misinterpret the calamities which have supervened in India as to recommend a retrograde movement in relation to Christian Missions, instead of a more candid and generous policy. Mr. Grant proceeds to rebut the objections of va-

rious kinds urged against his proposal, and, amongst others, the danger which might result from an attempt to evangelize the natives of India. "The principle of the objection is plainly no other than this, that to prevent the remotest chance of such consequences as the proposed improvements might produce, our Asiatic subjects must be for ever held in the same state of ignorance and error in which they now are. 'Give them not,' says the unstrained sense of this objection, 'the light of true religion, teach them not a better system of morals . . . lest our interest should in some future period suffer: keep them blind and wretched for all generations, lest our authority should be shaken, or our supremacy over them incur the slightest possible risk.' Surely those who may have individually lent themselves to this objection will not, upon a clear deliberative view of its principle, seek to contend for it. A Christian nation cannot possibly maintain or countenance such a principle. To do so would be virtually to trample upon every sentiment which we profess in religion or morals. It would be to make ourselves parties in all the impositions of the Brahminical system, and, in effect, to hold, with its priests, the doctrine of Demetrius—By this craft we have our wealth." "Let us not do moral good, that political evil may not come." Political evil has, nevertheless, come. Had we been less selfish in our policy it would have been averted.

But, not to anticipate, the discussion on this important subject continued throughout the twenty years that preceded the next renewal of the charter in 1813, and became more glowing and intense as the British and Foreign Bible Society came into action, and vigorously promoted the translation of the Scriptures into the Oriental languages. Many were displeased and alarmed. "On one side was published a pamphlet, in Oct. 1807, under the title of 'A letter to the Chairman of the East-India Company, on the danger of interfering in the religious opinions of the natives of India,' &c.; followed up, early in the year 1808, by a similar treatise—'A Vindication of the Hindú from the aspersions of the Rev. C. Buchanan, with a refutation of his arguments for an ecclesiastical establishment in British India,' by a Bengal Officer. These were answered by Bishop Porteus; Owen, of the Bible Society; the Rev. J. W. Cunningham's 'Essay on the Duty, Means, and Consequences of introducing the Christian Religion among the native inhabitants of the British dominions in the East;' and Lord Teignmouth's 'Considerations on the practi-

ability, policy, and obligation of communicating to the natives of India the knowledge of Christianity." Thus the discussion progressed, the numbers and influence of those who desired the relinquishment of a policy, which, contravening as it did the purpose of God, was not more injurious to the Hindú, than fraught with danger to ourselves, continuing to increase, until at length, in 1813, the crisis arrived in which this great question was to be decided, and then, as at the present moment, the Church Missionary Society fearlessly and uncompromisingly contended for principle, as the basis of national action, in preference to expediency. Buchanan's prospectus, 'Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment' was printed at the expense of the Church Missionary Society. "The Church Missionary Society, at whose instance it was composed, and by whom it was first presented to the public, is certainly entitled to the honour of taking the lead on this occasion in rousing the public attention to the opening of India to Christianity."\* Other Religious Societies, and the various denominations of British Protestantism, put forth their energies in the same direction. A reference to the "Missionary Register" of 1813 will afford much information as to the proceedings of this interesting period. "Besides petitions from the Religious and Missionary Societies, no less than 900 Addresses, from the cities, towns, and even villages of the United Kingdom, crowded the tables of both Houses of Parliament, imploring the interference of the legislature in behalf of the moral and religious interests of India."†

The barriers at length gave way to the pressure from without. On the 16th of June 1813, various resolutions were proposed to Parliament, as the ground-work for the new charter of the East-India Company. The 12th resolution related to an episcopal establishment for India. The 13th, which recognised the duty of Government to afford facilities to persons desirous of promoting the moral and religious improvement of the natives, runs thus—"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That, in furtherance of the

above objects, sufficient facilities should be afforded by law to persons going to, and residing in, India, for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs. Provided always, that the authority of the local Government, respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country, be preserved, and that the principles of the British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be preserved inviolate." A Bill incorporating these resolutions, although vigorously resisted in every stage of its progress through the Commons, was carried through that house by decisive majorities, and, passing through the House of Peers without opposition, received the Royal Assent July 1813; and India was at length opened to Missionary action.

Open and avowed antagonism now ceased, and Government fell back upon the principle of neutrality, and there entrenched itself. We shall describe this principle, as it was in theory, and what it was, also, when reduced to practice. In theory it amounted to this, that the Government was not to identify itself either with Christianity on the one hand, nor with the heathen systems on the other; and that in its policy it was not to touch the religious element at all. In order that it might not be betrayed into an expression of sympathy with God's truth, or offend the antagonistic system which had enslaved the land, it was to divest itself as much as possible of a religious character and aspect, to reduce itself to a negation, and have no positive actings in this respect; and in all respects render itself, throughout its administrative procedure, as that the native should discern nothing from whence he should be enabled to conclude either that Government considered Christianity to be true or heathenism false. The Government was to have no preference for one religion more than for another. Do we in any thing exaggerate or mistake the principle? We should be sorry to be in the least inaccurate. But official language has always affected this neutral tone. When Mr. Halliday, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in his able Minute of November 1858, in which he pressed the necessity of vernacular education, and advocated the extension of grants-in-aid to Mission schools as well as others, that particular feature of his plan was objected to by the majority of the Members of the Council of Education, on the ground that it contravened the neutral principle of Government. Mr. J. P. Grant says—"In my opinion, in our reports to Government, we ought to make no allu-

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\* Hough's "History of Christianity in India," vol. iv. p. 191.

† Ibid, p. 193.

sion to this proposal of Mr. Halliday. We could not do so, I believe, without contravening the orders in force, which prohibit the connexion of Government institutions with Missionary institutions. I, for one, hope never to see those orders altered. Mr. H. Rickett sees the same difficulty: "As to grants-in-aid, I entirely agree with Mr. Grant. We cannot make grants of money to Missionary schools, without departing from the principles hitherto observed." Ramgopal Ghose is explicit and decided: "I certainly concur in the objection to grants-in-aid to Missionaries, or their schools . . . It is precisely because the subjects of this Government are divided into many religions, that it ought not to identify itself with one religion in preference to another: unless proselytism be held to be the duty of the Government, it cannot afford any pecuniary aid to the Mission schools. 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." His native colleague, Ramapersad Roy, concurs with him: "The British Government, as it is constituted, ought to maintain the strictest neutrality about religious education. It has maintained this position up to the present time, and I see no reason why it should deviate from that course." Sir J. W. Colville, in his Minute, supports the view which the Babús had taken: "The system of grants-in-aid is new, and, as applied to Missionary schools, is inconsistent with what has hitherto been the principles of Government; and, as such, is opposed by all my colleagues, whose Minutes I have seen, except Mr. Allen's," &c.\*

Such, then, has been the theory, but the practice has not accorded. In fact, to work out such a principle into practice is an impossibility. It has been impossible for the vessel of State, amidst contending currents, so to keep the midway channel as to incline to neither shore. In our solicitude not to identify ourselves with Christianity, we have put disparagement upon it—we have interfered with and obstructed its action. And Hindúism has been singularly dealt with, for, in our anxiety not to discountenance it, it has been recognised and sanctioned; while, at the same time, with a strange inconsistency, we have done the very thing which we purposed

\* The minority in favour of the extension of grants-in-aid to Mission schools consisted of Messrs. Allen and Woodrow, the latter gentleman leaving on record his conviction—"The restriction of grants-in-aid only to schools where the Bible is excluded is bigotry itself."

not to do, and were most anxious to avoid—our Governmental procedure has interfered on an extended scale, and in the way of legislative enactment, with the religious prejudices of the people.

We should scarcely have thought it necessary to adduce any thing in proof of our assertion, that, so far as Christianity is concerned, our policy has been the reverse of impartial, that it has been disparaging and obstructive, and has thus violated its professed principle of neutrality, but for the sentiments expressed in a re-election speech, on a recent occasion, at King's Lynn, in which a Noble Lord is reported to have said—"You have heard a good deal of the discouragement given to the profession of Christianity in India, of the patronage of native religions, and of the necessity of employing active means for the spreading of our own form of belief in that country. . Now, I venture to say, that nine-tenths of the stories we are told respecting what is called the discouragement of Christianity by the government of the Company are absolutely untrue, and the other tenth is grossly exaggerated." Now, we might observe, *in limine*, that the position of neutrality is one which Christianity refuses to recognise; and that, according to the standard of responsibility which it has instituted, there is no medium between hearty interest and co-operation and positive antagonism—"He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth." We are also free to admit, that in governmental action there is not the same full and unrestricted opportunity of expressing sympathy as in individual action. Care must be taken that, in avowing its preference for truth, a Christian Government places no constraint on the consciences of its subjects, and that no encouragement be held out to insincere profession. But we decline to admit the accuracy of the assertion, that Governments, in religion, must be either neutral or coercive. A Government may avow its Christianity without imposing it on others; and while it honours God by a public recognition of His truth, proves, at the same time, that it has no intention of constraining men's consciences by dealing with individuals, not according to their creed, but according to their conduct. Government has to do with the character and conduct of men, not with their religion or profession, and should deem them worthy of its confidence as it finds them effective and trustworthy. Hence we fully recognise the becomingness of bestowing honours and commendations on natives, whether Hindús or Mohammedans, who have proved faithful



amidst the late disquietude; and consider that Government acted with impartiality and justice when it recognised the loyalty and good service of Syed Azimmodin Hossein, the Deputy-Collector at Arra, who shared in the defence of Mr. Boyle's fortress; or of Shah Kubiroddin Ahmud, -an influential landholder of Sasseram, who, when matters looked threatening in his neighbourhood, placed himself in communication with the Government, and took active measures to maintain order. But we do not believe it to be necessary, in order to an impartial administration of justice to men of all religious persuasions, that a Government should be disloyal to its own convictions, and act as if it had no religion at all.

But let us refer to some points in which neutrality has been departed from, and Christianity injuriously dealt with, before the natives of India.

We have already said, if a man be loyal and trustworthy, let him be commended, be he Hindú or Mohammedan; but we also add, let not commendation be withheld from him because he be a Christian. But how have Christian converts been dealt with? Have they never been dismissed from Government employ because of their Christianity? Has there been no studious neglect of native Christians—no unwillingness to recognise or employ them? What shall be said of the Sepoy dismissed from the native army in 1819, simply because, under conscientious convictions, he had become a Christian? That fact was denied by some when we first stated it in October last; and others believed we had exaggerated. But the official documents are now before us, reprinted by order of the House of Commons (Feb. 6th, 1858). There we have the Government order for the removal of Naik Purrubdin Pandi from the 25th N. I., and the appointment of a Committee, which should be particularly instructed "to inquire into, and report, whether any, and what, measures had been adopted in that cantonment (Mirut) 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 the corps, or residing for such purposes within the limits of the military cantonment." Which was this—neutrality or obstruction? The Government excluded the evangelist, whether native or European, from the lines, but they did not succeed in ex-

cluding the emissaries of treason. Had the evangelist not been obstructed, the emissary of evil would not have found such ignitable materials presented to his hands. But this man did not get his Christianity within the lines, yet was he dismissed. This, it will be said, is an old and isolated fact, a spent arrow taken up because the quiver is empty. But is there nothing more recent of the same character? We refer to another document, printed by order of the House of Commons, Dec. 11th, 1857. It might be well if Honourable Lords and Gentlemen would make themselves acquainted with this, and similar documents, and, before they touch the Indian question, become conversant with the true state of things. We refer to copies of a despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, sent in the months of April and May 1847, or thereabouts, directing the issue of orders to all public officers, forbidding the support or countenance, on their part, of Missionary efforts. It runs thus—  
 "Our Governor-General of India in Council.—You are aware that we have uniformly abstained from all interference with the religion of the natives of India. It is obviously essential to the due observance of this principle that it should be acted upon by our servants, civil and military. The Government is known throughout India by its officers, with whom it is identified, in the eyes of the native inhabitants; and our servants should therefore be aware that, while invested with public authority, their acts cannot be regarded as those of private individuals." In other words, if an Englishman became a servant of the Government, it was necessary he should cease to be a Christian. Undoubtedly; for Christianity, from its very nature, is communicative. It is impossible that a man can live under its healthful influences himself, and see others suffering from the want of it, and not endeavour to impart it to them. This is a duty which every Christian owes his Lord; yet a command from man supersedes the higher authority, and prohibits obedience. A Christian official has heathen servants. May he do nothing to enlighten them? They may be willing to hear. Must he refuse to converse with them on the subject of their souls' salvation, lest the Government principle of neutrality be violated in his person? Perhaps in the late distracting scenes they have clung to him with wonderful fidelity. And what best recompense shall he bestow upon them? We answer, by gentle and persuasive efforts to bring them to faith in the same Saviour who has been his support and stay. But he is a Government servant, and may not do this

\* Vide "The Sepoy and the Authorities," "Church Missionary Intelligencer," October 1857.

service to Christ, and this good to his fellow man. He is in a position of high and commanding influence; and near his seat of authority are a few faithful, laborious Missionaries, and they have been blessed: they have succeeded in gathering a Christian congregation, in which the Hindú and Mohammedan are seen under improved aspects; and may he show them no countenance, render them no assistance? No! He must do violence to his sympathies as a Christian. But where is the neutrality? For we are not aware of any corresponding chains or fetters being placed, or attempted to be placed, on Hindú or Mohammedan officials; nor were they prohibited from the pursuance of any course they conceived to be most promotive of the interests of their respective religions. But Christian officials were otherwise dealt with. They were "not to interfere in any manner with the religion of the natives;"\* and "Missionary meetings ought never to be held in official buildings, or wear the appearance of having any official sanction."† Was equal care exercised at all times to disconnect heathen ceremonies and processions from every thing like official sanction?

This despatch, when it arrived in India, occasioned much disquietude. One member of the Council, in a Minute drawn up by him, observes—"The despatch now under consideration is couched in terms so comprehensive, that it might apparently be taken to convey a prohibition to the civil and military servants from taking any part whatever in Missionary proceedings. It must, however, be generally known, that for years past many of the Company's servants have been members of Bible Societies and Missionary Societies in all the Presidencies." Yes; and we believe some there were who felt, and were disposed to act, on this occasion, as Daniel did when the decree was signed which prohibited prayer for thirty days—he did that publicly which otherwise he would have done privately. It was deemed, however, more prudent by the authorities in India not to give publicity to this document, but to content themselves with communicating these orders to such confidential members of the service as might be able, by their own influence, to prevent any contravention of the prescribed principle. Thus we find a confidential communication from the Governor-General to the Commander-in-Chief, dated August 28, 1847,

\* Governor-General to the Commander-in-Chief, August 28, 1847.

† Court of Directors to the Governor-General, January 19, 1848.

in which the latter is requested, if he had reason to believe that any officer of the army was acting in contravention of the order of the Court, or interfering in any manner with the religion of the natives of India, to cause that officer to be informed that he was acting in disobedience to that order. The Commander-in-Chief, in his reply, with much *naïveté*, responds—"I beg leave to apprise your Lordship I have every reason to believe that no officer of this army contravenes the order of the Court of Directors, by interfering with the religion of the natives of India; and that, should such interference come to my knowledge, I shall not fail to cause such officer to be informed that he is acting in disobedience of the Court's orders, and have it pointed out to him that it will be his duty to desist."

Can the despatch to which we have referred be regarded otherwise than as a continuance of the restrictive action that was manifested in the Sepoy case of 1819? No doubt, from all the great centres of official influence, the wishes of the Government were duly communicated to all subordinates—that they should not in any manner interfere with the religion of the natives of India. What hope, then, for the Sepoy in the presence of such a prohibition? No Missionary or teacher could enter the native lines without permission from the commanding-officer. How few in charge of regiments would venture, in the presence of such a restriction, to afford access? How many whose response would naturally be—"I am not free to grant the permission you ask for; there is an understood regulation which forbids it. If I allowed you to communicate with the men, and any unpleasantness should arise, I shall be held responsible." Assuredly such a despatch strengthened to an immeasurable extent the hands of those who cared nothing whether the Sepoys lived and died in ignorance of God, and embarrassed the position of men who had a sense of Christian responsibility in the matter, and who felt that they were bound to obey God rather than man. Perhaps Colonel Wheeler would never have thought it necessary to teach and preach himself if he had not felt his conscience thus hampered, and his freedom of action, as a Christian, interfered with. But we believe that what he did actually do was grossly exaggerated. He never preached in the lines. He was accustomed, out of the lines, and when not in regimentals, to address those whom he met, whether Sepoys or others, on the subject of Christianity; and when a group of people gathered round him, he spoke to them.

But, in the presence of such facts, can it be

with truth asserted that our theory of neutrality has been becomingly acted out, and that nothing has been done which has been calculated to embarrass and obstruct the action of Christianity? Assuredly the pains which have been taken to exclude the native army from all opportunity of becoming acquainted with that alone true religion which is of God, and which He has commanded to be made known to every creature, has, as might have been expected, been productive of the most calamitous results, and has reacted with a fearful measure of retribution on ourselves. For by what right does any Government presume to interpose between any class or section of sinners and the message which God has sent to them from heaven? What can nations and Governments expect who intercept, instead of transmitting, the light which falls upon themselves?

But the same policy may be traced down to the present period. The education despatch of 1864 not only extended grants-in-aid to Missionary colleges and schools, in which was sustained the prescribed standard of secular education, but mentioned in terms of express commendation the efforts put forth by Christian Societies and individuals for the instruction of uncivilized races. The 50th paragraph of that despatch runs as follows—“At the same time, in so far as the noble exertions of Societies of Christians of all denominations to guide the natives of India in the way of religious truth, and to instruct uncivilized races, such as those found in Assam, in the Cossya, Garrow, and Rajmahal hills, and in various districts of Central and Southern India, who are in the lowest condition of ignorance, and are either wholly without a religion, or are the slaves of degrading and barbarous superstition, have been accompanied in their educational establishments by the diffusion of improved knowledge, they have largely contributed to the spread of that education which it is our object to promote.”

Well now, the wild tribe of Santhals, whose outbreak in so remarkable a manner preceded the great Indian insurrection, on their repression attracted the attention of the inspector of education for Behar. He felt that, in order to secure the future good conduct of this people, they needed to be brought under civilizing influences, and his attention was directed to the Rev. E. Dresse, a Missionary belonging to the Church Missionary Society at Bhagalpur, as a suitable person to be employed in such an undertaking, simply because Mr. Dresse, previous to the Santhal outbreak, had opened a school in a Santhal

village, a proceeding the good results of which were evidenced in the remarkable fact, that, amidst the prevailing disquietude, the people of that village alone continued tranquil, the school teachers remaining at their posts until recommended by the villagers to retire to Bhagalpur, lest they might be ill-treated by Santhals from a distance. And when the teachers set out for Bhagalpur, they were escorted by these poor people beyond the precincts of danger. Nothing, however, was contemplated beyond the limits of the grant-in-aid system. The Missionary was to open schools, and, on the understanding that the element of secular education was duly attended to, he was to receive grants-in-aid. These schools, as Missionary schools, were to have been on a Christian basis; but with that feature the authorities in India had no direct connexion. They were aware it would be so, and no doubt, as sensible men, they felt how desirable such an arrangement would be, for the Santhals were without any thing deserving the name of religion. That was the primary cause of their restlessness, which rendered them deceivable by impostors and designing persons. They needed that a religion should be given them; and what was it to be? “No enlightened Government,” observes Mr. Chapman, “would think of taking steps to eradicate one religion, without endeavouring to supply its place by some other, and no Christian Government would for a moment think of teaching any other religion but Christianity. I therefore arrived at the conclusion, that no scheme of education for the Santhals would be wise, which did not include the teaching of the Christian religion.” Moreover, it appeared to be quite in accordance with paragraph 50 of the Educational Despatch, to which we have already referred, to give grants-in-aid to Missionary schools, whose direct object was the instruction of uncivilized races, more especially as the authorities had already, in one case at least, acted upon that paragraph.

There is a tract of mountain territory, on the eastern frontier, inhabited by the Khasias. The population is estimated at 300,000. They are in a state of painful degradation, under the influence of a debasing religion, filthy in the extreme, sordid, with all its accompanying corrupting vices, and stoically indifferent to every real good and improvement. Missionary action has been introduced amongst them, and encouraging results, of an incipient character, obtained; and the Government has assisted the Missionary, the Rev. W. Lewis, of Charraponji, in the Khasia hills, with a pecuniary grant, on the

ground that his labour is really a labour of cultivation among tribes of men in a barbarous condition.

With such precedents before them, the authorities in India, who had felt the inconvenience of a Santhal outbreak, and were desirous of preventing its recurrence, did not hesitate to sanction a grant-in-aid to a similar procedure among the Santals, a far more numerous and important race of people than the Khasias, occupying a territory not less than 400 miles from north to south, the limits of their extension westward being unknown; a people who have hitherto been kept in ignorance of the benevolent intentions of the supreme Government towards all classes of its subjects, by the intervention, between them and the European authorities, of petty Hindú rulers, by whom they have been grievously oppressed, and therefore needing the more to be brought under kindly influences. The decision of the authorities in India was thus expressed—"The Governor-General in Council, viewing the proposed measure as a grant-in-aid to a Missionary body, for the secular education of an uncivilized tribe, considers it entirely in accordance with the views expressed in the Honourable Court's despatch of the 19th of July 1854, and differing in degree only, and not in kind, from the grant already made to individual Missionaries for like purposes, with the Honourable Court's full approbation and sanction.

"His Lordship in Council is of opinion, that if the Church Missionary Society, or if any respectable person, or body of persons, undertake to establish good schools among the Santals, the Government is bound to render very liberal assistance, in proportion to the extent to which the work may be carried, subject only to the inspection of the officers of the education department; and upon the condition that the Government in no way interferes with the religious instruction given; and that the expense of such instruction is borne by those who impart it."

So far every thing was satisfactory, and there was the promise of a new era for the poor Santals, and of efforts for their improvement on a larger scale than could be contemplated from the unassisted funds of a Missionary Society. But the response from home was far from satisfactory, and neutralized all that had been done. We give the despatch from home as it has come into our hands, and leave it to our readers to decide, whether the policy of neutrality is not, so far as Christianity is concerned, one of positive obstructiveness.

"PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

"No. 97 of 1857.

"OUR GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA  
IN COUNCIL.

"Letter dated 31st Dec., No. 47, 1856.

Scheme for the education of the Santals through the agency of the Church Missionary Society.

"Para. 1. We are not, as we ought to have been, in possession of the correspondence which led to the proposal made by the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society, which, on the recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has received your sanction for the education of the Santals of Bhagulpur, through the instrumentality of the Society. The plan, however, is so clearly stated in the Minutes of the Committee, that we have no difficulty in comprehending its scope and general bearing.

"2. It is intended that the work shall be under the superintendence of one of the Missionaries of the Society; that, under him, inspecting masters shall be employed; that Government granting the requisite sum for salaries, and prescribing the amount of secular instruction to be imparted in the schools, the direction and carrying out of the plan shall be in the hands of the Church Missionary Committee, subject to the right of inspection, so far as relates to secular education, of all the schools, by the divisional inspector, or any other of the superior educational officers of Government. It is proposed that industrial instruction shall form part of the plan; and female education is to be introduced, as far as possible, from the beginning. The salary of the Missionary in charge is to be paid by the Society, the Government paying an allowance of 100 or 150 rupees per mensem for travelling expenses, house-rent, &c.; but the inspecting master, and the establishment generally, are to be paid by Government, who are also to provide sites for schools, and to defray the cost of school-buildings. The amount required for all these purposes cannot at present be stated, but it is supposed that from Rs.500 to Rs.1000 per mensem may at the very beginning be sufficient.

"3. On the subject being submitted for your consideration, you accorded your sanction to the scheme, on the ground that it was to be regarded as a grant-in-aid to a Missionary body, for the secular instruction of an uncivilized tribe, and that, as such, it was entirely in accordance with the views expressed in the Court's despatch of July 19, 1854, and differing in degree only, not in kind, from the grants made to individual

Missionaries for like purposes, with the Court's full approbation and sanction.

"4. We cannot concur in the view taken by you of the proposed scheme of education. We consider the difference in degree, as you express it, to be so wide, as to establish a new principle from that laid down in our letter of July 1854.

"5. The Santhals, though equally debased in ignorance, and devoid of rational religion, with the races referred to in the despatch of 1854, differ from them in one important particular. They do not occupy separate regions or tracts of country, so as to form isolated communities, locally separated, as well as socially distinct, from the Hindú and Mussulman population. They are, on the contrary, employed freely by Zemindars and speculators in land, of all classes, for jungle clearance, and for other agricultural purposes; and are thus often located in close vicinity with well inhabited towns and villages, and mix with the general population in many of the relations and concerns of life.

"6. We do not feel, therefore, that in dealing with the Santhals we are exempt from the necessity of maintaining that cautious line of proceeding which we ought always to deem so essential in the establishments founded or supported by Government for the education of the people of India.

"7. Thus, although we by no means object to the amount of the expenditure you have proposed to sanction, for the purpose of civilizing and instructing the Santhals, we cannot approve that part of the scheme which identifies the Government in measures prosecuted by the Missionaries, and so exposes the arrangement to the risk of perverted misconstruction.

"8. We are well aware that the Church Missionary Society has been marked equally for zeal as for rectitude of attention, and laborious devotion to benevolent objects. But however entitled to our confidence such an Institution may have proved itself, we adhere to the conviction that it would be altogether opposed to the rules, if you were to take any steps which might have the appearance of uniting the Government with such a Society in measures having the aim of converting any class of the population to Christianity; and we see no sufficient reason for applying to the case of the Santhals a different principle from that which has been applied to the general population. And we accordingly direct that a scheme may be prepared, for affording to the inhabitants of the Santhal districts the means of education, through the agency of Government officers,

who must be most strictly enjoined to abstain from any attempts to introduce religious subjects in any form.

"We are, &c.

(Signed) "ROSS D. MANGLES,  
"F. CURRIE,  
"C. MILLS,  
"and other Directors.

"London, July 22, 1857."

The Santhals need more than secular education; and a procedure which contemplates no more than this cannot succeed. It was wise policy, therefore, on the part of the authorities in India, to supplement with grants-in-aid the action of a Missionary Society, which would discreetly infuse the very element which was needed. But, no! Government principle is that of neutrality; and Christianity is obstructed in its action, lest Hindús and Mohammedans might take offence. Such a decision can be considered in no other light than as a revocation of the grant-in-aid principle. For if Mission-schools, amongst tribes which are neither Hindús or Mohammedans, may not be aided, lest the suspicion of those religionists be excited, how shall Mission-schools amongst Hindús and Mohammedans, and avowedly designed for the purpose of affording to them opportunities of Christian instruction, continue to receive support? Either the Santhal scheme must be carried out, or the Education Despatch of 1854 be considered as virtually annulled.

But let us advert to a few more proofs of the even-handed course of the principle of neutrality, which, in its impartiality, has not hesitated to bestow on heathenism and Mohammedanism a recognition which has been withheld from the Christian subjects of the Government.

We find in the Blue Books various addresses from native bodies in Calcutta, of the Hindú and Mohammedan persuasions, expressive of their loyalty and attachment to the Government, presented during the existing period of disquietude; and these addresses duly received and honoured by official responses. We find, also, an humble address from the native Christians of Kishnagurh to the Governor-General, in which they express their readiness to aid the Government to the utmost of their power, both by bullock-garries and men, or in any other way in which their services might be required, and that cheerfully, without wages or remuneration. That address does not appear in the Blue Books, nor does it seem to have received any official answer. While thanks were profusely expended in other directions, our co-religionists appear to have received none.

We suppose that Government was afraid to recognise an address from native converts, lest the principle of neutrality should be interfered with, and the false systems from which these poor people had separated, consider themselves aggrieved. This is only the Mirut principle of 1819 again. Christian converts must be discouraged, lest the Government be suspected of any leaning towards Christianity. Converts from Romanism now amount to a considerable number in the sister country! What, then, would our Irish friends of the Protestant persuasion say, if the Lord Lieutenant, from a fear of displeasing the Romish priesthood, should utterly ignore them, and decline to notice their expressions of loyalty, and offers of service, in troublous and disquieted times? But just such has been the action of the Government in India.

We give another instance of the same kind. A meeting of the residents of Backergunge was held, to consider the best means of protecting the station and district during the Mohurram; and in the event of its being impossible to obtain trustworthy troops, a proposal for raising a local force of Mughls and native Christians was agreed to. A subscription was raised to aid in defraying the cost of this temporary force, pending the receipt of the orders of the Government respecting it. The force was to consist of 800 men. The experiment was deemed by the authorities worthy of trial; and the official documents dispose of the matter in the following language—"In se-

veral districts are classes superior in courage and enterprise, and more prone to personal conflict than the mass of the people (Bengalis). From amongst these classes it seems probable that the materials of a trained, disciplined, and trustworthy armed police may be obtained. In the Backergunge district the Mughls, or descendants of the Arracanese, settled in the district, would form the nucleus of such a force; and it is considered that the number needed in that Zillah would be greater than in other parts of Bengal." The Mughls are recognised as a suitable element, but the native Christians remain unnoticed. Was it decided not to employ them? that it would be inconsistent with the principle of neutrality to do so? We apprehend such to have been the case. Is it not a fact, that, at Benares, native Christians were enrolled in a local corps, raised for objects similar to those contemplated at Backergunge, and considerable progress made in their training and drill, when a Government order arrested the proceedings, and sent the native Christians back to their homes?

So far, then, as Christianity is concerned, the neutral policy has been a partial and obstructive one; yet the natives have not been conciliated. The Government has fallen under the very suspicion it was most anxious to avoid, that of purposing a compulsory interference with the religion of the natives. What generated the suspicion? We must defer the answer to a subsequent number.

## INDIA—THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

(Resumed from p. 66.)

We have advanced so far in the consideration of this question, as to conclude the impossibility of Government persevering in the educational measures hitherto pursued without forfeiting all claim to consistency. The exclusion of the Christian element from Government schools and colleges, and the reduction of the education afforded to a bare secular system, has been unjust to the native, as well as dishonouring to that true faith which, as a nation, we profess. He is invited to frequent those institutions, on the assurance that his religion shall not be interfered with. But it is interfered with. The secular system is a destructive system. It utterly destroys all positive ideas, on the subject of religion in the native mind, and reduces every thing to a mere negation. On his introduction to the college, the youth has some sense of religion—he is a believer in existences superior to himself. However false and distorted the

ideas entertained by him as to the character of what he calls gods, still there is an admission, which carries with it consequent obligations; and what remains to be done, under such circumstances, is to give his admission a right direction, and present to him the true God, instead of demons, as the object of his faith. But secular education not only convinces him of the absurdity of idols, but destroys within his mind the root on which a better knowledge might have been grafted. It stubs up all belief in a superior existence, and sends back the youth into the world, not only divested of the Hindú religion, but bare and denuded of any religion at all. "No enlightened Government," observes the educational inspector at Behar, "would think of taking steps to eradicate one religion without endeavouring to supply its place by some other." But this is precisely the course which has been pursued by our Government

in India. The Christian Scriptures have been virtually and practically excluded from the Government institutions on the pretext of not interfering with the religion of the natives. But whatever ignorance and misapprehension might have existed upon this point when these institutions were initiated, it is now a patent fact that they do directly interfere with their religion, and that they are proselyting institutions on a large scale—with this difference, that they proselyte not to Christianity, but to infidelity; and this one system has been eradicated without the substitution of another.

Let it be solemnly asked, in the presence of this nation, yea, in the presence of God himself, is this country, after all that has taken place in India, prepared to persist in this system? To what purpose can it serve? The native is neither conciliated nor improved. The prejudiced Hindú detests the interference with his religion, and dislikes it the more because of its insincere and serpent-like procedure. The youth who comes back into life with the surface-polish derived from these institutions—and nothing more—is no improvement on what he had been previously. He has more knowledge, and less principle. He has unlearned every thing like subordination; and having discarded all idea of a God, he spurns the thought of being subjected to human control. He is restless and disaffected, an agitating and dangerous member of society. Scepticism and disaffection to British rule go hand in hand in India; and hence the number of educated traitors that have been found in the service of the Government, men acute enough as to intellectual power, but without honour or humanity. To persevere in such a system is a waste of public money. The sums expended on it were better cast into the sea; there, at least, they would yield no mischievous results—results beneficial neither to the subject or the ruler, neither to the native or ourselves—nay, to both injurious. To the Hindú they are injurious, for he goes forth into the world, such as the education which he has received has made him, an unbeliever, denouncing all religions as false; to the Government they are injurious, for they render the native subjects of the state more impatient of restraint, and more difficult to be controlled; and to the nation they are injurious, for they provoke God to displeasure, and the withdrawal of that protecting care, which Great Britain, in her past history, has so remarkably experienced.

But if a change be made, what shall be the substitute, or what position shall the Government assume? Shall it proceed, in com-

pliance with the strong wish which has been expressed, to introduce the Christian Scriptures into its colleges? or, withdrawing itself from all direct connexion with educational procedure, confine itself to the system of grants-in-aid? There are many who deprecate the former course, and amongst them some who are really interested in the spread of evangelical truth amongst the masses of India; but they object to State intervention in matters of religion; and the introduction of the Christian Scriptures into Government schools, carries with it, as they conceive, something of compulsion. It is this that they distaste. They wish the conscience to be left free, that temporal influences should be carefully excluded, and nothing permitted to press on the individual, in order to decide him in favour of Christianity, except its own inherent excellence. They allege that it is only the profession which arises from conviction that is of any value; and that the employment of any influences which would tempt the native to an insincere profession would be in the highest degree detrimental to the action of the gospel.

There is much in this reasoning which is sound, and to which we readily subscribe. We also desire that Christian truth should be left to its own inherent energy, and that its profession by the natives should be the result of conviction, not of interested motives. We also deprecate the substitution of secular influences for the high influence that comes from above. But we cannot agree with them in concluding that the introduction of the Christian Scriptures into Government schools carries with it any thing of sinister influence, or has any necessary tendency to interfere with a process of genuine conversion.

Before, however, we approach these points, let us look at the alternative. If it be true that our educational institutions cannot continue as they are, and yet, for the reasons assigned, cannot have introduced into them the Christian Scriptures, then all that remains to be done is, that Government should fall back on the grant-in-aid system. But to this we have strong objections. Such a movement on the part of Government we should consider to be decidedly of a retrograde character, and equally objectionable with the position which it occupies at the present moment. We shall state, as briefly as is consistent with perspicuity, what these objections are.

The great fault of our Government in India has been this, that in its anxiety not to interfere with the religion of the natives, it has ignored its own. In its dread of being thought intolerant, it has assumed an irreligious aspect.

To confine itself to the grant-in-aid system, would be to perpetuate that error; for, according to that system, money grants are conceded to all schools which provide a certain amount of secular education. The Government refusing to take action beyond this point, would occupy an evasive position, pregnant with many evil consequences. The idea and model of Government, in the mind of the Oriental, is eminently patriarchal. He observes its acts, and draws conclusions from them. The Government which confines its educational policy to the grant-in-aid system withdraws itself altogether from the religious element, and identifies itself with secular education only. The conclusion which the native mind will deduce from such a policy, so far as the distinction between religious and secular education be understood, is, that Government is indifferent to the subject of religion, and regards it as so subordinate in importance, that while it grants liberally to the promotion of secular education, it affords no encouragement to religious teaching. The aspect which a Government, occupying such a position, presents to the natives around, is an irreligious one. "We have nothing to do with religion," will be the avowed principle of Government; and the conclusion of the astute native will be, "It is because they care nothing about it." The example of the Government will consequently be promotive of an irreligious tendency amongst its subjects. There will be an insensible yet powerful influence exercised in that direction, like a current which takes a ship at sea and carries it far out of the true course. For if Government can do without religion in its public acts—if religion be such an abstract element of such little practical value that it can be set aside in matters of first importance without any serious inconvenience, and millions may be governed just as well without religion as with its aid—then is it unnecessary to the right governance of the individual in society, and may without injury be dispensed with in matters of private life. The native is thus inevitably forced to the conclusion, that, in the opinion of Government, religion is an element of little benefit to man—that it does not affect his value in society—otherwise it would never be so entirely set aside in that most important act of national policy, the education of the young. The position of Government, limited in its educational measures to the grant-in-aid system, can be regarded in no other light than that of indifferentism, not only as to the character of the religious instruction given in the schools which it assists, but as to whether

there be any provision whatsoever for imparting such instruction. And if the Government be thus indifferent as to religious teaching, many will conclude that it is so because it considers religion to be of no value. We should then present the pitiable spectacle of a great nation, which owes all its greatness to the ameliorative action of the true religion which it has received, in its government of heathen tributaries evading all recognition of the religion to which it owes so much, and suppressing it in its public acts, as though convinced that to its heathen subjects it could be of no value. Whether this be a becoming position, we leave to the consideration of every candid mind. What greater ingratitude, than not only to conceal, but openly disparage that to which we are so infinitely indebted? We suggest, for serious consideration, the inquiry, whether it be a safe position. Protestant England has been placed in supremacy over heathen India. It has been so ordered, that, through the relationship thus formed, there might be a communication of Christian light and truth to the heathen mind. But while private effort presents Christianity to the native as of first importance, the Government deals with it as of no importance. The Missionary action of the church is obstructed by the Government policy of the nation. How long should a policy, so opposed to the purposes of God, be permitted to continue? Can we pronounce it a safe procedure? Is it not likely to bring down upon us Belshazzar's doom?

Individuals protest strongly against the religious indifferentism which has hitherto characterized our policy in India; yet they object to the introduction of the Christian Scriptures into the Government schools, and prefer that educational policy should be confined to the grant-in-aid system. But this, we repeat, is essentially governmental indifferentism, the very principle against which they remonstrate, and the evils of which are so apparent in the calamities which have come upon us. Such persons approve, and yet disapprove; they condemn, and yet perpetuate. In a general sense they would repudiate the policy of the past, yet in the matter of education they would have it retained; and if there retained, then indifferentism, or neutrality, or whatever other name may be given to an insincere and unworthy procedure, will continue to be the governing principle in India, and that in despite of all remonstrance.

But there is another reading of this policy, and one which we think will be more general. There are few comparatively amongst the natives of India who will enter into the distinc-



tion between secular and religious education, and regard the Government as identified with the one, and yet disconnected from the other. When a school is subsidized, the Government, unless due care be taken to prevent such a misapprehension, will be considered as giving its sanction and encouragement to all that is taught in that school. It will be seen to shelter under its parental wings a multifarious brood. In one direction a school, carried forward on the principle of ultra-conservatism as to old usages, has liberal support; in another, a Mohammedan school, where the *alumni* are diligently inoculated with all the prejudices and bigotry by which Indo-Mohammedanism is unhappily characterized; in some other quarter a Parsi school, flourishes under governmental auspices; and here and there, dispersed amongst the population, will be found Christian schools, not all Protestant however, participating in this indiscriminating bounty. The popular and natural reading will be, that Government regards all religions as of equal value, and that provided a man has a religion, it matters not as to the mode; that all religions are essentially the same, and that the differences between them are merely incidental. This will be to inaugurate an era of latitudinarianism of the most extreme kind, and the Christian faith will thus become reduced to one common level with the congeries of errors under the name of religion which overspread India. A Government which treats all religions alike, and whose object is to show no preference for one religion above another, may be designated crepuscular in its policy, and reminds us of the bat species, whose organization is one of a compromise between birds and beasts, and which prefers twilight to the more decisive hue of light or darkness. Such a Government takes of the darkness which belongs to religious error, and of the light which belongs to religious truth, and, commingling both together, forms a kind of drear and murky twilight, as best suited to the policy which it desires to pursue. Now, there are many who would accept this solution of the antagonism that exists between religious light and darkness. In this they would terminate all disputes. This they pronounce charity, and would hail the arrival of such a period as the millennium of mankind. But such commingling we deprecate, for "what communion hath light with darkness?" Light is wronged by such a compromise, for it loses a portion of its own essential brightness, and receives instead of it an infusion of its opposite. Such intermixtures, to the Divine mind, appear to be especially repug-

nant: "Thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed: neither shall a garment mingled of linen and woollen come upon thee." "I would thou wert cold or hot. So then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth." The tendency of such a system would be to encourage this lukewarm temperament, to arrest all inquiry, and to reduce all mental action to a low monotony on the subject of religion. Such a policy could carry with it no blessing. "He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth."

In order to the vindication of the British Government in India, as a Christian Government which has a religious preference, it is of necessity that the grant-in-aid system be supplemented by somewhat of decisiveness. Some specific action on our part is rendered necessary, which shall unequivocally demonstrate to the natives of India that we neither consider religion as unimportant, nor regard one religion to be as good as another. This desideratum can only be obtained by all governmental schools and colleges being so organized as to include the recognition of Christianity. Provided it be thus supplemented, then, under the peculiar circumstances of India, no valid objection can be urged to the grant-in-aid system.

But it is objected, if you make the reading of the Christian Scriptures, and that instruction in the principles of Christianity which such a rule will necessarily involve, an essential part of the governmental education, then you infringe the principle of toleration; for the native youth in these academies, whether his conscience disapproves or otherwise, must submit himself to be so instructed. But if there be a candid avowal of the Christian character of these institutions, and no enforcement of attendance, where is there compulsion? more especially as grants-in-aid will be freely given to those among the natives who cannot reconcile themselves to the system, and who desire schools established on other principles.

But, it will be replied, you give in these governmental schools a superior education, such as the native youth cannot hope to find in institutions which have originated with themselves; one, moreover, which, placed as it is under Government patronage, invests those who have passed through it with something of a recommendation to the notice of Government; and yet from all this youth are excluded, unless they submit themselves to a course of instruction in Christianity which they distaste and dread: and thus you

force their conscience, in order to bring them under Christian instruction.

The only part of the objection which appears to us to be deserving of consideration is that which has reference to Government patronage. That must be carefully guarded against. Government schools in this respect should be placed on an equality with all other institutions, Missionary or otherwise. No ulterior advantages should be held out, except such as are the necessary sequences of good mental training. That must be the reward of the student's diligence on leaving the institution. He must expect no favouritism, no partiality; his proficiency alone should avail him, and, in competition with other youths, the award should be accordingly.

In the remaining part of the objection there appears to be something more subtle than practical, for if permitted to carry weight, it would be subversive not only of governmental action in favour of scriptural education, but of all Missionary institutions in which a superior education is given. But are the managers of such institutions under any obligation to investigate these workings of the native mind? The question for them is, Are they adopting a fair and candid course? They offer a liberal education, on Christian principles. Is there any thing reprehensible in their doing so? Nothing: it is a benevolent undertaking. But some are apprehensive that the native youth will submit to the Christian education, which is distasteful to them, for the sake of the general education which they desire. It may be so; but is that a matter of inquiry for us? or what course remains to be pursued? Out of a morbid fear of interfering with the conscience of the native, are we to shut up all Christian colleges throughout the land?

But we believe the apprehension to be imaginary, and that, neither on the part of parents or children, is there any such conflict of conscience as some suppose. They have a dread of being interfered with on the subject of religion, but it is not in the way of Christian teaching or instruction. Their caste is that of which they are so scrupulously preservative, and interference with their caste usages they dread; but their caste is not interfered with by attending a Christian school, reading out of a Christian book, or listening to instruction in the truths of Christianity. It is not instruction, but pollution which the native dreads. We are incredulous as to any action of the Hindú conscience on the subject, and doubt whether a single case has ever occurred in which a native youth has had

upon his mind a consciousness that he was contravening his religion in coming under Christian teaching. How is it, if such feeling has had place in the native mind, that parents have been so free to send their children, and the children to come, to Christian schools? They have been always well attended, confessedly better attended than the Government secular schools. Had the conscience been interfered with, as some suppose, why should they not have preferred the latter, in which the education given was wholly directed of the Christian element? It is a great error to reason by analogy from the structure of our mind to that of the Hindú. In a land like our own, where scriptural truth is largely in circulation, the conscience stirs more or less in each breast; but amongst the Hindús, generally speaking, conscience is dead. For, after all, what is conscience? It is a reference to a law or standard set up within the heart, with which man involuntarily compares himself, and is thus acquitted or condemned. But the Hindú system has expunged all law, all standard, from the native mind, except the law of caste; and, provided the man be observant of this, he is free to follow out all wishes, all impulses of his mind, in whatever direction they may lead him.

Let it be remembered, that in scriptural schools and places of education, all that is done is to place the subject of Christianity fully and fairly before the native youth: as to his decision with respect to it, he is left entirely free. There is neither compulsion nor beguilement introduced, to interfere with the honest action of his conscience. If he continue a heathen, his education goes on just the same; he is placed under no ban, no reproof. If he come under convictions, and desires to embrace the gospel, he is not told of the temporal advantages which will ensue, but of the temporal disadvantages, of the persecution to which he will be subjected, by the loss of caste.

To sum up the subject—the present position of Government, in the matter of education, we believe to be untenable; and that not merely because it is disloyal to Christianity, but hurtful to the Hindú. It destroys the belief he has, and leaves him totally denuded of religion. To fall back upon the grant-in-aid system, we believe to be the evasion of a plain duty: a course which, if pursued, must place the British nation, in its administrative capacity, in as bad a position as it was previously, one in every way unbecoming this country, exposing us to grievous misapprehension, and provocative of the displeasure of God. There remains but one

course, that which has been impetrated in the Memorial of the Church Missionary Society—"That the Bible be introduced into the system of education in all Government

schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude, and the source of those Christian principles" upon which the future government of India ought to be conducted.

## NARRATIVE OF THE NIGER EXPEDITION—REV. S. CROWTHER'S JOURNAL.

WE have received the Rev. S. Crowther's journal of the Niger expedition, from June 29th to October 26th inclusive. The main features of events are such as we have already placed before our readers, but they are expanded into a variety of interesting details, so as to occupy eighty-six folio pages, in his close, but distinct handwriting. It would be impossible to attempt its transfer into our pages: our limited space is unequal to its reception, but we trust it will be proffered to the public in a separate form. We feel persuaded that the operations on the banks of the Niger are the commencement of vast and most important labours. In occupying the Niger's banks, we have touched the great artery of communication between tribe and tribe; and it may be the Divine pleasure that the message of mercy and salvation should henceforth extend itself throughout these interior nations, with a rapidity to which we have been hitherto strangers. The growth of the Sierra-Leone Mission was very slow—a perpetuated conflict with difficulties of a most grave character, and often it seemed as if the feeble work must have yielded to the pressure, and died out. God sustained it. The Yoruba Mission, compared with the Parent Mission, has made rapid progress. The European Missionary entered not alone on the cultivation of that field; his native brother was associated with him, and the truths of the gospel were at once clothed in the vernacular of the country.

On the banks of the Niger, native evangelists have commenced the work alone; and we are disposed to think that this Mission field is precisely the one which will act on the sympathies of the Sierra-Leone churches. Here are the many-tongued countries, for the occupation of which the polyglottal Christians of Sierra Leone appear to have been provisionally prepared. There are there Christian energies which seem to have been awaiting a suitable occupation. The opening of the Niger at once presents it. We expect to hear of a great movement in Sierra Leone towards the Niger, and we trust there will be no restraint put upon it—no narrow feeling permitted, which would leave the

Niger unoccupied, lest Sierra Leone should be left with a diminished agency. Let them go, nay, let them be encouraged and helped to go, all who are willing, and can be serviceable. We want not high educational requirements for the rude, rough work of the Niger; but hearts of piety, tongues of truth, and hardy frames; feet that, like those of their great Master, will not spurn wearisome journeys, and hands ready to manual effort; men, in short, who, in dependence on the help of God, are prepared to help themselves. We would print Crowther's journal in a cheap form, for the use of the Sierra-Leone Christians. If not read here, it will be read there with avidity; and God, in his providence, would use it as an instrument to draw out the service that He needs.

On the present occasion we can only transfer into our pages some of the leading and more important features of Mr. Crowther's journal, such as may serve to afford our readers more accurate and enlarged views of the new field of labour which has been opened for us on the banks of the Niger.

Mr. Crowther refers to the improvement perceptible among the Idzo, the inhabitants of the Delta, and the facilities for Missionary effort.

"Clothes are become articles of general use: shirts have become very common in use among the males, even when engaged in fishing, or in other daily employments. Shirts and Manchester goods are in demand for goats, fowls, yams, and wood. There is a decided improvement in the cultivation of the soil: although, comparatively speaking, much behind the natives of the interior in this respect, yet their present application is an improvement upon former years. In coming close to the banks on which the villages stand, steps were observed cut in the slopes, to facilitate landing; and at other places, where the banks did not admit of such cuts, ladders were constructed of pieces of stick tied together for the same purpose. These I had not observed before in my former voyages up and down the river, perhaps because the ship did not go near enough to be perceptible, or the water had covered these

banks at the height of the river. Brass canoes are numerous on the river—seventeen were counted off the village of Hippotiana; more or less were observed abreast the villages, or in the creek, as we passed along: there could not have been less than 100 large Brass canoes met with, some carrying six puncheons, trading in palm-oil. Opposite the village Kayama there is an interior tribe called Egen, speaking a tongue like the Idzo, a dialect of Brass and Bonny. These people manufacture palm-oil, and bring it to the bank of the river to be sold to Brass traders. To know the interior countries in the Delta better, a short excursion should be made inland, in the dry season, from the back of some villages—Hippotiana, Kayama, or Agberi. I am under the impression that the country, a short distance from the banks of the river, to the back of these villages, is drier than we generally imagine. I asked Ndawa, the chief of Angiama, whether there were no drier spots on the back of the town, where a town might be built. He said there were.

“The number of villages whose names are known and marked down in the chart, situated on or near the banks of the Niger, on the Delta, from Kperemabiri to Akra Utiri, below Abo, are twenty-seven. The population of each of these villages is estimated at from 250 to 700, which makes the average 475, which will give the aggregate population of the twenty-seven villages immediately on the banks of the river to Akra Utiri to be 12,825 souls.

“These villages could easily be occupied by schoolmasters or scripture-readers, under the superintendence of one or two native Missionaries, furnished with boats or canoes, to facilitate their periodical visits to these scattered villages. Thus the highway to the interior, by means of this river, will be fully thrown open, when the poor inhabitants of the Delta are enlightened.”

The town of Onitsha, our first Mission station, where the Rev. J. C. Taylor has been placed, is thus described—

“July 26—Had service on board: Mr. Taylor officiated: after which we landed, on a visit to the town of Onitsha. The inhabitants, except Odiri, the king’s son, whom we met in the market-place three years ago, had never seen white men in their country before, and no doubt suspected the motives of two large ships anchoring off their market-place: they were quite frightened, armed themselves for self-defence, and shunned us as we approached them; but a little explanation and friendly conversation soon insured confidence, and one of them offered to be our

guide to the town. The road, which led between extensive cultivations of yams and Indian corn, among which young cotton-plants were growing up, was very good, clean, and dry, which at times broke into loose sand: it is a gradual ascent, and by the time we reached the entrance of the town, which is about a mile and a half distant from the river, about 100 feet above its level, the Niger lay in full view below us, looking through the scattered trees and plantations from the border of the town. The surface of the ground is covered with slight sandy soil, but below is deep red marl, or brick clay, with which the natives build their houses, after the fashion of Yoruba, with square mud-walls, very inferior in their arrangements, and imperfect in their construction. Passing through the town, which is literally enshrouded in groves of tall and immense cocoa-nut, palm, and other trees, whose names I do not know, we were to halt at the gate of Orikabue, one of the king’s councillors; but he was absent from home: so we proceeded with our guide, who conducted us to the house of Odiri, the king’s son, whom we met in the market-place three years ago. By the time we had arrived here, a large crowd had collected around us, of all ages and both sexes, who now and then rushed away at the approach of any of the Europeans with long beards and whiskers. After some detention at Odiri’s, we were invited to the king’s quarters, and desired to wait at the audience-hall, an open building outside the square, with spacious ground before it. After a long waiting, we were invited into the outer square, where we were received by the king, Akazua. After the usual salutations, Dr. Baikie briefly stated the object of our visit to Onitsha, which was very favourably responded to by the king: after this, he withdrew, with his four councillors, of whom Odiri was one, to hold conference. On their return, the king addressed the assembly to this effect: That as the white men desired to dwell among them, and trade, if any one had any objection he should state it now; and that no one who had nothing to sell should go to the establishment, lest he should be tempted to steal, and bring trouble upon himself and the country.

“A man from the assembly came out and spoke, in the name of the people, of their concurrence with the king’s wishes, which they considered were for the good of the country. However, the matter was to be discussed tomorrow, and we were permitted to look out for land in any place we pleased, and let them know the next morning. He entertained us with kola-nuts. We returned to Odiri’s

house, who refreshed us with palm-wine, and gave us kola-nuts. To Odiri, Orikabue, and Ayanksha, the king's brother and councillors, I quietly intimated our intention to form a Mission establishment in their town, quite distinct from the trading factory already mentioned to the king; and that Mr. Taylor, who was with me, would stay among them. They were quite pleased with the idea.

"July 27—Proceeded, after breakfast, to the king's house. Our business soon commenced, when Dr. Baikie told the king, at full length, his object in coming to this country. Simon Jonas interpreted for him. The king and his people were perfectly agreeable to all that was said, and promised to make good trade with the settlers. Mr. Taylor was then introduced as the religious teacher who was to reside with them, and teach them the word of God, and their children how to read; and if they paid attention to him, many more would be sent to live among them, which they promised to do. After this, Dr. Baikie and Captain Grant gave their presents, first to the king, and then to his councillors: the king was quite delighted. After the excitement was a little over, he energetically addressed the audience, and demanded their opinion, whether they were agreeable to the establishments or not; to which they all replied in the affirmative. Odiri, the king's son, addressed the people at full length; and so did Ayanksha, the king's brother, and Orikabue. The people expressed their concurrence by firing off muskets. Akazua then withdrew with his councillors.

"July 31—I took a short walk in the extensive corn and yam plantations, when I had a good opportunity of observing that cotton was planted to the same extent nearly, to be after-crop when yams and corn are removed from the fields. The people of Onitsha manufacture their own cloths—generally plain: European-manufactured goods are not so commonly used here as in the lower parts of the river. Shirts, jackets, and straw-hats are in great demand by the people. Cowries are current here, but their relative value I have not been able to ascertain, the policy of the natives being to get them as cheap as they can from us, to be retailed to advantage among themselves. Abo people bring salt and other goods from the lower parts of the river, as far as to Igara; which are also taken to the Confluence by the people of Idda, which they sell for cowries or ivory; and the cowries are brought to Onitsha market, to purchase palm-oil.

"July 30—We walked to town on a visit, as well to ascertain the number of groups of

houses in the town, so as to be able to form an idea of its population. We counted twenty-six groups, which, containing at the lowest average 250 persons each, gives 6500 souls in the town of Onitsha. During our walk we visited some headmen in their houses, to whom we spoke a few words on religious matters: they were very glad to see us, and promised to listen to Mr. Taylor's teaching. Many others invited us to their houses; but as the night was drawing near, we promised to call next time. The people have been troubled by war with their Ibo neighbours of the interior, in consequence of which a great many good houses were deserted at the east end of the town, where a constant look-out was kept for the approach of the enemies, removing the people to the west part, which is safer.

"As we entered the town to-day, and approached our lodging, we saw a large number of people in the street, neatly dressed in their best; and in one of our landlord's squares there was a crowd of people, of both sexes, dancing to the beat of drums, with which was kept up constant firing of muskets. We stepped into the entrance to see what it was, but the crowd was so thick that we could not see much, except the dancers, who were moving in antic gestures.

"When we came to our lodging, one of the headmen paid us a visit, and I asked him the cause of the amusement; when I was told that it was in honour of the burial of a relative of our landlord, who died some months ago. Simon Jonas, who remained on shore last night, had heard that a human sacrifice was to be made to the manes of the dead, and he told the people of the wickedness of the practice. On my putting the question as to the cause of the amusement, the headman was conscience stricken, and told Simon Jonas that the victim was not yet killed. We then took the opportunity, and spoke most seriously to the headman, in the hearing of many people, who stood in our square, of the abomination of this wicked practice, more so that the victim was a poor defenceless female slave. He then assured us that they had not known it was bad to do so; and as we have now told them, the human sacrifice should not be performed, but a bullock would be killed in its stead."

On leaving Onitsha, the king and his councillors renewed their promise of abolishing human sacrifices; and, after bidding affectionate farewell to Mr. Taylor and his companions—Simon Jonas, and three young traders from Sierra Leone—the expedition

proceeded up the river. "This," observes Mr. Crowther—

"July 31—This the first and important move of the Church Missionary Society in planting a Mission, and supplying it from the native ministry of Sierra Leone, is a step in advance of the Yoruba Mission, commenced and worked under the direction of European Missionaries. Mr. Taylor has to break open the fallow-ground and sow the seed of a future bountiful harvest among the people of his fatherland. May this be the beginning of a rapid overspread of Christianity in the countries on the banks of the Niger, and in the heart of Africa, through native agents."

On August 3d, a town called Ala was reached, where the heads of the expedition were kindly received by the chiefs, and presented with kola-nuts, palm-wine, goats, fowls, and very fine yams. At this place, which is a border town, both the Igara and Ibo languages are spoken. Hausa interpreters were also found useful in intercourse with the people. At Idda, notwithstanding a proclamation that no business was to be transacted with the ships until the attah was seen, the eagerness of the people would not await the tardy ceremonial which slowly yielded access to the presence of majesty, and the ship at an early hour was surrounded by canoes, bearing various articles—fowls, goats, clothes, sheep, a tusk, &c., so that the ship was full of people, and there was no room on deck to move. At the interview with the attah, Mr. Crowther obtained permission to select the most eligible spot of ground he could find, with a view to the location of Missionaries, so soon as they should arrive; at the prospect of which, and of the instruction of his people, the king expressed his gratification. How much their efforts are needed is evident from the fact, that here also our Missionaries discovered the traces of human sacrifices.

"Aug. 7—After the inspection of the land, as we were returning to the ship, Kasumo, the Arabic interpreter, who had fallen in with a brother mallam here, and also with a Yoruba slave, was privately informed that about three months ago, an Albino slave-boy, whom we saw here in 1854, about nine years of age, was offered in sacrifice as a peace-offering in the settlement of their political disputes; that the hands and feet of the poor boy were dislocated, after which he was put into a pit prepared for him, over which a large pot was placed: so the poor creature had to linger the remaining days of his miserable existence in torture and agony. He

was there three or four days before he expired, when the pit was covered up.

"This is another instance which loudly calls for help, for these dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty."

Here first Mohammedans were met with, showing the approach of the expedition to the countries overrun with the Felani.

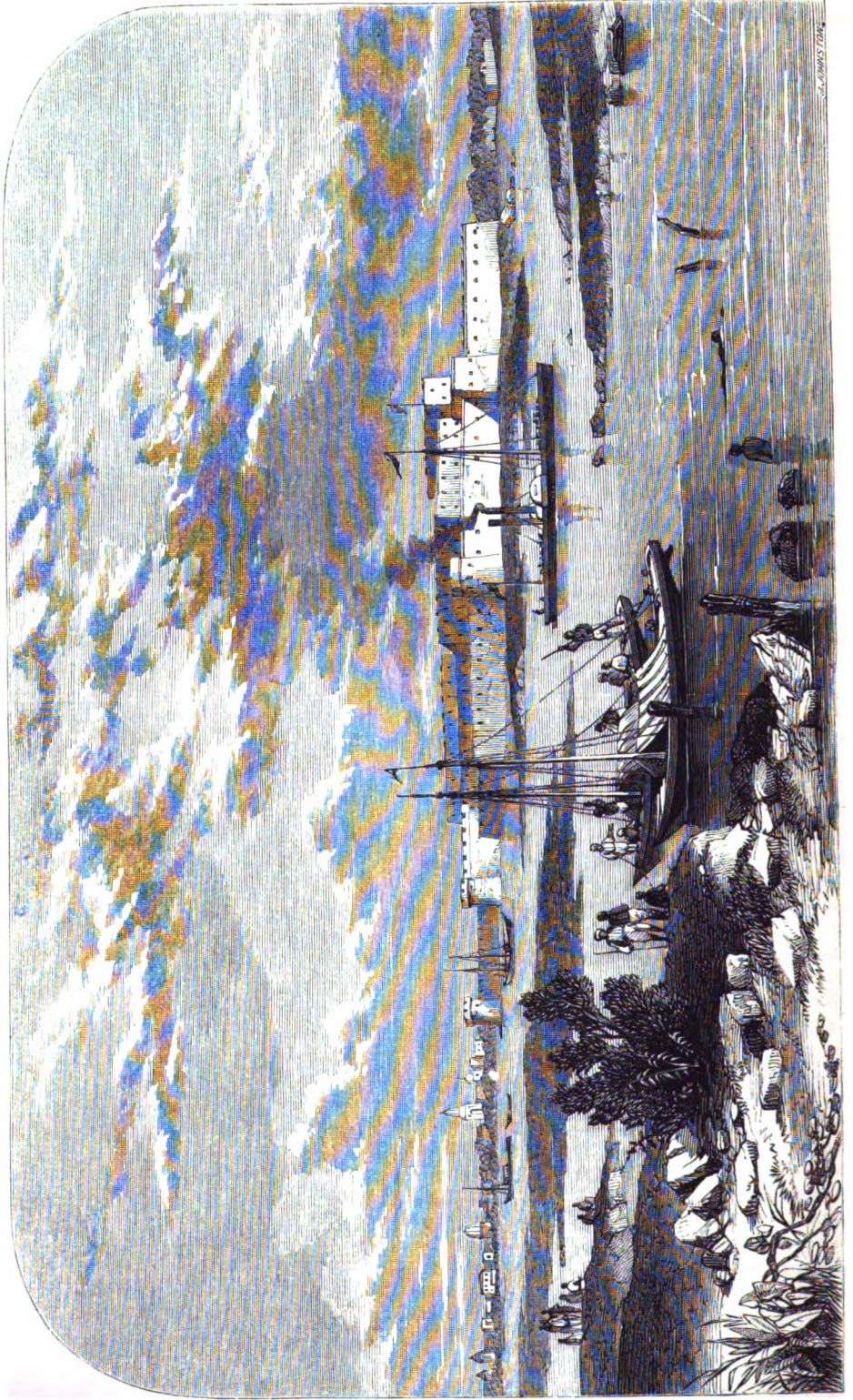
"At this place my Hausa interpreter fell in with a son of the King of Zaria, a mallam, who formerly was living in the same house with him, before the interpreter was kidnapped, and sold into slavery. This mallam has been here for the last four years, and would remain one year longer before he returned to Zaria: he was in possession of a complete copy of the Korán, and another volume, which Kasumo told me was a commentary, or notes on the Korán, in Arabic. As it was not a translation into the native language, it was not the thing which the Society desired me to obtain. There were several Mohammedans here from Nupe."

At the Confluence some of those peculiar relationships by which Sierra Leone is providentially connected with these interior countries, and the consequent responsibility imposed on that colony of becoming an active and influential centre for the communication of light and truth, became apparent.

"Aug. 11—At Igbegbe, as at other places we go to, the liberated Africans from Sierra Leone are sure to find some of their scattered relatives. W. Reader, of the Owe tribe of Kakanda, who was brought by Dr. Baikie to see the state of the country, and report to his countrymen at his return, found his elder sister here, with three children; Mr. Crook, an old disbanded soldier of the Nupe nation, who was liberated at Sierra Leone in 1813, found an aged woman here who formerly was his father's wife; W. Parker, a Bassa man, also found his sister; and Mr. Turner, a Yoruba man, fell in with some persons belonging to the same town with him. There was a great stir among the people, who came together to witness these unexpected meetings. With this impression on the minds of the inhabitants, we left the parties on shore, and returned to the ship."

The necessity of the study of the Arabic being cultivated at the Fourah-Bay Institution, Sierra Leone, as an important qualification for usefulness in these interior countries, is another practical lesson to be deduced from the records of this expedition; but being compelled to break off here for want of room, we must postpone the remainder of our extracts till our next number.





FORT AND TOWN OF ALLAHABAD.



## INDIA—GOVERNMENT ACTION AND MISSIONARY PROCEDURE: A CONTRAST.

THERE can be no doubt but that the apprehension of a compulsory interference on the part of Government with their religious usages had possessed itself of the Hindú mind to a considerable extent, and has been used by wily conspirators for their own purposes. Strange that the Government should come under the very suspicion which it had ever been most anxious to avoid. If there was one subject more than another on which the Indian Government has been ever nervously sensitive, it has been the fear of being suspected of any such intention. To preclude the possibility of such an idea being entertained, it professed neutrality, *i. e.* indifference, on all matters connected with religion. Yet the policy pursued has been far otherwise than neutral. To Christianity, as we have shown in our last Number, it has been decidedly obstructive, while with the religious usages of the natives there has been an interference on a very extended scale. It was thought, indeed, that the acts of Government would not be so regarded by them, because it was done, not in the way of religious teaching, but in the way of legislative enactment. It was thought, that to proceed by way of religious teaching was especially offensive to the natives, and that Missionary procedure was, in this respect, indiscreet and rash; but to legislative enactments it was considered that the native would quietly submit himself, as merely changes in law, which did not affect his religion. This, however, was an error, originating in mistaken views of the native character, and the peculiarities of their religious system. Experience has proved that religious teaching, in the eyes of the natives of India, is a comparatively innocuous proceeding; but that alterations in their usages by force of law, their minds having received no preparative instruction on the subject, has been regarded by them as a process of compulsory conversion; and thus our Governmental policy in India, while professing not to interfere with the religious prejudices of the natives, has done so more directly, and on a far more extended scale than Missionary action has ever done. Missionary action, it is true, has approached the religion of Hindús, and that with a view to their conversion; but the mode of procedure has been altogether different from that of Government. And which is the most judicious, and least likely to produce disaffection among the people, let the reader judge.

Our Government in India has, however, taught as well as legislated; and in both ways it has interfered with native opinions and native prejudices. It has not left the province of teaching to the Missionaries; it has instructed also: unhappily not after the Missionary fashion. Had it been so, the teaching would have prepared the way for the legislation, and rendered the latter less abrupt and alarming to the people. It has pursued a mode of instruction peculiar to itself; one which, in compliance with the avowed principle of neutrality, eschewed Christian teaching, and yet interfered with the religion of the natives, and overthrew all faith in it in the minds of many.

We shall proceed to show how our Government, while rigidly separating itself from all recognition of Christianity, nevertheless, both by teaching and legislation, has in the most unqualified manner interfered with the religion of the natives. And, first, in the way of teaching.

We glance briefly at the educational measures of the Government, and recall to the recollection of our readers certain observations in a previous Number. The Government system of education, out of deference to the professed principle of neutrality, is exclusive of Christianity; and yet, in its practical operation on the mind, it is destructive of all belief in Hindúism; and the Government colleges have been, to a great extent, proselyting institutions. They have done that which they professed not to do; and have so dealt with the *alumni*, that they have become the scorners and open impugnors of the Hindú system. Let the results of the Anglo-Indian College of Calcutta be remembered—"An institution the very beau ideal of a system of education without religion." The effect was such as might have been anticipated. In the minds of the more advanced students their ancestral faith was completely subverted; but they had received nothing of religious truth to fill up the void. "Many had become, or were rapidly becoming, sceptics, and others direct atheists." These were the first ripe fruits of that institution, the pattern and model of many similar ones organized by Government in different parts of India. This new Hindú element, intelligent, and full of mental action, but infidelized, and unsubdued, when introduced into the stagnation of Hindú society, what effect did it produce? That of extreme irritation. These

youths resolved themselves into debating societies, and then, in the English language, which they had acquired, they freely discussed all subjects, literary and philosophical, political and religious. But their references were to such writers as Gibbon, Bentham, Hume, and Paine. "Their great authorities were Hume's 'Essays' and Paine's 'Age of Reason.' With copies of the latter in particular they were abundantly supplied. . . . It was some wretched bookseller in the United States of America, who, basely taking advantage of the reported infidel leanings of a new race of men in the East, and apparently regarding no God but his silver dollars, despatched to Calcutta a cargo of that most malignant and pestiferous of all anti-Christian publications. From one ship a thousand copies were landed, and at first sold at the cheap rate of one rupee per copy; but such was the demand, that the price soon rose, and, after a few months, it was actually quintupled." Were the sceptical Hindús tolerant of the old superstitions, and contented to sit down beside them in the quietude of indifferentism? No, they aggressed upon the old system in the very fiercest spirit of hostility. The press was employed, and three newspapers edited; two in English—the "Reformer" and "Inquirer;" the third, the "Gyananeshan," in Bengali. These batteries we opened on the Brahminical system, with missiles of well-pointed ridicule, cutting satire and sarcasms, and arguments adapted to the understanding of the natives. The ultra-idolatrous party rose in defence of their religion; and against the bold innovators were directed the thunders and fulminations of some, and the curses and maledictions of others. "Again and again were the ringleaders of the growing apostacy summoned before the tribunals of the orthodox to answer for their conduct, in thinking and speaking and writing against the religion of their ancestors. These summonses were contemptuously slighted, and the awful threats not only of disgrace, but of final excommunication from caste, and other privileges, treated as the idle wind?" Observe, there was no Christianity in the movement, and therefore no charity, no discretion. At length a crisis arrived. Carried away by their impetuosity, the youthful opposers of the religion of their fathers, insulted a Brahmin, whose residence was contiguous to the house in which they assembled, by casting into his compound some pieces of roasted meat, with cries, "There is beef! there is beef." The indignant idolater proclaimed his wrong. Hundreds rallied around him. The new Hindú and the old

Hindú came into fierce collision. The family of the editor of the "Inquirer," in whose house the students had been assembled, were required to disown him, under pain of expulsion from caste themselves. He was called upon "formally to recant his errors, and proclaim his belief in the Hindú faith, or instantly to leave the home of his youth. He chose the latter extremity. Accordingly, towards midnight, without being able to take formal leave of any his friends, he was obliged to take his departure, he knew not whither. . . . As he and his friends were retiring, the infuriated populace broke loose upon them, and it was with difficulty they effected their escape." We are describing not the results of Missionary proselytism, but of the Government principle of neutrality. Can it be said that the theory has been successfully reduced to practice, and that there has been upon the part of Government no interference with the religious prejudices of the natives?

Nor did the banishment of this young Hindú, from the bosom of his family—although, like Jonah, he was cast forth into the raging deep—calm the storm. It raged more fiercely than before. Hindúism continued to be assailed in the pages of the "Inquirer;" and the editor, his life endangered, became a proscribed man—no native house in Calcutta dared to shelter him, and an European lodging-house became his asylum. Secret meetings of those who thought with him were held, the universal theme of which was—Destroy Hindúism; nor is it possible to predict the popular commotions which might have ensued, but that Christianity, in its tranquillizing influences, was poured like oil upon the troubled waters. Government had educated, as the first-fruits of its Anglo-Indian College, a body of wild destructives, who, while they denounced Hindúism, had nothing better wherewith to supply its place. Missionary action was brought gently and persuasively to bear upon them at the moment when, inflamed by the persecutions to which they had been subjected, their denunciations against Hindúism were most fierce. Difficult and laborious was the undertaking to deal with these undisciplined minds, who, with all their clear-sightedness as to the falsehood of Hindúism, were totally destitute of any actual knowledge of religious truth. But it was prayerfully and perseveringly prosecuted, and the effects were marvellous. The awakened energies received a new direction, and were turned from the abuse of Hindúism to the investigation of the truth, and several of the most prominent members of this body became converts to Christianity; amongst others,

the editor of the "Inquirer," who is at the present time a well-known clergyman of the Church of England in Calcutta. "After these baptisms had taken place, the state of things among the educated natives became wholly changed;" and, instead of a fiery rage against Hindúism, based on infidelity, there rose into action in their minds that tender spirit of commiseration towards those in error which Christianity dictates, and the persuasive effort to win them to the knowledge of the truth. Christian Missions interposed, to allay the storm which the Government mode of education had aroused. We have introduced these notices for the purpose of demonstrating that the Government system of education is a direct aggression upon the system of Hindúism, and that the Government themselves have been guilty, on an extended scale, of the delinquency which they charge on Missionary action: they, too, have proselyted, with this difference, that they have proselyted to infidelity, while Missions have converted men to Christianity. Which is the most charitable procedure, which the best policy, which is most conducive to the good of the Hindú and the good of England, the best for subjects and rulers, let our readers again judge.

Not only, however, in its educational measures, but in other ways, also, has the Government violated its own profession of neutrality, and aggressed upon the religious prejudices of the natives.

A series of legislative enactments have been introduced from time to time, with a view to the correction of various social evils with which the population of India was afflicted. Of these we have an enumeration in the "Memorandum of the improvements in the administration of India during the last thirty years." Passing over the chapter on revenue administration, and rights of the rural population, we come to that which is more immediately connected with our subject—"Judicature and Legislation," and especially that portion of it which relates to the suppression of crime. These improvements are presented in the following order:—The suppression of the Thugs, "a singular association, which, though recruited from all castes, and even from Mussalmans, was held together by a religious tie, and a common worship of the Hindú goddess of destruction;" "Of the more prevalent crime of dacoity, or robbery, and burglary, on a large scale, by organized bands of professional banditti;" Of infanticide, Suttee, and various other modes of self-immolation practised in India; Of Traggá, a singular mode of extorting redress, the parties who were, or believed themselves to be, injured, hiring a person of

the religious classes to threaten, that unless the demand, whatever it might be, was complied with, he would kill or wound himself or some one else—thereby, it was supposed, entailing the guilt of murder or of wounding on the person, whose alleged injustice was the original cause of the act. To these are to be added, the suppression of Meriah sacrifices; abolition of slavery as a legal status; of forced labour; the *lex loci* act, which enacted "that change of religion should not involve loss of property or civil rights; and the legalization of the re-marriage of widows."

But did not the more important of these measures interfere with the religion of the natives? What is that religion, or in what did it consist? The antagonists of Missionary efforts have always argued on the supposition that to attempt to present new ideas, involving the truths of Christianity, to the mind of a native, is to interfere with his religion. It is so, undoubtedly, in our estimation; but the native does not regard it as a direct assault on his religion, nor is this mode of approaching him generally obnoxious to him. There is another way of interfering with his religion, which does provoke and irritate him. We ask, again, what is his religion? It is a system of externals; a web of ritualism, of the most elaborate and oppressive character, in which the man is involved, and compliance with which is enforced under the fearful penalty of losing caste, that is, of losing his position in society, and being thus deprived of every social alleviation. The principle which may be selected as characteristic of the whole system is one the reverse of our Lord's declaration—"Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth this defileth a man:" and, again, "Those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart; and they defile a man." The Hindú principle reads thus—"Not that which cometh out of the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh into the mouth this defileth a man." According to the Christian principle, the source of personal defilement is within the man, and, in order to his being clean, the source of evil within, the heart, must be renewed. The Hindú knows nothing of moral defilement, and of the heart as its seat and centre. He is clean in his caste status, if only he preserves himself from ceremonial defilements which come upon him from without. Hence his excessive particularity as to the preparation of his food, lest it should come in contact with any thing that is unclean, and so communicate the uncleanness to him; and hence his tenacity in the observance of all those laws and

usages which, from prescriptive custom, belong to his caste status. Any interference with these he dreads, as tending to make him unclean.

Thus the living man is wrapped in retreats, like the dead body in its cerements. "The ceremonial defilements, pollutions, and uncleannesses, the ways in which caste may be stained or lost, the methods of purification, the regulations concerning food, the manner of dressing and eating it, the ceremonies at births, at different ages, and at marriages and deaths—all these multiplied beyond enumeration, with a prodigious calendar of burdensome festivals and feasts, constitute a most grievous bondage." But they are his religion. That has nothing to do with the interior of the man, with what he thinks or does in other respects, provided he is observant of the prescribed usages. To these his attention is directed, and not to what passes within. He dreads interference with his religion; but the interferences he dreads is with his usages, his customs—not with his ideas, his opinions. In the way of intellectual discourse he will allow you to approach him—he will interchange thoughts and discuss matters freely with you. He rather likes to do so. He will receive books at your hands. These do not defile, and therefore his caste scrupulosity is not alarmed; but proceed to deal with him in the way of externals, and to change his customs, and put restrictions upon him in that respect, and then, indeed, he is alarmed—you are then, in his sense, interfering with his religion.

Now, of the legislative ameliorations to which we have referred, the most important and striking directly interfere with usages and customs which, in the estimation of the Hindú, are enforced by religious sanction. The practice of Suttee is grounded on the injunctions of the Hindú Shastres: "O fire, let these women, with bodies anointed with clarified butter, eyes coloured with stibicum and void of tears, enter thee, the parent of water, that they may not be separated from their husbands, but may be in union with excellent husbands, be sinless, and jewels among women."—*Rig-Veda*.

"There are thirty-five millions of hairs on the human body. The woman who ascends the pile with her husband, will remain so many years in heaven. There is no virtue greater than a virtuous woman's burning herself with her husband.—*Ungira*.

A number of expressions, in several Shastres, countenance the practice of voluntary suicide. To drown oneself in the Ganges was a popular mode of compliance with such injunctions; or burial while still living; or self-precipitation

from lofty places; or death under the wheels of Juggernaut's chariot. They have been prohibited, or suppressed.

Witchcraft has been rendered illegal; but the several arts of divination, soothsaying, sorcery, necromancy, and, above all, astrology, are well-known, and highly regarded. Witchcraft, amongst the Hindús, has been a matter of universal belief and practice, every village having one or more female professors of the art, and wizards also abounding. Again, the act legalizing the re-marriage of widows is admitted to be "another great inroad to Hindú prejudices."

But to show how directly British legislation has interfered with Hindú laws and with Hindú religion, we shall make special reference to the Act for altering the law of inheritance. Of this measure the memorandum thus speaks—"By an Act passed in 1850, the principle already laid down in a Bengal Regulation of 1832, that change of religion should not involve loss of property or civil rights, was extended to the whole of the territories subject to the British Government of India. The religious and civil laws of the Hindús have in this point been completely set aside; and converts to Christianity have been shielded, as far as law can shield them, against temporal ill-consequences from their change of faith." The religious and civil laws of the Hindús have been completely set aside. But how does this harmonize with the professed principle of neutrality in all matters connected with religion? Have the natives regarded the proceedings of Government as having reference to a mere matter of law, and not of religion? No: they complain of them as a violation of their religion, and at variance with the avowed principle of non-interference.

We have before us "Petitions of the Hindú inhabitants of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Madras, against the enactment of the *Lex Loci* Act for altering the law of inheritance" (Calcutta 1851). What are the grounds on which this Petition are urged? Just these, "That the law of property with Hindús is so blended with their religion, and with their belief, and hopes of happiness in a future state, that the present draft, if passed into a law, would be destructive of one of the most sacred elements of their religion, and of the present enjoyment of their domestic peace and social comfort; and that it could not be made a law without a reckless violation, on the part of Government, of all that is dear and sacred to every sincere Hindú." They assert that "their religion is *vitally* attacked and violated by the law in question;" this prin-

ciple constituting a salient point of distinction between it and all other religions, namely, "that the property of the ancestor only descends to the heir, clothed with a trust, which, if from his apostacy or otherwise the holder ceases to have the power to perform, by the most ancient law of their code, he ceases to have any interest in the ancestral property he took upon such conditions." They proceed to institute a distinction between the law of inheritance, as enjoined by the Hindú religion, and the practice of Suttee. "A very considerable portion (the great majority of Hindús) certainly looked upon the rite of Suttee as enjoined by the Shasters: others did not. Many of your Memorialists now entertain, as they then held, discordant opinions on that question. . . . In the present instance there is no discordance of opinion, there is no difference, there can be no difference, amongst Hindús. . . . In the present case, all Hindús are unanimous in considering that this law is a violation of their religion. All the Hindí books clearly and distinctly show that the Hindús only advance what cannot be denied—that the Act in question does directly seek to annihilate one of the fundamental principles of their religion." And they conclude their Petition to the Court of Directors in the following remarkable words—"Should this inroad upon their religion be allowed by your Honourable Court, your Memorialists expect no outbreak at present, no present disturbance, but they expect, and they would not do their duty as loyal subjects of the British Crown if they did not candidly state their belief, that if this odious attack upon the Hindú religion shall become an acknowledged Act of British-Indian law, Her Majesty will have 80,000,000 of Hindú subjects in India dissatisfied and discontented."

In the Memorial to the Governor-General the religious aspect of the question is brought out more fully. "Amongst Hindús, one of that faith who abandons his religion loses the property he derived from his ancestors, because he can no longer perform the duty which alone entitled him to receive it. . . . In the first description of inheritance amongst Sapindas, or near kinsmen, the right of succession depends exclusively upon the right to present the funeral oblations. It is by virtue of such last act, which can only be performed by a Hindú, that sons and near kinsmen take the property, because, according to the belief of Hindús, it is by such acts that the father's spiritual bliss, and that of his ancestors to the remotest degree, is secured; and by the tenets of the Hindú religion, the apostate from that faith cannot per-

form obsequies. It would be a desecration of the rite, an abomination, which would, according to their belief, work for evil, not for good. The same principle pervades the whole law of Hindú inheritance, whether the succession be near or distant." So runs this singular document, which is intended to explain the "peculiar bearing and connexion of their religion, as coupled with and influencing and controlling their law;" so that an alteration of the law necessarily involves an aggression upon and direct violation of their religion. But the concluding paragraph is specially worthy of attention. "Your Memorialists do look upon this act as the prelude to after aggressions against their national code, as the first edge of the wedge . . . . We may again be assured that it is not so, that our apprehensions are groundless; but your Lordship will permit us to say, that, whether amongst your Memorialists, or amongst those countless millions of Hindús who form so large a proportion of the population of India, vain will be all the assurances which we may receive that no ulterior measures are intended against our religion or our laws. They are so inseparably connected that one cannot be assailed without the other being affected. It is possible that nothing further is now intended by your Lordship or the Legislative Council. If the proposed measure originates with the Government of India, they may be able to give that assurance with propriety and truth, but that will not re-assure or give any confidence to the native community of Hindús. The measure, as your Memorialists have endeavoured to point out, is so at variance with their religion, will be so destructive if it should have any operation on their domestic usages and customs, that it has been viewed by the whole Hindú population with the utmost horror and dismay. . . . Your Memorialists feel that they need not assure your Lordship, that in their opposition to the proposed Act they are actuated by no feeling whatever opposed to the strictest loyalty and attachment to Her Majesty's Government; but your Memorialists may be allowed to observe that Hindús are strongly attached to their religion, and deeply reverence the memory of their ancestors—ancestors whose spiritual welfare they believe entrusted to them as the most sacred duty of their lives; and your Memorialists will not conceal, that from the moment the proposed Act becomes a part of the law applicable to Hindús, that confidence which they have hitherto felt in the paternal character of their British rulers will be most materially shaken. No outbreak of course is to be dreaded, but the active spirit of fervent loyalty

to their sovereign and of pride in their rulers, will be changed into sullen submission to their will, and obedience to their power," &c.

Let these documents, and the principles enunciated in them, be well considered. Hindú religion and Hindú theories on scientific subjects, Hindú religion and Hindú law are so closely and inseparably involved, that you cannot attempt to improve the one without the violation of the other. The Government avows the principle of its policy to be this, non-interference with the religion of the natives. Amidst whatever changes may take place in the form of our Government in India, is this principle to be retained? Then if it is to be honestly adhered to, all legislative ameliorations must cease: they are interferences with the religion of the Hindús, and cannot be persevered in. It matters not how oppressive the usage may be—whether it be that of perpetual widowhood, which dooms to a life of degradation millions of poor females of a tender age, or the boasted law of inheritance, which would retain a man in the bonds of idolatry for life, for the sake of the funeral cake, water, and solemn rites; or else, if following the dictates of his conscience he renounces the frivolous and often disgusting rites of Hindúism, mulcts him by the deprivation of all his property—all are portions of the tabued system, and nothing is to be interfered with. "Absurd!" it will be said, "So far as the system, in its laws and usages, interferes with the welfare of society, it must submit to modifications." But where, then, is the principle of non-interference? It is virtually surrendered. It must be so, because it is an impracticability. Why, then, set it aside in the department of legislation, and retain it as a restriction in the important matter of Christian teaching? In the opinion of the Hindú, alterations in his usages by the compulsion of law constitute a more direct and formidable interference with his religion, than the mode of procedure by Christian teaching. In withdrawing itself, therefore, from all recognition of Christianity, and pursuing a policy which has been, to a very considerable extent, obstructive to the Gospel, the Government has gained nothing. In the discharge of its duty it is still necessitated to social improvement, and, in carrying them forward, comes into collision with Hindú prejudices. We repeat, Government has gained nothing by its disparagement of the Christian faith; nay, just in proportion as, by cold indifference, it has helped to obstruct its action, has it inflicted injury on itself; for the only element which could by possibility reconcile the native mind to the changes which the require-

ments of a just administration have rendered necessary, is the alternative action of pure Christianity, giving a new perception to the native, and enabling him to understand that there are many of the laws and customs enjoined by his religion which are immoral and inhuman; and that if they be so vitally connected with his religion that they cannot be amended without inflicting upon it insult and injury, it is better the religion itself, which bears such poisonous fruit, should be removed root and branch.

We readily admit that the effort upon the part of Government to correct, by legislative enactments, all the great monster evils, to which we have referred, has been well-intentioned; but the policy hitherto pursued with reference to Christianity has been of a discouraging character, and therefore a dishonest and unwise one. Had wholesome instruction gone before, to prepare the people for such changes, they might have viewed them as improvements of their social condition. But Government expressly refrained from approaching the national mind with religious truth, and, leaving the people in their pristine ignorance, proceeded to touch their usages—the customs of castes and families were interfered with. There is no sympathy for the widow in Hindú society: "Her lot is not regarded as an affliction to which all are liable, and which entitles the sufferer to universal sympathy, but as a retribution for the vices of a former birth. The gods hold her unworthy of the joys and honours of marriage. The husband's relatives do not hesitate to charge the loss of their kinsman on her sins." In former days she might have obtained merit by an act of self-destruction. But now not only is this prohibited, but if any Hindú be audacious enough to set at open defiance all the most forcible requisitions of the Hindú system, he may select one of these doomed females as a wife, and the law—British law—sanctions her re-marriage. "And no sooner was the act of legalization passed, than some of the highest families in Calcutta, the focus of innovation, took advantage of the new law, and celebrated publicly, and with due pomp and solemnity, in the presence of crowds of Brahmin guests, marriages of the new style." We may well conceive with what indignation such changes were viewed by the ultra-conservatives of the system, especially when it was known that further changes in the same direction were contemplated, and that restrictions were about to be placed on the polygamistic practices of the Kulin Brahmins. It seemed as though all prescriptive rights, all the time-honoured usages of Hindú society, were about to be

changed. Legislation, with the step and bearing of a master, had entered the shrine, and with rough hand displaced laws and customs to which generations had conformed themselves. What did the Government purpose? What did it intend by these innovations? Did it contemplate the overthrow of their religion, and that under the profession of non-interference? These were questions which necessarily and naturally arose in the minds of many. They could not but feel that in the administrative action of the Government a great alteration had taken place. The interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits, and religious proceedings of the priests and attendants, in the arrangements of rites, ceremonies, and festivals, had gradually ceased. The pilgrim tax had been everywhere abolished; and, in all matters relating to their temples, worship, festivals, religious practices, and ceremonies, the natives were left without the patronage of the authorities. Troops or military bands were no longer permitted to be called out, or salutes fired, in honour of native festivals. And now Government was interfering with their caste customs, and prohibiting, under legal penalties, practices which their religion permitted, nay, encouraged and commanded. In short, British legislation had interfered directly with the religious prejudices of the natives, and the whole system, except so far as it had come under Christian influences, became uneasy and disquieted. It was easy, with such predispositions, to generate amongst the natives the apprehension that Government designed the compulsory conversion of the Hindús to Christianity; especially in the native army of the Bengal Presidency, where high-caste and ignorance reigned supreme, were such persuasions strong. The Sepoys became moody, discontented, and insubordinate. It only needed a spark to ignite the combustible materials, and the greased cartridges afforded the desired opportunity. Many in the ranks were coerced into rebellion by the despotic influence of caste. They would have gladly escaped from the dire necessity, but "the Brahmins were more feared than the power of Government." A subadar of the 84th regiment, after his discharge at Barrackpur, bitterly complained of his misfortune. He was told that his punishment was just. He protested his innocence. He was reminded, that if he himself were loyal, yet he must have been cognisant of the treasonable designs of others, and ought to have denounced

them. He replied, "Impossible! Had I given information, how could I be sure of finding credit with the Government? But had I taken this course, I would have been certain of being killed by the Brahmins."

Government adopted, as its principle of action, non-interference with the religion of the natives. It refused, upon this basis, to identify itself with any effort to present Christian truth to the native mind. It afforded no encouragement, it vouchsafed no recognition to Missionary enterprise. The authorities believed that the rigid exactitude with which they ignored Christianity in public acts would render it impossible they should be suspected of any desire to interfere with the religion of the natives. Disembarrassed, therefore, of all difficulties of this character, they thought themselves free to attempt the reparation of the social fabric. They proceeded to amend and adjust, disclaiming, at the same time, all intention of intruding upon the peculiarities of Hindú faith; but, in the estimation of the natives, they appeared to be actively engaged in doing that which they disavowed, and their protestations were attributed to insincerity. They touched the only part of the decayed system in which there is life, the bark—the external surface—and there has been an angry reaction, a counter-stroke, which never was expected.

Missionaries and Missionary Societies have acted otherwise. They have dealt with the mind, not with the usages of the native. He has been involved in his superstitious ritualism, as the worm in its cocoon. The aim of Missionary action is to put life into the torpid thing within; and, in the exercise of that life, it will extricate itself, and divest itself of the complicated web in which it has been imprisoned. Christianity has been with the insurgents an avowed object of hostility. True, but what caused them so to regard it? Not Missionary procedure, which could only recommend and persuade, but legislative interference, which, as they conceived, threatened them with compulsion. Missionaries have been guilty of no indiscretion in approaching the mind of the Hindús: *the indiscretion has been in the attempt to effect social improvements without the aid of Christianity.* Legislative enactments, in isolation from the gospel, have been viewed as compulsive, and, in combination with other, and minor causes, have alarmed and irritated. But it is most unjust to make Missionaries, and Missionary institutions, the scapegoat for the indiscretions of others.

## THE RAINBOW IN THE CLOUD, OR MERCY AMIDST JUDGMENT.

THE year 1857 will ever be memorable in the history of British India ; a year of grave events, in which mercy and judgment have been so wondrously intermingled, that, in the review of them, we scarcely know whether to marvel most at the sorrows which have befallen us, or the deliverances which have been vouchsafed to us as a people. A little more strength or a little more weakness, as to our military resources—a little more decision and promptitude, or a little more hesitation, on the part of those in authority—and either the outbreak might have been so repressed as that there should have been no extreme calamities, or the tragedy of Cawnpur have been enacted, throughout all the great military centres in the Bengal Presidency. Had the native regiments at Barrackpur and Dinapur been promptly disarmed, and one additional European regiment been thus rendered available for the relief of Cawnpur, the besieged there might have been as marvellously preserved as those at Agra and Lucknow. Had the outbreak at Mirut been delayed one week, so as to have afforded time for the contemplated return of Her Majesty's 84th to Pegu, Calcutta, as well as Cawnpur, would, in all probability, have been a scene of unutterable horrors. Had there been no electric telegraph, what numbers of our countrymen would have been surprised and overwhelmed! Had the railway from Calcutta, instead of being suspended at Raneegunge, been carried forward to Shergolty, what deliverances might many have experienced! Had the Persian war not ceased, how should Havelock's brigade have been formed? Or had the troops intended to act in China not been available for the wants of India, how should Sir James Outram have fought his way, in Havelock's steps, to the relief of Lucknow? The balance has been held in the hand of Omnipotence, and judgment and mercy have been so meted out, that while, as a nation, we have grievously suffered, we have been yet spared from utter overthrow. We have indeed been dealt with according to the language used to Jacob in olden time—"I will correct thee in measure, and will not leave thee altogether unpunished."

The throes of this great convulsion have extended themselves over the entire extent of the Bengal Presidency, from the mouths of the Ganges to the Indus, and southward, so as to affect considerable portions of Central India and the Bombay Presidency. The outbreaks, although capricious as to locality, yet, in point of time, followed so closely each other

as to evidence the existence of a deep-laid and extensive conspiracy, designed to be simultaneous in its explosion, but which, from various providential interferences, became broken and interrupted in its action. The outbreak at Mirut, and the massacre at Delhi, were followed by the *emeute* at Ferozepur\* on May 12, and by the mutinous action of the 9th Native Infantry at Allyghur, Mynpúrie, Etawah, and Bolandshur, on the 22d, 23d, and 24th of the same month. The circumstances attending the outbreak of this regiment are confirmatory of the views we have put forward in previous articles—that the animus which moved the great mass of the Sepoys to the perilous task of coming into collision with the British Government was the idea that, either by force or fraud, their religion was intended to be interfered with. Emissaries had been actively engaged, from the beginning of the year, in fomenting discontent amongst the native soldiery, some of whom reached Allyghur in the month of May; and one of them, detected in the act, was sentenced to death by a court-martial of native officers, and executed in presence of the Sepoys, drawn up in line. Just as they were about to be moved off the ground, a small detachment marched in which had been absent on command, and one man, stepping forth from the ranks, and pointing to the gallows, exclaimed, "Behold a martyr to our religion!" The port-fire was thus applied, and the explosion followed instantaneously.

It was the conviction that numbers of the native soldiery were labouring under strong delusion on this point, and the hope of allaying the excitement, and separating the dupes from the designing instigators and emissaries, that induced Mr. Colvin, the late Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, to issue that proclamation which elicited such strong rebuke from the Supreme Govern-

\* Ferozepur, a town and fort in Sirhind, seventy-nine miles west of Loodiana, and 1181 miles north-west of Calcutta. It is the chief place of the British dominions in that quarter, and is situate three miles from the left bank of the Sutlej. The fort, although incapable of defence against a regular attack, presents at a distance an imposing appearance; the large, heaped-together, and well-raised, round towers reminding the English visitor of Arundel, if not of Windsor Castle. It was here that, in 1848, the interview took place between Runjeet Singh, then Maharajah of the Punjab, and Lord Auckland, on which occasion 10,000 men rendezvoused at Ferozepur, previously to the invasion of Afghanistan.



ment at Calcutta, and for which his memory has been so much blamed. In a letter to the Governor-General, dated May 24th, the day before the issuing of the proclamation, he thus very fully explains his views—"On the mode of dealing with the mutineers I would strenuously oppose general severity towards all. Such a course would, as we are unanimously convinced by a knowledge of the feeling of the people, acquired amongst them from a variety of sources, estrange the remainder of the army. Hope, I am firmly convinced, should be held out to all who were not ringleaders, or actively concerned in murder and violence. Many are in the rebels' ranks because they could not get away; many certainly thought we were tricking them out of their caste; and this opinion is held, however unwisely, by the mass of the population, and even by the more intelligent classes: never was delusion more wide or deep." On the conviction that means of escape should be open to those who could be admitted to mercy, he withheld a portion of a message forwarded to the Commander-in-Chief by the authorities in Calcutta, which it was subsequently admitted to be capable of being too largely interpreted, and then issued his proclamation, which, unhappily, was not worded with sufficient accuracy, and evidently required emendation. We cannot, however, think, with the authorities in Calcutta, that "it offered the means of escape to the men who murdered their officers."

To resume our sketch: on May 30th the Sepoys at Muttra, thirty-five miles north of Agra, mutinied; an event which was followed by the prompt disarmament, on the next morning, of the 44th and 67th Native Infantry at Agra; a measure to which may be ascribed, under God, the preservation of European life at that station, and which, if acted upon in the Calcutta vicinity, would have been a preventive to many subsequent calamities. And again, on May 30th, the insurrection, long smouldering, but hitherto repressed by the energy of Sir H. Lawrence, burst forth at Lucknow. About the same date the Hurriannah Light Infantry, a local battalion stationed at Hansa, Hisar, and Sirsa, rose upon their officers and the European residents, and, after the murder of many of them, and the plunder of the district—an invariable concomitant of mutinous action being plunder, more especially of the treasuries—made for Delhi. Then came, in quick succession, the Rohilcund outbreak. In this province there are three powerful military stations: Bareilly, 152 miles east from Delhi; Moradabad, on the north-west towards Mirut; and Shah-

jehanpur, on the south-east towards the Oude frontier. On the 31st May, at Bareilly, the 68th and 18th Native Infantry, and 8th Irregular Cavalry, mutinied, shooting down the Brigadier Sibbald. It is remarkable that this officer, in a despatch dated a week previously, had referred to the depression of spirits under which the troops had laboured, caused by the fear of some heavy punishment which they apprehended from Government, but expressing his confidence that it had passed away, and that, should their services be needed, they would act as good and loyal soldiers. Indeed, with the exception of Colonel Troup and Lieutenant Gowan of the 18th Native Infantry, none seemed to be aware of the imminency of danger. Amidst the ferocity of the outbreak, some of the native soldiery were found faithful. Nineteen of the 8th Irregulars gathered round a considerable number of European officers and residents, and escorted them to Nynce Tal, although, in doing so, they left their families and property behind in the power of the insurgents. Some of the officers of the 18th Native Infantry were concealed by a few faithful ones among the men, and one at least eventually escaped. We shall refer directly to his narrative. But many remained behind—European residents, merchants, writers in Government offices: these were hunted up and murdered, the signal for the death of such as were brought before him being given by the recognised leader of the mutineers, one Khan Bahadur, who, as the nearest descendant of the famous Rohilla chief, Hafiz Rahmut, and as a retired Principal Sudder Amin, was in the enjoyment of a double pension from Government. The low Mussulmans, at his command, cut down the Europeans, without distinction of age or sex. The mutinies at Moradabad and Shahjehanpur followed immediately. At Moradabad European life was spared. The soldiers had taken an oath not to injure their officers, and when, at one moment, they appeared disposed to forget it, the native officers rushed forward, and, reminding the Sepoys of their oath, constrained them to desist. The European officers and civilians, with their families, were conducted in safety to Nynce Tal by an escort composed of native officers of irregular cavalry on leave from their regiments.

At Shahjehanpur it was far otherwise. On the morning of the 31st May, the 28th Native Infantry rose in rebellion, notwithstanding the assurances given by the native to the European officers that the men would not do so. It was Sunday, and divine service had just commenced. The mutineers surrounded

the church, calling on those who were within to come out, otherwise they would enter the building and bring them out by force. The chaplain was the first who ventured forth, escaping, with the loss of his hand, into the fields, where he was murdered by the villagers. The officer in command of the Sepoys, Capt. James, while reasoning with them, and endeavouring to bring them to a sense of their duty, was shot down. Many others shared a similar fate. Some few escaped to the residence of the rajah of Purbyah, who lent them his elephant, and sent an escort with them to the fort of Mohumdi, about thirty or forty miles distant on the road to Lucknow. It was their intention to proceed from thence to Sitapur, a British cantonment about fifty-one miles north-west of Lucknow. But before the dhoolies and bearers arrived, some companies of the 41st Native Infantry arrived from Sitapur, bringing with them a proclamation to the effect that the Company's rule was over. A fearful tumult ensued. The treasury of Mohumdi was looted, the bungalows were burnt, and the prisoners set free. Still the fugitives remained unmolested, the Sepoys having taken a solemn oath on the waters of the Ganges not in any way to harm them. Under an escort, they set out for Sitapur. As they approached the Goomti river a Sepoy was heard approaching and calling out victory. The cry was at once taken up by all the Sepoys present, and such as had empty muskets began to load. It was a frightful moment. The Christians of the party knew that they had heard in this treacherous yell their death cry. The ladies sprang from the carts and clung swooning to their husbands and brothers. Immediately volley after volley was poured in upon them, until all were dead. The rajah of Purbyah buried the murdered ones of Shahjehanpur near the church. Those slaughtered on the banks on the Goomti were buried by a tahsildar.

The mutineers from these three stations, 5000 strong, having with them 400,000*l.* in silver, laden in country carts, crossed the Ganges within thirty miles of Mirut, on their way to Delhi. They lay at Gurmucktesar for several days, and, crossing the river in boats, without molestation from the English troops lying at Mirut, proceeded to Delhi. There they arrived on July 1st and 2d, and, consisting of four regiments of native infantry and one of irregular cavalry, besides artillery, marched across the bridge within full view of the spectators from our camp.

And here, before we leave Rohilcund, we would introduce an episode—the narrative of Capt. Gowan, of the 18th Native Infantry,

one of the fugitives from Bareilly — which may teach us not to confound the masses of the population with the mutinous action of Sepoys, released prisoners, and badmashis, and thus conclude all to be alike destitute of humanity. This officer, on the evening of the outbreak, was conducted out of the lines by a Naick of his own regiment, disguised in a Sepoy's red coat and dhotis, and, after a time, was left in the dark to grope out his own way. We shall give brief extracts from the narrative, which is too long to be introduced in *extenso*.

“ I soon reached Furidpur, and inadvertently entered it, owing to a number of trees and the darkness preventing me from seeing the houses. I was immediately challenged, but allowed to pass with the observation ‘ He's some European;’ and, walking rapidly, reached a police-station, where one of the policemen called out after me, and desired me to return. This I did, and was told to sit down. Another policeman came up, and, putting his hand to the hilt of his sword, was about to draw it, when the officer desired him to desist and leave me alone, which he did with much grumbling and many imprecations on the infidels. The officer had me escorted to the tahsildari, where I was closely questioned and well looked at for about half an hour, and then told to go on, the people there (the tahsildar being away somewhere) giving me the same advice as Ramchurn Missir, the Naick, had given, *i.e.* to keep the road, but to go round the villages. A man ran after me, and advised me to throw off the Sepoy's coat I had on, urging me to do so that the villagers might not attack me. This I did, and threw the coat on the road. Of course my disinterested friend immediately picked it up. Hurrying on along the road, or taking a detour through the fields, feeling weary and tired, I reached a bridge near a police-station which had been burnt. The name of this station was Morilla, and the bridge was near to Tissúa. As the morning was then just breaking, I got under the bridge, and, covering myself up with the dhoti as do natives when they go to sleep, I committed myself to the protection of the Almighty, who had so much aided my escape, and fell asleep. At about sunrise I was awoke by a man calling out ‘ What man!’ and found that my hiding-place was discovered. I told him, and he said, ‘ This is no place to hide in: people always come here, as I have done, for there is no water near: get into the bushes,’ pointing to some kuroanda bushes near. I at once got up to do so, but he desired me to lay down again, and he would see if any one was coming. Presently he

came back, and told me that the officer of the police-station had gone to fetch his gun to shoot me, and to run off at once to the bushes. This I did, but had not been long there before a young Mussulman, with some others, came and asked me for money to procure a doolie and bearers to escort me to a safer place. I gave them all I had, 2 rupees 8 annas, and a silver chain of the value of 6 rupees; but, of course, I never saw doolie or bearers. Presently others came, and told me to get out of the bushes or they would kill me: these men were accompanied by the officer of the police-station, who had a gun and a sword, but the others had only lathees, and plundered me of my dhoti, two watches, and sent me off to some other bushes, where, in a short time, I was again plundered, but this time of every thing I had, except a pair of worn-out stockings, and was beaten on the head with my own shoes. After being plundered, some proposed to murder me, but others said there was no use in this, as they had got all I had, and would gain nothing by killing me, so I was told to run away. This I was about to do, when some said that it was a shame to send a man about naked; so a hanyan was given me. All then joined in advising me to get away from the neighbourhood of the road, as the regiment at Shahjehanpur had also mutinied; and murdered every European they had come across, let out the prisoners, and were now advancing on Bareilly; besides the prisoners and Mussulmans generally were most blood-thirsty after Europeans. As I was going away the police officer said to me 'Get away as fast as you can: I, a Mussulman, have saved your life.' I then ran off in the direction of the forest, which they told me I should find not many miles off. While running, I saw a great number of men, with lathees in their hands, running after me; so I stopped, and went towards them. They were cowherds, and questioned me as to who had robbed me. I said I could not tell, but they took me back to the place from which I had been last sent away, and told me to point out who had done it. I said that I could not recognise those who had taken the things; that some snatched one thing and some another, but who did any thing in particular I could not tell. So they let me go away, and I walked off in the direction I had previously gone. When about half a mile off I met a Brahmin who was carrying melons. He spoke to me, and offered me one, which I took and ate. While eating, he called out to a cowherd to catch a goat and bring me some milk: the cowherd also gave me his own shoes. We then proceeded to the village of Kahara, part of which was

down. It had been recently burned, as they told me, by released prisoners. They fed me with fish currie, and told me to rest under a tree until the evening, but that they dared not take me into their village, as both I and they would surely be murdered by the Mussulmans. Under this tree was a chokedar of Simuria—who was, I heard, murdered next day—who tore his own dhoti in two, and gave me half of it, telling me to use it as a dhoti. While under the tree, the villagers came to me in great numbers, expressing their sympathy, and execrating the Mussulmans and Sepoys for what they had done. Every one who came brought me some little present, so that I was soon clothed, and had to eat and drink a great deal that day, to please the poor people. I was also guarded all day long, and when the sun had risen, and the small tree I was under afforded but little shelter, I was removed to a small grove of trees, and kept there until the evening, when I was escorted by some of the inhabitants of Hurrailli, to a garden of small mango trees, in which was a well, and a small shed, into which latter they told me to get. Here I was told that Issruf Singh, the thakur of Hurrailli, had sent to his relative and superior, Bheekum Singh, who resides near Mewna, to request permission to retain me. Bheekum Singh, however, would not grant this permission; so, after being concealed in the shed for three days, I was escorted away to another village. While at Hurrailli I was supplied with food, and treated as kindly as circumstances would permit, but they could not allow me in their village, for the sowars of the 8th Cavalry, who had been sent to keep open the road, had learnt at Furdipur of my escape, and of my having been merely plundered, and not murdered, near Tissua, and were in search of me throughout the country. The Sepoys of the 28th also joined in this search, and I saw some of the latter, without uniform, but having their muskets and pouches, pass about 200 yards in front of the shed in which I lay. I learnt here, and this was subsequently confirmed, that on the 31st and the three next days, numerous Sepoys from Bareilly passed by, unarmed, on their way to their homes, chiefly in large bodies, but some in small parties, and these were set upon by the villagers and all plundered, some being murdered. Indeed, at this time everybody's hand appeared to be against every one's else, and the most frightful and cold-blooded murders were committed, sometimes in revenge for injuries received or imagined; sometimes under the foolish delusion that dead men tell no tales; and sometimes as if really for the very plea-

sure of shedding human blood. One poor Brahmin I heard of was sitting telling his beads when a Mussulman came up to him, drew his sword, and murdered him, though the poor man offered him all he had to spare his life, and this 'all' consisted of his *lota*, *tari*, and the cloth he had on. Land, which had been sold by the former owners, or in satisfaction of Government demands, was resumed, and the greatest oppression and cruelty exercised by the landowners and the Mussulmans generally; so that no one for a long time ventured to go beyond the limits of his own village unless several others went with him; and if they travelled at night it was in secrecy, and with the greatest precaution. While travelling about the country for the first week, I do not remember one night during some portion of which the country was not illuminated by some village being burnt, either out of revenge or for plunder."

We next find him under the care of Gungaram Missir, a discharged Sepoy of the 6th Native Infantry, and a servant of a thakúr, at whose fort Lieut. Gowan had been refused entrance. This man became interested in him from his name, Gowan, the same with that of his pultun, which had been so named after an officer, Capt. Clotworthy Gowan, who had commanded it during the last century.

"I asked to be allowed to stay in the fort during the day, but they would not permit this; so Gungaram said 'Come with me: I will show you into the forest, and you can hide there during the day.' I therefore went with him, and he, having set me down under a tree while he went to see that the way was clear, and obtain his elder brother's permission, took me into his own house or enclosure, where he gave me food and a bed, and told me he would keep me as long as was necessary, but that it would be necessary to be very cautious. His brother and mother, and the wives of the two brothers, expressed their sympathy with me, and regret that they could do so little for me, on account of their poverty, but that whatever was in their power should not be wanting, and faithfully have they kept their promise. May the blessing of God be upon them and their's! In the evening I was introduced to Bika Singh, thakúr of Bujairú, a small landowner, and a great friend of Gungaram's brother, whom they had previously consulted as to taking charge of any European, should one come within their power to serve him. I remained concealed in Gungaram's house for three weeks, and many a consultation did we hold at night, when Bika Singh could come unobserved—and he came, with one or two ex-

ceptions, every night—as to the best means of effecting my escape, and of sending intimation to some of our civil or military stations of my being still alive; but every plan failed. The people of the country were at first too frightened to move about at all; and when they did venture to move, the Mussulmans so severely punished men found conveying any letters excepting their own, that I could get no one to carry a letter, and I had learnt not to trust the verbal accounts of those friendly to our rule, for in their anxiety to cheer both me and themselves, they allowed their imaginations to run away with their tongues. One man I did get to receive a letter, but he brought it back the next day."

The manner in which a letter was at length conveyed to him is curious and interesting.

"My letter to Nynce Tal was written on the 29th July, and though I looked out for my messenger's return, yet it was with very little hope that he would; so that when, on the 11th of the following month, he and the washerman were ushered into my presence, it was with as much surprise as joy that I again saw them; the joy, however, mixed with fear that no letter had been brought: so that the question, 'Have you brought a letter?' was put with a full expectation of receiving an answer in the negative. The man first put into my hands a New Testament for which I had written, and then showed me his club, in which he said the precious letter was. A blunt knife, and as blunt a sickle, were soon procured, the club split, and the letter taken out and devoured. How thankful was I that God had frustrated all my attempts at escape! Had I gone to any one of the places to which I had tried to get, I should surely have been murdered. I now first learnt the extent of the mutiny and rebellion, and foresaw that I must yet wait some time before I could hope to be able to escape. I should mention, that though, while at the house of Gungaram, I had been so concealed that not a soul in the village, except the family and Bika Singh and his uncle, were aware of my being there, yet, from the necessity for making some alterations in the domestic arrangements at Bika Singh's, it had been gradually whispered abroad that there was a European on the premises, and some had even seen me; but there was still uncertainty, the more so, as the family steadily denied that any one except selves was there.

"I always opposed this divergence from the truth, but to no purpose, as I could never get them to see the folly, much less iniquity, of falsehood; and when those who were supposed to be great tell-tales, and mischief-

makers, taxed them with harbouring Europeans, I was invariably asked whether such people ought to be told the truth; my reply to which used to be, that though they were always telling me that the Almighty had a very long arm, yet that, in their lying, they denied this, for that they could not suppose that He approved of lying. I was glad to find that they had so good an opinion of the English, especially in regard to speaking the truth, and encouraged them in considering us a moral and intelligent people, full of chivalrous feeling, respecting brave enemies, but despising and detesting cruelty of all kinds; and I was much pleased, that whenever I spoke on this subject, my two protectors' eyes would water at the very mention of the destruction of defenceless women and children. . . .

"As may be supposed, my days appeared very long, even though I shortened them by sleeping as much as possible, and getting up very late, which was also necessary from the late hours the family kept. I used to awake before daybreak, take my bed inside, and then go to sleep again until about seven or eight o'clock, when my friends would awake me, bring me water to wash, a piece of a neem bough for a tooth-brush, and afterwards my breakfast, which usually consisted of chupathis, milk curds, and sweatmeat of some kind. After I had eaten the breakfast, fire was brought for me to light my chillum. According to circumstances, my devotions were performed sometimes before, sometimes after my breakfast. After the smoke, I used to take my exercise, by walking up and down my den until I had completed one, two, three, or four miles, when I would sit or lie down, or perhaps have a smoke first. Thus about the first half of the day would have gone, and the brothers would come in from their field labours to bathe, and eat their dinner. I should have mentioned that Gungaram gave me, on the first day, a copy, in Nagari, of Deuteronomy, which he had received from a Missionary at Shahjehanpur, while he was yet a Sepoy, and I used to read a chapter or more of this at a time, not only morning and evening, but also whenever I laid down, receiving the comfort and consolation which is conveyed by a prayerful perusal of any part of the holy word. Bika Singh afterwards gave me a copy of Luke's Gospel, and of the Acts of the Apostles, so that I had the additional benefit of studying the conduct and life of our great Exemplar, and of His most energetic apostles; and what new light was thrown on the Scriptures! I had read and read the works now before me over and over again,

and was very well acquainted with not only the facts, but the phraseology, but never did I read with so clear a perception of the meaning, or feel how applicable the various parts are to ourselves, as a people or individually. I am thankful to think that I derived great benefit from my reading, and pray that I may never forget the lessons I then learnt. I had but these three books for two months and a half. When Gungaram or his brother had finished their poojah, one of them used to bring me my dinner, which consisted of chupathis and curried vegetables in general, though sometimes I had khir, *i.e.* rice boiled in milk and sweetened, and other delicacies. The food, though plain, was very palatable.

"After dinner came another chillum, another walk, another read, and, when it was well dark, and there was no probability of visitors making their calls, I used to bathe, and, taking my bed outside, sit in the open air, either smoking or talking with some of the family until supper was brought. After supper, Bika Singh used to come for a smoke and chat, and about eleven or twelve o'clock I used to get to sleep. Of course, whenever the creaking door gave intimation of a visitor I was obliged to lie down on my bed if I were walking, and, by speaking lowly, avoid showing myself. Sometimes the old mother would come and sit with me, and the wives would come to the door and ask me questions. The children, too, used to pay me a visit, and, in their shy way, show their interest in me, ascertain my wants, and bring me presents of fruit, &c. Indeed, nothing was left undone by these kind people to render my concealment and confinement more bearable. At first I was very sad; but I thought that most of my companions, if not all, had reached Nynsee Tal, and felt thankful that I, who, from my constitution, could best endure the trial, had been selected for it. I had heard of the fearful tragedy at Shahjehanpur, and was delighted that none of our Sepoys had acted as the 28th were said to have done. I endeavoured, by every means in my power, to get away from where I was to some of our stations, but my protectors wisely overruled my plans, and faithfully kept me from danger. They advised my gaining correct information, and spent their means in inducing people to go with letters for me, Gungaram and his brother both volunteering to go themselves, if I would allow them; and Bika Singh offering a man a small portion of his own land as a free gift if he would go, and this although his own banker had become bankrupt, owing to the way in which he, as well as others, had been fleeced by the Mussulmans. Both families

were very poor : the Brahmin had been robbed of almost all his cooking utensils, and unable to marry the eldest daughter, and the thakúr had been dispossessed of his land.

“ When I had gone to Bika Singh’s house, my manner of living was much the same, but the house was larger, and I did not see the females, the building being separated into three enclosures by high walls. I was also permitted to speak aloud, and was left less to myself, as there were several males of the family, and these did not follow the plough. Bika Singh is a pundit, or one learned in the religious works of the Hindús, has travelled a good deal in Oude, and as far as Juggurnath, and is fond of talking, so that here my time fell less heavily on my hands. At the outer door of his house was the chowpara, where the gossips assembled of an afternoon, and where all the current rumours were uttered, and many of them concocted, or at least improved, much in the manner reports are set afloat or improved at our coffee-shops. All were brought to me, and my opinion asked as to the truth or otherwise of our having leather guns, of our being able to fire off a number of guns at a time, which it was said was done at Cawnpur when our force reached that station, and other such questions. . . .

“ Every Hindú that I came across spoke of the Mussulmans in the strongest terms of hatred, and wondered how we could ever trust them. There was a bitterness of feeling in this expression of hatred such as I had no conception of, and the Mussulmans appeared to be aware of it. The cause of this was, that the latter appeared, from all I heard, to take every opportunity of oppressing the former. Numerous acts of tyranny were mentioned to me, and these seemed to be well known to the people. I asked how it was that these things were concealed from the European officials; at which they smiled, and said that it was as much as one’s liberty was worth even to bring a complaint against a Mussulman official, for as sure as it was done, the complainant was a marked man, and sooner or later, by the aid of false witnesses, who could always be purchased, was ruined. The people looked on the Mussulmans as their virtual rulers, as they seldom saw Europeans, and were always prevented from speaking to them. They gave me numerous instances of the Mussulman officials lording it over them, and said that crime was far more prevalent than I appeared to think; for that whenever any theft, murder, burglary, or any thing else was committed, the officials always sought for a bribe, and, if well paid, would conceal the case, unless they had a spite against the man, village, or

thakúr. I asked whether it were only the Mussulmans who did this, and they were compelled to allow that the Hindús were no better. All Hindús inveighed against the Mussulmans; but the poor people said that the zemindars were to them quite as bad as the Mussulmans, and that, though our rule was a good and righteous rule, yet there was the great fault in it, that the poor never got a hearing: a poor man, however just his cause, they said, had no chance in our courts. I had much difficulty in disabusing the minds of the people from the idea that Europeans also took bribes. I was aware, from the conversations I used to have with the Sepoys, that such an idea did exist among the people; but the Sepoys either knew better, or were perhaps afraid to show how settled the belief was. It seems that the native officials always impress the people with the idea that it is necessary to bribe their European masters, and that this can be done, in the proper way, only by themselves. Of course the object is to obtain so much more money for themselves, and the people, having so little intercourse with us, readily believe them. I am persuaded that the poor would be delighted if their tahsildars, thanadars, &c., were all purely Europeans, and that they would prefer also European landlords, if those landlords would themselves look after their own affairs, and live on their estates, to natives, especially to the bunniah landlords, whom they detest.”

But we must leave this narrative. At the present moment we believe the facts contained in it to be of importance: they may serve to show that this outbreak, with its atrocities, was not participated in by large masses of the Hindú population; that they had no sympathy with it, although powerless to resist it. The kindness exhibited to Lieutenant Gowan is not a solitary case. Numerous other instances of opportune help, rendered by chiefs and people to suffering Europeans, and that with extreme risk to themselves, occurred throughout the progress of these sad events, some of which we shall notice as we trace out the general narrative. But it should also be remembered, that, not only among the population generally, but amongst the native troops, there were some, rare indeed, but therefore the more remarkable, instances of fidelity. The unflinching steadiness and courage of the fragments of native corps, who, amidst the general revolt, adhered to us at Lucknow, are now so well known, that it would be superfluous to remark upon them; but another case, not so generally noticed, we shall mention.

At Jullundur, in the Punjab, the 36th and

61st Native Infantry mutinied on June 4th, and, with a few men of the 6th Light Cavalry, proceeded to Phillour, where they were joined by the 3d Native Infantry. These corps then crossed the Sutlej, a little above Lodianah, and eventually entered that town, from whence they were driven by a party from Jullundur, a part of Her Majesty's 8th Foot, some European and Native Artillery, and some of the 6th Light Cavalry. The Native Artillery consisted of the 5th troop 1st brigade Horse Artillery. They were nearly all Mussulmans, and yet proved staunch throughout, firing on their mutinous brethren of Jullundur, and withstanding all the entreaties of the rebel cavalry. They subsequently formed part of the troops before Delhi, where they rendered good service. On the morning of July 9th, a body of rebel Sowars, through the connivance of our videttes of the 9th Irregulars, surprised a picket at a mound on our right, facing the Subzi Mundi suburb, consisting of two horse-artillery guns, and a troop of dragoons. The troopers, young, untrained soldiers, thirty-two in number, broke, and Lieutenant Hills, to give his guns time to unlimber, charged the Sowars single-handed, receiving a severe wound in the *mêlée*. The main body of the enemy, however, riding over and past the guns, the carabineers flying before them, made for the guns of the native troop of horse artillery, which was on the right of the camp, calling on the men to join them. "The native horse artillerymen, however, behaved admirably, and called on Major Olphert's European troop, which was then unlimbered close by, to fire through them at the mutineers." The latter, after doing some mischief, were driven out of the camp with considerable loss. In the storming of Delhi these artillerymen were among the first, and turned the mortars found in the magazine on the palace and Selimghur with such effectiveness as materially to aid the operations of the right attack.

Of the important services rendered by the Punjab native force it will be more in order to speak when we come to deal with the Punjab, in a separate article, and to impress on the minds of our readers the remarkable fact, that this recently acquired province has been the true basis of our military operations for the recovery of the North-West Provinces, and that all our resources for the siege of Delhi were derived from thence. That the Chief Commissioner should have been enabled, without endangering the tranquillity of his province, to despatch such large succours for the general uses of India, speaks volumes in favour of that mode of administration

which has been found so effective there; and we may, so soon as opportunity serves, inquire into its character and peculiar features. All that we ask for is the extension of the same mode of action, so far as principles are concerned, to the entire of our Indian dependency. But there is one corps of which we must anticipate the notice—the Guide corps.

This corps was raised at the suggestion of the late Sir H. Lawrence in 1846. It was embodied more especially with reference to the exigencies of the long frontier line beyond the Indus, which has had to be protected against the incursions of the hill tribes, a service in which they have been distinguished alike by valour and patient endurance of fatigue. Their intelligence in reconnoitering the enemy's position has rendered them of great value to the Quartermaster-General's department, and has justly entitled them to the designation of Guides. Their numerical force was at first limited to one troop of cavalry and two companies of infantry, which was afterwards increased by Lord Dalhousie to three troops of horse and six companies of foot, commanded by four European officers and a surgeon. The colour of the uniform is drab, as less distinguishable at a distance; and on the frontier it so nearly resembles the aspect of the country, that the men can scarcely be made out at the distance of 150 yards.

In the composition of the Punjab irregular force there has been no exclusion of men who were willing to serve, and who possessed the necessary qualifications, because they were Christians. In an abstract return of the castes and countries of the men of the Punjab irregular force, prepared August 1st, 1854, we find Christians in no less than four regiments—in the 3d, 4th, and 5th Regiments of Infantry, and in the Sindh Rifle Corps. In the second of these regiments there were no less than six Christians. That a native is not less effective in this or any other capacity, because he is a Christian, will be seen in the following letter from one of our Missionaries at Peshawur, dated February 8th, 1858—

"We are very well, and are enjoying our visit exceedingly. The climate is more English than any of our other stations. The hills were covered with snow for some days, and the higher ones are still capped in white. We had a grand review last week on the return of the Guide Corps from Delhi, and all honour was done to those gallant men. They are chiefly natives of this valley, with Sikhs and Ghurkas intermixed. They performed some of the most valiant feats; marched to Delhi,

580 miles, in twenty-one or twenty-seven days; and, three hours after their arrival in camp from a very long march, were in hand-to-hand fight with the enemy. They had every temptation to revolt, but stood firm, and, by constant fighting and disease, lost 300 men.

“Colonel Edwardes gave a great dinner to the European officers, and invited our Missionary party. We sat down, forty-seven, in full dress, the most elegant, and, at the same time, best conducted party, on so large a scale, I have ever witnessed. Colonel Edwardes proposed several toasts, but in each put in words of such a Christian tone, that all must have felt delighted.

“It is a pleasing fact, that Detawas Khan, who was a jemadar—like a sergeant-major—in the regiment, and was baptized by Dr. Pfander last year, has escaped all injury, and

returned a subadar, *i. e.* a captain. He is the only native Christian in the regiment, and now he is a commissioned officer. He came to see us on Saturday, and I had a long talk with him: he also came to the Hindustani service yesterday. He is a fine, soldierly-looking Afghan. Several of our native Christians have obtained Government employment. I had letters a few days ago from two of them. Both of them have become jemadars in a cavalry regiment; one other a havildar—corporal—and another has entered the ranks; so that there are four in one cavalry regiment; and if they do well they may shortly become subadars—captains—which is a high and influential position. . . . While writing this, a letter has come from Mr. Montgomery: he wants more native Christians, and will give as many as we like appointments. What a change!”

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## NARRATIVE OF THE NIGER EXPEDITION—REV. S. CROWTHER'S JOURNAL.

WE introduce another fragment of Crowther's journal, desiring to keep the Niger countries in remembrance, in the hope that new intelligence from this important field will soon reach us. We cannot forget Africa for India, important as the crisis is through which the latter country is passing at the present moment. We believe that the time has arrived when a great effort needs to be made on behalf of Africa. There is a tide of opportunity, of which it behoves us to avail ourselves; a concurrence of favourable circumstances, which, if we are wise, we shall diligently improve. The water road of the Niger is open; the chiefs and people along its banks are willing to be taught; Sierra Leone has Christian Africans within its limits whose attainments, moderate as they may be when measured by our standard, are enough to place them far in advance of their countrymen in the interior, and which, when combined with the grand essential element of gracious influence, qualifies them, in all respects, to fulfil the office of evangelists. It will be for the benefit of the church at Sierra Leone that it address itself with earnestness to the improvement of this vast field of labour. In this respect there is no time to be lost. “God has provided instruments to begin the work in the liberated Africans in the colony of Sierra Leone, who are natives of the banks of this river. If this time is allowed to pass away, the generation of the liberated teachers who are immediately connected with the pre-

sent generation of the natives of the interior will pass away with it also. Many intelligent men, who took deep interest in the introduction of trade and Christianity by the Niger, who had been known to the people, have died; so have many of the chiefs and people in the country, who were no less interested to be brought in connexion with England by seeing their liberated countrymen return. . . . It would be of very great advantage if the colony-born young men were introduced by their parents or countrymen to their fatherland: it has many advantages which have not been sufficiently noticed. It cannot be expected that children born in the colony should become acquainted with the countries and characters of the people so soon as their parents and countrymen. Though the parents are illiterate, yet if they are sincere followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, their service will be of much worth in introducing Christianity to their own people. They are brought back to their country as a renewed people, looked upon by their countrymen as superior to themselves, as long as they continue consistent in their Christian walk and conversation, and do not disgrace themselves by following heathenish practices. The language of the people of Abbeokuta will be that of the natives on the banks of the Niger—‘Let those who come from the white man's country teach us, and condemn our heathenish practices: we shall listen to them.’ It takes great effect when returned liberated Chris-



tians sit down with their heathen countrymen, and speak with contempt of their former superstitious practices, of whom, perhaps, many now alive would bear testimony as to their former devotedness in their superstitious worship; all which he now can tell them he has found to be foolishness, and the result of ignorance; when he, with all earnestness, invites them, as Moses did Hahab—'Come with us, for the Lord has promised good to Israel;' and all this in his own language, with refined Christian feelings and sympathy, not to be expressed in words, but evidenced by an exemplary Christian life. The services of such persons will prove most useful in the introduction of the gospel of Jesus Christ among the heathen. Let such persons be employed as readers or Christian visitors, and thus will they gradually introduce their children into the country, who, in course of time, will be able to carry on the work more effectually. As pioneers, we must not look for instruments of the keenest edge: any thing that will open the path for future improvement will answer as well at the onset."

Such was Mr. Crowther's testimony three and a-half years ago. The reasoning which he urges becomes more cogent with the lapse of time. It is time for us to be up and doing, and to urge forward the Sierra-Leone church to the fulfilment of its high responsibilities with respect to the countries beyond.

"The further we go, the more convinced I am of the necessity of introducing Arabic study in our institutions at Sierra Leone. What an advantage would it have been, if any one of the Christian teachers could have stepped forward and read a few verses out of his Arabic Bible. It would place the teachers of the Anasaras in a much more prominent position among these self-conceited people! Besides this, I believe that, in this part of Africa, where the knowledge of Arabic is so imperfectly known, the use of Arabic characters, combined with Roman or Italic characters in teaching the native tongues, would be the means of counterbalancing the rapid spread of Mohammedanism among the rising generation. But as long as the use of Arabic character is excluded out of our schools, and left to the use of the ignorant followers of Mahomet alone, will they take advantage of it to continue their deception upon the ignorant heathen, by holding these letters as the most holy of any in the world; but by their being brought into common use, their artful cheat will be laid open. It appears to me there has been an increase of Arabic schools both at Idda and Igbebe since our last visit: the people

tific purposes, but they met with firm opposition from the Bassas, whose town was at are nevertheless very friendly, and warmly welcome our intended establishments.

"While at the Galadimas, an Haussa trader met us, who had only arrived last night from Kano, to make some stay in this place for trading. To make it convenient for his business, as he had done in other places, he purchased three huts for 30,000 cowries where he was at once settled. He spoke Yoruba, and had been to Ilorin, where also he had a house. From this man we learnt some more news of the interior towards Sokoto, that the unconquered Haussa tribes of Igberi and Ilambari are always troublesome on the direct road to Sokoto: hence the round about way which was taken to avoid these hostile tribes."

At Igbebe not only was land selected, but a commencement of effort made by the opening of a school, which was entrusted to the charge of two Sierra-Leone Christians, who thus hold the ground until succour arrives from that colony.

"August 28—From the Confluence to Muye, the country along the right bank of the river is entirely a succession of table mountains, sometimes sloping to the very bank. One of these hills is very rich in oil-palm trees to the top, and, if cultivated with cotton or coffee, would be one of the most beautiful ornaments to the scenery on this river. The hills recede from the left bank gradually inland, on the slopes of which are situated two Igbera towns, to avoid the approach of the Felani depredators, to whom all the towns on the banks of the river pay tribute, as far down as Ajara, a village at the foot of Mount Patteh, near the Confluence, since the visit of Dasaba to that neighbourhood.

"The Bassas, who inhabit the fastnesses of the Ikiri mountains, have with the other tribes, opposed Dasaba's ambition, and repelled his soldiers with their poisoned arrows from their rocky defences. In consequence of this, the Bassas, who appear to be irritable in their temperament, and violent in their manners, are very suspicious of any stranger who attempts to enter into their towns and villages, and look upon him as a traitor and a spy who comes to betray them into the hands of the Felanis. We have always heard of the rough conduct of the Bassas, and have also experienced something of it, but could not arrive at the true cause, which is now explained. Dr. Baikie, Lieutenant Glover, and a party, landed on the 20th instant, with intention to go up to Mount Soracte for scien-

the foot of the hill, and even W. Parker, the interpreter, their own countryman from Sierra Leone, was suspected as a traitor. As they would not be persuaded by words of assurance or offer of presents, the attempt was given up, lest it should create serious consequences if pushed by force. On the 23d a party went on a visit to the Bassa town of Patteh, at the back of Igbege, but there they also met with firm opposition, so the party had to return without entering the town. The cause of the determined opposition assigned was, that Dasaba made use of their captured countrymen to betray them into his hand. But with proper explanation the messengers of the gospel will have no difficulty in getting among them. The Bassas on the banks of the Tshadda differ from those below the Confluence in many respects, although tradition says that these were a stock of those on the Binuwe, who emigrated here on their hunting expedition. The language of the Bassas below the Confluence is very much like the Nufes, and their national marks like the Kakandas; but the Bassas on the Binuwe have no marks, and their language is peculiar, and they are said to have emigrated from a place towards Zoria, called Gabi, from which circumstances their king is called Agabi."

As they advanced up the Kowarra the suspicion and insecurity caused by the depredations of the Felani became increasingly apparent. The village chiefs were found impoverished, and left with only a handful of people, the larger number having been carried away. Heavy fines of cowries are exacted of them, and, if unable to meet the demand, their clothes and agricultural implements are wrested from them. The poor people, ready to fly into the bush at the first alarm, and afraid of every thing, could not be persuaded to come alongside. Rogan, the chief of Egga, dared not give any decided answer to the members of the expedition until he had first despatched a messenger to the Felani chiefs, Sumo Zaki and Dasaba. This town has undergone great changes since the expedition of 1841.

"August 31—There were then (1841) open spaces about, where the weavers had room to stretch out their warps, but now it is one mass of huts, as thickly built as could be put together. This place being an island, it has become a place of refuge for the fugitives since the destruction of Rabba, and the desertion of Lade at the late revolution of Umoru against Dasaba. During the dry season, the swampy creek on the west side of Egan gets dry, and the town was in such danger from Umoru

four years ago, that it was deserted for a whole year for the island of Akinami; but now all have returned, and rebuilt their huts, which had been burnt down, but the inhabitants are not much better off than before. Since the subjugation of Umoru, and reconciliation of Sumo Zaki and Dasaba, their soldiers have taken unrestrained liberty to oppress the poor inhabitants, in addition to the exorbitant annual tax of fifty bags, or 100,000 cowries, laid upon them: so much so, that when cowries were demanded of them by the soldiers and none were forthcoming, their goats and sheep, and even unfinished cloths from their looms were taken away, which, if finished and sold, would have paid the share of tax, and left something for the support of the weavers. However, the Sultan of Sokoto has sent orders to stop these most tyrannical acts of oppression; but the inhabitants, as a whole, are not yet exempt from occasional demands of cowries or slaves, independent of the annual tax mentioned above. Even at this time there are messengers here to demand twelve slaves, by Sumo Zaki and Dasaba, to which Rogan had not yet replied when we arrived. Under such an oppression, it can never be expected that the people can rise into a state of comfort and ease.

"In such a closely-inhabited town, with a population of about 12,000 confined within a small compass, which is surrounded by swamps, the island itself being divided by a creek into two parts, very little can be expected by way of cleanliness. The outskirts of the town are pestilential; the landing-place at the front of the town, where market is daily held, is covered with abominable heaps of nuisances: a quarter of an hour's rain softens the passage ways so much, that high wooden clogs are immediately made use of by those who possess them.

On reaching the confluence of the Kowarra and the Lafun, or Kadnna, it was resolved to attempt the ascent of the latter river, in the hope of opening communication with the Felani chiefs at their camp in Bida.

"Sept. 9—At sunset we anchored off the ruins of Gbara, the former capital of the Nupe country, which is now reduced to a small village of potters, going by the name of the old capital. The situation of Gbara is on an elevated ground, at the foot of a solitary hill, known by the name of Mount Barrow in Captain Allen's chart, but called Kpati Gbara [Gbara Hill] by the natives. When the town was in its prosperous state, it must have looked very pleasantly situated, its site being one of the most beautiful, and perhaps the best yet seen, in the Nupe country. Mr. Crook, the

Nupe interpreter, after an absence of forty-five years, on seeing the site of the capital again, soon called to recollection the circumstances of his early days. He was liberated in Sierra Leone in 1813, about which time he was seventeen years of age, and was enlisted in the African corps, in which he served seventeen years, but is now a pensioner. He was for a long time employed as a baker to the troops in Sierra Leone, in which he gave satisfaction to all. As old age gained upon him, he gave up the work in connexion with Government, but continued it as a private baker. When Dr. Baikie arrived in Sierra Leone to select suitable interpreters for the present expedition, Crook, being recommended, was asked. Having a desire to do some good to his country and people, though at the latest hour of life, he consented to be thus employed; which service he is now accomplishing very much to his credit. His consistent character and conduct is an ornament to the Wesleyan Church, with which he is connected.

"Sept. 10—Got under weigh early; but unfortunately the ship ran into shoal water, and was hove off after a little exertion. The current was strong in the main stream, where there was plenty of water. Being short of fuel, we got close to shore, to cut a dry tree on the bank. Here the king's messengers, overtook us. They had pulled all night to come up to us before we should reach the landing-place at Wuyagi. They were received on board, and their canoe taken in tow to relieve them; but unfortunately the wood we had got was not dry, and could not keep up the steam. In consequence of this we made but very little progress; so we anchored at a mooring-place below a village on the left bank.

"Sept. 11—Spent the morning in cutting wood; and the messengers were sent off in their canoe to announce our approach. We started about noon, and ran into shoal water again, which occupied us about two hours to heave off. We anchored a little above a village on the right bank, for the night.

"Sept. 12—Having got a canoe-load of dry wood to help in keeping up our steam, we weighed, after breakfast, past the village of Wuyagi, on the right bank. We anchored off the landing-place to Wuyagi village, which is about two miles inland. Here we met the ferryman conveying passengers to and fro. The first canoe which caught our eyes, as we drew near to the ferry, had four horses on board, and four more were taken over after our arrival. Thursday and Friday had been similarly employed, because a division

of the army from Bida was said to be going on a foraging expedition westward. Our anchorage at the ferry was about thirteen miles from the confluence of the Lafun and Kowarra. This tributary stream varied from three to five fathoms in the main channel; but at the dry season it is said to be fordable across in many places. The Lafun runs between Early Grey Range, and appears navigable to a greater distance than Wuyagi. The last Nupe village on its bank is said to be Gbarishiko, which, if correctly stated, makes the thirtieth village on this stream, reckoning from Muregi, at its confluence with the Kowarra. Shea butter abounds on this stream, and was offered for sale as cheap as could be desired.

"Sept. 13—Had service at half-past ten A.M., and read the eighth Homily of the United Church of England and Ireland on the Danger of Falling from God. After the exertions of the week, nearly all the gentlemen felt more or less indisposed. The weather was hot; no rain felt to cool the atmosphere since the 6th inst. This, together with want of fresh provisions to exchange for salt ones, which provoked insatiable thirst, increased by a continuous heat, produced nausea. Since we left Muye, one of the chief towns of Shabe, or Kankanda, scarcity of live stock began to be felt, the constant complaint of the natives being that the soldiers had deprived them of it. Fowls, which were bought with bottles and little looking-glasses or knives, below and about the Confluence, could not be got here under an enormous sum: 1000 cowries were refused for the only fowl or chicken which was brought for sale, which was about 2s. sterling, and no such thing as sheep or goats. Attempt was made by Lieutenant Glover to cast the seine, but the current was so strong that the rope gave way. There is no wonder, under these circumstances, that the health of nearly all suffered; some lived mostly on vegetable diet, and avoided salt provisions for a time.

"Sept. 14 — Preparations were made for visiting the camp at Bida, horses having been sent to await us; but Drs. Baikie and Davies not being well enough to travel, the journey was put off till to-morrow.

"Sept. 15—It rained copiously from day-break till two o'clock P.M., and the time was past for starting on the journey; but that it should not be put off altogether, as the king sent constantly to know when we were coming, and that we might not appear inconsistent in our word, Lieutenant Glover made up his mind to go this afternoon, so I made ready to accompany him. We left the ship a

little before three o'clock, and took horses, on which we crossed a very nasty swamp, about half a mile wide inland from the edge of two river. The town of Wuyagi was about the miles from the ferry. At Wuyagi the guides wanted us to stop over night, which we refused to do. We would have travelled faster, but fearing lest we should take a wrong path at the division of the road, we were obliged to wait till one of the men came up to us; and ultimately were obliged to keep pace with him altogether. We did not arrive at the camp till close to nine o'clock P.M. The country being dry, and the road good, we felt no inconvenience in this respect. On our entering the camp we were led to the huts of where we were to be lodged. After taking some refreshment, and committing ourselves to the care and keeping of our heavenly Father, who had so much favoured us in our journey, we retired to rest.

"Sept. 16—Had a very refreshing rest during the night in our grass huts, temporarily built for present accommodation in the war camp. The dampness of the ground was counteracted by a fire which was kept burning all night by two pieces of wood, between Mr. Glover's bed and mine, and the hut being entirely free from mosquitoes added to the soundness of our sleep. At the dawn of the morning the time of devotion was cried out in all quarters of the camp, for all Mohammedans to perform their morning prayers, and, as far as we could hear, voices were heard uttering the 'Alla hakubaru' all around us. Our Arabic interpreters, Abdul Kader and Kasumo, were not behind their brethren of the same faith. As soon as it was light enough, our small Christian party met in the hut, and I read the 72d Psalm, thanked God for the mercies of the past night, and asked His blessings on the proceedings of the day. Before breakfast, messengers came from the king and Dasaba to inquire after our health. Not wishing to visit any of them till the arrival of Dr. Baikie, we sent to inform the king that we would not come till our headman had arrived; but in the mean time we wished to stretch our legs by walking about the camp, to which he gave his consent. Coming out of our huts, we were led through the market held in the front of the king's quarters of the camp, but kept in a most filthy state. We visited a blacksmith's shop, who was busily engaged in making knives, while another man was beating out the blade of a new sword after Eastern pattern. A little onward we went to the brook which divided the camp into two parts, where two pits were dug in the sand, one received the

water drained and filtered from the higher ground, and in the other were several springs bubbling out from the sand, with water as pure as from a drip-stone. This in some measure helped to explain my view of an important question, as to the cause of the rise of these great rivers during the latter rain, compared with the first rains, namely, that they are supplied from all parts of the country through subterraneous passages, which drain the country into the rivers, and cause a gradual rise even before the latter rains begin to fall. Returning from the springs, we went to the west side of the camp, if possible to get up to an elevation where the whole camp could be seen, that Mr. Glover might take a sketch of the whole in one view. On our way we passed many carcasses of horses dragged aside, on which the turkey buzzards were feeding with the utmost composure: from this state of things, and other filthiness about, the paths were very offensive. I need not say, after reaching the extreme huts of the west end, we found the ground not high enough, and, besides, full of water, so we took another direction. On our way we came to a carpenter's shop, who was making stools and wooden shoes or clogs out of pieces of green wood, some utensils having been already finished and put out for sale. Leaving the carpenter's, we came into a whitesmith's shop, where the smith was repairing the royal brass trumpet, called 'Akakine' by the Nupes, the possession of which constitutes the sovereignty of the Nupe kings, and a deprivation of which is a token of loss of power. As we proceeded from this the weather became drizzling, so we took shelter in a shed where many persons were sitting round a fire in the midst of the hut. Here we were asked to buy slaves; and, when told that we were no slave-dealers, we were asked for silver dollars to the amount of from two to three thousand, which they would be glad to purchase. Our conversation turned to lawful trade and commerce, till it was fine enough to proceed on our walk, which brought us to a market-place, where we were surrounded by a large concourse of people; but as the camp could not be seen here in one view, we were returning home, when one of the spectators, a warrior, invited us to his hut, and entertained us with palm-wine. Just close to our lodgings was the slave-shed in the market-place, which we also visited, and counted forty slaves, including men and women, with their infants and little boys and girls. I asked, for information sake, the price of a woman with her infant, for whom 70,000 cowries were asked, which, at the rate of 4s.

for 2000, is 7l. sterling. Before breakfast was over; after which we intended to rest a little previous to the arrival of our friend, our hut was literally blocked up with visitors of all classes, including princes, princesses, and other persons of rank. Provisions came in from all quarters, the king and others. About one P.M. Drs. Baikie and Davies, Messrs. Barter and Dalton, arrived at the camp, and were led direct to the king, who, supposing we would not have sufficient room, ordered their lodging in another direction; but we soon went after, and brought them to our quarters, where we were comfortably lodged. The friends having taken some refreshment, which we had prepared against their arrival, we paid official visit to king Sumo Zaki, a person about sixty years of age, who received us very cordially. Having shaken hands with us all, we took our seats on mats spread on the ground in the open yard before him, when we were loaded again with salutations and expressions of joy for our coming to him again; but it was not for his own goodness, but it was God who directed us to this place just about this time, where every thing was amicably settled between them. Dr. Baikie then told him the objects of his visit to the country, and to him in particular, all of which met his full approbation. After this I introduced myself to him as a Mallam, sent by the great Mallams from the white man's country, to see the state of the heathen population under their government, and to know their mind, whether we might not teach them the religion of the Anasara, and at the same time to introduce trade among them. To this he at once gave full consent, saying that it was all one; we might teach them; and that he would give us a place for a station at Rabba after the rains. He also gave full consent to trade in all parts of the river, with his protection as far as his influence extended. He then entertained us with a large calabashful of kola nuts, some of which he first partook of himself, and then gave the parts to Dr. Baikie as a token of great friendship between us. After his presents were given him, with which he was much pleased, he requested us to visit Dasaba, about half a mile distant. The Doctor had tried to get them both together before the interview took place, but it was not practicable. Dasaba is half brother to Sumo Zaki, on the father's side, who was Mallam Dendo, but his mother was a Nupe. We met him dressed in a fine light silk robe. He is between forty and fifty years of age. He appeared to be a person of very lively disposition, and humorous in his manner. After the usual salutations, we took

our seats on the mats and hides spread on the ground for us. When the doctor repeated the object of his coming to this country, it pleased him so much that he rolled in his mat for joy, and in such a jocular manner, that it excited us all to laughter. He was quite agreeable to any thing which his brother agreed to, to whom he has given the first place: Sumo Zaki's wishes were his wishes. After the kola nuts were passed, he presented the Doctor with a cow; but when he had received the Doctor's presents he was so pleased that he also gave him a sheep, lots of yams, and a pot of palm-oil. On our leaving, he accompanied us to the street, and saw us mount in safety; and we returned to our lodging. When once bad prejudices are raised in the mind, especially of a bigoted people like the Mohammedans, whose religion does not teach charitable constructions of what might be said of any other people, how absurd and unlikely soever it may be, it is a most difficult task to overcome such prejudices in any other way but by showing the reverse by our own dealings with them. It has been circulated about the country, and believed, that as the Anasaras do not believe the religion of Mohammed they cannot be friendly with the people of that faith; nor could the Anasaras bear the sight of a Mohammedan praying in the name of Mohammed, whom they believe to be the true prophet of God. But the appearance of Abdul Kader, the interpreter, and Kosumo, a Yoruba, both of them Mohammedans, and tolerable Arabic scholars, in our company, excited some inquiries respecting their situation, and the treatment they received from us on board. Sumo Zaki himself was not backward in having his curiosity gratified in this respect; and they were not a little surprised to hear, from these men of their own persuasion, that we treated them with the utmost kindness, and did not in the least put any obstacle in the way of their performing their religious exercises. These were certainly unexpected tidings to the people, shut up in the interior among themselves, and having no intercourse with the civilized world. Those who brought them news from the coast were not those who had opportunity of disarming themselves of the prejudices they had imbibed by mingling with Christians of sound principles and of friendly dispositions. A Mohammedan can never be brought round by his religion being quarrelled with, and abusively charged with falsehood and imposition; but by kind treatment they may be led to read and study the Christian Bible, which, by the blessing of God, may lead to correct him from the error of his way.

"The rest of the afternoon was spent in receiving visitors, by whom our huts, and the

little spaces around them, were completely blocked up. In the evening we assembled in our hut, and thanked God for the blessings of the day, and craved His protection for the evening and night.

“Sept. 17.—Wishing to start from the camp as early as possible, that we might be able to cross the swamp by daylight, Seriki, a Haussa, was sent to ask the king for an early interview; but he could not be seen till after eight. When we went to him he was sitting in his room close by the doorway, which was screened by a coarse bamboo mat, through which he could see outside. Mats were spread for us outside in front of the door, where we took our seat. The king apologised for not coming out, or taking off the mat, because he had not yet dressed himself; but at last he called for his robe, folded up the mat, and shook us by the hands. He very earnestly urged the Doctor to pay a visit to three persons of consequence before we left the camp, to clear him of any charge of suspicion of having hindered us from going to their quarters to pay them respects. These persons were Umoru, a first cousin of his, an influential man, and by whose valour and exertions the rebel Umoru, of the same name, was conquered. The next person was the young prince Isa, who is to be made king of Nupe, and to share the country with the Felani kings. The third person was the king's own sister, Abibata, who had been very liberal to us. She sent us milk and butter and a large turkey for our entertainment at the camp. Sumo Zaki said, he, his sister Abibata, and Dasaba, were the only three remaining children of their father. The Doctor consented to comply with this request, Seriki taking the lead. He took us to the other side of the brook, which we crossed by a strong bridge of palm-trees laid across the water, about five feet wide, and firmly filled with earth between, for foot and horse passage. The valley through which the brook runs was cleared of all under bushes, while the grove of lofty palm, and other trees of evergreen foliage, gave it the appearance of a well-planned avenue, with agreeable shade on a sunny day, if regard was only paid to free it from all kinds of nuisances. Passing the carcasses of horses just dragged from the vultures, we walked by the walls of the town of Bida, from which the camp receives its name. In the opposite camp we visited Isa, a nice quiet-looking man, about thirty years of age. From thence we visited the king's sister in the town of Bida; but owing to some circumstances or custom of the Felani, we could not see her. She spoke to us from behind a mat, which served as a partition between us. She

called Mr. Crook in, and presented him with a nice cloth, as a token of remembrance for the high respect she had for his father, and would have been very glad if Mr. Crook could have staid with them. From the king's sister we went out of the town of Bida to the camp of Prince Umoru, a considerable distance from the town. Umoru was dressed in a shirt and robe of silk damask, and scarlet superfine Turkish trousers: a claret-colour superfine cloak, richly braided with gold lace, laid by his side, and a slave constantly fanning him. He was a fine-looking young man, of about thirty years of age, and is generally called the king's son. He sent us a bullock the evening before, for which the Doctor thanked him, and promised to make him a return if he sent a messenger with us to the ship. He was very anxious that we should see his brothers, for whom he had sent; but as they had not made their appearance, we left without seeing them. We were about three hours performing these visits, when we returned to the king, and reported ourselves; but he once more begged and urged our perseverance to see the head of the escort who came with him from Sokoto, which we did; after which we took leave of him, and he appointed a messenger to accompany us to Illorin, or to any other place we wished to visit. On our way to the king this morning, by the slave-market, we unexpectedly passed the dead body of a neglected sick slave who died during the night; and, on our return, we avoided the sight, by wending our way to our huts in a different direction, showing thereby the delicacy of our feelings, and sympathy with a fellow-sufferer, and as a reproof of their apathy and hard-heartedness. Abdul Kader, the interpreter, went to the king, and told him how we felt at such an unusual sight as this; whereupon the king expressed his regret, and pleaded ignorance of the case, or else he would have ordered the immediate removal of the body, which he did soon afterwards.

“Having completed our visits, preparations were made for our return; but as the people there kept the best horses for kidnapping and warlike purposes, they did not like to fetch them out for our use to the river side, so it took about another hour to get horses, and finally to get our packages taken by carriers with promise of payment. Dasaba was very anxious we should call on him as we passed by his camp, being on the way, which we did. He had sent us additional presents of a pot of honey and about a bushel of rice. On our arrival at his house, he showed the superfine robe and a length of printed muslin with which the Doctor had presented him, as the only portion he kept for

himself, but the rest of the things he gave to his brother, Sumo Zaki. I at once saw the policy of this: they being the only persons to whom the presents were made, thought their secondary chiefs and headmen should have some share with them also, hence he sent a portion of his to his brother. Dasaba remarked that he had three times seen steamers come up the river, but they never traded with them: how that was we could not account for; but he was assured this time that a regular trade was about to be now introduced into the river, with which idea he was highly delighted. He accompanied us outside, and saw us safely on our way, Lieutenant Glover and Dr. Davies having preceded us to ascend a hill, from which a sketch of the whole camp could be taken in one view.

"In a disturbed country like this, it cannot be otherwise expected but that the majority of the people will be very poor. Since our arrival at the camp we were constantly warned to keep our articles out of the way, to prevent robbery. The slaves are not cared for by their masters: they lived upon what they could produce in the fields, or what they could earn by personal exertions by labour, which latter the male population has no relish for, except for war. The number of people in the camp, women and children inclusive, is estimated at 60,000. The females

are great traders in all parts of the country, to buy grain and yams to sell in the camp. Just as we were leaving the camp, a party of kidnappers were returning from a foraging expedition to some neighbouring tribes: after meeting with severe repulses, they at last overcame the poor people. The face of the country is an open plain, undulating and dotted about with shea-butter, and locust-trees in great abundance. The soil is rather poor and sandy about the camp, but, half-way towards the river, is tolerable, where dawa, corn, ground-nuts, and beni seeds are grown. As our horses were not of equal strength, we could not keep pace together. I was the last to come to the swamp, which the lights from the two lamps sent from the ship enabled me to cross by wading up to the middle, and I got on board about nine P.M. The horses were left on the other side of the swamp, because it was safer to go through it in the night without them."

On re-entering the Kowarra, the ruins of Rabba were passed. The town, destroyed during the war between the brothers, is proposed to be rebuilt as the seat of their government, and the memorial of their reconciliation. The importance of this place, as in direct communication with the Yoruba country, and a door of entrance into the interior, can scarcely be overrated.

## WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH OUR BIBLES?

BY A CALCUTTA MISSIONARY.

THE ryots of Bengal, more than 35,000,000 in number, are, with few exceptions, as little able to read now, as they were when, in 1837, Lord W. Bentinck published the report of Mr. Adams, exposing the fearful moral and intellectual condition of the masses. Young Bengal has started up since, to spout Milton and Shakspeare, and men, like the Nana Sahib, have received a whitewash of European knowledge — but the Bengal ryot still remains buried in the slough of ignorance. 2500 years ago *Hindú* Menu excluded the masses from the light of knowledge — "*the Sudra who reads the Shastra shall have melted lead poured down his throat:*" their condition in Bengal, under the regime of *Christian* England, is little better in this respect.

Missionaries want to bring the Bible, with its glorious, soul enlivening truths, to them; but without the ability to read intelligently, the Bible is a book of hieroglyphics: the schoolmaster is as necessary an element for Bible reading, as the eye is for vision. We have in Bengal plenty of Bibles in the peoples' own language; but how few are the readers! We fear, that out of this rural population of 35,000,000, not more than 2 or 3 per cent. at

the utmost can read the Bible *intelligently*. We lay stress on the word *intelligently*, because the Bengalis themselves have many thousand indigenous schools, where some learn enough of reading to enable them to read MS. accounts, and some of their own MS. mythological books; but it is a very different thing to peruse a book on the licentious revels of Krishna, and a printed book like the Bible, which, in introducing new ideas, must use many words new, and many in a sense quite unknown, to an untaught people. If the Ethiopian eunuch, reading the prophecy of Isaiah, had the question put to him, "*understandest thou what thou readest?*" how much more is it applicable to India, where the masses cannot even spell the words of the book, much less have any clue to those innumerable references, on history, geography, biography, &c., with which the Bible teems? The writer of this paper has felt this great difficulty with congregations of adult native Christians: what must it be, then, with the heathen!

Preaching is unquestionably God's chief ordinance; but preaching, without a carefully read and studied Bible, will no more do in the spiritual warfare, than will cavalry without ar-

tillery in an Indian battle. This preaching, too is carried on by foreigners, only a small number of whom gain that intimate acquaintance with the native modes of thought and manner of illustrating ideas which the teachers of idolatry in this country know so well how to wield. God is a God of means. Were a Frenchman to go to England, and, after reading half-a-dozen English books, proceed to Yorkshire to preach Romanism to the English peasants, how little impression would he make! This is not said to depreciate preaching; but merely to show, that if the preaching is to tell, the people must be put in the condition of "searching the Scriptures daily, whether these things are so." Christianity is a "religion of the Book." Protestants, in preaching, must appeal to the Book; but, alas! the people cannot read it. If we are to have a Christianity in India superior to the Christianity of the old Portuguese, then it must arise from a Bible-taught peasantry, who, like the Scotch peasants, will be imbued with the Bible as pointed out in that beautiful picture of Burns', "The Cottar's Saturday Night." Bible circulation is most seriously obstructed by the inability of the masses to read. The Hindús have a proverb, "What is the use of looking-glasses to blind fakirs?" but nearly 35,000,000 in Bengal are those blind fakirs, to whom the Bibles are of about as much use as spectacles would be to the blind, or pianos to the deaf. The educated Brahmins in this country are indifferent, if not hostile, to enlightening the common people: the means of doing it, then, must depend on the Government which draws such a revenue from the sweat of the ryot, and on Christian philanthropy, which, throwing aside the trammels of caste, regards the welfare of all. Knowledge is power, and *Biblical knowledge would be the strongest lever to wield against caste.*

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in his celebrated minute on "the Police and Criminal Justice in Bengal," has recorded the following opinion, the result of his long experience of Bengal—

"While the mass of the people remain in their present state of ignorance and debasement, all laws and all systems must be comparatively useless and vain. Above all things that can be done for this people is, their gradual, intellectual, and moral advancement, through the slow but certain means of a widely-spreading popular system of vernacular education."

Acting in this spirit, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal applied to the Government of India to alter the terms of the grant-in-aid system, which requires the *rural* population to pay *half* the expenses of schools which they

do not value, and which have become a dead failure. The Government of India *positively refused*, and thus the Bengal peasant has no means whatever of enlightenment, except in Christian England taking the question up: not even the Sepoy mutiny has taught the Government of India that the masses are to be enlightened.

The actual state of Bengal stands thus:—

Rural Population of Bengal, say.....	35,000,000
Land-tax paid .....	£3,759,000 sterling.
Grant-in-aid for their education for <i>one</i> <i>year</i> .....	£2,400 sterling.

Is this to continue? If so, what prospect is there of having a population able to read the Bible? Is our system to be, then, "Ignorance is the mother of devotion?" In the lives of the majority of Europeans, the masses observe little to dispose them to become Christians, and they are not able to read for themselves the Book which would let them see what Christianity really is—they cannot search the Scriptures. The Supreme Government of India makes the following admission\*—"The plain fact appears to be, that, in the Lower Provinces, the lower classes have not yet learned to appreciate or desire education, and that the *higher classes generally are not actually desirous that their inferiors should be educated.*" Here it is evident that the caste system is at work in education, as in other matters: the Brahmins will do nothing to enlighten the Sudras, and yet the Government of India, true to its traditional policy of having legislation and education for the rich, and not for the poor—for the high-caste man, and not for the low caste man—has here sternly refused the application of the Bengal Government to do something effective for enlightening the masses. The Sepoy was excluded from the light of the Bible, and he has made his masters pay the penalty for that policy.

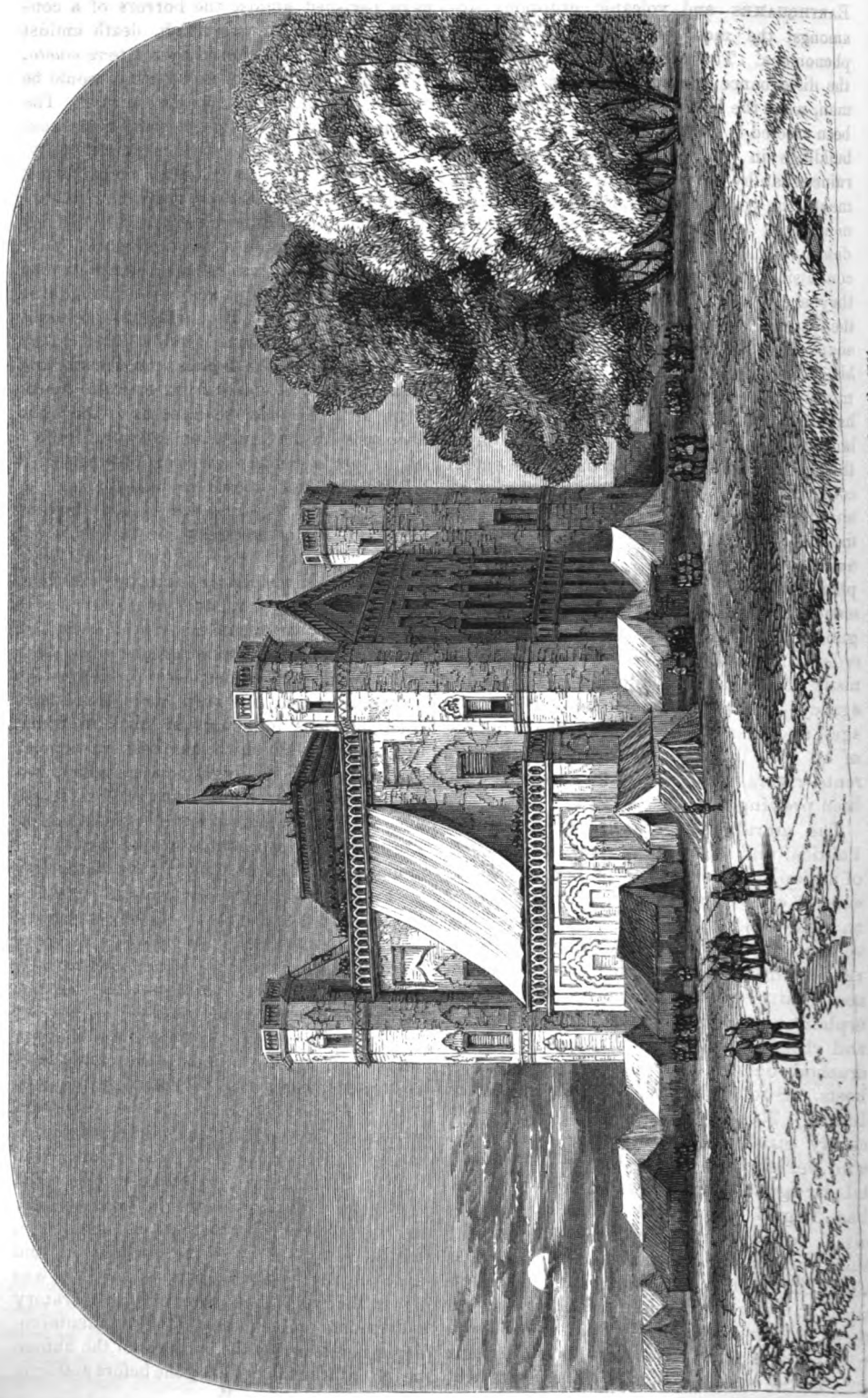
It is easy to circulate Bibles: the people will rush in crowds to receive them with thanks, for English paper is most valuable and useful for domestic and shop purposes; but as for the reading and understanding, that is another question.

What we require, then, is the establishment of a large number of schools which will have for their express aim the enabling the masses to read intelligently, so as to be able to make a proper use of the Bible, and that the clauses of the Education Despatch of 1853, relating to education for the masses, be sincerely carried out; and not adopt, as hitherto, and now, a principle in education for them, which would be equivalent to one in judicial matters—that no police or magistrates be provided for thieves, unless the thieves themselves consent to defray half the expenses.

\* See Educational Report for 1856-57, p. 26.







... GARDEN OF THE WORLD, LUCKNOW.—From a drawing made on the spot.

## OUR PROSPECTS IN INDIA.

EARTHQUAKES and volcanic eruptions are amongst the most portentous of physical phenomena. The stroke and its replicant, the disturbance caused to all the works of man, when the firm basis on which they had been erected is itself moved, and the strongest buildings in an instant more completely ruined than by months of siege and bombardment—the violent paroxysms of the agitated mountains, and the sluggish fiery currents of descending lava—these are among the dread convulsions of nature; and yet, appalling as they are, science teaches us that they have their uses. "Inequalities of surface eminently adapt the globe to the residence of man during his threescore years and ten, and of the myriads of different races of beings that inhabit it. But the waste of the elevated dry land is a gradual yet sure effect produced by the atmospheric and aqueous causes that constantly act upon it. These, without an antagonistic power, would in time reduce the inequalities of alluvial countries nearly to an uniform level, bring the habitable part of our planet down to the ocean line, and convert scenes of fertility and busy life into vast lagoons and marshes, which only inferior orders of animals can occupy. The antagonistic power is the subterranean upheaving agency—a rare visitant—often at rest for ages, and then counteracting, in the twinkling of an eye, the effect of the rains, rills, torrents, rivers, atmosphere, and seas, that have been preying upon the soil."

The moral world has also its phenomena. Political and social convulsions, disturbances of nations, the paroxysms of human passion, and the outpouring of the fiery wrath of man on man—these are as the earthquake and volcano. They are calamitous in their results: human life is wasted, domestic happiness disturbed and broken up, widows and orphans are multiplied throughout the land, and ripening harvests are trodden down and crushed beneath the iron tread of embattled hosts. Such calamities have supervened in India. The supplement to the *Gazette* recently published gives the long list of those who perished amidst the throes of this mortal struggle, which now for twelve months has raged throughout India. "Officers, civil servants, missionaries, traders, with their wives and sisters, their little children, their English nurses, their native servants, and, in more than one case, Christian converts," have been involved in one indiscriminate massacre. Not less than 72 pages are filled with the names of sufferers who

have perished amidst the horrors of a convulsion, compared with which, death amidst the shock and ruin caused by the *terre nuoto*, or the fiery eruption of the volcano, would be deemed a mild and welcome release. The crater of Mowna Roa, in the island of Hawaii, is described as being of horrible sublimity. Travellers who have climbed to its brink found themselves looking down into a fearful gulph, fifteen hundred feet in depth, and upwards of two miles in circumference. "The edge of the crater was so steep, that it seemed as if, by a single leap, they could plunge into the lowest abyas. Its surface had all the agitation of an ocean. Billow after billow tossed its monstrous boom into the air, and occasionally the waves from opposite directions met with such violence as to dash the fiery spray in the concussion forty or fifty feet high;" yet how many who would have deemed it a merciful deliverance to have been flung alive into that agitated sea of fire, if so be they might have escaped the loathsome touch of Sepoy cruelty!

Yet we may feel assured that for such dread calamities some stern necessity existed, and that they never would have been permitted but for the correction of great evils. Like the aqueous and atmospheric influences to which reference has been made, there have been injurious influences at work in India, the tendency of which has been to deprive Christianity of the high prestige which belongs to it, as the alone truth of God, to reduce it to the level of surrounding heathenism, and merge all distinctions in one dreary and monotonous level of religious indifferentism. Such influences have been long, although silently, at work, and have seriously interfered with the free action of the Gospel among the millions of the Hindús. The earthquake has therefore been permitted to interpose the subterranean upheaving agency, to remove them out of the way. Dispensations of grace and mercy to the nations of our earth have been often ushered in by the storm and tempest. They go before to break up the stagnation which would render men indifferent to the voice of mercy: "a great and strong wind rent the mountains and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire:" these were only preparatory movements, emblematical of the judgments rendered necessary by the hardness of the human heart; but when they have gone before and done

their work, then comes "the still small voice." Let us trust it will be so now; and that, as when the prophet heard it, he wrapped his face in his mantle and went out and stood at the entering in of the cave, so men, instructed by the past, will be subdued to reverential attention, and be disposed to hear and receive with meekness God's message of mercy in Christ Jesus.

Let us consider some advantages which may be elicited from the chaos and confusion which have had place in India, remembering that out of a chaos there rose into existence a habitable world of the most exquisite and perfect arrangement; that amidst prevailing darkness, light, with an instantaneous birth, shed forth its illuminating influence; and that God's majesty and glory are never more conspicuously displayed, than when out of evil He educes good, and makes the wrath of man to praise Him.

It can no longer be pretended that Hinduism is a harmless and innocuous system, imparting to the people a mild and inoffensive type of character, so much so, that some have not hesitated to deprecate all interference with them on the subject of religion, and to urge that it would be far more consistent with charity to leave them in that belief in which they have been brought up, than, by bringing them to a profession of Christianity, burden them with increasing responsibilities. But for the clearer insight into its true character, which passing events have afforded us, this long existing indisposition to interfere with the Hindú system would, in all probability, have gathered new strength from the illusions of modern pantheism.

The following passages from a recent publication seem to point in this direction, and to affirm that there is, in the different heathen systems, that which is true and good, and that so far Christ is working in and through those systems; and that if there be in them elements of a reverse character, the same are also to be found in Protestant Christianity, and that Christ is to be viewed as working through the good in every system, and fighting against the evil in every system: so that He affects all religious systems, and yet does not fully identify Himself with any. Christ, by His Spirit, no longer dwells exclusively in His church, but is diffused throughout all systems, all nations. Let our readers judge for themselves.

"If we answer the question in the text [Matt. xxii. 42] as St. Paul answered it, we shall say, 'We think of Christ as the King who led the hosts of Israel through the Red Sea into the Land of Promise. We think of Him as the true King of all those nations in the old world

which were dreaming of other kings and leaders, and moulding them after their fancies. We think of Him as the source of all that was righteous, true, and brave in the chosen people. We think of Him as the only source of what was righteous, brave, and true in all the heathen people. . . . We think of Him as the Giver, not of rain only and fruitful seasons, but of moral instincts, a sense of what is just and lovely, a power of doing right and generous acts, to Pagans and to Mussulmans: we think of every Hindú feeling respecting incarnation and sacrifices as a feeling after Him who could truly become one with men, and truly and perfectly offer Himself for men. We think of Him as the inspirer of the Mussulman belief in a one living God, and of the Mussulman's wrath against idol worship. We think of Him as withering the strength of the Hindú because he gave himself to unclean services and bloody sacrifices; as maintaining the cause of the Latin nations against Mohammedanism because it divided man from God, so reducing man into a slave, and turning God into a tyrant. We think of Him as fighting from age to age on behalf of the truth for which Romanists have been witnesses, that there is a one family under one Head, united in one Father, possessed by one Spirit. We think of Him as fighting from age to age against that falsehood which has borne all detestable fruits in practice, that the family on earth has been separated from the family in Heaven; that it has an earthly lord, or an earthly father; that the spirit within it can ever be a spirit working lies, and not the Spirit of Truth. We think of Him as fighting on the side of Protestants whensoever they are resisting these fictions and asserting the dominion of the Son of man and the Son of God against His servants who usurp His name. We think of Him as fighting against Protestants, and baffling and confounding them, whensoever they set up their sect notions and theories against His universal and eternal kingdom."

So likewise of the operations of the Holy Spirit.

"The promise of the day of Pentecost has been fulfilled in every new light that has been thrown on the laws of language, the relation of languages to each other, their mysterious connexion with the life and being of man; in the patient efforts of every physical student; in the discoveries that have rewarded them; in the power of benefiting human beings, which accompanies that knowledge."

And so the Missionary is blamed because he preaches Jesus as a Saviour to men, that through faith they become in Him, instead of

teaching them that they are already, as men, in Him, and ought therefore to believe in Him.

"Why does any Hindú feel that there must be such a Saviour, such a Master, as he speaks of? Why does any feel that that Master must be his? Can the earnest man who has yielded to Christ as a Master for himself, who has ventured so much upon the possibility that he might find others who could receive Him also, stop short of that full conviction which was expressed by the apostle of the Gentiles, which alone gave him strength to preach *his* Gospel, that Christ is the Lord of every man; that He is the Saviour of the world?"

And the consolation of the Missionary is to be this, that He who sent him can bring men to the knowledge of Himself, without the instrumentality of the word or message.

"The sight of this multitude from every nation and kindred must have been a lesson to the Missionary of that day, may be a lesson to the Missionary of this, tending to abate his pride, but also—why do I say *but*, why not *therefore*?—his despair. He sometimes tries to console himself with thoughts of God's mercy to those who are ignorant, and have had no means of knowing better. But then he sees that the heathen among whom he goes are actually brutalized and corrupted: no tolerance of their religion can make that fact less appalling to him. And then, when he thinks how few can ever hear his preaching, how few can understand the sounds he utters, he begins to doubt if God has not deserted His own world. But it is not so. His converts may be few. He may have little power of making himself intelligible. But He of whom the Missionary speaks, He who has sent him, has His ways of making Himself intelligible; has His ways of bringing people of every nation, and tongue, and clime, through much tribulation, to a knowledge of the Lord who died for them, and is ever with them; to a knowledge of His Father and their Father. They are not saved each by the sect he professeth. They are saved by the one Name which is given under heaven. But it does not depend upon our lips or our wisdom, thanks be to God! how they shall become acquainted with that Name. If the letters of it do reach them through us, it is another than we who has shown them what it means. Surely He can show it them, though we stammer ever so much in the utterance of it, though we do not utter it at all."\*

We shall touch briefly on some of the essen-

tial principles of Hindúism, that the injurious nature of the influence which alone it is capable of exercising may be at once perceptible.

It is pantheistic. The modern pantheist may learn from Hindúism that his dreamy sentimentalism is capable of combination with the foulest developments of moral evil. The material universe, according to this system, is but the ideal expansion of the one entity. All souls, of which vegetables and brutes, as well as men, are supposed to be possessed, are emanations from the supreme mind, as sparks from fire, or vapour from the ocean. Hence "the soul is a portion of the Supreme Ruler:" the relation is not that of master and servant, ruler and subject, but is that of whole and part." Hence, so far as this absurdity obtains, the sense of individual responsibility is weakened, and eventually extinguished.

Again, the system is not only pantheistic, but polytheistic. The energies of the God-head are personified, and those of creation, preservation, and destruction, are represented by Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. To these are to be added the three females, Durga, Lukshmi, and Suruswuti; and into these six conceptions may be resolved the numerous population of the Hindú mythology. What, then, shall be said of the characters of these *quasi* deities? Truly there is not a single god in the regions of Hindú mythology, which, if transformed into a living man or woman in the streets of London, would not be, in an incredibly short time, in the hands of the police authorities, as a pest and plague to society, and be sentenced to the treadmill or transportation, as a just punishment for the nefarious actions supposed to have been perpetrated by them. We cannot be surprised that the material forms with which they clothe these gods are peculiarly hideous and repulsive. The four-faced and four-handed Brahma riding upon a swan; the four-armed Vishnu seated on Garuda, the prince of eagles, an animal half bird half man; Siva, with one head, three eyes, and two arms, riding on a bull, covered with ashes, naked, his eyes inflamed with intoxicating herbs, having in one hand a horn, and in the other a drum; the elephant-headed Ganesa; the ten-armed Durga; the black, and yet blood-stained Kali;—what monstrous things are here! And why so hideous? why, in devising a form, did not the idolater fashion forth something pleasing and attractive? Nay, it was more consistent that it should be ugly and deformed, for it better represents the character of the god. The hideousness of the image expresses with accuracy the loathsomeness of the moral character which it is supposed to

\* "The Indian Crisis:" Five Sermons by the Rev. F. D. Maurice, M.A., &c.

represent. But the most painful thought is, that these personifications of moral evil stimulate and develop the latent corruption of the human heart, and the worshippers, in their frame of mind and moral acts, become assimilated to the gods they worship. Their religion teaches them to be cruel and licentious. Hence the Hindú population is sunk in a state of the most fearful moral debasement. The disrupted sepulchre, and its humiliating secrets of unutterable foulness, would best represent the state of Hindú society. The private life of the Hindú abounds with the painful results produced by the influence of the popular religion. Selfishness reigns unrestrained by principle. Human life is full of discord, hatred, abuse, slanders: malevolent contentions disturb every village, every family. Within the zenana, heartless cruelty is practised; infanticide prevails; the father's stern will dooms to death his own child, and the mother's hand often perpetrates the deed. The husband is the lord, the wife the servant; and, in secret, terrible punishments are inflicted. The practice of mutilation, so abhorrent to us, and now, for the first time, inflicted on the persons of Englishmen, has long been customary with the natives of India. "The great majority of murders are of a domestic description, generally the result of passion, or of wounded pride." "The most common executions are those of husbands for the murder of their wives."\* Here, in our own country, the more you penetrate domestic life, the more you find of moral healthfulness: the evils are without; they are more on the surface of society. When the home and private dwelling become tainted, then is the heart diseased. In India, the exterior of native society is the best. The more you penetrate beneath the surface, the more utterly decayed you find the social system. How shall this superabounding of evil be corrected? Human legislation, police supervision, will not do it. We have introduced our criminal procedure into our oldest possessions, and what has been the fruit? Confessedly the experiment has proved an utter failure. "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 singu-

larly enough happened, that the amount of violent crime seems now to be greatest in our oldest possessions. It is comparatively small in the Punjab, compared to the districts of Bengal immediately round our capital of Calcutta."†

What can rectify this wide-spread and deep-rooted demoralization? Christianity alone. Its penetrative action can alone search out and correct the evil. The salt of the earth is needed in India to be plentifully and powerfully applied. Yet this has been withheld. Our national policy has been obstructive of its action, and the efforts of individual benevolence, combined in various Societies for the evangelization of that country, have hitherto been wholly inadequate to the occasion. A few Missionaries have been sent out, and a few stations have been occupied here and there, and we concentrated our interest on these places, and watched with minute care their slow development; while beyond, and intermediate to these widely-detached points, extended vast territories, populous cities, crowded towns and villages, for which nothing was attempted. There thousands and tens of thousands have been living and dying in ignorance of God, in unholiness and disqualification for heaven; yet this solemn fact did not touch our sympathy as it ought to have done, nor arouse us to exertion. We were satisfied to go on in a dreamy, languid state, and seemed to have reconciled ourselves to the thought of men living and dying without the knowledge of Christ; and, lo! a just God has rebuked us for our apathy, and brought us to an experimental acquaintance with the Mohammedanism and Hindúism of India, which we never had attained before. We now know whether they have been justly described as harmless and innocuous systems. Some of the virulent poison which abounds in them has been suffered to fall on us, and it has scalded us. Some of the mutilations, so frequent in Hindú life, have been perpetrated on the persons of our countrymen, and all England has been filled with a just indignation. But have we thus suffered? And what for generations have not the natives of India suffered under the cruel influence of these systems? What a vastness of temporal calamities, what an accumulation of soul-murders?

But now a glorious opportunity is presented to us of effecting great achievements. Souls may be rescued, for the old systems of superstition, which, throughout India, have so long held men in bondage, are now in an

\* Campbell's Modern India, p. 499.

† Campbell, pp. 441, 442.

enfeebled and exhausted state. In their late paroxysm of effort they have expended their remaining strength: they have weakened to an incredible extent the lingering hold which they had upon the convictions of the people, and we shall henceforward have to deal with them in their decrepitude. Let us consider this point a little. For the recent expression of Mohammedan hostility we are not altogether unprepared; but the furious outbreak of Hindú fanaticism has taken us by surprise, for of this we deemed it to be incapable.

There are two volcanic mountains occupying the centre of the north island of New Zealand. The surrounding region bears upon it indubitable evidences of their devastating action in former days; but during our era they have slept. One of them, Ruapaka, is quite extinct: the other, Tongariro, continues to emit smoke, but its fires are feeble, and have never kindled into an eruption. These two mountains present not inapt emblems of the relative conditions of the two systems, Hindúism and Mohammedanism, as we had known them previously to the commencement of the existing crisis. Mohammedanism, like the Tongariro, had continued to emit smoke, and there were occasionally events which sufficed to show that its old hatred to the Christian faith and name had not yet died out. But Hindúism, like the Ruapaka, had long been torpid and inactive, and we concluded its fanaticism to have quite died out. Suddenly we find them both in a state of fiery ebullition. How is this to be accounted for? It is the old story, the old conflict—the dragon against Christ. He has come down “having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.” There has been, indeed, much to alarm him, much to irritate him. His kingdom of darkness has been seriously aggressed upon. The systems of false religion, which, as so many strongholds, he has raised up in diverse quarters for the defence of that kingdom, have been assailed, and in many instances successfully. They have been overthrown by weapons which are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. Souls have been rescued; degraded sinners have experienced a glorious emancipation; heathen tribes have been won to the faith of Christ; Christian churches have been raised up where, half a century back, all was darkness and desolation. More especially in India, before the present crisis, Missionary work wore an encouraging and healthful aspect. A growing conviction of the inutility of idol-worship, and of the superiority of the Christian faith, was spreading among the people; little flocks had been

gathered together here and there; there were many secret disciples, many in their inmost souls convinced of the truth of the Gospel, but, because of the tyranny of the high-caste system, afraid to avow their convictions; the Missionaries when itinerating were kindly welcomed. Entering, with two or three native catechists, into some populous city, the Missionary, unprotected, save by the superintending providence of God, in the crowded bazaar preached Christ and His full salvation in pointed contrast with the evil and folly of the popular superstitions, and the people flocked around him, and heard him gladly. They followed him to his tent; they received books from his hands; they entered freely into conversation with him. Babús have invited him to their houses, and given him the seat of honour, and, placing themselves around him on the floor, have freely conferred with him on the most important of human concerns. Was the enemy about to surrender India without a struggle? Where did Christianity ever arise to its promised ascendancy over false creeds, without passing through a preliminary period of tribulation and suffering even unto blood? Nay, he was not about to yield these fair domains, which, under his rule, have been filled with wretchedness, without a struggle. He infused into the old superstitions, almost worn out in his service, a portion of that malignant irritation which filled himself. Mohammedanism resumed its old furor; Hindúism, hitherto so torpid and slimy, raised its hooded head, and displayed itself as a serpent of the most deadly kind. Contrary to all preconceived opinions on the subject, the Mohammedan and Hindú combined in their hostility to the Christian faith. The gods were invoked; old prophecies appealed to; the raj of the British pronounced to be at an end; ancient dynasties were to be resuscitated; the faded glory of the Mogul empire to be revived. The enthusiasts of the day, and their dupes, grasped with fervour the carnal weapon, and, with the rallying cry “Din, din,” flung themselves into a war made bitter by religious hatred, and in which they were resolved to content themselves with nothing short of the utter extirpation of Christianity, and all who professed it, from the land. It was a momentous crisis, a conflict for supremacy. The truth of Mohammedanism and Hindúism was fearlessly staked upon the issue. And what has been the issue? The false prophet, and the Hindú triad, the black mother, and other elements of heathen trust and confidence, have left their votaries to their fate, and suffered them to be miserably defeated. A little help, had

the gods been propitious to concede it, would have sufficed; for as to the insurgent Sepoys, and those who sympathized with them, their name was legion. The appliances of war, artillery, heavy and light, rifles, ammunition, all were abundantly at their disposal. The English, surprised in detached groups, dispersed over the face of an immense territory, appeared like the isolated rocks, which, when the tide has risen to its strength and covered all the lower levels, still lift their heads above the surging waves, and refuse to be submerged. And yet it seemed as though they must yield. And in some few places it was so. Cawnpur fell, and its brave defenders, and those whom they had protected to the last, were cruelly massacred, and the note of triumphant exultation was heard throughout the wild array of the insurgent hosts, and many, who had hitherto stood aloof, thought our doom was sealed, and that they had better unite with those who appeared about to tread under foot the prostrated power of the Kafir, and reign in his stead. But the inundation had reached its height, and at Cawnpur its wild impetuosity was stayed. Havelock's gallant band, under his resolute and skilful leadership, overthrew the insurgents in successive contests. The massacre of Futtehpur was avenged; the bridge over the Pandu Nuddf forced; the battle of Cawnpur fought and won; and that central position, the point of communication between the North-West, Calcutta, and Lucknow, regained. Nay, after a time, Lucknow was relieved, and Delhi retaken. The British standard floats from the towers of the Secunder Bagh; and from the conquered capital of Oude the British Commander-in-Chief dictates terms to its princes and people. The green banner of Islam has been raised aloft a moment, only to be cast down for ever in the dust; and Hindúism, overthrown in this its last convulsive effort, has fallen, never to rise again. The prestige has for ever gone from these old systems. The masses have been observant of the conflict, and they have been sensible of the magnitude of the crisis. They felt that it was a death-struggle; that the victory must be won now or never. If the gods intended to help, the moment was come when that help ought to be rendered promptly and effectively. But they stirred not: "there was neither voice, nor any to answer, nor any that regarded;" and the conviction has forced itself upon the minds of thousands, that they did not help because they could not help, and that their gods, which they have hitherto worshipped, are but vanity.

But the prestige which they have lost has

been as remarkably transferred to Christianity. The manner in which the Christian element has survived the powerful combination for its overthrow has powerfully affected men's minds. As the mine, so secretly and extensively laid, exploded, they expected to have seen the Christian faith and name utterly and for ever overthrown. They have not even succeeded in breaking down the secular power of Britain. Scarcely had tidings of the shock which the nation had received in India been received at home, than all the national resources were in action, and fleets and armies were sent forth to recover the ground which had been lost, and establish British supremacy on a firmer basis than before. And although Missionaries have been slaughtered, and Mission stations wrecked, it is the duty of the Christian church to prove that no discouragement has been inflicted; that the reverses to which her work has been subjected have availed only to call out her resources: nor should the effort relax, until, for every one Missionary in India before the outbreak, there have been sent forth ten. Let Christianity rise out of the imperilled condition in which it has been placed, with strength renewed like the eagle's, on its mission of love, to take a more extensive and higher flight than it has yet essayed; and the contrast between its elasticity and vigour and the confusion and defeat which have befallen the antagonistic systems will not be lost on the national mind of India.

England has had an opportunity of exhibiting the vastness of her resources, and unless, by continual provoking of the divine displeasure, she at length forfeits this goodly inheritance, this conflict will issue in the establishment and consolidation of her empire in India. Christianity also has had the opportunity of manifesting its power of endurance, and invincibility as a principle. Tribulation has been permitted to fall heavily on its professors, whether native or European, faithful or unfaithful to the name they bore. There have amongst them, been many who truly feared the Lord, and who served Him in their day, and generation. Yet have they been subjected to the extremity of human suffering, and some of them, in the dishonour heaped on them, died a thousand deaths. Why is this? some have asked. Is there any thing novel in it, or contrary to the experience of the church in former times? Do we not read of those "who had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheepskins and goat-



skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented?" But it was thus that the Saviour Himself permitted Himself to be dealt with. There was no sorrow like to His, and yet that intensity of sorrow prevailed not to make Him swerve from the great work of satisfaction to which He had consecrated Himself. He endured the cross, and in that endurance He overcame. The enemy concentrated upon Him the virulence of his hatred, and the storm burst upon Him; but He sustained it, and, although bruised Himself, He crushed his foes, and spoiled principalities and powers, triumphing over them in His cross. Can His people expect to be exempted from sorrow? Must not the same conflict which was enacted in Him who is the Head, have place likewise in the members? Even in the happiest of circumstances which this world can afford, the quiet English home, the healthful course of prescribed effort, and the returning Sabbaths with their ballowed rest—even here there is conflict, and faith has its trials. But often there is more than this, and in order the more unequivocally to manifest the invincibility of faith, there is superinduced upon it the great fight of afflictions from without. So long as Job was in circumstances of external prosperity, Satan was incredulous of his reality of principle. "Doth Job fear God for nought? Hast Thou not made an hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath on every side? Thou hast blessed the work of his hands, and his substance is increased in the land. But put forth Thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse Thee to Thy face." The enemy would fain persuade himself that he has so utterly ruined the immortal soul of man, as to render its restoration to the divine image impossible. Each new instance of conversion calls forth his scepticism and his denial of its realities; and hence the bold assertion, that even in the case of this most eminent servant of the Lord there needed only a sufficient pressure of adversity to prove the fictitious character of his profession, and that there existed in his heart no real, disinterested principle of attachment to the Lord. The enemy was therefore suffered to denude the principle of faith of every vestige of prosperity. If the insinuation was urged, "Doth Job serve God for nought?" lo, nought that could induce a fictitious aspect was left with him. Grace in the man, stripped of all its ornaments, was reduced to a bare and naked principle, and, in this its isolation from every thing of outward prosperity, the enemy was permitted to test it. As in the case of the three Jews, who had provoked, by their fidelity to God, the wrath of

Nebuchadnezzar, the furnace was heated seven times more than it was wont to be heated, so the afflictions to which Job was subjected, were of the severest kind which the malignity of Satan could devise. His substance was destroyed by repeated strokes, his children cut down in the morning of their days, his health blasted, and his comeliness changed to loathsomeness; suspicion was cast upon his character, and his own friends aggravated his sorrows by accusations of insincerity. But the principle of grace endured the severity of the test. It was not destroyed, but refined. The scum of human infirmity came forth upon the surface, and was removed, but the gold remained, and became more precious. Job held fast his integrity: he did not let go his hold on God, but clung to Him in his tribulation, and cried to Him for help, and the enemy was confounded, and left him. Here lies the peculiarity of the spiritual conflict. In earthly conflicts he is conqueror who, by superior force, prevails; but here, in this warfare, the victory is often with those who are physically prostrated and cast down. Where the enemy prevails indeed to destroy life, but cannot destroy principle—where he breaks the body in pieces, but cannot break away the man from his fidelity to his God—there, although physical force prevails, and those on the side of truth be slain, still the enemy prevails not, but is conquered. He has found the love of Christ stronger than the love of life, and this confounds him.

It has been so in India. The force of persecution has been brought to bear on many of the Lord's people, and they have been enabled to glorify God in the fires, and have been found faithful unto death. Let the touching letters from a lady, one of the Futtegurh fugitives who fell eventually into the hands of the cruel Nana, be remembered. Passages such as these bear testimony to the sustaining power of faith in Christ.

"People here are in a state of great alarm, and we are perfectly helpless should the natives rise.

"We have been searching out the beautiful Scripture passages in which God has promised deliverance from our enemies, and wisdom to know how to act in cases of danger. How doubly precious are such passages, and with what force do they come at the time of need! None ever called upon the Lord in trouble but they were delivered; so I trust we may turn unto Him with deep contrition, and beseech Him to glorify His power among the heathen.

"We cannot say, 'Pray for us.' Ere you get this we shall be delivered one way or an-

other. Should we be cut to pieces, you have, my precious parents, the knowledge that we go to be with Jesus, and can picture us happier and holier than in this distant land: therefore, why should you grieve for us? You know not what may befall us here; but there you know all is joy and peace, and we shall not be lost, but gone before you: and should our lives be spared, I trust we may live more as the children of the Most High, and think less about hedging ourselves in with comforts which may vanish in a moment. Truly 'this is not your rest,' is more written on every thing in India than elsewhere; but, comforting thought! in heaven we have an enduring substance, and the more, in God's providence, we are led to feel this, the happier we shall be, even below.

"Do not be over-anxious about us, dear relatives and friends. In India we have the same Ruler, the same merciful Keeper in the Almighty, and you have implored Him to be gracious to us, though you knew not our danger.

"Good bye, my own dear parents, sisters, and friends. The Lord reigns! He sitteth above the water-flood. We are in the hollow of His hand, and nothing can harm us. The body may become a prey, but the souls that He has redeemed never can."

And again—

"We can now only throw ourselves on Providence, and beseech Him in His mercy to stay the enemy for the glory of His great name; for 'wherefore should the heathen say, Where is now their God?' We have nothing to put our trust in but the Lord, and He will not fail us. Our extremity may be His opportunity. We are quite prepared for the worst, and feel that to depart and be with Christ is far better. The flesh a little revolts from cold-blooded assassination, but God can make it bear up. I can easily fancy how David preferred to fall into the hand of God to that of man.

"I hope, my precious family, you will not alarm yourselves about us: we are in God's hands, and feel very happy, *indeed we do*. I leave the newspapers to tell you all particular horrors, but I would always cheer you by my letters. It has not been my habit to write our troubles home, for why should we distress you with them? We know we have your love and sympathy; but that, before your letters reach us, we may have had deliverance from every fear and trouble; and we have One on whom we cast all our care, and from whom we receive immediate consolation, and, in His own time, relief. He has delivered us from troubles past, and will also in present

and future difficulties. So, dear parents, brothers, and sisters, leave us in God's hands, fearing no evil: all is well, and all will be well with us."\*

Such has been the support vouchsafed to our countrymen and countrywomen in the moment of trial. Nor has the Christian element less manifested its sustaining power in the case of the native Christians. It has been too much the habit to pronounce native Christianity in India a weak exotic, which required to be screened from every rough wind. We have dealt with it too much after the fashion of an over-anxious mother with her child: our very solicitude has interfered with its healthfulness. The hurricane has broken down the conservatories in which we had tended these rare plants, the first products of a new seed, introduced into a strange soil, and suddenly they have stood exposed without a shelter to all the fury of the blast, and, beyond our expectations, they have outlived it. The native Christians have not swerved. We know of many instances in which bitter suffering has been endured by them: they have been bereaved of their property, their lives have been imperilled, nay, they have been tortured and slain, but we are not aware of any instances in which under the pressure of trial they have apostatized. There may have been some such cases, and such is the probability. But they have been the exceptional ones, and very few in number. The character which attaches to the native Christians as a body is that of unyielding staunchness and fidelity. We introduce notices of one or two of our native brethren, who loved not their lives unto the death.

"Walayat Ali, murdered at Delhi, belonged to a respectable and once wealthy Mohammedan family in Agra. His first religious impressions were the result of Colonel Wheeler's labours. He was induced to commence reading the Bible, but although his mind was unsettled, he still clung to Mohammedanism, and sought for the removal of his doubts through its priests and ceremonies. His last attempt thoroughly opened his eyes to the real nature of Mohammedanism, and drove him with renewed diligence to the Bible. He went to a moulvi of reputed sanctity, and sought to become one of his disciples: for this the priest required a fee of twelve shillings; but, after hard bargaining, came down to

\* "Letters from Futteghurh." There is every reason to believe, that immediately after these letters were penned, the writer, her husband, and child were murdered with others, on their way from Futteghurh to Allahabad.

two shillings, at the same time cautioning our friend against telling any one of the small price he had paid, and exhorting him to say to all that he had paid the full price, twelve shillings. This was too much for his credulity. The thought struck him, 'I can sin enough without the aid of a priest: sin is the burden under which I am groaning, and yet this man would have me tell lies in order to fill his pockets.' From henceforth he turned to Christianity, and long continued to visit the Missionaries of all the denominations in Agra." He was eventually baptized by the Baptist Missionaries in 1838, and from that period to his death his life was one continued scene of violence and persecution. "His own family and neighbours commenced to throw bricks into his yard, stopped him from getting water at the well, and attempted to poison him." A younger brother commenced a law-suit against him. It was thought advisable that he should leave Agra for Chittura, where he continued to labour for seven years. The Baptist brethren having decided to send a native preacher to Delhi, pending the arrival of a European Missionary, Walayat Ali was selected. "When I asked him to go," writes the Rev. James Smith, with whom he had been associated at Chittura, "he hesitated for some time: he knew well the dangers and difficulties he should have to grapple with, and the peculiar hatred of the Mohammedans to any one who had left their ranks, and he might well hesitate before he undertook such an arduous task. When once, however, the path of duty had been ascertained, he consulted no more with flesh and blood, but declared to me his readiness to go, though he might be called to lay down his life for his Lord and Saviour.

When he bade a sorrowful good bye to us at Chittura, with his interesting family, little did I expect how soon he would be called to the presence of his Lord in the martyr's chariot of fire. I visited him at Delhi, when other duties permitted, and often preached with him to large and attentive crowds of people in the Chandni Chouk bazaar, and other great thoroughfares, and I heard, the last time I was there, that his influence was being felt among the respectable Mohammedans, and that one of the princes from the palace paid him an occasional visit during the darkness of the evening. There can be no doubt that many in Delhi, who had failed to stop his mouth by fair argument, were too ready to stop it by the sword, as soon as the dread of British power was removed; and hence I conclude the townspeople (who knew him, and not the Sepoys from Mirut, who could not know him), on the breaking out of the insurrection, rushed on and cut him down; and Silas, an eye-witness, who escaped to Agra, says, that between every cut of the sword his murderers said, 'Now preach to us, now preach to us;' and I trust his innocent blood will speak to them, and remind them of his warnings and teachings. The blood of the martyrs will again, I doubt not, be the seed of the church, and a brighter day dawn on India. It is said his wife, whose name is Fatima, and his daughter, are in prison; and should I be spared to meet them on my return to India, I shall try to give a more extended account of our much lamented brother, whose two sons were killed before his face."

We must reserve other points for consideration to our next Number.

## MEMORIAL OF THE BOMBAY MISSIONARY CONFERENCE.

THE accompanying document embodies so much important information on the disputed point—the connexion between the government of India and the native religions—that we place it before our readers for their consideration.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.\*

"The undersigned beg to bring to the consideration of your honourable body,—

"1. That there exists a connexion between

the Government of India on the one hand, and the Hindú, Mohammedan, and other non-Christian religions on the other hand.

"2. That this connexion is of the nature of patronage, sums of money being regularly paid from the Government treasury and from sources under the control of Government, for the support (for instance) of Hindú temples.

"3. That the temples thus receiving support are exceedingly numerous, especially in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. According to the best information obtainable by your Memorialists, the number (26,580) of idol temples and shrines in the Bombay Presidency receiving support from the Honourable Company's Government, is much larger than the number of Christian

\* Similar memorials have been forwarded to the House of Lords and to the Court of Directors. Those to Parliament were forwarded by the Mail of February 9.

churches receiving Government support in Great Britain, and scarcely if at all inferior to the entire number of churches of all Christian denominations whatsoever in the British islands. If your Memorialists are correctly informed, the following sums are annually expended by Government in behalf of Hindú temples, mosques, &c. in the Bombay Presidency, viz. Rs. 305,875 from the Government treasuries, and Rs. 392,718 from temple lands, being a total of seven lacs (698,593); and a still larger sum (876,780 rupees) in the Madras Presidency.

"4. That the sums thus given in support of individual shrines, vary from one rupee to Rs. 11,514, and even (we believe) more, per mensem.

"5. That the sums thus given are expended or are designed to be expended not only in the repairing and adornment of the temples, but in support of Pújaris or other parties who perform the daily services in honour of the idol, of dancing women, of Múrlis (women married to the idol and who lead a life of consecrated prostitution without, or near the precincts of the temple), of musicians and others.

"6. That the connexion between the Government of India and idolatry was formerly much more open and conspicuous, and elicited far more observation than it has done of late. Government has sought to deliver its Christian servants from the obligation—often deemed a painful and humiliating one—of personally superintending the affairs of these Hindú temples. There was a time when the European Collectors who paid the grants to the temples, were also required by Government to superintend the expenditures, and when every item in the cost of idolatry had to be supervised and sanctioned by an English officer. Orders for the repairs of temples, the purchase or construction of idol cars, and the making of new idols, had all to receive his signature. Every servant of the temples, the worshipping Brahmin, the musician, the painter, the rice-boiler, the watchman—all had to be appointed under his official seal; even the poor dancing women receiving their salaries, the pay of vice, through his hands. But of these burdens the Honourable East India Company were pleased at length to direct that their servants should be relieved.

"7. That local committees, composed of parties professing the religions that receive the aid in question, have been appointed to receive from the Government treasuries, or to collect under the Government sanction from appropriated sources, such as temple lands, the annual sums allowed for the support of the

temples; and that these Committees have the administration of these stipends entirely in their own hands. That these Committees are practically, to a great extent, irresponsible, either to Government or to the temple. The feeling exists, in many quarters, among the native community, that these Committees are frequently unfaithful to their trust; and petitions have been addressed to the local Government, praying that there may be inquiry into the manner in which they have discharged their administrative duties; but your Memorialists believe that these petitions have been without fruit. The position of these Committees is therefore singularly anomalous. They regularly receive large sums from the Government resources, to be expended in specific ways, but are not called to give any account of the manner in which they discharge their trust. Government recognises an obligation to contribute to the support of the temples, and commits the money set apart for that support to channels which it has instituted without adopting any measures to ascertain if the allowances are faithfully conveyed by those channels to the objects that are patronised. And your Memorialists would observe that either there must be supervision of these Committees,—in which case the Government connexion will be as conspicuous as ever,—or they must be left to act arbitrarily, in which case a very different disposition of the funds from that which was originally meditated, becomes possible.

"8. That the reforms effected by the instructions to the Honourable East India Company, while they have removed many of the most salient and offensive usages growing out of the Government patronage of the religions of the soil, have left untouched the great fact of such patronage. The connexion between the Government of India and the religions of the soil aforesaid exists in all its vitality; and the arrangements that have been made have simply disposed of certain particularly odious incidences of that connexion. Now, as truly as ever, Hindú idolatry looks to the Government of India for its pecuniary support.

"9. Your Memorialists have a deep conviction that as the fact of this connexion is not to be doubted, so also it is not to be justified; that no valid arguments can be brought forward for its continuance; but that arguments the most powerful of which it is possible to conceive, demand its immediate and irrevocable abolition.

"10. It has been alleged that the Government of India is bound by solemn engagements to continue the allowances in question;

and that it would be an unworthy and indefensible breach of faith, to discontinue them.

"11. On the other hand it is affirmed, by those who have investigated the subject, that there exists a good deal of misconception with regard to the extent to which the Government have formally bound themselves by compact to continue in perpetuity or indefinitely the endowments of temples, mosques, and shrines; that it will be impossible to produce any such formal compact with relation to the greater part of those endowments; that their continuance was due simply to the policy voluntarily adopted and carried out by the Honourable Company; which policy has with respect to many abuses once tolerated been relinquished; and which the Government is not only at liberty to modify, but indeed bound to modify as the better understood interests of the country and the honour of the Government may demand.

"12. Every earthly Government is avowedly under the most sacred obligations to carry on its functions in a way that shall be for the highest interests of the people; and no Government ever considered itself infallibly bound to pursue a course which was seen to imperil the interests of its subjects, because of foregone engagements. To insist that all compacts must have perpetual force, is to demand that every country that has advanced from one stage of civilisation to another shall retrace her steps. There have been periods in the history of many nations that now rank among the most enlightened and influential, when it became a question whether existing compacts should be disallowed, or those nations remain in barbarism. The feudal system was a system of solemn compacts. But it is not necessary to refer to examples. Your Memorialists feel themselves constrained to say that, on the supposition that there exist treaties binding the Government of India to administer support to heathen temples, the obligation to observe these agreements is of far inferior force to the obligation that forbids such observance; inasmuch as the latter is one imposed by God himself, which cannot be set aside without drawing down the displeasure of the Almighty both upon the governed and the Government.

"13. The people of India know that those who administer the Government of this country profess a religion that utterly condemns idolatry, describing it as odious to God, and in a high degree detrimental to the worshippers. The reflecting portion of the people cannot but see that the support of idolatry by such a Government must imply either indifference to religion—which is regarded as something

very culpable by the natives of India,—or indifference to the well-being of the people. So that the Government of India while patronising the religions of its subjects, is really forfeiting that respect which must ever be one of the strongest bonds between a nation and its governors.

"14. Quite recently an arrangement has been resolved upon with regard to the temple of Jugernath at Púri, the object of which arrangement is declared to be the dissolution of the connexion existing between the Government and that temple. A piece of land yielding a revenue corresponding to the annual amount previously paid in support of the temple, is to be made over to the native parties in charge of the temple. But your Memorialists question very much whether this act will be understood by the worshippers of Jugernath as dissolving the connexion between Government and the temple at Púri. On the contrary, they cannot but believe that it will be regarded as an act confirmatory of the connexion. The assigned territory will be looked upon as a perpetual token of the favour of the Government. Similar endowments, elsewhere, are none the less regarded as significant of a connexion between the Government and that which is endowed. There is a connexion implied in the pretermission by Government of its rights in the assigned land. The Government which claims to be the owner of all land in India, is constantly to surrender its rights to the land in question, and to show honour to Jugernath by intermitting its claims. And what has been remarked above concerning Committees may here be repeated: that there must be supervision with reference to the ultimate disposition of those funds, or there must be license given for their misapplication.

"15. Your Memorialists venture to hope that if the abolition of the connexion deprecated be resolved upon, that any such arrangement as that of which they have given an example may not be adopted. They venture to hope that the Government will not purchase its release by putting into the hands of Committees money or lands yielding annually the income required. They are fully persuaded that the necessary ends will not be accomplished by such a measure. They ask that the abolition be absolute and unquestionable; as conspicuous as the connexion itself has been; insomuch that all classes of the population will be compelled to see that the connexion is at an end.

"16. But while your Memorialists ask for the entire abolition of this connexion, they are very far from desiring to see the funds thus

economised, reserved to swell the actual resources of the State. They regard it as exceedingly desirable that the people of India should be left without any pretence for bringing the accusation that Government has been influenced by financial considerations in introducing this reform. They would therefore venture to recommend that sums returning to the disposal of the State by the abolition of this connexion, be employed for the good of the people, in a mode or in modes that shall be likely to accomplish the end which your Memorialists have just referred to as exceedingly desirable. And they believe that it will not be found, practically, a very difficult matter to devise such means of expending these resources as shall carry to the best con-

victions of the people the evidence of a disinterested and conscientious regard for their welfare.

"17. Your Memorialists, being actuated by a sincere attachment to the Government of India, a lively gratitude for the measure of religious freedom which they in common with others have long enjoyed under its protection, and an earnest desire for its true prosperity, will ever pray the Fountain of all authority and the Source of all wisdom, that in all things, and especially in all that relates to the governing of India, your honourable body may be guided, strengthened, and blessed, for the advantage of those whose interests have been intrusted to your councils."

### THE RYOTS OF BENGAL.

THE great rebellion in the North Presidency appears to have nearly exhausted itself, and there is the prospect of our empire over India becoming consolidated, and permanized. The masses will now be more completely subdued to our influence than at any previous period. It is the more necessary that we should acquaint ourselves with their wants, and the efforts which will be needed, in order to their improvement. Examination into their social state is imperative; the more so, as we apprehend that the information existing on this subject, has been vague and incorrect, and that we have had no adequate conception of the misery and degradation in which they have been lying. Had British Christians been more aware of their great need, surely they would have done more to help them. The Missionaries of Calcutta, in their petitions and memorials to those in authority, did indeed venture to touch the question, and stated their conviction that there existed a vast amount of social disorganization, and of consequent suffering in the whole country. But weighty testimony of an opposite character stood on record, such as the following—"In Bengal, where the ryots are worse off, I believe, than in any part of India, their condition is very much better, taken with reference to the nature of the climate, and the wants of the ryot, than is generally supposed. I believe that the cultivators in the North-western Provinces are in a more comfortable condition than the peasantry of this, or perhaps of any other country, except America and Australia, and new countries of that description."\*

\* Evidences of R. D. Mangles, Esq., before Committee of Inquiry, 1858.

And thus we have pretty pictures of Bengali villages, "Surrounded with plantain gardens, and with cocoa-nuts, and gardens for the cultivation of vegetables;" and the ryot of Bengal is pronounced to be no worse off than the cottier of Ireland; nay more, that, circumstances considered, they are as well off as the population of the same class in any country of Europe.

It is full time that such delusions should be dispelled. We do not deny that there has been, and still is, although we hope in diminished extent, poverty and wretchedness in Ireland: it must be so where a corrupt Christianity exercises its sway over so large a proportion of the population; for just as Christianity is corrupted, it loses its restorative power. But the truth of God is in that land, and it is brightly burning; and we do not hesitate to say that there is, in consequence, a moral tone and standard sustained in the country, which prevents the population sinking below a certain point. There are practices rife amongst the ryots of Bengal, which are unknown and unheard of amidst the darkest and most degraded of Ireland's peasantry.

A tract† published in Calcutta has just reached us, which presents us with some information as to the social state of the population of Bengal and Behar, amounting, it is generally supposed, to forty millions. We shall place some extracts before our readers, and they will then find themselves in a position to decide whether it be indeed true that "the ryot of India is as nearly as possible in the position of the cottier of Ireland;" so

† Tracts on the Rural Population of Bengal and Behar. No. I.

that "you might take a whole page from a work describing India, and take a whole page describing Ireland, and apply, them by a mere mutation of names, from one country to another."

And first, as to the state of education amongst the Bengalis. Our attempts at the vernacular education of the masses are as yet but in their infancy. They are indeed so small in their results, that they are scarcely appreciable in any investigation of the subject. In the twenty-four Pergunnahs, exclusive of Calcutta, and Baraset, where the demand for education is far more earnest and general than in all the rest of South Bengal, of 66,290 boys who ought to be at school, there were, so recently as August 1855, only 565 boys in the Government English and Vernacular Schools. The population, therefore, has been entirely thrown on the indigenous vernacular schools. These exist in considerable numbers. Mr. W. Adams, who was placed at the head of a commission, appointed by Lord W. Bentinck, in 1835, for the investigation of this subject, concludes that there were then in action amongst a population of forty millions, 100,000 schools, that is, a village school for every 400 persons. But let us hear of the quality of these schools.

"It may be safely affirmed, that in no instance whatever is the orthography of the language of the country acquired in those schools; for although, in some of them, two or three of the more advanced boys write out small portions of the most popular poetical compositions of the country, yet the manuscript copy itself is so inaccurate, that they only become confirmed in a most vitiated manner of spelling, which the imperfect qualifications of the teacher do not enable him to correct. The scholars are entirely without instruction, both literary and oral, regarding the personal virtues and domestic and social duties. The teacher, in virtue of his character, or in the way of advice or reproof, exercises no moral influence on the character of his pupils. For the sake of pay, he performs a menial service in the spirit of a menial. On the other hand, there is no text or school-book used containing any moral truths or liberal knowledge; so that education, being limited entirely to accounts, tends rather to narrow the mind, and confine its attention to sordid gain, than to improve the heart and enlarge the understanding. This description applies, as far as I at present know, to all indigenous elementary schools throughout Bengal."\*

The most popular book of all in these schools is Chanak's slokes, which contains

some useful precepts on morality; but some of the slokes are such, that we dare not transfer them to the pages of the "Intelligencer;" and yet these have to be committed to memory by young lads in at least 50,000 village schools.

Besides Chanak's slokes, the following books are in use—

"The 'Ganga Bandana,' describing the virtues of the river goddess; the 'Saraswati Bandana,' or salutation to the goddess of learning, which is committed to memory by frequent repetitions, and is daily recited by the scholars in a body, before they leave school, all kneeling with their heads bent to the ground, and following a leader or monitor in the pronunciation of the successive lines or couplets; the 'Guru Bandana,' a doggerel composition, containing an expression of the respect and devotion due from the scholar to his teacher; the 'Guru Dakkhina,' another doggerel composition, which, in glowing terms, describes the fee of reward which Krishna and his brother Balaram gave to their teacher, after having finished their education, and which is constantly sung by the elder boys of a school, from house to house, to elicit donations for their master; and, lastly, the 'Data Karna,' illustrating the beneficence and hospitality of Karna, the prime minister of Duryodhana, and the Hatim Tai of India."†

Dr. Duff, in an article on indigenous education in Bengal and Behar, presents the following graphic sketch of the system of punishment pursued in these schools.

"If the scheme of teaching be throughout, one of dull, dry, plodding, monotonous mechanism—acting on head and heart with all the force of a congealing efficacy—the scheme of discipline may be truly characterized as, throughout, a reign of terror. Kindness, patience, generosity, love—all are alike unknown here. Fear is the first, and last, and only motive brought into play: punishment the first, and last, and only stimulant. In varying the modes of this punitive discipline, the utmost ingenuity is exercised. With the cane the master is always armed, as with an instrument as indispensable to his vocation as the eyes for seeing, or the ears for hearing; and it is in constant and faithful exercise. The open palm and clenched fist are also vigorously applied to the back, the cheek, and the head. These are but the common droppings that fall with the frequency and the fulness of tropical showers. Of the other varieties constantly exhibited, the following may be taken as those of most ordinary oc-

\* Adam's First Education Report, p. 8.

† Calcutta Review, No. IV. p. 334.

currence. A boy is made to bend forward with his face toward the ground; a heavy brick is then placed on his back, and another on his neck; and should he let either of them fall within the prescribed period of half an hour or so, he is punished with the cane. Or a boy is condemned to stand, for half an hour or an hour, on one foot; and should he shake or quiver, or let down the uplifted leg before the time, he is severely punished. Again, a boy is made to sit on the floor in an exceedingly constrained position, with one leg turned up behind his neck. Or, still worse, he is made to sit with his feet resting on two bricks, and his head bent down between both legs, with his hands twisted round each leg, so as painfully to catch the ears. Again, a boy is made to hang for a few minutes, with his head downwards, from the branch of a neighbouring tree; or, his hands and feet are bound with cords: to these members so bound a rope is fastened, and the boy is then hoisted up, by means of a pulley attached to the beams or rafters of the school. Again, nettles, dipped in water, are applied to the body, which becomes irritated and swollen: the pain is excruciating, and often lasts a whole day; but however great the itching and the pain, the sufferer is not allowed to rub or touch the skin for relief, under the dread of a flagellation in addition. Or the boy is put up in a sack along with some nettles, or a cat, or some other noisome creature, and then rolled along the ground. Again, the fingers of both hands are inserted across each other, with a stick between, and two sticks without drawn close together and tied. Or a boy is made to measure so many cubits on the ground, by marking it along with the tip of his nose. Again, four boys are made to seize another, two holding the arms and two the feet: they then alternately swing him, and throw him violently to the ground. Or two boys are made to seize another by the ears, and, with these organs well outstretched, he is made to run along for the amusement of the bystanders. Again, a boy is constrained to pull his own ears; and, if he fail to extend them sufficiently, he is visited with a sorer chastisement. Or, two boys, when both have given offence, are made to knock their heads several times against each other. Again, the boy who first comes to school in the morning receives one stroke of the cane on the palm of the hand; the next receives two strokes; and so each in succession, as he arrives, receives a number of strokes equal to the number of boys that preceded him, the first being the privileged administrator of them all. When a boy wants

to go out, the common practice is to throw a spittle on the floor: if it dries up before he returns, he is punished with the cane; or if not, a boy hostile to him may, with or without the cognizance and connivance of the master, come and wipe it out, in order to ensure his punishment. When, instead of teaching, the guru mahashai, or master, betakes himself to the making or the copying of almanacs and horoscopes, as he constantly does, to eke out his scanty allowances, the boys, too, very naturally betake themselves to extraneous modes of diversion and employment, such as playing and pinching, chattering and frolic, waggery and abuse; but when, forgetting themselves too far, they become obstreperous, and the noise swells into tumult, the teacher is suddenly roused into red burning wrath, and gives vent to his uncontrollable fury in a crushing tempest of indiscriminate flagellation, intermingled with the loud sound of vituperative epithets, too gross and shocking to be recorded here.\*

“No wonder though the Patshala, or vernacular school, should be viewed, as it uniformly is, as an object of terror by the young. The conductor of it is the ghost that haunts and scares the young. When a child misbehaves, the most severe and awe-inspiring threat of the mother is, ‘Call the guru mahashai to take him to school.’ Apart from its general influence in paralyzing the intellectual and moral powers, this system of terror leads to many specific practices of a baneful tendency. It superinduces the habit of crouching servility towards the master in his presence, and the rendering of many menial, and even dishonest services. To propitiate the dreaded tyrant, the boys are glad to prepare his hookah, to bring fire for smoking, gather flowers for his pujah, sweep his lodging, wash his brazen pots, cleave thick pieces of wood for fuel, &c. They are induced to go to the bazaar with their written plantain-leaves, and to give them to the shopkeepers as packing materials, in exchange for cowries, fish, tobacco, fruits, betul-nut, pàn, &c., which they present as offerings to the master. Or they are positively encouraged, for his sake, to bring, that is, in reality, to purloin or steal wood, rice, salt, dâl, oil, &c., from home, or from anywhere else; seeing that those who succeed, by fair means or foul, in presenting such gifts most frequently, have the best chance of escaping the dreaded rod—the best chance of being praised for cleverness, though the greatest dunces; for diligence, though the greatest

\* Calcutta Review, No. IV. p. 334.



sluggards; and for knowledge, though the greatest ignoramuses.

"On the other hand, as might be expected, the system tends to generate the spirit of hatred, retaliation, and revenge, towards the master. This spirit practically shows itself in various ways. For example, in preparing his hookah, it is a common trick for the boys to mix the tobacco with chillies and other pungent ingredients; so that, when he smokes, he is made to cough violently, while the whole school is convulsed with laughter; or, beneath the mat on which he sits may be strewn thorns and sharp prickles, which soon display their effects in the contortions of the crest-fallen and discomforted master; or, at night, he is waylaid by his pupils, who, from their concealed position in a tree or thicket, or behind a wall, pelt him well with pebbles, bricks, or stones; or, once more, they rehearse doggrel songs, in which they implore the gods, and more particularly Kali, to remove him by death; vowing, in the event of the prayer being heard, to present offerings of sugar and cocoa-nuts."\*

His school thus rendered an object of dislike and dread, we cannot be surprised if the boy has recourse to every cunning device, in order to escape from its yoke.

"To throw boiled rice on domestic vessels ceremonially defiles them: hence, when a boy is bent on a day's release from school, he peremptorily disobeys his admonishing mother, saying, 'No: if you insist on my going, I shall throw about the boiled rice;' a threat which usually gains him the victory. If a person of a different caste, or unbathed, or with shoes on his feet, touch the boiled rice or pot of another, it is polluted: hence, when a boy effects his escape from school, he often hastens to some kitchen, touches the boiled rice, or the pots in which it has been boiled, and thus becomes himself polluted; and, until he bathes, no one can touch or seize him without being polluted too. A temporary impunity is thus secured. At other times, the boy finds his way to filthy and unclean places, where he remains for hours, or a whole day, defying the master and his emissaries to touch him; knowing full well that they cannot do so without partaking of his own contracted pollution. So determined are boys to evade the torturous system of discipline, that, in making good their escape, they often wade or swim through tanks, or along the current of running drains, with a large earthen-pot over their head, so that the suspicion of passers by, or of those in pursuit, is not even excited,

seeing that nought appears on the surface but a floating pot; or they run off and climb into the loftiest neighbouring tree, where they laugh to scorn the efforts of their assailants to dislodge them. In the recent case of one personally known to our informant, the runaway actually remained for three days on the top of a cocoa-nut tree, vigorously hurling the cocoa-nuts, as missiles, at the heads of all who attempted to ascend for the purpose of securing him."†

Thus the ryots are dealt with when young: what, then, can be expected of them when they reach mature age? Mr. Adams, in his reports, gives a very different view from those who have recorded it as their opinion that they are as well off as the population of the same class in any country in Europe.

"I cannot, however, expect that the reading of the report should convey the impressions which I have received from daily witnessing the mere animal-life to which ignorance consigns its victims, unconscious of any wants or enjoyments beyond those which they participate with the beasts of the field—unconscious of any of the higher purposes for which existence has been bestowed, society has been constituted, and government is exercised. I am not acquainted with any facts which permit me to suppose that, in any other country subject to an enlightened Government, and brought into direct and immediate contact with European civilization, in an equal population, there is an equal amount of ignorance with that which has been shown to exist in this district." "While ignorance is so extensive, can it be matter of wonder that poverty is extreme, that industry languishes, that crime prevails, and that, in the adoption of measures of policy, however salutary or ameliorating their tendency, Government cannot reckon with confidence on the moral support of an intelligent and instructed community? † Is it possible that a benevolent, a wise, a just Government can allow this state of things any longer to continue?" †

But now let us turn to another point. We have stated elsewhere that the mutilation and atrocities perpetrated on Europeans, during the late disturbances, are the expressions of vindictiveness which are usual with the Hindus in social life, and to which they are accustomed to have recourse when their pas-

† Calcutta Review, No. IV., p. 334.

‡ Vide "Church Missionary Intelligencer," May 1858, Article, "India—Government Action and Missionary Procedure," pp. 99—100.

|| Fifth Report on East-India Affairs, Appendix, No. 12.

\* Calcutta Review, No. IV. p. 336.

sions are aroused. Official documents confirm this.

"The poor practise torture upon each other; robbers on their victims, and *vice versâ*; masters upon their servants; zemindars upon their ryots; schoolmasters upon their pupils; husbands upon their wives; and even parents upon their children.

"We have instances of torture being freely practised in every relation of domestic life. Servants are thus treated by their masters and fellow-servants; children by their parents and schoolmasters, for the most trifling offences; the very plays of the populace (and the point of a rude people's drama is in its satire) excite the laughter of many a rural audience by the exhibition of revenue squeezed out of a defaulter coin by coin, through the appliance of familiar 'provocatives,' under the superintendence of a caricatured tahsildar: it seems a time-honoured institution, and we cannot be astonished if the practice is still widely prevalent among the ignorant, uneducated class of native public servants."\*

#### THE CHIEF MODES OF TORTURE IN BENGAL.

"*Scorching various parts of the body.*—1st, burning by the heated chillum of a pipe; 2dly, by red-hot charcoal; 3dly, by a lighted torch; 4thly, by red-hot iron; 5thly, by heated oil or pouring hot oil.

"*Confinement in a cell filled with lime.*—In a case tried at Buckergunge, in 1847, it was alleged that lime had been put into the eyes of a man who was supposed to have met with his death by unfair means.

"*Rubbing the face upon the ground.*—This is also spoken of as a mode of torture. I, not long since, had a child sent to me, whose face had evidently undergone this severe discipline. The fatal case of a man, in whom Dr. Murray, of Birbhúm, found the nose wounded, the lips much torn, the upper jaw fractured, a quantity of mud about the mouth, and two contused wounds on the back of the head, was probably of this kind.

"A common punishment in Bengal is placing *spiders*, or a kind of beetle, on the navel, covered with a shell or earthen pot.

"*Sticking pins or thorns under the nails* is practised equally in this Presidency and in Madras.

"*Filling the mouth with pebbles and striking the chin upwards*, with sufficient force to break the teeth, is spoken of as a Bengali punishment.

"*Pulling the hair on both sides.*—In Bengal this is generally practised upon females. In

Madras, there are several contrivances of this kind; such as tying two persons closely together by the top knots, and tying the hair of the head to a donkey's or buffalo's tail; plucking out the beards (reckoned by the natives a great disgrace) is a common torture in both Presidencies; twisting the ears; striking two offenders' heads together; placing a person in the sun with his hair loose, and compelling him to turn his head rapidly to and fro."

"In 1845, a well-known housebreaker, of Púrneah, was arrested in the act of committing a burglary, and the brother of the owner of the house, being determined to discover where the rest of the gang had secreted the property, tied up the robber, with his feet to one post, and his hand to another immediately opposite; and then, with the assistance of the chowkeedar and another servant, lit a good-sized torch, and burnt him from head to foot. The police concealed this atrocity. A few days afterwards the magistrate received a report from the Daroga and Mohurir, who sent in the thief in a cart, saying that he was ill with fever. The magistrate, going to see him, found 'his flesh literally burnt off his bones.' He died that night, refusing to say how or by whom he had been thus treated. The Darogah and Mohurir were sentenced to five years' imprisonment for endeavouring to conceal this atrocity by false report.

"The flame of a torch, or the oil which drops from it, is the manner of torture commonly used by dacoits to compel persons to give up concealed property."

Of the Kishnagurh district, hear the following:—

"In his Report for 1848, Mr. Dampier mentions that, in the district of Nuddea alone, *one hundred and seventy-four* persons were entered, within the year, as having been engaged in dacoitis with torture. In some instances this barbarity has been carried to fatal lengths, as in the case of an old man of Dinagepur, who was so severely burnt with torches, by dacoits, to make him give up his money, that he died nine days afterwards; and in that of another aged man, who was similarly tortured in Nuddea, with so much cruelty, that he died from lock-jaw four days subsequently. The only instance which I find in which any other mode of torture was employed by dacoits, was one in which the woman of the house had her thigh compressed between two pieces of bamboo, called a *chepa*, to enforce her to discover her husband's property. This, however, occurred in Assam—(Kamrúp).

"There is a case, in Macnaghten's Reports,

\* Madras Commissioners' Report, p. 50.

in which a Mussulman slave girl, between eight and nine years of age accused, her mistress of tying her with a cord, heating some oil, and pouring it on her. The correctness of this statement appears to have been confirmed by the Civil Surgeon.

"In 1843, Mr. Kean, of Moorshedabad, reported the case of a Hindú, in whom both hands and one foot were so much burned that mortification ensued. The injured toes, the fingers of both hands, and a large portion of the right hand, were thrown off. Mr. Kean considered that the injury must have resulted from the immersion of the parts in some boiling liquid.

"In the same year, the body of a Mussulman girl was sent in for inspection to Mr. J. Macrae, at Monghyr. All that could be discovered was, that 'the hands and lower parts of the arms were burnt almost to cinders.' "

These are a few cases that come to light: but how much is there that is never disclosed! Nor is torture practised only by the people on each other, but by the native police on those whom it is their duty to protect, and by the petty Rajahs on their dependants.

"In his Report for the first six months of 1842, Mr. Dampier mentions a case in which the police of Thannah Mirzapur, in the Múrsheedabad district, tied together the fingers and toes of a man suspected of dacoity, and drove wedges between them to the greatest extent of tension. He was then laid out on his back in the sun: this not producing the desired effect, his hands and feet were dipped into boiling water, then the ligatures were unloosened, and bandages dipped in oil tied

round the fingers of both hands and the toes of the left foot, and lighted. Failing to obtain a confession, they kept him in the Thannah, without any remedies being applied, until the fingers and toes became gangrenous. These parts ultimately dropped off.

"A horrible case of murder by torture, in which this barbarity was used, was brought to light in March last. Some idols and other property, belonging to the Rajah of Pergunna Jalda in the Maunbhum district, having been stolen, several suspected persons were apprehended by the rajah's people, and brought to his *gurrh*, or petty fortress. They were, one and all, tortured to extort confession. All were beaten, and kept in restraint for about three days, being at night all fastened by the feet to one pole. Two, however, being the most suspected, were the most severely treated. Their fingers were tied together, and shivers of bamboo were driven between them: this was also done to the toes: boiling oil was then poured on their hands and feet. Upon the body of this unfortunate man being examined by the Civil Surgeon, it was found that the hands were fearfully lacerated, as if by stakes, or pieces of iron driven through them; besides which, he had marks of having been scalded with boiling oil or water. The medical officer considered that the injuries inflicted on the hands and feet of the deceased were sufficient to cause, and did cause, death."

Such is a glimpse of the actual condition of the Bengal peasantry. What need is there not here for the earnest and undelaying application of the alone corrective, the penetrative action of Gospel truth!

## THE RAINBOW IN THE CLOUD, OR MERCY AMIDST JUDGMENT.

(Continued from page 112.)

THE month of June ushered in a new series of calamities; and a glance at the map will show the extended area throughout which these throes were felt. At Azimgurh, distant north from Benares, by Juanpur, eighty-one miles, the 17th Native Infantry broke out. The mutinous spirit extending itself to Bengal, was anticipated by the timely disarmament of the native troops in that city, as was shown in our January Number. But on the same night, the 4th of June, the long-expected outbreak at Cawnpur took place; and, on the morning of the 6th, the native force, which had left cantonments with the intention of proceeding to Delhi, at the instigation of the perfidious Nana, returning to Cawnpur, sur-

rounded Wheeler's entrenchments. A description of these entrenchments, as seen by an eye-witness after the murderous hordes had been driven out by Havelock and his gallant soldiers, will show how insufficient they were; so much so, that it is scarcely intelligible how, for twenty-two days, the doomed band could have resisted the incessant assaults of their numerous assailants. The barracks stood in the centre of a large plain, with a tolerably clear space around them, the cricket-ground in front, and, on the left and rear, an extensive level. The trench around the barracks is said to have been such that a child at full gallop might ride his pony over it. At opens, here and there, no parapet

to screen them, the guns were worked (eight 9-pounders, one 24-pounder howitzer). One barrack, on the re-occupation of the place, had no roof: it had caught fire and fallen in. The buildings were throughout riddled with ball; all the verandahs beaten down; for on all sides shot was poured in by those who did not dare to venture upon a hand-to-hand conflict. The chebútra of the well was smashed to pieces, showing that it had been a special mark. But we forbear to lift again the veil of reverential sorrow which has fallen over those sad remembrances. At a future period we will show how unable Neil was to succour Cawnpur, although, with a small body of troops, he had reached Allahabad so early as the 11th of June. Have-lock's brigade, when concentrated at that point a month subsequently, was barely enough to force a passage; but by that time the massacre was completed, the gentlemen having been murdered on June 27th, and the poor ladies on July 15th, after the bridge at Pandú Nuddí had been forced by the victorious British.

But at other, and far more distant points, frightful atrocities were perpetrated. At Sitapur, in Oude, to which we have already referred; at Futtygurh, between Lucknow and Delhi, north-west from the former ninety-five miles, and south-east from the latter 160 miles; at Nímuch, in the Gwalior territory, 312 miles south-west from Agra, on June 3d; and, on June 4th, at Jhansi, 142 miles south of Agra on the route to Saugor.

At the latter place the outbreak was marked by circumstances of special atrocity. There are two forts: the Town Fort, a lofty stone building, surrounded by a round tower, commanding the town walls; and without, at a little distance from the town, a lesser fortified building called the Star Fort. This, when critical times arose, had been selected as the place of retreat, and stored with provisions and ammunition. The garrison, however, was entirely native, and the first act of the mutineers was to possess themselves of the Star Fort. The residents then retired into the Town Fort, whither they were followed by such of the officers as escaped from the treachery of their own soldiers. Here they made preparations for the coming storm, by piling stones against the gates, and getting in provisions and fire-arms, by pulling up buckets filled with grain, &c., into their stronghold. The attack soon commenced, the mutinous Sepoys being joined by the Rani's troops and the men of the salt excise, and was stoutly resisted, until provisions

failed, and, like their fellow-sufferers at Cawnpur, our countrymen were induced to surrender, on the most solemn promises that their lives would be spared; but they were all put to death—beheaded in a garden near, or in the city, the women and children with the rest, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the men, who pleaded hard for them that they at least might be spared. The quartermaster of the 12th Native Infantry, a dark half-caste, with his wife and four children, were alone exempted from the massacre. The heads of the murdered officers were subsequently carried about the villages around Jhansi. These particulars were gathered from three natives who had been there at the time of the mutiny.\*

From Nímuch many of the Europeans were successful in making their escape. But although the first outbreak of these mutineers was not of the same sanguinary character with that of Jhansi, their subsequent action proved seriously disturbing. So soon as they had rid themselves of their European officers they appointed the subadar of the 1st Cavalry, brigadier, who immediately issued orders, in the name of the King of Delhi, and distributed treasure among the Sepoys. Every thing was done in form: a big tent, with a flag flying before it, was made his headquarters, and subadars, and jemadars, colonels, and majors were appointed. They then avowed their intention of attacking Agra; and, on July 5th, swelled by accessions on the road to the amount of 7000 infantry, 1500 cavalry, and eight guns, approached that city. They were gallantly met by the single European regiment in garrison, an European horse-battery, and a few volunteer horse, consisting of gentlemen of the station. The enemy were roughly handled, and would have been driven back but for a failure of ammunition on the part of the Europeans, in consequence of the explosion of two tumbrils. The troops were thus constrained to retire within the fort, and the insurgents advancing, set the cantonments on fire, and laid them waste. The Nímuch force then moved on Muttra, and finally reached Delhi towards the end of July. They took a prominent part in the attack on the right of our position on the ridge, which, commencing about sunset on the evening of July 31st, was continued all night, amidst the roar of artillery and muskets, relaxed not until ten A.M. of the 2d of August, and did not finally

\* Blue Book—Further papers, No. IV., pp. 132, 133.

cease until six P.M. of that day. The enemy closed up constantly to our breastworks, but were always repulsed. It is said that 900 of the Nimuch brigade alone never returned to the city after that attack. The remains of the Nimuch corps constituted a portion of the force which attempted to surprise Colonel Greathead's column at Agra, on the morning of October 10th, just after camp had been pitched on the infantry parade-ground; an attempt which resulted in the utter defeat and dispersion of the insurgents, their camp being taken, and they themselves pursued a distance of five miles.

On June 3d, tidings of the mutinies in Rohilcund reached Futteghurh, and also of danger on the Oude side, from whence infantry and cavalry corps of mutineers were said to be approaching. The 10th Native Infantry, stationed at Futteghurh, had openly declared their intention of rising so soon as assistance reached them, and it was at once determined to send off the ladies and children to Cawnpur. On the morning of the 4th they started in boats, which had been provided beforehand, accompanied by several gentlemen and the magistrate. A little down the stream, the party being found inconveniently large, it was decided it would be safer to divide, more especially as Hurdeo Buksh, a native chief, offered the protection of his fort to Mr. Probyn and any of his friends, which was accepted by about forty individuals. The rest, amounting to 126 souls, proceeded down the river, in utter ignorance of the dangers which awaited them, and were murdered by Nana Sahib at Cawnpur.

The party which remained behind not considering that the Gurhea of Dhurrumpur could render them any sufficient protection, and finding that the 10th, at Futteghurh, had not mutinied, returned to that place, with the exception of Mr. Probyn and family, and Mr. W. Edwards, who remained with Hurdeo Buksh. The Europeans at Futteghurh were subsequently besieged in the fort, the sole available force for defence consisting of thirty-three able-bodied men; yet such was the gallantry exhibited, that the enemy were obliged to mine, and, when they had effected a breach, were driven back in two attempts to storm it. But the defenders were worn out with watching. A new mine had been commenced, their situation had become desperate, and the attempt to escape down the river was resolved upon. On the 4th of July they started in two boats, and, notwithstanding they were fired upon both by Sepoys and villagers, had advanced some distance

without material injury, when one of the boats grounded on a sand-bank, and while those on board were yet endeavouring to extricate themselves, they were approached by two boats coming down the stream, which at first appeared to be empty, but when within yards they were found full of Sepoys, who opened a deadly fire on the unhappy fugitives. Many were shot down; and the ladies, the boats being alongside, and the Sepoys already entering into that of the Europeans, preferring to trust themselves to the Ganges, got out of the boat, standing beside it in the water. Some were killed, others carried away by the current: of the fate of the others nothing is known. Two individuals succeeded in regaining the other boat—the chaplain, who had lost both his wife and child, and Mr. Jones, engineer, who appears to be the sole survivor of this party. Continuing their voyage the whole of that day, they touched at a village in the Oude territories, where they were offered assistance and protection. They at first feared treachery, but soon, convinced that the people felt kindly towards them, accepted the offer, and put to shore for the night. They were all hungry, and begged the villagers to bring them some food, which they did, giving them chupaties and buffalo-milk. Mr. Jones' wound had become very painful, and his naked back, exposed to the sun and rain all day, was excessively painful; and supposing the boat had anchored for the night, he determined to find rest in the village, not having had any for two previous nights. A thakur provided him with a charpoy and food. But about two o'clock in the night a messenger came from Colonel Smith, 10th Native Infantry, to say the boat was to leave: he was too weak to pay any attention to it. A second and a third came, but he would not go. The boat left, and his remaining behind was, under God, the preservation of his life. At a village a little above Bithur the fugitives were lured on shore, the people calling out that their rajah was friendly to the British. No sooner had the boat touched the bank than they were made prisoners by the zemindar; and tidings of their capture having been forwarded to Nana Sahib, he sent conveyances for the women and children, twenty-three in number, while the men, in number twelve, walked; and it is supposed that the entire party suffered death, with the survivors of the first Cawnpur massacre, on July 15th.

The next act of mutiny was that of the 6th Native Infantry at Allahabad. This regiment had volunteered, on June 2d, to go for

service against the insurgents at Delhi, and, on the afternoon of the 6th, was paraded for the purpose of receiving the thanks of the Governor-General. The enthusiasm appeared to be great: the men cheered; the European officers shook hands with the native officers in ratification of the pledge to stand by one another. The utmost confidence, therefore, was reposed in them. Pickets of these Sepoys were placed here and there throughout the station. That very evening the native troops rose simultaneously, the detachment of infantry and artillery in charge of the bridge of boats at Rajghat taking the initiative. As they approached Ulopi-baugh the troopers of the 3d Oude Irregular Cavalry fraternized with them, and the work of butchery commenced. Captain Alexander, the commanding-officer of the troopers, was shot dead, and, with him, two other officers, who had been brought from the ghat, their hands and feet tied. The insurgents, then uniting, advanced towards the parade-ground, putting to death any Europeans or East Indians they met with on the way. The bugle sounded. The officers, who were either at the mess-house or their private dwellings, supposing that the Benares insurgents were at hand, from whom an attack had been apprehended, and without the least suspicion of any treachery on the part of their own soldiers, hastened—some in full uniform, others undressed, on their horses—to the regiment, each eager to take the lead of his own company. They were at once fired upon, and, with the exception of Colonel Simpson, who escaped to the fort, and Captain Gordon, who was saved by some of his men, all were shot down. The jail was then opened, and 2500 individuals of the worst character set at liberty. These men, many of them with the irons dangling on their heels, rushed towards the residences of the Europeans, and set fire to the bungalows. Then commenced the conflagration and the work of plunder. When they had gorged themselves with spoil, the prisoners began to disperse, some running away towards their own homes, others to pull the wheelbarrows on which the Sepoys had placed looted property, others to plunder the ryots. The Sepoys had originally determined to convey the money in the treasury to the King of Delhi, but eventually they decided to keep it themselves; and on Sunday, June 7th, they proceeded to distribute it. Some Sepoys took three bags each, others four, each bag containing 1000 rupees. When they had satisfied themselves, the convicts and badmashis were allowed to appropriate the rest. Then

commenced a scene of anarchy and unutterable confusion, the more powerful plundering such as were unable to resist them. For a day or two there was a continual strife for the treasury money, and swords were drawn and blood shed. Many of the mutinous Sepoys were thus stripped of their gains. Hurrying homeward, with horses and bullocks loaded with money and other property, and, in the excitement of the moment, neglecting to keep together for mutual defence, they were stopped on the way by powerful landholders, and other classes of their own countrymen, and despoiled of all, many of them offering resistance, and being unceremoniously put out of the way.

In this outbreak thirteen officers perished: the rest fled into the fort, within which the ladies and non-combatants had been provisionally removed on the day before the outbreak.

The city of Allahabad stands on the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges. The fort, on the east and south, rises directly from the banks of the confluent rivers, and is, in that direction, nearly impregnable. It consists of a bastioned quadrangle, built of red stone, about 2500 yards in circuit. The ancient walls, with semicircular bastions, face the two streams: the land side is quite regular, consisting of two bastions and a half-bastion, with three ravelins, and stands higher than any ground in face of it. Important in other respects, it is still more so as containing one of the largest arsenals in India, having arms for 30,000 men, besides 80 pieces of cannon. Had the mutineers, by a sudden dash, secured the fort, in which, if promptly done, they would have had little difficulty, as one portion of the little garrison consisted of a company of the 6th, the massacre at Allahabad would have equalled in horror those at Cawnpur and Jhansi; and the insurgents, established in a position of great strength, might have obstructed the advance of Havelock's force to the relief of Lucknow until the place had fallen, and it was too late to help. But here again mercy was mingled with judgment, and the tide of insurrection was not permitted to inundate us with an utter destruction. There were in the fort, at the time of the outbreak, besides the company of the 6th, sixty-five invalid artillerymen, which, at the request of Sir H. Lawrence, had been moved up from Chunar about May 17th; for the arsenal of Allahabad, like that of Delhi, at the beginning of the outbreak, was entirely in the hands of native troops. But the main body of the garrison consisted of 400

Sikhs, and, after the *emeute* at Benares, when the Sikh regiment from Loodiana, whether from panic or treachery it was not then clear, had fired upon the Europeans, and, in return, been fired upon and dispersed, it was quite uncertain how these men would act, whether they would assist in the disarmament of the 6th, or sympathize with the insurgent action around. There was, indeed, a moment of great uncertainty, when the Sepoys were commanded to lay down their arms, and they hesitated, to see whether the Sikhs would move against them, and the latter seemed irresolute, when the voice of their commanding officer, under God, broke the spell, and decided them to their duty, and the Sepoys were disarmed and turned out of the fort. But even so it could not be considered as secure, until the arrival of Colonel Neil, on the 11th, with a small body of Madras Fusileers. These forward movements from Calcutta for the recovery of despoiled places may not be touched upon here: they constitute of themselves an integral subject, and must be considered separately.

There are two more points to which we must refer before we bring to a close this paper—Fyzabad and Futtehpur.

Fyzabad, in Oude, distant east from Lucknow eighty-nine miles, and from Allahabad, north, ninety-five miles, stands on the right bank of the Gogra, which is there a great and navigable river. The military route from the Gorruckpur cantonment to that of Lucknow passes through this place, crossing the river, by ferry, at the Rai ghat, where there are usually many boats. Here, at the beginning of June, were stationed the 22d Native Infantry, the 6th Oude Irregular Cavalry, and the 13th Light Field Battery. At Azimgurh and Ghazipur, between the Gogra and the Goomti, the 17th Native Infantry were in open insurrection on June 3d and 4th, and on the evening of the 8th it was currently reported that Fyzabad was to be visited by them the next morning. That evening the regimental magazine and guns were taken possession of by the native soldiery, and the European officers placed under arrest. At break of day on the 9th, all the Europeans, Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox, of the 22d Native Infantry, and his family, excepted, were escorted to the river-side, and desired to enter some boats which had been prepared for them. They were four in number. The first two boats soon lost sight of their companions, and proceeded about eighteen miles down the stream, where, at the narrowest part of it, were seen a regiment of mounted cavalry and

another of infantry, awaiting their approach. There was no alternative but to keep the midway channel, and run this fearful gauntlet, trusting to the protection of God. The fire, however, was so brisk, that they hove to, one boat at a sand-bank surrounded by water, while the other boat was run ashore, the party, as they landed, laying down their arms, in the hope of being able to come to some terms with their assailants. Of this, however, there was no hope. Boats full of mutineers, pushing off from the opposite shore, on reaching the centre of the stream, resumed firing upon them. Colonel Golding, the Commissioner, observing this, directed all who could run to make their escape without delay, as there was no hope of mercy being shown them; but that, as for himself, he was too old to run. The rest of the party, consisting of four commissioned and three non-commissioned officers, besides a Sepoy of the 22d Native Infantry, named Teg Allie Khan, who, not having joined in the mutiny, had followed the boats in a canoe, and been taken on board at his own request, took to flight. They had not, however, advanced far, when their progress was arrested by the junction of two streams of considerable width, and, while deliberating what to do, a number of men were observed approaching, whom they supposed to be Sepoys. All but the Sepoy and a sergeant jumped into the stream, in the hope of swimming to the opposite side. It was a needless alarm: they were villagers, not Sepoys, and three of the party were enabled to reach the bank again, but with great difficulty, having, after sinking twice, been saved by the timely aid of one of the villagers; but two officers were drowned. The survivors were made over from village to village, from the chowkedar of one to the chowkedar of another, until they reached Amorah, on the route from Gorruckpur to Lucknow, where they were joined by three officers of the 22d Native Infantry, who had escaped in boat No. 4. Beyond this, however, at Mohadubbah, they were attacked by armed villagers, and one alone of the entire party, Farrier-Sergeant Busher, of the 13th Light Field Battery, appears to have escaped from them. One by one his companions were overtaken and cut down, but he continued to run, and at length the pursuit was given up. He was now left alone, and in a short time came to a village, where he met a Brahmin, who, compassionating him, brought him into the village, and, placing him under a shady tree, gave him a large bowl of sherbet. He then fell into the hands of a neighbouring Babu, who at first seemed disposed to take

his life, but afterwards, through the interference of his brother, treated him kindly for ten days. Eventually he was brought away by an escort from the British authorities at Gorruckpur, having been rejoined by Teg Allie, the Sepoy who managed to escape from the onslaught at Mohadubbah.

Colonel Lennox and his family were placed on board a boat the same day with the departure of the others, but not until two P.M., two Sepoys being sent with them as an escort. About half-past ten at night they passed the camp of the 17th Native Infantry, which the earlier party, attempting to do in the day-time, were discovered and fired upon. It is evident, also, that the subadar of the 22d, who had placed sentries round the Colonel's bungalow at Fyzabad, and detained him until the afternoon, did so with the view of exempting him from the destruction which awaited the others. On rounding a sandbank, after passing the camp, they came upon a picket of the mutineers, and were advised by the Sepoys and boatmen to leave the boat, and creep along the side of the bank, and that the boat should be brought round to meet them. They were two hours crossing the sand bank, but the boat did not fail them, and they crossed the river to the Gorruckpur district. "In the morning"—we must avail ourselves of Colonel Lennox's personal narrative—"about daybreak some men, coming down to bathe, told us that there were men on the look out for Europeans, and advised us to leave our boats as soon as we could, and follow some six or seven Sahibs, who, the day before, had gone on towards Gorruckpur. We were about leaving the boat, when a party of men came down and inquired who was in the boat. Being satisfied by the boatmen, they went away. We then immediately quitted the boat, leaving every thing in it, and starting off to march on foot towards Gorruckpur, with only the clothes we had on, our ayah and khitmutgar accompanying us.

"We stopped often at wells and under trees, and had proceeded about six miles, it being ten o'clock, when we halted at a village, and, having got a draught of milk, prepared to rest during the great heat; but we were soon disturbed, for a horseman advancing over the country, armed to the teeth, having a huge horse-pistol in his hand, which he cocked, and levelling it at my head, desired me to follow him to the camp of the 17th regiment, and make no delay, for he was to get a reward of 500 rupees for each of our heads. We had not retraced our steps more

than a mile when a lad joined us who was known to the horseman, which determined the latter to make us quicken our pace: the lad, however, prevailed on the horseman to let us drink water and rest near a village, and whilst so doing he sent a boy to call men to our rescue. It appeared that Nazim Mir Mahomed Hussein Khan, and his nephew, Mir Myndi Hussein Khan, had a small fort close by, about three quarters of a mile off. The Nazim immediately sent out ten or twelve footmen armed, who directed us to follow them, and also led the horseman by the bridle, having disarmed him. One of the men, however, sent out for our rescue, greatly abused me; and, looking to his pistol and priming, swore he would shoot those Englishmen who had come to take away their caste and make them Christians.

"About mid-day we reached the fortified dwelling of the Nazim, and were ushered into the place where he was holding a council. He bade us rest and take some sherbet, assuring us that no harm should happen to us; and he rebuked his insolent retainer for hinting that a stable close by would do for us to dwell in, as we should not require it long, it being prepared to kill 'the dogs.' However, the Nazim rebuked him, and told us not to fear, for he would not suffer us to quit till the road was open, and we could reach Gorruckpur in safety. On the second day, the Nazim, fearing the scouts of the 17th regiment would give intelligence that Europeans were hid in his fort, made us assume native dresses. The Begum clothed my wife and daughter, and the Nazim clothed me. He then sent out a party, dressed up in our English clothing, with an escort, about nine at night, to deceive his outposts, and also the villagers: they returned about midnight in their proper dresses; and it was supposed by all, except the confidential persons of the Nazim's household, that he had sent us away. We remained in captivity, in rear of his zenana, in a reed hut, nine days, treated very kindly and considerately, having plenty of food, and a daily visit from our keeper. After we had been in captivity several days, the Nazim came to me, and said he had just heard that the collector of Gorruckpur was at his station, and if I would write a letter to him he would get it safely conveyed. On Thursday, the 18th of June, an alarm was given that the enemy was in full force coming against the fort. My wife and daughter were immediately hid in the zenana, myself hid in a dark wood godown. The horsemen, however, on nearing the fort, were found to be a party sent by



the collector of Gorruckpur for our rescue. The Nazim furnished my wife and daughter with palkis, and the rest of us, on horses, left the considerate and noble Nazim's at eleven A.M., and, passing Amorah, reached Captaingunge at four P.M., where I found farrier-sergeant Busher, of the artillery, who also had been rescued by the same party that came to our rescue. The next day we arrived at Busti, and were hospitably received by Mr. Osborne, the opium agent, and his family, who gave us European clothing. After remaining there three days, we proceeded to Gorruckpur, Azimgurh, and Gharzipur. Throughout this severe trial I have found the promise fulfilled to me and my family, 'And as thy day, so shall thy strength be.'

"In conclusion, I most respectfully beg to bring to the notice of Government the very generous and noble conduct of the Nazim Mr Mahomed Hussein Khan and his nephew, of Digdowah Thannah, Amorra district, Gorruckpur. The Nazim himself, during our captivity, visited Fyzabad, to ascertain the state of the mutineers, that he might know how to act for our safety, as he had been informed that the mutineers suspected him of concealing three Europeans from Fyzabad. This determined him to deceive his people and the villagers, as above related. The Nazim and his nephew are men deserving of confidence, and, I am persuaded, will prove loyal to the English Government."

The officers in the third boat, five in number, succeeded in reaching Dinapur in safety. Of the party in the second boat, which hove to on the sand-bank, one was drowned, three were taken before the subadar of the rebel camp, a Hindú belonging to the 17th Native Infantry, who appealed to the Mohammedans on the Korán, and the Hindús on the cow, not to injure them, but to suffer them to depart. The reply consisted in two men of the 17th stepping forward and shooting two of them, the third being rescued by an artilleryman, concealed in a serai, and sent off in a disguise. Another party of the Fyzabad fugitives appears to have been sheltered by the Rajah of Gopalpur, between Azimgurh and Gorruckpur.

We have one more of these tragedies to touch upon. Futtehpur, the principal place of a district of the same name, lies on the route from Allahabad to Cawnpur, seventy miles north-west of the former, and fifty south-east of the latter. That town has witnessed many changes during the present troubles in India. There being no European sol-

diers there, the residents at an early period had taken the wise precaution of sending their wives and children to Allahabad. Soon the conflagration burst out on every side of them—on May 30th at Lucknow, on June 4th at Cawnpur, the heavy firing there on the next day being distinctly heard. On the 6th the Allahabad Sepoys rose, and then the deputy-collector, Hikmut-oolla Khan, a native, and Mohammedan, turned against them, with all the subordinates at the station. On the 9th they were every hour expecting to be attacked. That night they resolved to fly—all, one excepted, who would not leave—Robert Tucker, of the civil service. He knew that, under God, India could be saved only by the stern determination and self-sacrifice of the few British who had been surprised in isolated stations, and he resolved, at whatever cost, not to quit his post. He dauntlessly defended himself, until overpowered by the rush of numbers. He was, in mockery, tried, condemned, and executed in presence of his own deputy-collector, his head and feet cut off and held up for the inspection of the rabble. They destroyed his body, but after that there was no more that they could do. His soul was safe beyond their reach. It had long been entrusted to the safe custody of an Almighty Saviour.

One month and a few days, and the time of retribution came. Havelock's brigade approached. Occupied by 3500 armed insurgents, with twelve guns, Futtehpur constituted a position of no small strength. "The hard, dry, trunk road subdivides it, and is the only convenient means of access, for the plains on both sides are covered at this season by heavy lodgments of water, to the depth of two, three, and four feet. It is surrounded by garden enclosures of great strength, with high walls, and has within it many houses of good masonry. In front of the swamps are hillocks, villages, and mango groves, which the enemy had occupied in force."\* But "in ten minutes the action was decided, for in that short space of time the spirit of the enemy was entirely subdued; the rifle fire, reaching them at an unexpected distance, filled them with dismay; and when Captain Maude was enabled to push his guns through flanking swamps to point-blank range, his surprisingly accurate fire demolished their little remaining confidence."† After the battle was decided, Hikrim Toolah Khan had the audacity to present himself before the General

\* Havelock's Despatch of July 12.

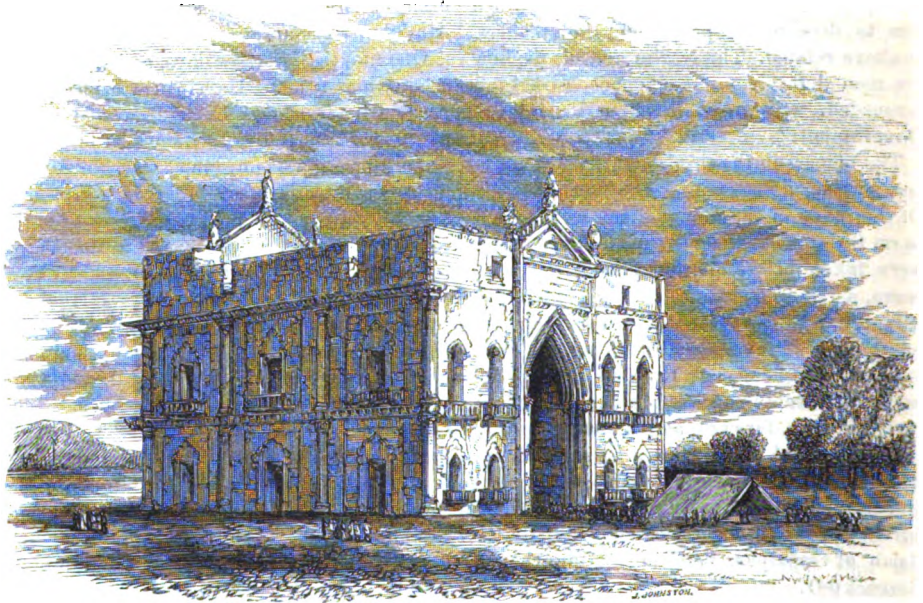
† Ibid.

and offer his congratulations. He deemed that the sanguinary part which he had acted in Mr. Tucker's murder was unknown; but the evidence of native Christians had published his guilt, and he was condemned and executed.

Have we placed before our readers a lengthened series of events, and that in the most abbreviated form? Is the area of territory over which they are spread of great extent? Yet, as to time, they were brought within a very small compass, for they all occurred within the brief space of a month: the outbreak at Mirut was on May 10th, and the murder of Mr. Tucker, at Futtehpur, on June 10th.

Between these two points, what an amount of suffering is accumulated! what unexpected terror, and domestic woe in every form! Who can imagine, much less describe, all that our countrymen and countrywomen endured when in the power of these fierce fanatics and relentless persecutors. Yet were there many, who, in the hour of extreme calamity, were supported by the power of an unseen yet

ever-present Saviour. And then who was victor? It was, no doubt, a great trial of faith, a great conflict, when Christian men and women found themselves in the midst of fierce enemies—enemies not only of their race but their religion; scoffers who mocked at the name of Jesus; and, as they were bound and led to execution, bade them call on Him to deliver them. But they had an antidote. They thought of the cross, and of Him who suffered—of the mockery which was heaped on Him. "He trusted on Him that He would deliver Him: let Him deliver Him if He will have Him." And yet He preferred to suffer, even unto death; and by that death He conquered, and that tranquillized His suffering people: they were contented to be as He was. Their persecutors persisted in their revenge, and they had left them, as the result of this vengeance, some mangled bodies, which they could no longer injure. But the Christian, amidst the conflict, persisted in his faith, and the glorious issue of the ordeal, when endured, was the presence and enjoyment of a living Saviour, from whom there could be no separation.



THE ALUMBAGH, LUCKNOW (Second View.)

DIPLOMATIC PROCEEDINGS ON THE COAST OF CHINA.—LORD  
ELGIN AT NINGPO AND SHANGHAE.

WE regard with peculiar interest the proceedings on the coast of China. A vast empire, densely populated, its inhabitants amounting to hundreds of millions, has hitherto remained closed to all free intercourse with other nations. The forsigner has been on its shores: he has obtained a footing in the five free ports, which, as the result of the last war with this singular people, have opened to receive him. But beyond this China has remained as inaccessible as ever. Hurried journeys have been made beyond the consular boundaries by Europeans, sometimes in disguise, sometimes successfully through the facility with which they assimilated themselves to Chinese habits, and were enabled to express themselves in the mandarin dialect. But every such effort was regarded as an exploit of no ordinary character, and thus proved the strictness of the exclusion.

But although her unyielding obstinacy and exclusive enactments might avail so far as to keep the foreigner outside her antiquated walls and gates, they could not shut out the opium, and its train of evils. That deadly poison has been actively penetrating through every pore, and reducing China to such a critical state, that nothing short of the action of the gospel can be efficacious to save her from destruction. But while the poison has had free circulation, the antidote, in its administration, has been grievously hindered and obstructed. The native retailer sufficed for the one: the Christian evangelist was needed for the other; but he was kept on the outside. So matters remained. The Christian Missionary has been detained on the extreme verge of the vast empire, while the evil which he alone has the means of arresting is pervading the land, and combining with other evils to reduce China to a state of political and social dissolution.

And earnest men have watched and prayed, "Oh, rock, rock! when wilt thou open?" and still, as year after year has passed away, it has remained as hard and unyielding as ever.

Now, however, there is the promise of a change. A political phenomenon appears on the coast of China: a quadruple alliance of powerful nations—England, France, America, and, even Russia united for the purpose of compelling China to an abandonment of her exclusiveness, and accomplishing an extensive rectification of existing relations between themselves and the Chinese. By the date of our last despatches, the Plenipotentiaries had reached Shanghai. They had been preceded

by their *attachés*, bearing a letter for transmission to the emperor of China; and as it had been resolved that this important missive should be forwarded to its destination by the Governor-General of the province of Chekeang, it was decided that the *attachés*, accompanied by the consuls of France and England, should proceed to the provincial capital, Soochow, for this purpose. The *cortège*, consisting of some fifteen boats, having taken the route by the lakes, instead of by the creek, arrived within eight or nine leagues of Soochow on the morning of the second day after they left Shanghai.

"As soon as they had anchored, a letter, announcing the event to the Footai was despatched by one of the consulate messengers, while the boats advanced towards the city; before reaching which a reply was received, intimating that they should proceed to the west gate, where, in a reception hall outside the city walls, the Governor would pay them a visit. Without heeding this communication, the boats sailed up the canal, and, finding a water-gate open, they passed through it into the city, the gate-keepers making a feeble attempt to prevent them.

"This was a great *coup*. Here some delay occurred, in consequence of the absence of H.B.M. Consul, whose boat had parted company with the others in the previous night, and did not rejoin the party until about one o'clock, when they were waiting for him in the city.

"Several officers, deputed by the Footai, now made their appearance, and endeavoured to persuade the party to go to the reception hall at the west gate: they were informed that their special business with the Governor must be transacted at his *yamun*, and that, on having chairs sent to convey them, they would proceed thither. Again other Weiyuens (deputed officers) came and entreated that some of the party would go to the west gate, where the Governor was said to be waiting, in order that he should be saved the humiliation of appearing to the people to have been thwarted in his plans.

"The refusal to yield this point was very properly persisted in. The mandarins then proposed that Mr. Lay, one of the Foreign Inspectors of Customs, formerly known to the Governor when he was Toutai at Shanghai, should go and meet him. This having been consented to, Mr. Lay went with the mandarins, and, after a little time, returned with the intimation that the Governor would re-

ceive them in his yamun, and that chairs would be sent to convey them.

"They went a distance of about two miles, through streets crowded with people collected to witness the novel scene. Curiosity and amazement so impressed them, that they gazed in breathless wonder, and scarcely a word was uttered along the whole route.

"On arrival at the official residence of the Governor, the usual salute was fired, and the party, being received in proper form by His Excellency, was ushered into the audience chamber. Messrs. Oliphant and Contades being introduced by their respective Consuls, the latter gentleman handed to His Excellency the letter of the French Plenipotentiary, enclosing one to the Minister at Peking, to be forwarded immediately, with the other despatches, and impressed on him the great responsibility that rested on him in the faithful execution of this duty.

"Mr. Oliphant, in a similar manner, presented the letter of Lord Elgin, and the letter from the American Minister, which also contained one from the Russian Plenipo. Having read the letters addressed to himself and the Governor-General, His Excellency promised to forward the enclosures as desired. He said he must first communicate with the Governor-General at Changchow, but that the despatches would reach Peking by the end of the present Chinese moon (14th March). It then being arranged that replies to the letters covering the despatches should be sent, and the visit returned by the Governor on the following day, at the beforementioned reception hall, the party returned to their boats, and then proceeded to the west gate, where they anchored for the night off the reception hall.

"Early on the following morning, Saturday, the interpreters received the Governor's official replies, acknowledging the receipt of the communications from the Plenipotentiaries of England, France, America, and Russia, and stating that they would be forwarded immediately after he had consulted with the Governor-General, who was residing at Changchow. The translations were then immediately handed to Messrs. Oliphant and Contades, thus putting them in possession of an official receipt of the letters, and engagement to forward them without delay, under the seal and signature of the Footai."\*

This public admission of foreign officials into the city of Soochow—a concession which never previously has been yielded—and the reception of letters from them for transmission to the imperial council at Peking, are

two significant circumstances which seem to intimate a change in the policy of China, and a growing conviction of the impossibility of perseverance in the old system of haughty and jealous exclusiveness. How soon may restrictions be removed, and the great artery of interior commerce, the Yang-tze, with its numberless tributaries, be thrown open to evangelistic and commercial enterprise? "And should the result of the coming deliberations lead, as we feel sure they must, to increased facilities for evangelizing this great people, how is the church at home prepared to fulfil its duty with reference to it? What estimate is she going to form of her duties and responsibilities towards a heathen nation, containing a population of three hundred millions of immortal souls, suddenly, it may be, thrown open to the preaching of the gospel? and how far is she likely to come up to the estimate she may form?"\* Such are the questions which, at so important a crisis, are put by one of our own Missionaries at Ningpo, where Lord Elgin stayed a day or two on his way to Shanghai.

While he was there the Missionaries at the port availed themselves of the opportunity of presenting to His Excellency an Address, which, with his answer, we place before our readers. They bear date March 29th.

"MY LORD—We, the undersigned Protestant Missionaries of Great Britain, resident at Shanghai and Ningpo, beg to express to your Lordship the pleasure we feel in the circumstance that the conduct of negotiations with China, at this important juncture, has been entrusted by Her Majesty to your Excellency.

"We embrace the opportunity afforded by your Lordship's arrival at this port, to assure you of the confidence we repose in your judgment and experience, and the hopes we entertain that the relations of our country with this empire will shortly be placed on an improved basis.

"Coming here to teach Christianity to a heathen population, we are not uninterested observers of passing events. They may very seriously affect our future position. The warlike attitude that our nation has, by political necessity, been led to assume, may produce prejudice against us in the minds of the people, and lead them to misunderstand the objects of our mission. On the other hand, we may, as the result, obtain access to a wider region, and have the opportunity of proclaiming the truths of the gospel in the great cities of the interior.

"In the treaty of Nanking nothing was said

\* "North China Herald," March 6, 1858.

\* Rev. W. A. Russell, Ningpo, March 30, 1858.

respecting toleration for Christianity in this empire, so that at that time any converts made by Protestant Missionaries were liable to be proceeded against as adherents of a forbidden religion. The French treaty, made subsequently, was followed by toleration to the 'Teen-Choo keau,' or Roman-Catholic religion. Protestant converts are perhaps safe under the shield of the imperial decree then issued, permitting the Roman-Catholic religion. But, considering what England has already done in her treaties to promote religious liberty in Europe, it does not seem unreasonable to expect that she should obtain for native Christians of the Protestant communion what has been granted to the Catholics.

"If a clause, securing religious toleration, should be inserted in the new treaty, we would take the liberty of suggesting that the Chinese term "Yay-soo keau (religion of Jesus) should be employed to describe the Protestant religion, as distinguished from the "Teen-Choo keau," (religion of the Lord of Heaven), the designation of the Roman Catholics. This distinction of terms has indeed already been made in Chinese native works, when treating on foreign religions, and in the memorial addressed to the Emperor of China by the French Bishop M. Monly, dated June 1854.

"Should the imperial forces succeed in destroying the Nanking insurgents, it is not unlikely that persecution of Christianity may ensue. The religion they professed may be regarded as politically dangerous, and the converts of Protestant Missionaries may be mistaken for abettors of rebellion, and treated as enemies of the state. The similarity of their books and doctrines to ours, led only a few months since, to the capture and prolonged imprisonment of two of our converts, who had gone from Shanghai to conduct Missionary operations in inland districts. The present, then, seems to be a time when a guarantee of toleration for Protestant Christianity would be seasonable.

"We are anxious, not only that our converts should be safe from persecution, but also that we ourselves should have liberty to travel and reside in the interior. During the last few years we have, in the discharge of our duties as teachers of Christianity, visited many large cities not mentioned in the treaty; but we have sometimes been rudely accused in consequence by the native authorities of transgressing the regulations mutually agreed on by their nation and our own. The prohibition of entrance into the country beyond the five ports has become a dead letter, through not

being enforced; but in future it would be much more gratifying to us to travel by right than by sufferance.

"Anxious to prosecute our labours extensively in this country, we are compelled to restrict them within much narrower limits than the Missionaries of France or Portugal. Their residence at a distance from the coast is connived at by the local authorities; but on more than one occasion we have, through the interference of the magistrates, been obliged to resign the residences or preaching-rooms that we had hired. It appears unreasonable that Her Majesty's Consul should be appealed to, to recall his countrymen to the free ports, while men of other nations are left undisturbed.

"With every sentiment, &c., &c.,"

[Signed by Ten Protestant Missionaries.]

*Lord Elgin's Reply.*

"GENTLEMEN—I am much indebted to you for the expressions of confidence and goodwill contained in the address which you have just now read, and I beg to assure you that the suggestions which you have been pleased to submit in it, with reference to matters of importance that will have to be dealt with in approaching negotiations with the Government of China, will not fail to receive my best attention. It certainly appears to me to be reasonable and proper that the professors of different Christian denominations should be placed, in China, on a footing of equality. I should be wanting in candour, however, if I were not to state, that, in my opinion, the demands which you prefer involve, in some of their details and consequences, questions of considerable nicety.

"Christian nations claim for their subjects or citizens, who sojourn in the East under heathen Governments, privileges of extraterritoriality. They are bound, therefore, when they seek to extend their rights of residence and occupation, to take care that those exceptional privileges be not abused, to the prejudice of the countries conceding them.

"I cannot say that I think the Christian nations who have established a footing in China under the sanction of treaty-stipulations obtained by others, or in virtue of agreements made directly by the Chinese Government with themselves, have in all cases duly recognised this obligation. Unless I am greatly misinformed, many vile and reckless men, protected by the privileges to which I have referred, and still more by the terror which British prowess has inspired, are now infesting the coasts of China. It may be, that for the moment they are able, in too many cases, to perpetrate the worst crimes with

impunity; but they bring discredit on the Christian name, inspire hatred of the foreigner where no such hatred exists, and, as some recent instances prove, teach occasionally to the natives a lesson of vengeance, which, when once learnt, may not always be applied with discrimination.

"But if the extension of the privileges of foreigners in China involves considerations of nicety, still more delicate are the questions which arise when it is proposed to confer by treaty, on foreign powers, the right to interfere on behalf of natives who embrace their religion. It is most right and fitting that Chinamen espousing Christianity should not be persecuted. It is most wrong and most prejudicial to the real interests of the faith that they should be tempted to put on a hypocritical profession, in order to secure thereby the advantages of abnormal protection.

"The researches which I have made have impressed on my mind very deeply the conviction that the objections of the Chinese authorities to Christianity are rather political than religious. I agree with you, therefore, in thinking that it is to be regretted that its genuine professors should be confounded with the abettors of a rebellion which, in so far as the dominant race is concerned, seems to have been conducted on a system of uncompromising ferocity.

"It is only natural that persons like yourselves, actuated by the purest motives, and seeking, in all that you propose, only the highest good of China, should look exclusively to the beneficial uses to which more extended rights may be applied. It is, however, my painful duty to consider also, how, unless proper precautions be taken, they may be abused.

"It is your privilege, moreover—and this is a distinction which it would be well that we should always bear in mind—to encounter the evils which surround you with spiritual weapons. In the controversy in which we are engaged with this heathen nation, it is unfortunately my lot to be compelled not unfrequently to rely on arms of fleshly temper."

At Shanghai, also, an address was presented by the British residents, and His Lordship's reply is important, as affording additional information with respect to the line of policy likely to be pursued.

"GENTLEMEN—I am very thankful to you for this address of welcome. I trust that the kindness which has prompted it will also induce you to favour me with the valuable aid of your experience to enable me to judge correctly of the causes which have contri-

buted to give to Shanghai its eminent position among the ports opened to trade with China.

"It is satisfactory to me to learn that you approve of what has taken place at Canton, and that I have your good wishes for the future success of my mission. I should respond but indifferently to these expressions of regard if I were to refrain from stating to you frankly the principles on which I have hitherto proceeded, and still intend to proceed, in the discharge of duties that have reference to matters in which you have so deep an interest.

"In furnishing instructions for my guidance when I was appointed High Commissioner in China, Her Majesty's Government saw fit to entrust me with a wide discretion. Circumstances, however, as you probably know, which were altogether unforeseen at the time when those instructions were framed, rendered them in some degree inapplicable; and thus materially enlarged the discretion originally confided to me.

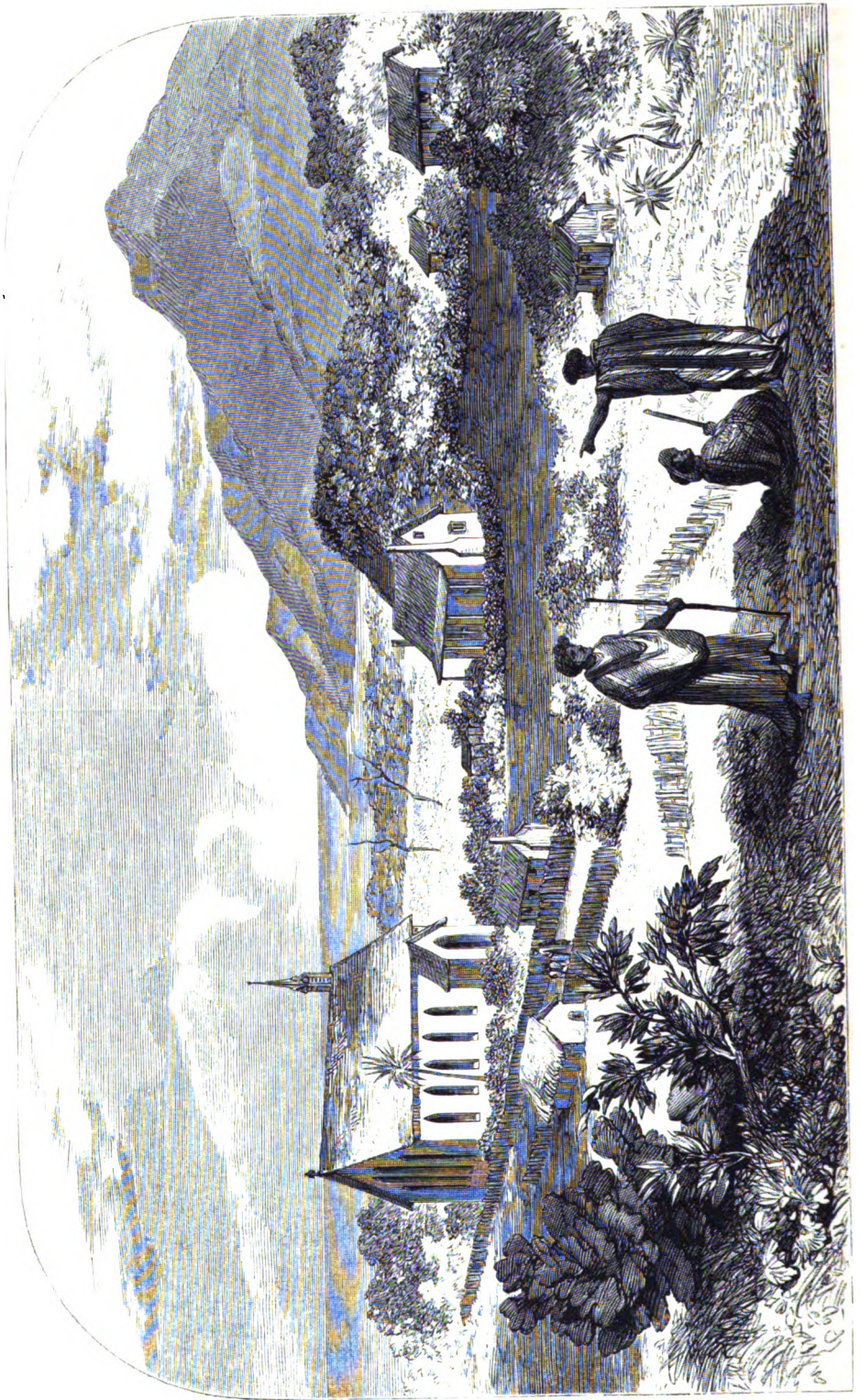
"I found myself accordingly, on my arrival in this country, compelled to act in a great measure on my own judgment. I accepted this task, as in duty bound, without hesitation, but not, I hope, without a due sense of the responsibility attaching to an agent, who, in a distant land, beyond the reach of advice, and in circumstances of unusual difficulty, finds himself the guardian of the good name and interests of a great Christian nation.

"In my communications with the functionaries of the Chinese Government I have been guided by two simple rules of action. I have never preferred a demand which I did not believe to be both moderate and just; and from a demand so preferred I have never receded. These principles dictated the policy which resulted in the capture and occupation of Canton. The same principles will be followed by me, with the same determination to their results, if it should be necessary to repeat the experiment in the vicinity of the capital of the Emperor of China.

"It is matter for me of the highest gratification to know, that in pursuing this policy of combined moderation and firmness, I can count, not only on the hearty co-operation and active support of the representative of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, but also on the goodwill and sympathy of the representatives of other great and powerful nations interested with ourselves in extending the area of Christian civilization, and multiplying those commercial ties which are destined to bind east and west together in the bonds of mutual advantage.

"One word, Gentlemen, in conclusion, as to





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the parts which we have respectively to play in this important work, and more especially with reference to the last sentence of your address, in which you express the trust, that the result of my exertions may be 'more fully to develope the vast resources of China,' and to 'extend among the people the elevating influences of a higher civilization.'

"The expectations held out to British manufacturers at the close of the last war between Great Britain and China, when they were told that a new world was opened to their trade, so vast that all the mills in Lancashire could not make stocking-stuff sufficient for one of its provinces, have not been realized; and I am of opinion, that when force and diplomacy shall have done all that they can legitimately effect, the work which has to be accomplished in China will be but at its commencement.

"When the barriers which prevent free access to the interior of the country shall have been removed, the Christian civilization of the west will find itself face to face, not with barbarism, but with an ancient civilization, in many respects effete and imperfect, but in others not without claims to our sympathy and respect. In the rivalry which will then ensue, Christian civilization will have to win its way among a sceptical and ingenious people, by making it manifest that a faith which reaches to heaven furnishes better guarantees for public and private morality, than one which does not rise above the earth.

"At the same time, the machine-facturing west will be in presence of a population the most universally and laboriously manufac-

turing of any on the earth. It can achieve victories in the contest in which it will have to engage only by proving that physical knowledge and mechanical skill, applied to the arts of production, are more than a match for the most persevering efforts of unscientific industry.

"This is the task which is before you, and towards the accomplishment of which, within the sphere of my duty, I shall rejoice to cooperate."

It is impossible to peruse these documents without deep interest. They avow clearly the object contemplated—the removal of the barriers which prevent free access into the interior of the country; they remind us of our responsibilities; and are careful to impress upon the consciences of British merchants the solemn truth, that "Christian civilization will have to win its way among a sceptical and ingenious people, by making it manifest that a faith which reaches to heaven furnishes better guarantees for public and private morality, than one which does not rise above earth."

Of his Lordship's ability and thorough qualifications for taking a large and comprehensive view of the peculiarities of the problem he has to solve, no doubt exists; but these documents convey a still more valuable conviction—that he has not failed to realize the great responsibility which attaches to his position with reference to the future prosperity, both temporal and spiritual, of the vast empire of China.

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## THE NEW-ZEALAND MISSION.

OUR attention has been drawn to an article in a contemporary periodical, on the Mission and Bishopric of New Zealand. The object of that document appears to be to exhibit, in the most advantageous point of view, the benefits conferred on the Mission by the establishment of the Episcopate, and thus to reflect no small amount of praise on the Colonial Episcopacy Committee: and if the writer had confined himself to this object, we should not have felt ourselves necessitated to take any notice of it. He might have made the bishopric and its action the object of his unlimited laudation, and presented to it such honours and offerings as his enthusiasm prompted, had he not thought it necessary to connect the Mission with the bishopric, and to disparage the Mission work in order to exhibit more pointedly the necessity and beneficial action of the episcopate. Now this

seems to us rather ungrateful, when it is remembered, that unless the Mission work had gone before and prepared the way, there would have been no *situs* on which to plant the episcopate, and New Zealand, instead of being the basis from whence the "Great Melanesian Mission" might be experimented, would have remained pretty much in the same state as New Caledonia or the New Hebrides—a position to be won, instead of a position gained; and some zealous Australasian bishop might at this moment be operating on its shores, with the view of obtaining from the chiefs and people a few native youths for transfer to some safe spot in New South Wales, where at leisure they might be civilized into Missionaries, and sent back in due time to their own land. It is also the more unexpected, because the article in question, at its introduction, is decorated with the em-

blems of peace, and the union flag of "amity, between the great Missionary Societies of the church, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Church Missionary Society" is conspicuously displayed. Let such amity prevail. But it is best perpetuated by the organs and advocates of each Society carefully abstaining, unless the law of conscience and duty necessitates an opposite procedure, from commenting upon the practice of the other, and presenting it in an unfavourable aspect to the public mind. We have never, in the progress of this periodical, passed any strictures on the Gospel Propagation Society's Missionary action. That Society has been free to pursue its own course, without intrusiveness and unfriendly criticism on our part. But while declining to use such weapons ourselves, we are far from attempting to dictate a similar forbearance to others; only we claim to be heard in our own defence, especially if strictures be passed upon the action of the Society by individuals, whose mode of dealing with the subject suffices to show that they have not been at the pains to furnish themselves with that preliminary information, devoid of which they are not competent to enter upon it.

We shall deal as briefly as possible with the article to which we have referred, confining ourselves simply to an exposition of the true facts of the case, leaving our readers to decide whether it be correct to describe the Missionary action of the Church Missionary Society, previously to the arrival of a bishop, as crude, and ill-adapted to the requirements of the population, and, in fact, indebted to that event for the infusion of needful energy.

We cannot spare time to notice the implication, that the movement in favour of the extension of the episcopate at Willis's Rooms, some seventeen years ago, was that "good cause which should plant in every soil the tree which has 'seed within itself,' and could reproduce itself after its kind." Fully as we agree with the writer on the advantage of a duly regulated and scripturally fulfilled episcopacy, we cannot consider it so vital an element, that without it Christianity is divested of reproductive powers, and fails to fulfil the functions of a tree having seed in itself; nor do we think that the writer, if called upon to do so, could sustain his position by facts. His spear, however, has been here tilted against other shields than ours, and we must leave it to those who are more immediately interested in the question than we are, to decide whether they think it worth their while to accept his challenge.

But to our own affairs—and, in doing so,

we shall adopt the writer's own division of the subject—schools, native teachers, and ordinations. And first, as to schools. In this department the bishop is stated to have found, on his arrival, great defectiveness: "though many of the first converts had lived or died in the faith of Christ, yet education was almost entirely confined to the adults," nor, as we are informed, did this arise from any peculiarity in the history of the Mission which had interfered with the establishment of schools for children on a sufficient scale, but it was done advisedly, and on principle.—"The Church Missionary Society have set forth their views as to the special work they wish their agents to carry on, and it is that of evangelists."

Undoubtedly the great duty of Missionaries is to evangelize, to spread abroad the glad tidings of salvation through the blood of Christ; but we have yet to learn, that, in this work of evangelization, the Society has so confined itself to adults as to neglect children. The patent facts of the Society's history disprove the assertion. The Society has now on its list upwards of forty ordained natives, many of them men of eminence and great usefulness, gifted as translators, and blessed and prospered as evangelists and pastors. Where have they been obtained? They have grown up with the Society's growth, and have been educated in the Society's schools. The Society has also upwards of two thousand native teachers, as to whose effectiveness and valuable co-operation in different quarters of the Missionary field, ample testimony is afforded. But whence, then, has this goodly number issued? for, as the writer proceeds to say, "We have seen resolutions of theirs discouraging schools in the earlier stages of the Missionary's work, as likely to keep their clergy and catechists too much at home, and to limit their aggressive and preaching duties." Whence, then, came this goodly array of evangelists, for they are now in the prime of vigour and usefulness, and the oldest of them probably not as old as the Society? Numbers of them are trained men, and, so far as education is concerned, fully adequate to the work they have to do. Where then, did they receive this training and education, for the Church Missionary Society "neglects schools in the earlier stages of its work, and on principle, discourages them?" Did we obtain them from some other Society, which, with a prudence and forethought whereof we have been destitute, has laboured in the development of the educational department? No; they were brought up in schools belonging to the Church Missionary Society. But

are we really so deficient in this department? Our eyes deceive us, or else the existing state of things is very different from what it must have been, had education been discouraged in the commencement of our Missions. The fact is we have schools of all grades—seminarist colleges, training schools, normal schools, English schools, vernacular schools, schools for the children of converts, and schools for the children of the heathen. From three of our Mission fields the returns are incomplete, but in nine other fields we find a total of 792 schools, and 29,690 scholars. Assuredly the Missionaries in the various Mission fields have not acted as if they were constricted in their action by any discouraging resolutions on the subject of education. They appear to have not only laboured very diligently in this important branch themselves, but to have been liberally helped, instead of thwarted, by the Society.

But more particularly New Zealand. Let us refer to some of the instructions delivered to early Missionaries, and see whether they confirm the charges brought against the Society of discouraging the Missionaries from attention to educational duties and the instruction of the native youth. The following extract is from an early address, that of the Rev. Basil Woodd, to New-Zealand Missionaries, Nov. 1820—

“While such is the high designation of the minister of Christ, the catechist and instructor of youth fills a post next in importance. Devoted to the same honourable object, the Christian schoolmaster resembles the kind and condescending Saviour, who said, ‘Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not.’ Under these impressions, permit me most earnestly to recommend the important duty of catechizing the children. It was the remark of Archbishop Usher, ‘The neglect of catechizing is the frustrating of the whole work of the Christian ministry. Let us preach never so many sermons unto the people, our labour is but lost so long as the foundation is unalaid, and the first principles untaught, upon which all other doctrine must be builded.’

“On this subject I may be allowed to adopt the language of some experience. For twenty years past I have been in the constant habit of catechizing children, in their schools, and at the afternoon service, in Bentinck chapel: for twelve years I have pursued the same method in my parish of Drayton Beauchamp: and this course has been attended, by the Divine blessing, with the happiest effects. It has carried instruction home into the domestic circle: the parents

and the servants have derived benefits; family prayer has been established in the habitations; and the attendance at public worship has been greatly augmented. My Christian brethren, let me urge on your consciences these important duties: apply to them with diligence; study to gain the attention, the affections, and the confidence of the children, by the perseverance of kindness and patience. Pray for the Divine blessing on your work. Oh pray unto the God of grace, that your hearts may be filled with tender love for the immortal souls of the young. Learn first to govern yourselves; and then you will govern them in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Think frequently of the pathetic appeal of the great apostle to the church of Thessalonica, ‘We were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children. So, being affectionately desirous of you, we were willing to have imparted unto you, not the gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us.’”

Indeed, so far has the action of the Society on this point been misapprehended, that, instead of educational efforts being discouraged, they were especially recommended to the attention of the Missionaries. In the instructions of the Committee to the Rev. H. Williams, August 1822, we find the following passage—

“It is the great and ultimate purpose of this Mission to bring the noble but benighted race of New Zealanders into the enjoyment of the light and freedom of the gospel. To this grand end, all the Society’s measures are subordinate. This end, therefore, the Committee urge on you, and every other labourer in this Mission, to keep continually in view. And they are the more earnest with you on this point, because, in the constant attention which this Mission will require, for years to come, to secular business, the temptation of the labourers has been, and will be, not to give a due proportion in their plans to religious education and instruction . . . You will lend your first efforts, after you are sufficiently accommodated with a dwelling, to acquire the language, that you may be able, with as little delay as possible, to declare to the natives the glad tidings of salvation. While the preparation of elementary books, and the translation of the Scriptures, must ever be kept in view, unwearied attention must be paid, in your various conversations with the people, to this one point—the bringing of them acquainted with ‘the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. In the education of female children, and in the general improvement of the con-

dition of women in New Zealand, we doubt not but Mrs. Williams, next to the care of your own children, will readily contribute all that may be in her power; and we have the best hope that you will exhibit to the natives the instructive example of a happy Christian family."

These instructions were followed up by the Rev. E. G. Marsh, in his address to the Missionaries on that occasion.

"The advantage of regularly training children in elementary knowledge, that, when it shall please God to touch their hearts, their minds may be open to the reception of the truth, must not be lost sight of. It is an object worthy of the attention of both of you, though it may fall particularly within the province of a female, in training her own children, to associate others with them, and endeavour to make her family an example to the whole. The business of a school is indeed the permanent hope of a Mission, and claims the most serious and anxious attention of every one of its servants."

The Rev. W. Williams was similarly instructed on his departure for New Zealand, July 1825.

"From the instruction of the rising generation the most important consequences may be anticipated. The Committee rejoice to hear that many of the chiefs are willing to surrender their children to the care of the Missionaries for this purpose, and they cannot but watch with feelings of deep interest the progress made by their labourers in so essential a branch of their work."

It would be tedious to go into the history of the Mission, and trace out, step by step, the action of the Missionaries on this point; nor is it necessary. Any volume of the "Church Missionary Record" opened at hazard, and the details of information which meet us there under the head of New Zealand, suffice for our purpose. We select the year 1830, the one in which the first interior station, the Waimate, was formed, the Missionaries hitherto having been confined to the seaboard. In the reports from the different stations, notices of schools and children are prominent: such for instance as the following. "December 12, 1830—The attention by our boys and girls to the catechism and their learning generally is well deserving of attention. For many days we hear them repeating, morning, noon, and night; indeed, they are most indefatigable: and most of them have to-day assembled themselves of their own accord in groups for that purpose." "December 13—Several parties of natives arrived from Kororarikā, the Pa, and elsewhere, evidently to

attend the examination meeting. They were exceedingly quiet. All the boys in high glee, and hard at work."\* Then follows the account of the annual school examination.

At this time it was the day of small things in New Zealand; the actual converts were but few. It was the season time of preparatory labour, that important work which, although the foundation of all subsequent efforts, is carried on amidst great discouragement, and little of apparent fruit. But that, at such a time, the instruction of native children was neglected, and that as the result of a settled arrangement, is an assertion which cannot be sustained. In the report of the Missionaries there is a continued reference to this department of labour. In the communications for 1832 they observe—"Our schools continue to prosper; greater desire manifests itself among the natives at large to learn to read, and they are very anxious to obtain the Scriptures in their own language, that they may read for themselves. Mr. Baker has charge of the native boys' schools; Mrs. Chapman, assisted by Mrs. Kemp and Mrs. Baker, attends to the girls. . . . I am thinking of devoting my time and talent to the infant race. The Corresponding Committee and the Missionaries here have requested me to consider the matter."† The Rev. S. Marsden, on his last visit to New Zealand, in 1837, refers especially to this feature of the work—the desire of the natives to read, and the rapidity with which this ability was being acquired by them. "I was much pleased to find that wherever I went there were some who could read and write. The Church Service has been translated into the native language, with the Catechism, hymns, and some other useful pieces. They are all fond of reading, and there are many who have never had an opportunity of attending the schools, who, nevertheless, can read. They teach one another in all parts of the country, from the North to the East Cape. The prospect of success to the Mission is very great. The schools and church are well attended," &c. On bidding farewell to this valued and venerable father of the Mission, the Missionaries remark, "This Mission, especially in its infant state, was deeply indebted to him for his advice, counsel, labours, and prayers, and his heart has now been cheered in witnessing the wonderful change which has taken place in this part of the island since he first landed on it as a herald of mercy to its savage in-

\* "Church Missionary Record" for 1831, p. 203.

† "Church Missionary Record," 1833, p. 94—*Vide ditto*, p. 222.

habitants; for though his late visit to us has been in troublous times, and in the midst of war, yet the conduct, with few exceptions, of the baptized natives, the knowledge imparted in the schools, the steady progress of the translation of the Scriptures by the Rev. W. Williams and the extensive preaching of the Gospel throughout the northern district, have shown him that the great and good work, which he was the honoured instrument of introducing into this land, has been accompanied by the manifest blessing of Him in whose favour is life; and I doubt not, from Mr. Maraden's own expressed sentiments, that he has left us with the language of good old Simeon in his heart—'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.'

We look on to the year 1840. The Mission had now been brought through its night of toil, the morning had dawned, and the Lord was granting enlargement to the word. The fiery conflagration of war, which, breaking out in March 1836, compelled the Missionaries to fall back from the advanced stations which they had formed to the southward of the isthmus on which Auckland stands, appears, from its intense ferocity, to have produced a reaction in the native mind, so that, even before it was quite extinguished, the young men in the unsettled districts began to form themselves into bands, building little mud chapels, and regularly meeting for Lord's-day worship and week-day prayers, the ability to read remarkably increasing, and, with it the cry for books.

It may be advisable at this particular point to introduce independent testimony as to the state of the Mission, and the amount of good accomplished, by the blessing of God, on the labours of the Missionaries, previous to the appointment of a bishop.

The Rev. J. C. Grylls, Chaplain at Port Philip, in New South Wales, on his way to England in the earlier part of 1840, visited New Zealand, and remained there two months, and the impression left on his mind by the many pleasing evidences of advancing evangelization which presented themselves in every direction is thus summed up by him—“The divine blessing has been accorded to this Mission so obviously, that one would imagine every mind, not determined to resist the most abundant and satisfactory evidence, would instantly acknowledge it with thankfulness, and, in every possible way, gladly cooperate with so glorious a work as that which is now being accomplished.” At the entrance of Port Nicholson harbour a pilot-boat came

off with natives, who, the wind being fresh and contrary, remained on board all night. As they retired to rest, each man took from under his cloak a book, which appeared to be a portion of the Psalms and the Liturgy, and, having chanted one of the Psalms with an agreeably plaintive voice, they all knelt down upon the deck, and read some of the prayers in a truly devotional and impressive manner. On his first Lord's-day in New Zealand Mr. Grylls found assembled in a native hut, composed of a few rough posts, interlaced with branches of trees and rushes, a congregation of 300 Maories, the men on one side, the women and children on the other. Their demeanour during the hour of worship indicated deep humility and self-abasement. It was, indeed, such as might put to the blush many of our religious assemblies in civilized Europe. The responses were uttered aloud, in excellent harmony, by the whole congregation. They conformed in every respect to the directions of the rubric, kneeling during the prayers, and fixing their eyes intently on their books.” We adjoin one more testimony, by R. G. Jameson, Esq., in whose work on New Zealand we find the following remarks—

“A period of fifteen years has elapsed since the first Missionary arrived in New Zealand. Of the nature and efficiency of their services during that time, in the propagation of Christianity and civilization, numerous proofs will be found throughout this volume. It will suffice at this time to observe, that throughout the northern island there is scarcely a village whose inhabitants, between the ages of ten and thirty-one, do not learn to read and write. In a remote settlement in the valley of the Thames I found that nearly all the younger members of the community could write; and, when asked to read a passage of the New Testament, translated into their language, and printed at the Mission Press, they did so with ease and fluency. At Matamata, a remote inland settlement near the sources of the Thames and Waikato rivers, and ninety miles from a Mission station, it appeared that knowledge and civilization had made even greater progress than in those situations where the efforts of the Missionaries are counteracted by the propinquity of the European grog-sellers, who abound in the coast settlements. The minds and actions of the New Zealanders, emancipated from the superstition of the tapu, and no longer influenced by the recorded actions and example of their ancient divinity, Mawé, who practized every species of atrocity, have been so far changed that

we now hear, in every native settlement, at morning and evening, as I have elsewhere observed, the voice of praise and supplication offered up according to the ritual, and I know not why I may not add, the spirit of the Christian church. On Sunday, the natives of the Thames district flock to the Mission settlements of Maraetai and Kaurangi. Each of the inhabited bays and inlets of this estuary sends forth its canoes filled with natives in their best attire; and among the natives assembled at divine service, I have remarked as grave and correct deportment as a congregation of Scotch peasantry would exhibit, with something, too, of the reasoning and inquiring expression which denotes that the hearer both marks and inwardly digests the language that is addressed to him. Among the villages which are remote from the Mission settlements, morning and evening service is performed by a native catechist, whose duties comprehend those of the village schoolmaster. By the young of both sexes, reading and writing are acquired with great ease, and their favourite amusement is writing on a slate, or sending letters on puka pukas to their friends. The style of their epistles is quaint, figurative, and full of repetitions and expressions of courtesy; but I have seen one, addressed by a female catechist to the daughter of a Missionary, which, in the correctness of its style and the propriety of its sentiments, would bear a comparison with any European letter. So generally diffused are these rudimentary branches of education, that not to have acquired them is deemed among the rising generation a mark of inferiority against which their pride revolts. It was related to me, by an individual who had passed some time in Mercury Bay, that some English sawyers had requested their employer to teach them reading and writing, being ashamed of their inferiority in these respects to the young New Zealanders, who are taunting them all day long with defects which they deemed wholly unpardonable in a white man.\*

So remarkable had been the enlargement of the Mission; and it was this prospect of increasing expansion that induced the appointment of the episcopate. In the forty-first Report the Committee observe—"A plan has been proposed by the Lord Bishop of London for the endowment of colonial bishoprics. Of the sees which it is designed to erect, New Zealand comes amongst the foremost; and the Committee, on principle, and from a deep conviction of the necessity

of the measure for their Missionaries in that island, have undertaken to aid largely in providing the endowment from the lands held by the Society in the island; and until those lands can be made available for the purpose, the Committee have engaged to contribute towards the salary of the bishop an amount not exceeding 600*l.* per annum. In the October of 1841, the Rev. G. A. Selwyn was consecrated Bishop of New Zealand, and, in the subsequent December, sailed for his diocese. He reached New Zealand in May 1842, and, after an extensive visitation of the Society's Missions, thus communicates to the Society his impressions of the character of the work which had been accomplished—

"Christ has blessed the work of His ministers in a wonderful manner. We see here a whole nation of pagans converted to the faith. God has given a new heart and a new spirit to thousands after thousands of our fellow-creatures in this distant part of the earth. A few faithful men, by the power of the Spirit of God, have been the instruments of adding another Christian people to the family of God. Another Christian church has risen here, in the midst of one of the fiercest and most bloody nations that ever lived to bear witness to the power of sin over the heart of unregenerated man; but now the Spirit is poured upon them from on high, and the wilderness has become a fruitful field; and the signs foretold by Isaiah are visible among them, 'that judgment dwells in the wilderness; and the work of righteousness is peace; and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever; and the people dwell in peaceable habitations, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places. These are the signs of Christ's kingdom which you have here before your eyes. You have seen judgment dwelling in the wilderness, where tribes of armed and fearless warriors acquiesced in the severest sentence of the British law, though executed upon one of themselves. You see the people dwell in peaceable habitations, their forts and towers on the hill-tops forsaken, and their sure and quiet dwellings nestled in low places. You see the wilderness becoming a fruitful field under the hands of men who have but lately learned from the gospel to love the arts of peace. Young men and maidens, old men and children, all, with one heart and with one voice, praising God; all offering up daily their morning and evening prayers; all searching the Scriptures to find the way of eternal life; all valuing the word of God above every other gift; all, in a greater or less degree, bringing forth and visibly displaying in their

\* "New Zealand," by R. G. Jameson, pp. 260, &c.

outward lives, some fruits of the influences of the Spirit. Where will you find, throughout the Christian world, more signal manifestations of the presence of that Spirit, or more living evidences of the kingdom of Christ?"

Never, then, did a Christian bishop enter on a more promising field. So far from its being a defective work, suffering under the neglect of many and important means of usefulness, he himself describes it as of a most encouraging character. The Lord, by the power of His word, had bowed the hearts of a fierce and stubborn people, so that they were literally as children willing and waiting to be taught. The period of his arrival was a season of inexpressible value, requiring prompt and energetic effort. The net was full of fishes: it only remained to bring it safe to shore. To permanize this impulsive people in the impressions they had received, that was the grand desideratum: it only needed that all minor considerations should be merged on one leading thought and object, the continued communication of the same pure truth of the gospel, with a continuance of the same blessing which had hitherto rested upon it, and the diligent organization of churches and schools, so as to meet the increasing wants of the Christian natives. The Missionaries had done what they could. They had not confined themselves to the education of adults, and neglected that of children; nor is there any thing in the history of the Mission to substantiate the assertion that the Church Missionary Society discourages schools in the earlier stages of Missionary work. Amidst an immense pressure of responsibility, an entire nation thrown upon them suddenly for instruction, they did all that was possible. It is true there were many things to be set in order, and more immediately the formation of training-schools and colleges for the raising up of well-qualified catechists and schoolmasters, and a native pastorate. But how could it have been otherwise? Between 1836 and 1841, the change which had taken place was of the most marvellous character. In 1836 the tribes were perturbed by a ferocious war, amidst the cannibal atrocities of which the Missionaries who occupied the more advanced posts were placed in imminent danger. Four years more, and the Missionaries find themselves with some 30,000 under instruction. Of this rapid change, the Rev. W. Williams thus speaks, in a letter dated May 1840—

"Perhaps there is not any one Mission belonging to any Society, in which a larger measure of God's blessing has been poured

out, than upon the New-Zealand Mission. The population, as a body, profess Christianity; the attendance at the house of God is large; the number of sincere inquirers is daily increasing, which is partly evidenced by a desire to be in possession of Testaments and Prayer-books far beyond our means of supply. The numbers of congregations under charge of European and native teachers are as follows—Kaitaia 2000, Bay of Islands 4000, Thames 2000, Waikato 2000, Tauranga 1800, Rotorua and Taupo 2000, East Cape 2000, Poverty Bay 2400, Table Cape and Wairoa 3000, Kapiti 2500, Wanganui 2000, Taranaki 1000. As these numbers are under the mark the total amount cannot be less than 27,000." Twenty and five years the Missionaries had laboured in New Zealand, more than the years that Jacob served with Laban; but the Lord was now about to show them that it was no Laban they were serving, and to pour out on them a blessing, not with a niggard hand, but one so large that they knew not how to receive it. "In 1839, the number of attendants on public worship was 2203; in 1840, 8760; and in 1841, 30,000."

Amidst such a pressure of responsibility, they had wrought with unceasing diligence, and that, too, amidst difficulties and dangers of no ordinary character; and nothing can be more unjust than to magnify the results of the episcopate by disparaging the labours of those faithful men, who, in conjunction with the Wesleyan Missionaries, endured the discouragements and perils of the earlier work, and had virtually won the battle before the reinforcements arrived, so that all that remained to be done was to secure the results of the victory.

We have no wish to follow the example of our contemporary, and depreciate the action of the episcopate in order to exalt the Missionary agency. Difficult times arose in New Zealand, complications of a political nature, arising from colonization and the land question. The minds of the Maories became much unsettled, and the work of Christian progress suffered in consequence. Scarcely had these excitements subsided, when the gold-fields of Australia were discovered, and sudden wealth, from the increased value of their agricultural produce, was poured in upon the natives. We shall not now pause to trace the Mission through this trying period, but rather desire to look at it in its emergence from these obscurations, and the again improving aspect of the present. The writer is candid enough to admit the existence of native boarding-schools in "many different parts of the diocese, conducted by the Church Missionary clergy," but he speaks

of them as the consequence of a model school of the kind, established by the bishop in connexion with his college at Auckland. Now the fact is, that the Missionaries were convinced of the necessity of boarding-schools, as best adapted for the necessities of the Maories, long before the arrival of the bishop. So early as the year 1829, Archdeacon W. Williams expresses his convictions as to the necessity of drawing the children away from their parents, and forming them into a distinct community.

This conviction had been forced on the Missionaries from the scattered and migratory habits of the people in the majority of the districts, so as to render the instances few in which day schools of any magnitude could be conducted with regularity. But the difficulty in the formation of such institutions consisted in the expense connected with them; for though many attempts had been made, no system had been brought into action by which a school could be maintained at less than six pounds per annum for each child. Nor was the difficulty solved until the arrival of Governor Grey at the end of 1845. In the January of 1847, our Missionary, the Rev. R. Maunsell, addressed to His Excellency an important letter, touching on a variety of points connected with the well-being of the natives. The passage which bears on the department of education we introduce.

“What the aborigines now most need is education—education, not only for their own sakes, but for that, also, of the colony . . . . A chief reason, I suspect, why so little has been done hitherto towards the education of the aborigines, is from an impression that there are religious Societies in operation which will adequately attend to that duty. This opinion, I am sorry to say, is far from being correct. That a great deal has been done is as much a source of wonder as of gratitude. On this head, however, I shall not enlarge, after the high terms in which your Excellency was pleased to speak to me in reference to our labours. Still, a statement of the case will, I am sure, evince how deeply we need a large and immediate increase to the means we have now in operation. I will confine myself to the labours of the Church Missionary Society, with which I am connected, and with which I am best acquainted. The field of labour of this Society may be described as being all that portion of the island, excepting a few places occupied by the Roman Catholics, which lies to the eastward of a line drawn from Cape Maria Van Diemen down by Kaitaia on to Waimate; thence nearly direct to Auckland; from thence to the mouth of

the Waikato river, up the Waikato, on to Taupo; down the Wanganui to its mouth, and along the western coast to Port Nicholson. That is to say, we occupy upwards of five-sixths of this island—an island nearly as large as Great Britain. We occupy it with twenty-four men, ordained and catechists, two of whom are unable from sickness to continue any longer in the field, and others are unable from the same cause, and age, to attend to their heavy duties. On the Mission 10,000*l.* is spent annually by the Home Society, and this sum is appropriated to the providing and maintaining residences for the Missionaries, to the salaries of the Missionaries, to their travelling and all such contingent expenses, to the building, repairing, and maintaining places of worship, and to the keeping in operation a press for printing the Scriptures and other useful books in the Maori tongue. More than 500*l.* also of this sum is devoted to the maintenance of schools. All the stations except two are occupied but by one Missionary, and the average size of his sphere of labour is larger than an English diocese. On him alone rests every kind of duty connected with the station, secular and spiritual; and more than a third of his time is occupied in visiting the different native settlements. With so many distracting cares, it is clear that he cannot pay steady attention to any one locality, or to any school on that locality. The native teachers, it is true, are useful, but their characters are too unstable, and their knowledge too scanty, to enable us to look for any thing that is permanent or solid from them. To add to our difficulties the people are, in the majority of the districts, so scattered and so migratory, that the instances are but few in which day schools of any magnitude are capable of being conducted with regularity. The only satisfactory way in which education can be brought to bear on this population is through the medium of boarding-schools. In establishing these, we are met by the insuperable difficulties of heavy expenditure and contracted means. Though many attempts have been made, no system has been yet brought into action by which a school can be maintained at less than six pounds per annum for each child. The school at Kaitaia is the only exception I am aware of. In that institution twenty children are maintained and boarded at an expense of two pounds per child; but this is owing to there being two Missionaries on that station; men not only active, but skilled also in manual occupation, and thus able to avail themselves of local advantages.

“To what source we are to look for the



support of schools is a question that has been for some time anxiously discussed in this Mission. From the Home Society, considering the heavy demands upon them, and from densely-peopled quarters of the world, we cannot expect any increase of their grant; indeed, they have more than once intimated a desire to be relieved from the burden of this Mission, that they might bend their attention to new fields, in which the need of Missionary labour is more urgent than it is even in this island. Our local resources, your Excellency is, I dare say, well aware, are very scanty, while the calls for instruction are more urgent. Our present position may therefore be not unaptly described by the homely but strong proverb of the Jewish king—'The children are come to the birth, and there is not strength to bring forth.' We have brought the people into condition for receiving instruction, and are now unable to administer it. What the coming years will witness is a matter of deep anxiety. The fear is, that circumstances, now so favourable, will not be found to continue if unimproved. Under these feelings, I have taken the liberty of bringing this question before your notice. I have been told that my labour would be lost; but as I believe your desires are with us, I venture to hope you will make an effort to have that done for the aborigines which is but common justice on the part of their protectors and guardians—the British Government—who have, mainly through Missionary influence obtained from them the voluntary cession of such a large measure of control over their properties, and who are now receiving 20,000*l.* per annum from them in the shape of taxes; a sum of which I was not aware until I heard it from your Excellency, and on which I leave it with your Excellency to say whether my memory has misled me."

To this letter Sir G. Grey, on the 12th of February, returned the following reply—

"I have not so much time as I could wish to reply to your very interesting letter of the 25th ult. I can perhaps, however, in a few words, convey to you the substance of my views, and of my power to act in reference to the subject to which you allude. Firstly, I think we shall shortly receive from the natives 20,000*l.* a-year in the form of taxes, but at present I doubt if we receive from them more than 12,000*l.* to 15,000*l.* per annum. Secondly, I quite agree with the main features of your ideas respecting the necessity for educating the natives; and my most earnest desire is to introduce a good permanent system of education into New Zealand; but this can only be done by having a fixed and unflin-

ing fund devoted to this purpose. At present such a fund could not be obtained from the revenue; but if the colonies continue to prosper, and the revenue to increase, as at present, in two or three years' time a considerable annual sum might be voted for that purpose. I need hardly say that I anxiously watch for the moment when I can safely do this."

It was done without delay, so soon as the tranquillization of the country, disturbed for a season by Heki's rebellion in the north, and the collisions in the Hutt valley, had been accomplished. Funds were granted. The Missionaries, thus encouraged, were enabled to carry out the beneficial measures long contemplated by them. Boarding-schools were formed in different localities, and are still in healthful operation. We do not desire to investigate this subject further. We institute no inquiry into the practical working and eventual issue of St. John's College, Auckland; but we cannot coincide with the conclusion to which the writer of the article under review has thought himself justified in ruling—"These institutions are mainly due to the Bishop's example and success for several years."

Sir George Grey, in his answer to Mr. Maunsell, decided to grant money in aid of schools for the improvement of the natives, on the ground that they paid to the treasury 20,000*l.* annually in the form of taxes, and therefore that they ought to derive from the treasury some proportionable benefit. Aware, moreover, how essential it is to the efficient working of a school that there should be no uncertainty as to the funds by which it is sustained, he expressed his anxiety that the funds set apart for this purpose should be fixed and unflinching. We trust that there will be no disturbance of these wise and settled arrangements. We speak this, because we are apprehensive on the subject, and do not feel confidence in the course of action which the General Assembly may adopt towards the native race. The New Zealanders are to all intents and purposes a portion of Her Majesty's subjects; they are more than double the number of the Europeans; they possess more property in proportion, and contribute largely to the colonial revenue, yet have they not a single representative in the House. It will not do, therefore, that a responsible ministry, dependent for its continuance on the majority in the Assembly, should be permitted to assume the management of native affairs. The Constitution Act reserves to the Governor the exclusive power in all native matters; and where the constitution has lodged it, there it must remain. The

friends of the New Zealander must watch with solicitude lest there be any tendency on the part of the Governor to void his own duties in this respect, and allow the responsible ministry to assume the management of native affairs. We fear the result would be, that the 10,000*l.* set apart in the civil list for native purposes would soon be merged in the general fund of the colony, and that it would be left to the discretion of the Assembly whether any and what sum should be devoted to educational purposes. The financial basis of such efforts would then be the very opposite of fixed and unflinching, as Sir George Grey intended it to be. Nor would the evil, we are inclined to think, be allowed to stop here.

One Missionary writes—"I made an application to the Auckland Board of Education for an allowance for not more than ten native girls as boarders, and have received

answer, that they do not feel warranted, under the present unsettled state of political affairs, to commence any fresh schools; fearing also, that their present means may not exceed the allowances required for the number of scholars upon the books of the schools already established.\*

We can only touch upon these points here. When we have disposed, in our next Number, of the remarks put forth by the "Colonial Church Chronicle" on New-Zealand ecclesiastical affairs, under the respective heads of native teachers and ordination, we shall have to say something as to the general prospects of the native race.

\* 7000*l.* out of the 10,000*l.* has hitherto been given for educational purposes, divided between three religious bodies, the Church of England, the Wesleyans, and the Roman Catholics.

## THE MEMORANDUM OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY ON THE EXTENSION OF THE EPISCOPATE.

THE Committee of the Church Missionary Society put forth, some short time back, a memorandum having reference to the extension of the Episcopate, a paper which, in some quarters, has been so strangely misinterpreted, that upon this have been founded very heavy accusations against the Society, as disloyal to its profession as a Church Society, so that, in fact, the designation of Church Missionary has been nothing more than a veil to conceal a Presbyterian predilection, and we have been enacting the part of Jacob when he permitted the skins of the kids of the goats to be put on his hands and on the smooth of his neck, that he might counterfeit his brother, and obtain the blessing. One periodical in particular has put forth a very strongly-worded article on the subject. We have been compelled in this Number to notice other observations of that cotemporary on the character of the Society's work in New Zealand—observations which, under the semblance of commendation, are in truth of a disparaging character, and remind us of a quotation—

"Mentio si qua

De capitolini furtis injecta Petilli  
Te coram fuerit; defendas, ut tuus est mos:  
Me capitolinus convictore usus amicoque  
A puero est, causaque meâ permulta rogatus  
Fecit: et incolumis lætor quod vivit in urbe:  
Sed tamen admiror, quo pacto iudicium illud  
Fugerit."

And of this kind of writing we are constrained to add, in the language of the same poet—

"Hic nigræ succus loliginis, hæc est  
Ærugo mera: quod vitium procul abferre chartis.  
Atque animo prius, ut si quid promittere de me  
Possum aliud, vere promitto."

The article, however, on the "Memorandum of the Church Missionary Society in reference to the extension of the Episcopate in India" has nothing about it of a covert character. It is a broad and plain-spoken charge against the Society of being false to its profession and anti-episcopalian in its action. "It would be impossible," so writes our reviewer, "to pass by the formal and deliberate statement which has just been made by the Church Missionary Society on the extension of the episcopate in India. It is a very serious question—we will add plainly, it is a vital question—which the Society has now raised. It is a question which goes deeper far than perhaps the Committee who have put forth this memorandum quite clearly see. We believe that it is the question of a true and a scriptural, and therefore of a hopeful and prosperous Mission-work." In this last sentence we are in agreement with the writer. We are persuaded that the questions raised on this subject touch the vitality and prosperous character of the Missionary work. If there did not exist some urgent necessity, the friends of this Society may be assured that a Committee, which has ever been remarkably distinguished for prudence and discretion, would never have rushed into the arena of controversy, and thus placed the Society in a position in which every open and secret

foe might have an opportunity of hurling a spear against it. But the memorandum was put forth because great interests were imperilled, and novelties attempted to be surreptitiously introduced, which, if permitted to pass unnoticed, would have inflicted serious injury on the great work of Missions, both in their initiative, and as they approximated towards their maturity. The question has not been raised by us: it has been raised by others; and it has been raised, moreover, in such a way, as very dexterously, unless this memorandum had been interposed, to compromise the Church Missionary Society in the movement, as though we had been consenting parties to it.

The Committee has been compelled, therefore, however reluctantly, to take up defensive ground; but we are persuaded it is for the interests of the Church of England, as well at home as in its Missions, that the Society has been constrained to a procedure, which, unless plain duty imposed a different line of conduct, it would have preferred to have avoided. The whole question will now be thoroughly sifted, and we entertain no doubt as to the decision to which any candid and scripturally instructed mind will be enabled to arrive.

The quotation, of which we have given the initiative sentence, after enumerating many and serious questions raised, in the opinion of the writer, by the Society's memorandum, which we shall have occasion to notice *seriatim* in the course of these observations, concludes with the following sentence—"We must take leave to say there is yet one other [question raised] and it is this, Whether the principle and spirit of Presbyterianism is or is not consistent with the profession of a Missionary Society of the Church of England?"

We are therefore put upon our trial before the nation, and what shall we urge in our defence? Our impugner is candid enough to admit that the Society since its foundation in 1799, has done much good, and that "it can point to much faithful and zealous labour, and to a fair proportion of real fruit." Truly, in the presence of great facts, of congregations, of native churches raised up in various parts of heathendom, of nations evangelized, of a breadth and extension given to the scriptural Christianity of the Church of England, which, if abstracted, would leave her amongst the weakest and most impoverished, instead of amongst the most zealous and productive of Christian churches in Missionary action, such an admission becomes a matter of necessity. But this "fair proportion of real fruit," how has it been moulded? Have our infant churches been assimilated to the Pres-

byterian or the Church of England model? Surely it is preposterous that, at this period of its history, the Church Missionary Society should be accused of anti-episcopal views, and thus of professing to be what it really is not, when the entire practice of its Missions tells the other way. We might unhesitatingly rest our defence, without going further into the question, on our Missionary practice. Our congregations are *bona fide* Church of England congregations. The translated Prayer book is placed in their hands. This has been done by our Missionaries on a very extensive scale, and nowhere do we find more justice rendered to the responsive character of our services, than in the congregations which our Society has been instrumental in raising up from amongst the heathen. We have had Lutheran Missionaries in our service, imitating in this respect the example of older Societies, at a time when Missionaries from our own church were not obtainable. But we have never allowed any divergence in the moulding of the infantile churches, from Church of England organization. Rhenius, of Tinnevely, was one of the most eminent and devoted of our Missionaries, a man remarkable for his great activity, diligence, and perseverance, all prompted by an ardent zeal for his Saviour's glory and the salvation of souls; one, moreover, whose services had been greatly blessed; for, after fifteen years of labour on his part, and that of the Missionaries associated with him, "he had the satisfaction of seeing more than ten thousand natives, men, women and children, brought under Christian instruction, including a large body of native teachers, chiefly trained by himself, who were labouring amongst these converts as catechists and schoolmasters, under the direction and control of himself and his brother Missionaries." But there arose difficulties. Rhenius was in Lutheran orders, and, when some of his catechists appeared suitable for ordination, and the necessities of the infant churches demanded that they should be so promoted, he "wished to ordain these men himself, according to the order of his own church, and pleaded the practice of the Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Tanjore as a precedent, who had themselves ordained natives, before the episcopate in India had been established." Had the Society been Presbyterian in its principles, as it is now falsely accused of being, the point would have been conceded. But it was not so. The Committee declined to compromise the Church of England principle of the Society; and when Rhenius, advancing a step further, put forth pamphlets impugning the constitution,

government, and Liturgy of the Church of England, painful as the step was, they dissolved their connexion with him by the following Resolution—"The Committee learn, with deepest regret and distress, the publication in India, by Mr. Rhenius, of his tract entitled 'A Review,' &c., impugning as it does the government, ritual, formularies, and discipline of that church with which he stood connected as a Missionary of this Society; and that, afflicting as it is to them to dissolve their connexion with one, whom, on many grounds, they highly honour and esteem, yet they feel bound in consistency, as attached members of the Church of England, to take this very painful step, and to declare that the Missionary relation which has hitherto subsisted between the Society and Mr. Rhenius is at an end."

As the Society thus decidedly refused to permit any proceeding which tended to cast the infant churches into a mould different from that of the Church of England, so likewise, when the time had come for the discharge of episcopal functions, it welcomed the appointment of the episcopate to such Mission fields. In the case of the New-Zealand bishopric it did more; for, since the establishment of that episcopate, an income of 600*l.* has been regularly paid to it out of the funds of the Church Missionary Society. The episcopate of Rupert's Land was gladly welcomed, and the zealous bishop, who fills that see with so much advantage to the Mission, has not found us anti-episcopalian in our action. The bishopric of Sierra Leone was mainly promoted by men who are well known to be amongst the chief friends and supporters of the Church Missionary Society. The bishops, on their arrival in their respective sees, have not met with any obstructions from us in the prosecution of their duties. So far as we are concerned, every facility has been afforded them. They have entered into our churches and congregations; our buildings have been placed at their disposal; our native converts have come to them for confirmation; and native candidates have sought ordination at their hands as eagerly as any of the most resolute episcopalians amongst ourselves. It is rather late in the day to bring a charge of this kind against the Society, and we might be justified in appealing to our past character and services to shield us from such an imputation, and there permitting the controversy to terminate.

The fact is, that the question agitated at present is not at all, as some, to subserve their own purposes, pretend, a question affecting the main point of episcopacy, and its re-

cognition or otherwise in our Mission fields, but a question as to certain details of arrangement, on which two individuals, or two Societies, both equally attached to it, might nevertheless form different opinions. What these points are we shall now proceed to place before our readers.

It is very earnestly contended that there should be, what is designated, "purely Missionary bishops." By this we are to understand, that, at the very initiative of a Mission, a bishop must go out with the Presbytery, and that this is absolutely essential to the well-being of the work.

We recognise Grant's Bampton Lectures as the standard work on this theory of Missions—a work which has not hesitated to pronounce individual earnestness, nay, any member of associated individuals, however zealous for the honor of Christ, as incompetent to the great procedure of evangelization. Aliter the same strain, although with unequal power—

*Dextræ se parvus Iulus*

*Impliciturque patrem, non passibus æquis—*  
The writer in our contemporary pronounces all Missions which have not been instituted after this theory as "not only weak and irregular, but, "we say it deliberately, non-scriptural—not primitive, not apostolic, and therefore not hopeful, and not bearing the seed of real life within it." We are prepared without hesitation to consider, when opportunity serves, whether the modern innovation of purely Missionary bishops, and Missions so constituted from their birth as to be embryo resemblances of the old national establishment at home, or the old and time-honoured and divinely-blessed procedure of conducting Missions which has hitherto prevailed, be the most scriptural, which by consequence, the apostolic and hopeful mode, and the one bearing the seed within it of real life.

But first let us observe that no Mission among the heathen which has emanated from the Church of England has as yet embodied the principle which is now so zealously contended for. With the exception of that in Bornco there is not one that can be pretended to have carried the episcopacy with it in its first implantation. The Missions of the Gospel Propagation Society were not so initiated. Not only was the episcopate not sent out in the first formation of its Missions, but it did not even confine itself to episcopally-ordained Missionaries. In the abstract of that Society's proceedings, between February 1709-10, and ditto 1710-11, the following passage occurs—"The Society have thought fit to admit into their body several eminent divines and other persons of Holland, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland,

and other countries, being of the Protestant religion. It has been resolved, for the dignity of the Society, and to show them the greater respect, that the notice of their admission should be sent them under the general seal of the Society.\* But how does the subsequent history and progress of these Missions accord with Archdeacon Grant's theories,—'Personal faith, and love and devotedness, may carry with them blessings to individuals, but they are circumscribed by individual life: they cannot transmit themselves; they cannot reach beyond their measure: and if they alone are trusted to for executing what is to be universal and perpetual, they must fail.' But have they failed? These early Missionaries, we must suppose, are to be considered, inasmuch as they were not episcopally ordained, only as personifications of individual life. Is it true that they carried with them blessings only to individuals? did they not to thousands? Which shall best describe the issues of Swartz' labours? Heber, in 1826, found in the south of India, 200 Protestant congregations, and estimated their numbers at 15,000. Again, the Missions of the Propagation Society in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, &c., had not the episcopate at their commencement. It is true the Society was anxious for its establishment, and so early as 1714 a representation on the subject was made to Her Majesty Queen Anne, and a gracious answer returned; but it was not until seventy years subsequently, that the first bishop was consecrated, November 1784, by three Scottish bishops; and what was the state of the Missions during the lengthened period of seventy years? Did they linger and die out, as not apostolic, because not carrying with them the episcopate in the first instance, and therefore "not having the seed within them of real life?" Nay, the accounts given from year to year in the annual reports of the Propagation Society, speak hopefully, and in an encouraging manner, of their progress. The Missionaries relate the state and condition of their parishes, and speak of "the progress they make in converting infidels, and of their success in the exercise of their ministerial function." "The Governors of the provinces acquaint the Society with the sober behaviour and prudent conduct of their Missionaries, and that they gained so much on the affections of their parishioners, that it is reasonably hoped they will be able to influence and dispose them in general to a Christian union and charity one among another."† Notwithstanding the novel ideas of our day, the Missions of the venerable Society were planted without the episcopate,

and we admit at once that when the infant Missions grew up into churches and congregations, it was a very serious defect: still, its incorporated members in the year 1768 were enabled to report—"Through an especial blessing this work of the Lord hath hitherto prospered in their hands. Many more than 130,000 of our own people, infants and adults, and many thousands of Indians and negroes, have been instructed and baptized in the true faith of our Lord Jesus Christ; and more than 150,000 volumes of Bibles and Common-Prayer Books, and other books of devotion and instruction, together with an innumerable quantity of pious small tracts have been dispersed in foreign parts, and there is now a very hopeful and improving appearance of religion in the public worship of God, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, in a great number of churches in our plantations in America, by the means and through the procurement of this co-operation."‡

The Bishop of Oxford, in his history of the American church, bears similar testimony to the success which attended the efforts of the early Missionaries of the Gospel Propagation Society, although the episcopate was not present with them in their Mission. "These, and all save the settled clergy of Virginia and Maryland, were the Missionaries of the Society, then newly formed for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts. To the labours of that venerable body throughout a long season of sluggish inactivity and wintry darkness, the colonies of England are indebted for all the spiritual care bestowed upon them by the mother country. Well did its ministers deserve the honourable name of Christian Missionaries. Theirs were toils too often unrequited, carried on in the face of dangers, loss, and extreme hardships. The hardly settled country was still liable to Indian incursion. The homesteads of the settlers lay far apart from one another, severed by woods, wastes, and morasses, across which, in many places, no better roads were yet carried than an Indian path, with all its uncertainty and danger. Day by day these must be passed by those who discharged in that land the office of the ministry. In many places, also, there were great rivers, from one to six, twelve, and fifteen miles over, with no ferry. He that would answer the end of his mission must not only have a good horse, but a good boat and a couple of experienced watermen."§

The conclusion obvious from these extracts is, that the absence of the episcopate at the

‡ Report, 1765-66.

§ MS. Letters of the S. P. G., quoted in "Early Colonial Church," No. IV., by Rev. E. Hawkins.

\* Report, 1717-18. † Ibid., 1718-19.

commencement of these Missions did not exercise upon them any injurious influence, although subsequently, when congregations had been formed in considerable number, the delay which occurred in completing the functional organization of the churches, so as to give them the ordaining element, was, beyond doubt, exceedingly detrimental.

But if a reference to these earlier Missions affords no support to these fine drawn theories, what shall be said of the more recent Missionary work, which, within the last half century, has opened itself out with such amplitude and evident tokens of the Divine blessing? Our New-Zealand Mission is dealt with in another article. The bishop was not needed there to sow the seed: he arrived to gather in the harvest. If the episcopate be so essential to the commencement of Missionary work, how was it that the Bishop of Rupert's Land, on his arrival, found churches filled with attentive congregations, and the firm basis laid of extended operations? How was it that the successive bishops of Sierra Leone, on their arrival, found themselves, not in the midst of benighted heathen, but in the midst of a Christian land, with its parochial subdivisions, where God's Sabbaths were observed, and God's ordinances honoured? "The church," we are told, "takes up the work where individual exertion fails."—as if individuals, going forth as our Missionaries have gone, have not been the messengers of the churches, through whom, as best fitted for the initiative work, the church has acted out its responsibilities. But it is not correct to state that the church takes up the work where individual exertion fails; but the church takes up and clothes with a fuller organization, in order to more extended action, the grand results which, through individual exertion, have been brought together for her use.

But is it true that individual earnestness, unless brought into action by the authority of the church, and moving in the precise channel which that authority prescribes, is to be considered as something irregular, defective, without any scriptural warrant that it will be recognised, and even when it is blessed, yet, from its inherent inadequacy to any great work, carrying with it only a very limited measure of success? The spontaneous prompting of the love of Christ, must it needs wait for the church's call, before it addresses itself to do God's work, and improve the present, yet quickly passing opportunity? One of the most remarkable Missionary movements in the early Missionary action of the Christian Church, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, was the occupation of Antioch as a Missionary station. What decided its selection? The

apostles at Jerusalem, as the body in which was centralized the power of action, did they recognise its importance as a door of access to heathen lands beyond, and did they select the men who were to go forward to the fulfilment of this important undertaking? Not at all: its occupation was, as it were, incidental, under unseen influences, not under human direction. "They who were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word." They went in different directions, as circumstances led them, and some of them reached to Antioch, and there, in a new place, they commenced a new work, of which the apostles knew nothing. It was a mere matter of *individual earnestness*; and yet so large and important did the work become, that when tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church which was in Jerusalem, they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch. We say, then, that the theory, plausible as it seems, and likely to impose on some minds, is not scriptural: nay, indeed, and likely to tie up all the actings of individual earnestness to some central human authority, to which every thing must be deferred, and which must dictate in all matters, would be to interfere with the free action of the Spirit of God, who is the great living administrator, dwelling in the mystical body of Christ's people, and working through the various members as seemeth best to Him for the accomplishment of His own purposes.

But we must go further into this subject. It is an important one, and needs thorough investigation.

What, then, is the work required to be done at the initiative of a Mission? It may be summed up in one word—"evangelize;" convert souls by the word and in the power of the Spirit of God. This is the alone work to be done, to bring the message to bear on the individual conscience. There are neither churches nor congregations on which may be exercised the special duties of the episcopate. If the Bishop of New Zealand should proceed on Mission work to New Caledonia, or the Bishop of Natal to Zanzibar, what should they have to do in order to forward Christ's cause? They would have simply to teach—teach individuals, and that with line on line and precept on precept. If a bishop goes forth at the commencement of a Mission, he ought to do so with a correct view of the work he shall have to discharge, and it must be that of an evangelist: there is no room for any other. He must address himself to the linguistic difficulties which interfere with freedom of communication, and, as these are overcome, seek out individual souls in the same way with the humblest catechist. In

short, he must be as Paul was in similarity of circumstances, who, although clothed with full authority for the administration of churches, on entering a new field acted simply as an evangelist. We have never said, as we are reported to have said, that a bishop "is not an evangelist; that as a bishop he is not suited for an evangelist's work." If he has the disposedness to act so, the duties of the humblest catechist are open to him to engage in; but if he will not stoop to any functions except such as are peculiar to the episcopate, then we say, that, at the initiative of a Mission, there is nothing for him to do. If he would be of use he must become an evangelist.

But why do we press this point? Because, if a bishop, going out at the commencement of a Mission, takes a different view, and expects to act as a bishop, and discharge episcopal functions, the only material on which he can so act is the Missionary agency. But then comes the fear that he will expect deference to his views, and the whole Mission be thus cast into the mould of his idiosyncrasy. The bishop will have to be consulted in every thing, and thus the Mission become cramped. Freedom of action, just at the time when most needed, will be interfered with, and energy become diminished. The bishop may be an earnest, conscientious man, and yet have peculiar views as to the mode in which the work should be prosecuted, which are not such as approve themselves to the Missionaries, who will thus be placed in the painful position, either of doing violence to their own convictions, or contravening the wishes of the bishop. Would each parochial minister think it desirable to have a bishop located in his pariah, and thus, instead of having a general superintendence exercised over him, to find himself interfered with in all the minutiae of the pastoral office? Does the Church of England so deal with her presbyters? No. She honours them; she reposes confidence in them; and leaves them free from such minute interference as would cripple their freedom of action. An extract from a recent charge of the Bishop of Gloucester bears directly on this point. "If the sphere of a bishop's labours be lessened to such an extent as to enable him with ease to watch in minute detail the ministrations of each individual pastor, there will be, I think, great danger lest the activity and energy of the bishop degenerate into injudicious and mischievous meddling; and lest the zeal and decision of character of the clergy manifest themselves in many instances in a defiance of episcopal authority. For whilst many of less vigorous mind would become mere echoes of their bishop's opinions, those

of more independent thought and action would resent with indignation any attempt to control them. So that I cannot but deem it a great blessing, in the present state of theological opinion in the Church of England, that a bishop's diocese is large enough to give full scope to his energy, without any danger lest his activity should interfere with the usefulness of others; and that he is enabled, without any compromise on either side, to prove himself the friend, and counsellor, and zealous encourager of all those who are engaged with him in a common effort to extend the Redeemer's kingdom."

In the view of difficulties such as these, which are not unlikely to arise, we are surely at liberty to inquire whence the necessity for a Bishop at the commencement of a Mission? The presbyter, in his enunciation of God's truth, carries with him just as much of the power of God's Spirit, as any bishop. According to the arrangements of the Church of England, the authority to preach the word is bestowed at the ordaining of the priests. In the ordaining of deacons it is only conditional; but in the ordaining of priests the authority given is full—"Take thou authority to preach the Word of God;" and in the consecration of bishops this is not repeated, because it has been already bestowed. The presbyter is under the most solemn obligations to be faithful and conscientious in the fulfilment of his ordination vow. When, on the question being put to him—"Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ? and are you determined out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing, as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scripture?" he answers, "I am so persuaded and have so determined, by God's grace." And so long as he is thus faithful, no man has any right to interfere with him, and all of divine power which is needed to give effect to the message which he delivers is assured to him. Whence then, we repeat, the necessity of a bishop being present at the commencement of a Mission? Does it really mean, that, in the opinion of certain parties, the priesthood, without the episcopate, is unequal to the work of evangelization, as comprehensive of the teaching of God's word and the conversion of sinners to the faith of Christ? But how does this agree with the high expressions in our ordination service as to the dignity and importance of the office of the priesthood?—"And now again we exhort you in

the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye have in remembrance into how high a dignity and to how weighty an office and charge you are called : that is to say, to be messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord : to teach and to premonish, to feed and to provide for the Lord's family : to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for His children who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ for ever."

But again, how shall the Bishop at this early period of the work, be prepared to act with reference to the Society by which the Missionaries have been sent out? The writer in the "Colonial Church Chronicle" is pleased to give hard names to such organizations. They are designated as "self-constituted associations," and their Committees "irresponsible Committees." What would the writer desire to see substituted in the place of such associations? The organic agency of the Church? But the Church of England is a mixed body. The tares and the wheat grow together to the harvest. The net cast into the sea gathers of every kind. The wise and foolish virgins expect the bridegroom. The unprofitable servant mingles himself with those that are diligent and faithful. More especially is this the case in a great national establishment like the Church of England. When shall a body so constituted throughout all its officers and orders, arrive at simultaneous action as to the work of Missions; or what hope is there that Missions so commenced would be such as God would recognise? But if we are to understand the Church official and representative, then we ask how is this representative body to be defined? of whom should it consist? How shall the representative body be known, or where are the explicit directions afforded us by which its constituent elements may be ascertained, and called forth to the fulfilment of their high responsibilities? Is it to be confined to the episcopacy exclusively? or shall the priesthood be admitted, and to what extent? Shall the entire body of ordained persons have entrance? and if so, how shall that degree of unanimity be secured which is essential to action? And if not all, by what principle is the selection to be governed and where is the authority to be found for such a proceeding? Or if all be laid down so clearly and distinctly, that it is only our ignorance that makes us put these questions, why has not the church official long since resolved itself into a great authoritative Missionary directory, thus superseding and absorbing into itself all irregular and self-constituted associations? Why has it permitted the grievous irregularity of a

"Lay-association," which "selects, approves, and sends Missionaries, superintends and directs their operations, forms new Missions, and relinquishes them?" The fact is, that such theories, however admirable they may seem in the eyes of some persons, are not reducible to practice. The great difficulty has been the intermingling of the flesh and the Spirit, the carnally-minded and the spiritually-minded. Missions, in order that they may be such as God will bless, must be spiritual in their aim and object, seeking the salvation of men's souls, and that by the means which God Himself has appointed; and the only means by which the carnal element in a church shall be so shut out, as that it shall not prevent the commencement of such a work, or spoil it when it has begun, is that of spontaneous, and, so far as human authority, whether ecclesiastical, or secular, is concerned, unbidden, and therefore, in that respect, if men will have it so, unauthorized associations, such, in fact, as are found in the Missionary Societies of the present day. The Church of England, whether we understand by it the whole body, or the church official, has never yet been in a condition to take up as a church, the great work of evangelization. The inert and deadening element of the world has too much intermingled itself with the spiritual element, and, without the help of voluntary association, hangs too heavily upon it, and interferes with its free action. There have been carnally-minded officers, as well as the carnally-minded amongst the clergy and laity of every rank. The result is, that if Missionary action be the duty of the church, to be functionally and authoritatively discharged, it is one which, as such, it has never taken up; it has never been in a position so to do; nor do we know when it will. If, therefore, there has been, as some pretend, irregularity in the self-associated action of Missionary Societies, there is this to be said in their exculpation, that if they had not so acted and taken up the neglected duty, it never would have been done at all. It is very easy to place them in a disadvantageous position by the point blank application of the Scripture sentence—"Saul waited not for Samuel to sacrifice, and it was counted for disobedience."\* We shall endeavour to suppose that the ecclesiastical officers of the church are the Samuel of the parable, and the intrusive laity, who with great self-sacrifice, have associated themselves with such of the clergy of all ranks as might be willing to join them in doing that which had been left undone, to the great

\* Grant's "Bampton Lectures" on Christian Missions.



injury of souls and the detriment of the Redeemer's kingdom, are intended to be personified by Saul, and that the author of the Bampton Lectures on Christian Missions had the mind of the Spirit, when he took that arrow from the divine armoury, and fitted it to his own speculations; but these self-constituted Associations have been abundantly blessed of God, and where, we would ask, are the marks of the divine displeasure? And Saul's kingdom departed from him, but the Missionary Societies of our day have been like Joseph, "a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well, whose branches ran over the wall." The author of the Bampton Lectures on Christian Missions indeed asserts "that failure adheres to them as a natural result." Now we are at issue with him on that point, and we call upon him to make good, by facts, his position, that failure has adhered as a natural result to the efforts of our Missionary Societies. Perhaps, if he proceed candidly to consider whether the results of their Mission work has been such as to justify him in so bold a statement, the same effect may be produced on his mind as on Lord Lyttelton when he proceeded to examine the grounds on which he might most successfully impugn the fact of the Redeemer's resurrection; and the force of truth compel him to admit that the results are such as could never have been obtained except by the blessing of God and the operation of His Spirit.

But still further.—We object to the term "self-constituted Associations." It remains to be proved that voluntary associations of individuals, for the accomplishment of an object that is according to the mind of God, are self-constituted, and simply because the great product of conformity to the mind of God, and obedience to the command of God, is invariably yielded by the action of the Spirit on the *voluntas* of man, as the spring of action, and that often without any human interference: and thus we believe our Missionary organizations to be, not self-associated, but providentially raised up. But supposing the basis on which they stand to be a defective one, it is one common to all of them alike. It is true the Bishop of Oxford, in his history of the American Church, puts a different gloss on the formation of the Gospel Propagation Society. Referring to the paucity of Church of England ministers in New England towards the conclusion of the seventeenth century, he observes—"This was a state of things which could not be endured; and, by a happy movement, in which Dr. Bray was in some measure the suggestor, the bishops of the church set themselves to find some means for its correction. They determined to associate themselves into a body for this purpose, with such

devout members of the laity and clergy as God should induce to join them in their work of mercy. They issued their address to the community, and were joined by ready hearts on all sides; so that, having applied for and obtained a charter of incorporation, they met for despatch of business, as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in June 1701, under the Archbishop of Canterbury as their President." Now we shall place side by side with this quotation an extract from the sermon preached before the Society, Feb. 18, 1703-4, by Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum, who must be supposed to have been tolerably conversant with the events of his own day—"Some years ago a few gentlemen, with some of the clergy and others, entered upon a noble design for Propagating Christian Knowledge. That was set on foot at a time when the nation was charged with heavy taxes—no great encouragement for such an undertaking; yet, by the blessing of God on their pious attempts, the matter has succeeded beyond all men's expectations. While *no law set it on*, and no great nor public stock was engaged in it, yet it still went on, and did spread itself into many parts of the nation. Schools were set up in many places, both in this great city and in the country, in which children are clothed and taught at the charge of the *free contributors*. Books are printed and sent about over the nation; and in a few years time this matter has gained so much reputation, that we may justly reckon it so well fixed that it will make a greater progress, and is past the danger of miscarrying.

"But as charity never faileth, so the zeal of these persons, whose names ought to be had in everlasting remembrance, was not confined within the four seas: it took a freer course, even to the four winds of heaven, to the remote and dark corners of the earth. They entered on the design of supplying our factories and plantations, with the means of propagating Christian knowledge among them. But to make the management legal and safe under Royal protection, and to bring in more to assist in the execution of that which was made too great for a small handful, application was made to his late Majesty, whose memory will be ever glorious among us, let some do what they can to blemish it: he very readily approved of it, and ordered a charter for making them a corporation."

We shall leave it to our readers to harmonize the statements of these two bishops, one written three years after the formation of the Gospel Propagation Society, the other 150 years subsequently. The modern version tells us that the movement originated with the bishops: the ancient one speaks of a "few

gentlemen." We believe this to be fact. The origin of the Christian Knowledge Society, as well as that of the Gospel Propagation Society, was precisely of the same nature with that of the Church Missionary Society: it consisted in the spontaneous movement of "a few gentlemen." They were awakened to a sense of the indifference and stagnation which prevailed. They felt the justice of the reproach cast upon the nation, to which Bishop Burnet refers in the above sermon—"Shall I tell you what we have often heard as a national reflection, that none of the Protestant churches have been so faulty in this respect, as we of this church and nation, while none had greater advantages, in well-established and populous colonies, and in the vast returns of most advantageous trade?" They felt there did exist a very grievous stagnation as to the great duty of communicating the knowledge of Christian truth to those at home and abroad who were ignorant of it. They did not act from official authorization, nor was it the church integral or official that arose to form and accredit the institutions in question; but a few gentlemen, "self-associated individuals," who of themselves, from their own conviction of what was right, entered upon this noble design of propagating Christian Knowledge; "a few gentlemen, with some clergy and others,"—not only self-associated individuals, but actually a lay-association in the first instance—and then, proceeding to increase their numbers, not by authoritative action, but by persuasion and appeals, just as we do. On this self-constituted body was superinduced, in the case of the Gospel Propagation Society, a charter of incorporation; and then, when William III. placed his approbation upon it, others came in—the bishops, probably—"to assist in the execution of that which was too great for a small handful." Had the Archdeacon of St. Albans' theory been thought of and acted upon in those days, these few devoted men would have shrunk from being guilty of Saul's crime, and, waiting for the Samuel of ecclesiastical authority to come and offer the sacrifice, the formation of the two elder Societies of the Church of England, would have been unhappily deferred *sine die*. All the expressions, therefore, which the "Colonial Church Chronicle" is pleased to use, "self-constituted associations," &c., are just as much applicable to the Society over which it extends its sheltering wing of patronage, as the one to which it has so unhappily and unnecessarily, we think, placed itself in a position of antagonism. The only difference which can be specified in the formative circumstances of the two Societies, is the royal charter

of incorporation, which, whatever may be the value that attaches to it, certainly carries with it nothing of ecclesiastical authorization. Of each of the more ancient Societies, in the first impulse from which they sprung, as from our own Society, it is true that "no law set it on," and that the mode by which they sought to increase was the same which we have been accustomed to use—persuasion and invitation. So pleads the Bishop of Sarum—"We, having now gone so far in this matter that we see how much more may be done if well assisted, do address ourselves, in the first place, to this great city [London], and to the several bodies in it that are the most concerned in those parts, to invite them to join in this pious and charitable undertaking."

Missionary Societies have been brought into existence, they have been used and blessed. They cannot be dispensed with. As we are at present circumstanced, there is no other way by which the work could be carried on; and if they were dissolved to-morrow, and the conduct of Missions thrown upon "the Church," the whole of the flourishing work would slacken, and, at no distant period, altogether cease.

And now, then, we recur to the question—If bishops be sent out at the commencement of a Mission, purely Missionary bishops, "not sought for of the church, but sent forth by the church; going before to organize it, not waiting till it hath been partially organized; a leader, not a follower, in the march of the Redeemer's conquering and triumphant gospel;" if from such high-sounding phraseology it be permissible to descend to a plain matter-of-fact question—How shall the bishop so adjust himself to the Missionary Society whose agents are associated with him, as not to interfere with that legitimate influence, which, as having sent out the men, and providing them with all requisite means for the prosecution of their work, it has a right to exercise? Shall he be prepared to place himself under the general control of the managing Committee, or retain an independent position? Many would consider it unbecoming and inconsistent with the dignity of the episcopal office, to submit themselves to such control, however considerably exercised. But if, declining this, the bishop proceed to exercise a separate influence and authority, in what position shall the Missionaries be placed? How shall they serve two masters? How, under such circumstances, shall difficulties and misunderstandings be avoided, and that in the commencement of a Mission, when a footing has to be gained amongst a strange people, misapprehensions corrected, and confidence established; and when, in order to the attain-

ment of such results, every thing needs to be carried on in harmonious co-operation?

There is, then, no special advantage to be gained by the presence of a bishop with the first evangelists, for the work then required to be done may be done just as efficiently by the faithful presbyter as by the bishop. But while there is no special advantage, there may be in such arrangement very much of inconvenience and serious detriment to the work. We desire therefore to submit it to the consideration of all unprejudiced and candid persons, whether, under all circumstances, it would not be better to defer the episcopate until there be opportunity for the discharge of its peculiar functions, and congregations be formed, from whence, as they rise up out of their embryo state into some measure of establishment and consolidation, the Missionary Society, who first planted the seed, with a jealous adherence to its proper work, the

evangelization of the heathen, and the preaching and teaching of the gospel where Christ has not been named, will commence to withdraw itself? This is the first question which we have to submit to the consideration of our readers. But it will be observed it is not one affecting the question of episcopacy in the abstract, but one of arrangement and detail. It is one on which different views may be held by individuals equally attached to the episcopal form of church government; and for those who take one side of this question, to stigmatize their brethren as entertaining the principle and practice of Presbyterianism under a profession of attachment to the Church of England, is a proceeding alike ungenerous and unjust.

But we have not done with this subject: there is another, and, if possible, a more important branch of it, which must be deferred to our next Number.

### THE NIGER MISSION.

We have received letters from the Rev. Samuel Crowther, bearing date, Jeba, March 30, 1858. Our readers will mark the recency of date, and the facility of communication afforded by the overland mail route through the Yoruba country. He had received letters from head-quarters, approving of the steps which he had taken in the selection of stations for the Niger Mission, and giving him a discretionary power in future proceedings of the same kind. These had much encouraged him. He then says—"The Committee may rest satisfied that I shall use all my endeavours to cement friendship with the people of different nations on the Niger, from Abo to Rabba, so as to facilitate communication in open boats or canoes, without molestation or hindrance. I thank the Committee for their promised support in the establishment of the Niger Mission, and especially Rabba, as a station which connects this with the Yoruba Mission. It is a most important place in this respect."

We are truly thankful to find that a reinforcement has been pushed forward from Sierra Leone, to meet the necessities of this new and important Mission, and that four Christian visitors had reached Fernando Po. We trust that by this time they have strengthened Mr. Crowther's hands at Rabba.

The steamer "Sunbeam" is not expected at the Confluence until the end of June. So soon as she arrives, an ascent of the Tshadda in July or August will be commenced. We regard with deep interest this opening up of the interior, and the prospect of a new advance into the very heart of Africa. The Lord vouchsafe his blessing, and make this

African Mission, African in every sense—African in its agents, African in its objects, a praise in the earth.

Mr. Crowther's letter of March 30th we give *in extenso*. Our friends will perceive the measures taken by him in order to the immediate commencement of Missionary work at Rabba.

"Since I wrote last I have paid another visit to Rabba, at which place I have spent four days among the people. I lodged in the house of Ndeshi, the chief, who was very kind to me. On announcing to him my intention of having a Mission station among them, quite distinct from that which they had offered as a factory six months ago, because a factory and school-house should not be so near to each other, he was so glad, that he at once gave me permission to walk about all the ruins of the western part of Rabba, and choose the most eligible spot for our purpose.

"Having fixed upon a place on the cliff, which can easily be enclosed on three sides, to prevent interruption and annoyance from the beasts of burden which overspread the ruins in search of provender, the place being both dry and airy, and not exposed to constant fires, which now and then break out among the thick group of huts, I applied to Ndeshi for it. He accompanied me to the spot with several of his head chiefs, and granted the land for the use of the Church Missionary Society. He said all the western division of Rabba belongs to him as chief of the Nufe population, whereas the eastern division belongs to the Felanis, who are still in the camp at Bida. Some hundred huts have been erected within the last few months.

"As the huts of the people have but one entrance, and no ventilation of any kind; and no verandah to shelter the walls, in consequence of which they are close and uncomfortable, especially when the only entrance is blocked up by constant visitors, I have arranged for five conical huts to be built on the Mission ground, for the use of any one who may be sent here, or for the accommodation of visitors from the Yoruba Mission. The huts will be got up for the small sum of 6*l.*, and in an improved state; thus the place will be kept up, till better supplied. Ndeshi, the chief has undertaken the work, and if they are faithful to their promise, they will have completed them when I return to Rabba after Easter, as I intend to do.

"When I was selecting the piece of land, I first pitched upon a place where there was a heap of hippopotami bones, which Ndeshi told me was a fetish ground belonging to his brother, and requested that I should move higher up a little for the present, till he has informed his brother that he intends to give his sacred ground to the Anasara. Ndeshi himself professes Mohammedanism. Thus at Rabba, a chief seat of Mohammedanism before its destruction, heathenish superstition continued to have a strong hold in the heart of a large portion of the population.

"Having made all necessary arrangements about the huts, I left Rabba on Saturday morning, the 27th, by land, that I might see the character of the country inland along the northern bank of the Kowarra. The way to the camp leads from east to west, over a thinly wooded plain, perfectly dry, soil red mould, thinly covered on the surface with sand. The road, well trodden, runs in a parallel with the river from one to three miles with the water's edge, according to the bend of the river. There were a few dry water courses, and two continue running into the Kowarra. The distance from Rabba to our camp by land is about sixteen miles. I passed three villages which are being rebuilt: the inhabitants are just returning home from their flight: their names are Tantabee, Saff, and Gbongborohu."

We add some observations on the various sub-divisions of this great field of labour, and the necessity of Christian consideration on the part of different Societies, so as not to interfere with each other's efforts, and thus obstruct the progress of the gospel.

"The Bights of Benin and Biafra divide themselves, by means of their rivers, into four great Missionary fields of labour, which, if they were so taken and occupied by different Missionary Societies, it would prove of great advantage to the rapid progress of the gospel.

"1st. From the river Volta to Badagry is one division, which takes in Whydah, Dabomey, Puto, Nivo, Badagry, and all speaking the Popo language on the coasts, and in the interior parts the Shabe and Borgu countries, to Busa, on the banks of the Niger.

"2d. The second division would be from Lagos to the Nua River, which takes in the Ijebu and Shekiri countries of the Yoruba dialects; and in the interior are the Yoruba and the kingdom of Benin, to the banks of the Niger at Ibo, Igara, Kakanda, and Nupe countries.

"3d. The third grand division would be from the Nun to Old Calabar river, where Brass, Idzo, New Calabar, and Bonny kindred languages are spoken. This division will include the large portion of the Ibo country inland towards the banks of the Tshadda.

"4th. The fourth division would be from Old Calabar to the Cameroons, having all the inland tribes north-eastward to the upper part of the Buruwe to the country of Kororofa, the capital of which is Wukari.

"Most happily the English Baptist Missionaries have turned their attention to the Cameroons, whilst the Missionaries of the Scotch Presbyterian Society have sole occupation of the Old-Calabar river; and if the same example would be adopted by the Church, the Wesleyan, and the American Baptist Missionary Societies, to occupy separate fields of labour, without intersecting each other's line of operations, or having their stations so proximate to each other in the same town and villages, as to bring each other's peculiarities to the notice of the new converts, or heathen population at large, who cannot understand these peculiarities, we should be more successful in our Missionary labour."

In conclusion, we have only to add, that, family affairs rendering his presence desirable, Mr. Crowther had received permission from the Committee to visit Lagos. But he has decided not to avail himself of that permission, and to arrange matters by letters. His reasons for this determination are thus given—

"To break off for a short time from the Niger, on a short visit to the Yoruba Mission, where things are not properly secured, might prove a drawback which may cause months and another year to recover. This is one weighty reason with me that I prefer remaining till the end of the year."

We pray that he may be long spared to spread the Gospel amongst his countrymen; for, to use his own Yoruba proverb,

Erica Lassan Po o ju igbe,  
Ene Rere won o ju ogu lo.

Ordinary people are as common as grass;  
But good people are dearer than an eye.

MEMORANDUM OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY,  
ON THE EXTENSION OF THE EPISCOPATE.

A GREAT discovery has been made in our day. The *sine quâ non* of Christian Missions has been brought to light. The founders of the great Missionary Societies laboured in ignorance of this important secret. They did not know that the grand essentiality of successful Missionary work lies in the presence of the Episcopate; so much so, that for a defect in this respect, nothing can compensate.

Is this an exaggerated exposition of the views in question? No; it is only the bare truth, divested of the astute language in which are not unfrequently wrapped up startling errors, veiled in measured words, lest unprepared minds might be alarmed and take to flight. But let the following sentence be perused, and it will be found to contain all that we have stated—"Only when, in every city of Hindûstan, these poor heathen see a company of the prophets prophesying, and [a] Samuel standing as appointed over them; only then, we humbly believe, will the Spirit of God descend in showers of blessing on that parched and withered land; only then the messengers of Saul, and Saul himself, will be awed, and conquered, and won," &c. The vitality of action, and the power to convert and save, according to these views, is transferred from the truth which the church is to deliver, to the church itself, and completeness of functional organization, rather than fidelity in the enunciation of the message entrusted to it, is indicated as the speciality which connects with usefulness.

This is the dogma that is really contended for, and that under the pretext of extending the Episcopate. "The learning and the holiness of a Henry Martyn cannot avail to do the full work of a Missionary alone. You must raise up in India, not merely godly men, but the church of Christ." It is not, then, so much the Gospel that is needed, as the church "planted in its strength." Whatever may be predicated of the former, this latter cannot be dispensed with. Better, in the conviction of many, if, indeed, they would honestly confess their thoughts upon the subject—better the Episcopacy without the Gospel, than the Gospel without the Episcopacy.

The better to sustain the theory, existing Missions, which had been commenced and prosecuted on the old-fashioned principle, that the faithful teaching of the truth as it is in Jesus constitutes the chief element of strength, and that the fashion and structure of the agency by which it is to be made known is of subordinate consideration, are all dispa-

raged, and the results which they have yielded, pronounced to be defective and of little value; so that it is only by the prompt additament of the Episcopate that they can be preserved from rapid decay and utter extinction. And here, again, we find ourselves in difficulty, for the conclusions at which we have arrived on the subject of Missionary results have been of a reverse character. We, in our ignorance, had conceived that the Mission work which has been carried on for the last fifty years had prospered beyond our most sanguine expectations; and we have been in the habit of directing attention to the new and interesting formations which, in different directions, have risen up out of the deep sea of heathenism, like the coral groups of isles in the bosom of the Pacific. We had fancied, too, that these results had been yielded wherever the Gospel of Christ had been faithfully and affectionately taught, and that irrespectively of name or denomination. Have these conclusions been in accordance with the reality of things, or have we been deceived by an illusion?

"As when a shepherd of the Hebrid isles,  
Placed far amid the melancholy main—  
Whether it be lone fancy him beguiles,  
Or that aerial beings sometimes deign  
To stand embodied to our senses plain—  
Sees on the naked hill, or valley low,  
The whilst in ocean Phœbus dips his wain,  
A vast assembly moving to and fro;  
Then all at once in air dissolves the wondrous  
show;"\*

so the gardens of the Lord, reclaimed from the wilderness, which we had peopled with infant churches and congregations of great promise, suddenly disappear before the magic influence of a few disparaging sentences, and leave behind nothing but the drear monotonous desert. Except equipped in the completeness of ecclesiastical organization, all efforts to communicate the Gospel labour under "an inherent defect, an inability to take up the command of Christ, and to make disciples of all nations. We see why failure adheres to them as a natural result."† Well, there may be a glorious landscape, rich plains and fertile valleys, the beauties of nature and the successful labours of man, the village and the harvest scenes, and yet one on the heights above unhappily places himself in such an

\* Thomson, "The Castle of Indolence."

† "Grant's Christian Missions."

unfavourable position, where some envious rock rudely protrudes itself, that all the magnificence of the *coup d'œil* is lost upon him; and, when he descends from the elevation he has nothing save his disappointments to utter forth. Others, however, have caught the glories of the prospect, and, carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment, have borne more faithful testimony. We give one. It has reference to Church Missionary Society action; and as we are rather fond of contrasts, we shall place it side by side with the above extract from the Bampton Lectures on Christian Missions—"God has prospered its labours with no scanty measures of actual success. Amidst what confident predictions of undoubted failure—what Ismael-mockings of the true heir by the son of the bondwoman—were these labours first commenced? How have the results vindicated those who ventured on those labours in simple faith in Christ's word, with a simple trust in the power of His Gospel, wherever it is preached in its unadulterated purity, to reach, under the teaching of His Spirit, the deep cravings of man's heart; and, by bringing him to Christ the Lord, to overthrow the strongholds of the enemy. Look at the islands of New Zealand, now a Christian bishopric; hear the songs of praise to Christ the Lord, rising in the Maori tongue amongst those coral reefs of the antipodes: or look to Southern India, waiting for the word of Christ, stretching forth her hands to God, saying, as did one of old in vision, 'Come over, and help us.' Look to that glorious Tinnevely Mission, to which such glorious witness has been borne by the bishop of that district: or look again to that first great practical redress of the wrongs done to Africa by England, the Christian settlement of Sierra Leone. Look to the 13,010 communicants gathered by this Society from amongst the heathen. Look, I would say, above all, to the great fact, that it has begun by a company of native priests, deacons, and catechists, not merely to spread the truth of Christ by foreign lips, but to reproduce the church through an indigenous ministry; and say, I pray you, whether you can doubt that 'out of' its early 'weakness' this Institution has been made strong, when, in these spiritual children given to its prayer and labours, God has poured out so largely on it the blessing of the 'man who hath his quiver full of them.' Surely, when, with humble gratitude to God, of whom alone cometh the increase, we thus survey the triumphs won within these fifty years from amongst the very strongholds of the kingdom of Satan, we may venture to take to ourselves all the words of this our

text, and say, 'Who . . . by faith, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, put to flight the armies of the aliens.'"\*

We cannot accept, therefore, as a reality, the alleged failure of modern Missionary labour. These were those who of old brought back an evil report of the land—"a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof;" but the one cluster of grapes, which the Right Rev. Prelate from whom we have just quoted has borne forth to our view on that staff of eloquence inherited from his venerated father, suffices to convict of inaccuracy those disheartening views which some amongst us take of the results of Missionary labour; and we shall merely observe, without delaying further on this digression from our main subject, that if, in order to the establishment of the theory that Missionary efforts to be effective, must go forth in the fulness of ecclesiastical organization, its supporters must first demonstrate the failure of modern Missions, they have undertaken to lay the foundation of their projected superstructure in the midst of difficulties which they can never prevail to overcome.

We have so far progressed in our subject as that its true character is now apparent. It is not so much a question about the extension of the Episcopate, as one respecting the efficacy of the Gospel. Paul affirms that Gospel to be "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth;" but there is now a rider added—the Episcopate must be conjoined with it, as that necessary complement in separation from which it is not thus efficacious. The church, in the sense of an ecclesiastical organization, it is this enables the Gospel. There is a similarity in two positions which we now present to our readers: it is only through the sacraments that individuals can receive Christ; it is only through the Episcopate that the heathen world can receive the Gospel: no Christ without the sacraments; no successful Missionary work without the Episcopate. In these positions the sacraments and the Episcopate are alike misplaced. The Gospel, in its action on the hearts of men, prepares the way for sacramental ordinances; and the sacraments are only available and useful where the Gospel has gone before in the exercise of its converting power. We refer not now to the case of infants, and would anticipate any argument which might be sought

\* Jubilee Sermon preached at St. Mary's Church before the University, by Samuel Lord Bishop of Oxford, Nov. 1, 1848.

for from that quarter, by citing *the Catechism*, and the answer to the question, "Why then are infants baptized, when, by reason of their tender age, they cannot perform them?" and so, in the same way, the Gospel, in its action on the masses of the heathen, prepares the way for the Episcopate; and it is only as the Gospel goes before, through simple evangelistic agency, to raise up Christian congregations, that the Episcopate is desirable and useful. Our readers will be pleased to observe the question is not all whether there shall be any or no sacraments, or whether there shall be any or no Episcopate; but, what is the true position in which sacraments and the Episcopate are to be placed in connexion with the free actings of the Gospel.

And this remits us to the point at which we broke off in our last Number. The Episcopacy, at the initiative of Missions, we object to, as alike unnecessary and inconvenient; unnecessary, because the evangelist, in the preaching of the Gospel, carries with him just as much of the power and blessing of God as the bishop; and inconvenient, because, if not necessary, it cannot be otherwise than inconvenient and interfering in its action.

We now come to another, and certainly not less important branch of the subject—the principles by which we ought to be guided in the extension of the Episcopate to purely native churches.

The Church Missionary Society has not hesitated to admit the propriety of the European Episcopate being promoted to fields of mixed elements as to population, where, as in our colonies and dependencies, there is an admixture of natives and settlers, such, for instance, as New Zealand, Rupert's Land, and Sierra Leone. In such localities it would be undesirable to provide distinct Episcopates for natives and Europeans. It would be to introduce into our ecclesiastical arrangements a principle adverse to that amalgamation of races in which alone there is security for the permanent peace and true prosperity of such settlements. But there are fields of a different aspect, where such a proceeding appears to be at least questionable; such, for instance, as Tinnevely, where there is no admixture of the European element.

Is the assignment of a European bishop to such a native church desirable? or, in other words, are we prepared to permanize in the midst of it a foreign Episcopate? This is the question—one involving many and vital interests, which, we are disposed to think, have not been at all considered by those who clamour for the appointment of a bishop to

Tinnevely, and that with such vehemence, that if any, whether Societies or individuals, have the hardihood to differ with them, they are at once pronounced to be insincere persons; Episcopalians, indeed, by profession, but, in their principles, Presbyterian. These are the questions to which we now address ourselves, and which, in order that they may be dealt with satisfactorily, will require to be considered at some length.

We conceive that when congregations of Christian converts, in the good providence of God, have been raised up from the midst of a heathen people, it is most important that, as rapidly as possible, they be provided with the native pastorate. By so doing, not only is the European Missionary set free for his own proper vocation as a foreign agent in a foreign land, namely, that of evangelization; but the native congregation has conceded to it that freedom for growth, which it has not so long as it be detained under the exclusive charge of a European. He is as the nurse to sustain the child, so long as its own limbs are too feeble; but the instant it can walk alone it should have liberty to do so. There are parents who, from a variety of motives, sometimes from over caution, and fearfulness of trusting their children too much to themselves, lest they unhappily go wrong; sometimes from a love of power, and dislike to any thing like independent action, keep their children in a dependent state. There is not permitted a sufficiency of freedom, either as to thought or action, to enable the young person to feel the sense of individual responsibility, and the character is proportionately enfeebled. Such must be the effect produced on a native congregation by being kept too long under the supervision of a European. He is fearful of trusting the converts a moment to themselves, lest they totter and fall; and thus they become so accustomed to lean on another, that they never think of acting on their resources. The Holy Ghost, in his administration of the church, dispenses to collective bodies of God's people various gifts and administrations, promotive of mutual growth, and usefulness as to those who are without. But, in order to the exercise of these gifts, the native-Christian element must be permitted to rise to conscious self-responsibility, and the European agent must be careful not to place himself in such a position as to interfere with this. He must be prepared to have the truths of the Gospel committed to faithful men from amongst the converts, who shall be able to teach others also; and he must be willing and anxious to afford them

full scope for the exercise of whatever gifts may have been bestowed on them, standing himself out of the way, when it be necessary, that they may have room to do so. Moreover, the native churches must be made to feel the necessity of contributing out of their own means to the support of the Christian ministry, and the maintenance of Christian worship. But this will never be done, so long as the pastorate remains European. The Missionary came amongst them in the character of an evangelist, and therefore without cost, "taking nothing of the Gentiles." And as they contributed nothing to his support when he was engaged in the work of converting them to the faith of Christ, they may be in danger of thinking that the same exemption will be extended to them now that they have become Christians, and that the same measure of pecuniary aid from his own country, by which he has been sustained, will still continue to be yielded to him. Moreover, the standard of European habits of living is far above them, and the measure of supply which would be necessary for the sustentation of a European pastor would be entirely beyond their power to render. And thus, as to the growth and due development of a Mission church, the native pastorate is indispensable; so we believe there never has been a work of genuine character, in which, by the simple action of the word, without factitious influences, congregations have been brought together, which will not be found to contain within itself individuals qualified for the discharge of the pastoral office, if only they be carefully sought out and impartially recognised.

So Paul found it to be in the various congregations which, as a result of his evangelistic efforts, he had been instrumental in raising up in different directions. The Spirit of God, in his administrative capacity, had anticipated the necessity, and prepared the materials; and so he ordained elders in every city. Modern Missionary action—we speak without reference to the labours of any particular Society—has been slow in adopting a similar procedure. We have distrusted the results which have been yielded to the labours of our hands, and have been afraid to call forth the native Christian to office, or entrust him with any thing of responsibility. We have kept him too long in a state of dependence on us; and then, when he has been rendered weak and feeble, we attribute that which is the result of our own mode of dealing with him to a defect of character, which even gracious influence itself is not able to overcome. We appear to

doubt whether the same Spirit who transformed him from a dark and degraded heathen into a faithful Christian, can accomplish the still further transition to ministerial service. It will be found, that wherever, in the case of a native flock, there has been retardation in calling forth the native pastorate, it has become proportionately dwarfed and stunted in its growth, and has exercised but a feeble influence on the surrounding heathen. No doubt we should have been still more slow, had not a necessity been forced upon us by the casualties to which European health and life are subjected in the Missionary field, and the consequent impossibility of enlarging our agency, so as to meet the demands of an extending work, without the introduction of a native element. We have again and again been so circumstanced as to be compelled either to use the native agency, or else leave the work undone, and favourable opportunities unimproved. And thus we have now presented to us, in various directions, the pleasing spectacle of native flocks entrusted to the care of native pastors, and this homogeneity in the arrangement productive of the best effects: the pastor not too far in advance of the flock, and thus discouraging them, by the feeling that his point of elevation is so far above theirs, as to render its attainment by them a matter of impossibility; and again, the flock not too much behind the pastor, so that, in coming down to the level of their feebleness, he feels that his own growth is very seriously interfered with; but just that measure of distinctiveness preserved which is mutually advantageous.

But now, if, in order to the good of the flock, it be needful that the pastorate be native, would it not also appear, that, in order to the growth and healthfulness of the pastorate, it is indispensable that when the Episcopate be permanized amongst them, it be, because of the same reasons precisely, native, and not European. Let the clergy of any English diocese make the subject a practical one, by simply asking themselves whether they would desire to see a foreigner introduced into the office of their bishop, one whose native tongue is diverse from their own; who can, indeed, communicate with them in their own language, but with whom it is an acquired element, which he uses, not from choice, but from the necessity of the case, and which he gladly dispenses with when he can; a diversity, not only important in itself, but still more so as the index of an interior dissimilarity in the current of thought habits and associations, all tending to interfere with that confidence and mutual affec-



tion, without which the relation of bishop and clergy cannot be satisfactorily sustained. The great danger of episcopacy is its affecting power, absolutism. That the bishop should be called upon to exercise his office amongst a body of men, in all respects his equals except in office, as is the case with the home Episcopate, constitutes a very wholesome check against this danger. Yet even this sometimes fails, and, owing to the servility of the clergy, the bishop is allowed to assume an authority which is inconsistent with the scriptural injunction, "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock;" and thus the very object for which the office was intended is virtually defeated: and if this occurs, even in a home diocese, what might not be apprehended if a European Episcopate be placed in the permanent supervision of a native clergy.

If the European pastorate be undesirable, because tending to interfere with the attainment of manliness and vigour of Christian character, surely a European Episcopate viewed in relation to a native clergy, must be pronounced liable to the same objection. The bishop, in such circumstances, would not be a *primus inter pares*, but one clothed with official authority in the presence of those who would regard him, even if divested of his high office, as immeasurably their superior. The servility of the natives of India to the European is well known. It is one of those points on which they especially need the corrective influence of the Gospel. But let the Episcopate be transferred from the national church establishment of a great country like England, to the simplicity of a native church, and how, in their relations with it, shall the native clergy ever divest themselves of the consciousness of immeasurable inferiority, or approach the bishop, except in a servile and almost abject manner? At home the Episcopate has temporal rank attaching to it, and the bishop has a high and recognised place in the gradations of society. In its transfer to the colonies and distant dependencies of the British empire, we find that the Episcopate carries with it more or less of this home peculiarity. It cannot for an instant be contended that rank or secular influence or honour is an original and essential constituent of any branch of the Christian ministry, whether evangelist, pastor, or bishop. Indeed, our blessed Lord has carefully removed this element from the arrangements of His kingdom—"Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but

whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant: even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and give His life a ransom for many." In the primitive times, when heathenism was in the ascendancy, and wielded at its pleasure a persecuting power, apostles and others had no temporal rank; nor, in the eye of the Roman magistrate, was St. Paul, except in consideration of his being a Roman citizen, concluded to be entitled to more deference or recognition than the most obscure member of the Christian church. Yet was he not the less an apostle. The true weight of a spiritual office is altogether distinct from the accidental of temporal rank or power. It will be proportionate to the measure of unction which the individual is enabled to carry with him into the office, the influence which the word exercises upon his own character, and which invariably determines the degree of influence wherewith he can bring it to bear on the hearts and consciences of other men. This was the influence which the Saviour was most studious to exercise; not so much the influence of miracles: for when he wrought any wonderful work, he continually charged the recipient of its benefit that he should hold his peace; but the influence of spiritual character and consistent teaching. And so, after this great example, Timothy was charged not to rest on his office, but to be careful to fulfil it with suitable qualification—"Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth."

A glance at the Episcopate in its transfer to our distant colonies and dependencies will at once indicate how perseveringly it carries with it this element of rank, and how, even in secluded fields of labour, the title "lord" still connects itself with "Bishop," and the idea of temporal power becomes thus bound up with the spiritual office. Indeed, there is no use in concealing the fact: the secular adjunct is considered necessary, in order that the bishop may exercise control over the clergy; so much so, that the shadow is retained when the substance has no existence, and no temporal peerage exists in connexion with the office. We do not hesitate to say, that the importation of this element of secular rank into the Episcopate that is to preside over the native church—and we apprehend it will continue to cling, in a greater or less measure, to the Anglican Episcopate and its offshoots, wherever they be transferred—would have a most ruinous effect, and the

progress of the native pastorate towards manliness of character, candour in the avowal of their real sentiments, straightforwardness and self-reliance in action, be grievously hindered, if not precluded altogether. At once there would be established between the Episcopate and pastorate a distance which neither party would adventure to pass; the bishop, lest he compromise his dignity; and the clergy, lest they presume too much, and so offend. Such a state of things would be in every respect undesirable. The pastorate, under such circumstances, would be chilled and repressed, instead of being encouragingly developed. An earnest bishop, anxious to benefit the native clergy, and, in his demeanour towards the native flock, to imitate Paul—"We were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children"—would find himself greatly embarrassed: for even if he were willing to divest himself of that notion of rank with which he found his episcopate encumbered, however studious he might be to forget it, it would be impossible to induce his clergy so to do, and he would continue to find himself obstructed by their obsequiousness in his efforts to establish that mutual confidence and affection which are so essential to the real usefulness of the episcopate.

But have we any practical illustration of evils and inconveniences which result from the imposition of a foreign Episcopate? We may refer to the past history of the Church of Ireland. It has been not unusual to decry that branch of the United Church as dead and inert in her past action, and as having altogether failed in the communication of light, and in the discharge of her duties as a Missionary church. We speak now of a period that is past. This reproach can no longer be cast upon her. Upon that church there has been poured out a powerful revival. Never was there a more decided awakening than the one which took place in the sister island some thirty years ago; and perhaps during the period which has since elapsed, the Irish church has been more effectively Missionary, and more resolute in upholding the honour of God's word, than has been altogether pleasing to the so-called liberalism of the present day. Had the clergy of that church been less determined in adhering, at whatever cost, to the great principle of scriptural education, it is not improbable that, by some at least, the remissness of former days would not have been remembered. But in what originated that remissness; and what influence paralyzed the action of the Irish church, so that it was shut up from the masses of the Irish-speaking people? There may have been other causes,

were it our duty to enter fully into this subject; but we desire to touch it only so far as it bears upon the matter which we have in hand. This one evil, then, may be indicated, that the sees were, for a lengthened period, invariably filled, not by individuals raised up from the body of the church itself, but by Englishmen, who could only imperfectly adapt themselves to the English-speaking clergy and congregations over whom they were to preside, but who with the masses of Irish-speaking people had no sympathy whatever; and that, not only because they were in utter ignorance of, and had no wish to acquire, a barbarous tongue, which they despised, but because they were pledged to its proscription, as an anti-English element, which perpetuated the wild distinctiveness of the Irish people, and prevented their complete subjection to the conquering race. Exceptions there have been, no doubt, and the name of Bedell stands forth in bright contrast with a gloomy page of history; but there is no doubt that the English Episcopate, partially foreign as it was, exercised a very prejudicial influence on the Irish church. Often, with the best intentions, the bishops were in utter ignorance of the country to which they had been transferred, its necessities, and requirements; and, by their peculiar action, laboured to advance rather the interests of England, than the interests of the Gospel. The same facts are true with respect to the Welsh church. The Episcopate was English, and the vernacular of the country was wholly neglected; and the Episcopate, carrying with it a foreign element, and ill adapted to the body over which it was to preside, warped the clergy of that church from their proper duty to the people in the midst of whom they were placed; and what has been the consequence? Denied, at the hands of the national church, the instructions which they required, the population sought it elsewhere. We believe it will be so in every case. Place a foreign Episcopate over a native church, and then will follow, unavoidably, such an infusion of the foreign element into the clergy of that church as will lessen their sympathy with the native element, and unfit them for usefulness. Affinity, and power of assimilation, will be seriously interfered with. This may be, in a greater or less measure, the case, but it will be certain as a sequence; and the worst feature of it will be, that it will be with progressively-increasing evil. At the initiative of an Episcopate it may not be so perceptible, but it will not fail to become more and more manifest; and the result will be, the isolation of the church from the native

community around it, and the cessation of all action on its part as a Missionary church.

We cannot, therefore, precipitate a conclusion upon this question with the enthusiastic haste of some, who, having decided in their own minds that the Mission churches require the Episcopate, are earnestly labouring to expedite that which we consider is most earnestly to be deprecated—the assignment of a foreign Episcopate to our native churches. In the last Number of the “Colonial Church Chronicle” is inserted a brief article, which commences as follows—

“A resolution was carried at the Meeting of Secretaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, on June 15th, that, in their opinion, Missionary work in India is not likely to be successfully prosecuted without a considerable increase in the number of bishops. But if the present system of never consecrating a bishop till a permanent endowment for the support of himself and his successors is to continue, we are not likely to have the desired increase in the lifetime of the present generation. To secure an endowment of at least 500*l.* a year to each bishopric, a capital sum of several thousand pounds is required. The present amount of the India-Missions’ Extension Fund now collected, even if it were applied to this object (which it will not be), would not, we suppose, suffice for the endowment of two new Sees.”

The writer then proceeds to show how this obstacle may be removed. “What need is there for the permanent endowment of a Missionary bishopric? We see none whatever. Why is an endowment necessary for a bishop, while it is not necessary for a priest or a deacon? Why should not Missionary bishops, *if they cannot live on the offerings of their converts*, be supported by annual grants from England,” &c. The idea of a European bishop being supported by the offerings of the native converts is a positive absurdity. The utmost they could do in the first instance would be to sustain native pastors, men of like habits with themselves. Let the native ministry be first established, and the native episcopacy will grow out of it. But if instead of this an European episcopate is to be at once established, then it must either be endowed or else be supported by annual grants from home, and if the latter arrangement take effect, then where will be independency of action? This, indeed, is all that is needed to perfect the master-stroke of policy contemplated by some, Missionary bishops permanentized over the native churches, and dependent on certain parties at home for their annual stipend.

Individuals who have never considered the subject with attention may abruptly rule that the Episcopate ought to be at once provided for these churches; and inasmuch as the native pastorate is as yet incapable, with perhaps some exceptions, of providing the requisite materials, that it must be filled by Europeans. But there are many who doubt the wisdom of this. It is true, that, in venturing to express their objections, they expose themselves to the danger of being stigmatized as sailing under false colours, and professing an attachment to episcopal organization which they do not feel. But the question is not at all as regards episcopacy in the abstract, but as to the best mode of providing the native churches, which have been gathered together and trained under Episcopal Missions, with that higher office of the ministry in which, according to the constitution of episcopal churches, the ordaining and supervising power rests. Individuals and Societies may take different views on this question. Some may be of opinion that the adjustment of the Episcopate to the native church ought to be deferred until it can be native, and thus homogeneous with the native character. But if a Society conscientiously expresses such convictions, is it therefore to be spoken of as a Society which has betrayed itself to be, in principle, otherwise than its name would indicate?

If, indeed, there were no means available for the admission into holy orders of native candidates, and the native church was languishing for the want of the ordaining power, then the urgency of the case would necessitate an immediate solution of the question. But this is not so. On the contrary, the colonial bishops have hitherto sufficed to impart such assistance as the necessities of the church required. They have occasionally visited, confirmed, and ordained, but they have not been permanently present in the Mission church; and, as this is all that is requisite, so is it all that is desirable, until the native Episcopate arises. The Missionaries who have planted these churches, provided they be thus supplemented, suffice, in the meanwhile, for all purposes of moral and ecclesiastical training. They are the proper persons to organize the converts and congregations, and administer such discipline as circumstances may require, for they are no strangers. They are identified with the birth and subsequent growth of these churches; they stand to them in the relation of spiritual fathers; and carry with them that degree of confidence and affection from the converts which enables them so to act. They have an influence of a peculiar kind, other

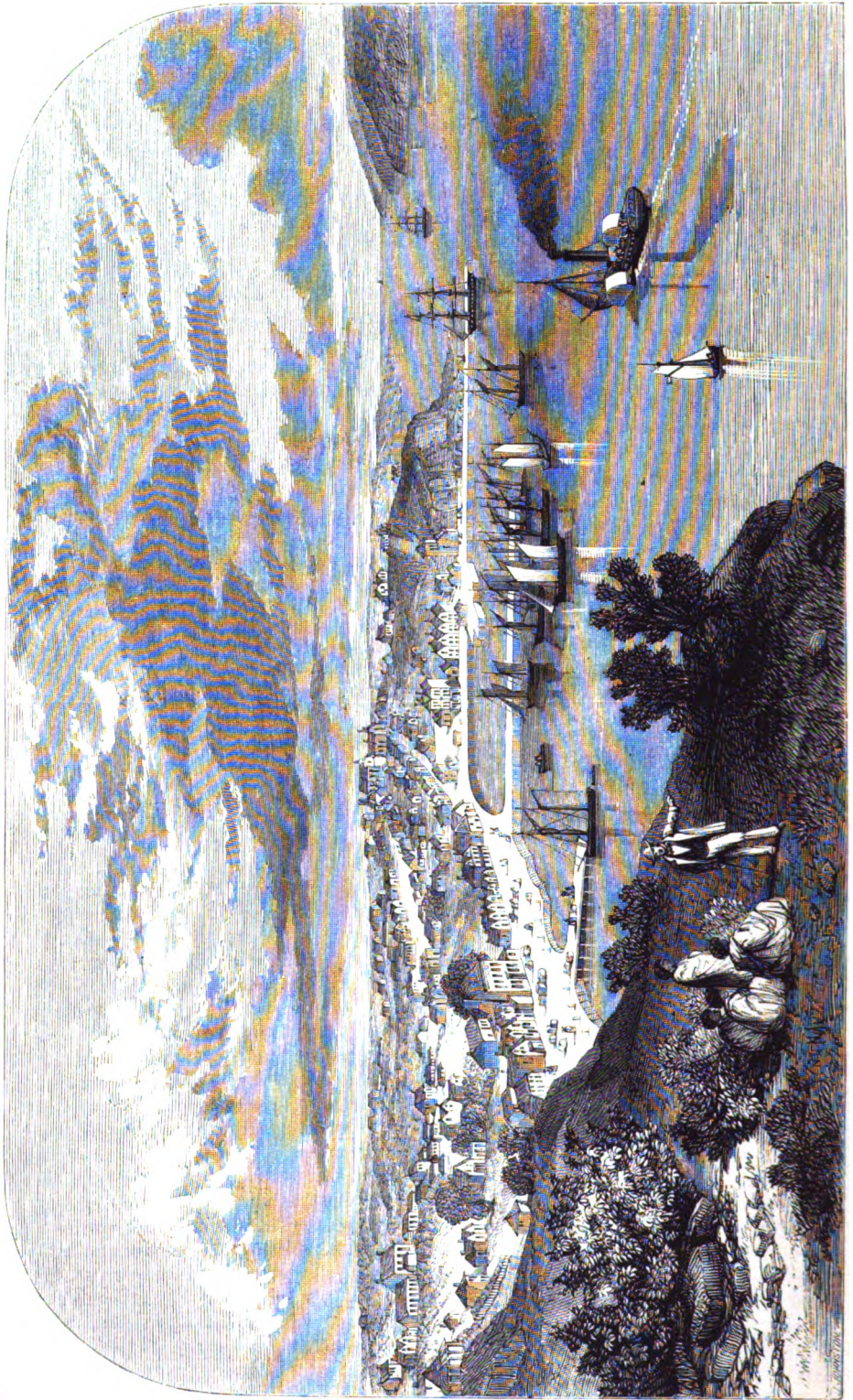
than that which is the result of past labours, difficulties, and trials, endured in the Mission work. The native Christians view them as identified with all the changes which they have experienced; and they can trust them, and look up to them for guidance and direction. They thus place authority in the hands of the Missionary for their own good, and they are prepared that he should use it. It is an authority which no one else can exercise; and the secret of it consists in this, that he has obtained the confidence of the people, and they willingly yield themselves to him. Yet is he so under control as to secure the moderate and prudent exercise of this influence. Ecclesiastically, he is under the supervision of the colonial bishop in whose diocese his field of labour lies; and, morally and financially, under the control of the Parent Committee, by whom he was sent out, and from whom his resources are received. He is thus so circumstanced as not to be interfered with, except he exceeds the proper limits, and begins to act arbitrarily and unwisely. He is, moreover, in presence of brethren similarly circumstanced with himself, and who exercise a restraining influence on each other. So far, then, from there being any urgent necessity for any change in the condition of these native churches, we consider them placed under circumstances of all others the most to be desired for them, and the best fitted to promote their development; and we consider that the question of the permanization of the Episcopate amongst them may with advantage be for a time deferred.

But some will be disposed to say, this is precisely the point of which we were apprehensive—the indefinite postponement of this question. For when will the precise moment of maturity arrive, when a decision must be come to on this point, and measures be adopted for the selection and consecration of a native pastor to the office of bishop? Or are the Missionaries to be continued always in the present position of influence, and even authority, which they occupy; an influence and authority, we would add, which they may well occupy, for no one else has the influence, and no one else could exercise with such a gentle pressure, and with such a ready submission on the part of the people, the needful authority? We answer, the European Missionaries can occupy this position only for a season. Their indefinite continuance in it is guarded against by the very nature of things. As a native pastorate increases, the supply of European Missionaries must proportionately decrease. The Parent Society, as essentially Missionary, will be

auxiliary not to remain one moment longer in an evangelized field than may be absolutely requisite for the consolidation and perpetuation of the work. Its sympathies, like those of the great apostles of the Gentiles, are most intense towards the heathen, and it desires, as rapidly as possible, to transfer its agents and resources to places where Christ has not been named, and to break new ground. The danger is, not that it linger too long, but lest it withdraw too abruptly. Thus, in a Mission church, as a native pastorate increases, the European Missionaries decrease. The few who are left are men of wisdom and experience, to whom length of labour and discipline have given a mellowness of character, which admirably adapts them for their position, and their protracted service indicates the brevity of the remaining period. The lengthening shadow shows their sun is near its setting, and then will be the time, to select, from the native pastorate, the man who appears to be in all respects the most suitable to be promoted to the Episcopate of the native church. When, like David of old, the European agency, although still living in the persons of a few representatives—perhaps one or two—has lost the vigour of its youth and prime, then has come the graceful moment when, as Solomon was proclaimed king during his father's lifetime, the native Episcopate may be inaugurated.

After all, what is it we desire with reference to these native churches which are now rising up in various directions from among the heathen? Do we mean to Europeanize them, as native Missionaries in training have been sometimes so Europeanized, as to lose all sympathy with their countrymen? Are they to be reared artificially, and rendered so dependent on a European as never to be able to act without him, until they are reduced at last to a weakly dependent state, in which, without the power of reproduction, they cease to act upon the masses of the heathen, and become at length distinct and isolated communities? No, this is not our object. We wish to evangelize the native, but nothing more. In all other respects we wish him to continue native, for thus, through a medium in such close assimilation with the masses around, the transmission of the Gospel leaven is wondrously facilitated. We wish the new churches to be distinctly and essentially native churches, that thus they may be our co-operators in the great work of evangelization, and help us to transmit the Gospel to "the regions beyond." So Paul—that earnest evangelist, and, at the same time, admirable and accomplished organizer of churches—raised





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up the ministry and officers of the church from the church itself: he rested in no foreign agency; introduced no strange incongruities. Even the episcopal missions of Timothy and Titus, because not strictly indigenous, were of a temporary character. To Timothy Paul says, "I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine;" but at the conclusion of the second epistle he adds, "Do thy diligence to come before winter." To Titus he says, "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee." But again he adds, "When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come unto me to Nicopolis: for I have determined there to winter." No doubt, on their departure to re-join Paul, their places were supplied by others, who were natives of the particular localities where they had exercised a temporary superintendence. The apostle wished the churches to retain all their national distinctiveness and peculiarities, that they might more effectually possess the power of assimilation. He looked to them to extend the action of the Gospel to the dark regions beyond. He had laboured earnestly, he had travelled extensively, and yet much, very much, remained to be accomplished. But he felt assured, that if these

churches were only true and faithful, they would carry forward the work on a more extensive scale than he had done. His views respecting them are well expressed in 2 Cor. x. 15, 16—"Not boasting of things without our measure, that is, of other men's labours; but having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you according to our rule abundantly, to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond you, and not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand." And that this church did eventually so labour we may conclude from 3d John; if, indeed, the Gaius to whom it is addressed, be the same Gaius whom Paul baptized at Corinth. Then we have this church acting as a Missionary church, and carrying forward Missionary action on a large scale—"For His name they went forth, taking nothing from the Gentiles."

And this is our hope respecting the Mission churches of the present day; and therefore we throw ourselves into this question, convinced that it is vital to their future usefulness, although it be true that, in doing so, we expose ourselves to no small share of reproach and misrepresentation. But these are honourable wounds, received in a good cause. "It is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well-doing, than for evil-doing;" and as for those who have inflicted them, we must forgive them.

## THE EPISCOPATE AND MISSION OF NEW ZEALAND.

We resume our reply to the "Colonial Church Chronicle" on the subject of the Episcopate and Mission of New Zealand. The writer of the article in question, in his desire to commend the Episcopate, has proceeded to depreciate the Mission, concluding, no doubt, that,

"Like bright metal on a sullen ground,"

the object of his enthusiasm

"Shall show more godly, and attract more eyes,  
Than that which hath no foil to set it off."

But as for ourselves, we are not prepared to surrender the character of the Mission, even in order to the attainment of so important an object as the commendation of the Episcopate. We entertain a long-standing and affectionate regard for Missionary efforts and reminiscences in New Zealand; and have been accustomed to regard those islands as one of the choice fields of labour, where, to encourage His people to further efforts, God has permitted a great victory to be achieved; a portion of heathendom to be wrested from the god of this world, and that through simple evange-

listic agency. We must needs, therefore defend the Mission, not merely for the sake of the Society, but for the honour of the Gospel.

Three distinct departments of labour are referred to by our censor, in which it is alleged the Mission has been defective, and standing in need of the superior action and seasonable help of the Episcopate: 1. Schools; 2. Native Teachers; and, 3. Ordination. The assertions put forth under the first of these heads have been dealt with in our last Number. They have been tested by facts derived from the history of the Mission, and our readers will judge for themselves whether they think them worthy of credit.

"Thrice is he arm'd that hath his quarrel just;  
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,  
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

We now pass on to the second point, that of "Native Teachers." The writer of the article under review observes—"When the bishop arrived in the diocese, the kind of

catechetical instruction was, as might be expected, somewhat defective. A knowledge of the words and facts of Scripture was nearly all that was attempted. If the people could read the words and repeat the subject-matter of the chapter they read, it was as much, perhaps, as could be looked for at that stage of the Mission. The bishop began a systematic course of catechizing on the Scriptures: he did what Archdeacon Berens so well calls 'questioning the subject in and out:' he illustrated it in every possible form, and satisfied, it would appear, the Missionaries themselves of the equal importance of catechizing and preaching; for now, throughout the land, no man is content with merely preaching a sermon to the natives, but he takes good heed to see that the subject is made their own, and digested.\*

Assuredly the work of the Church Missionary Society's agents is not very favourably represented in this article. The children were neglected; education was almost entirely confined to the adults; and yet the adults, on whom was concentrated the energy of the Mission, received such defective catechetical instruction, as just sufficed to enable them to "read the words and repeat the subject-matter of the chapter:" nor was it until the bishop's arrival that the Missionaries were convinced of the importance of catechizing. Now this is precisely that mode of instruction which is best adapted for neophytes, and of such our New-Zealand congregations consisted: they were converts from heathenism, who had recently come under Christian instruction, and, in such circumstances, to neglect this incrementative mode of teaching, whereby each element of knowledge which the catechumen has acquired becomes the means of communicating more, would have been in the highest degree culpable. Is it true, then, that the Missionaries were thus negligent, or is the allegation to be regarded as one of those singular fictions, which, upon the principle that the end sanctifies the means, are sometimes indulged in, either to commend a favourite cause, or to disparage that of an adversary. Let us again refer to what actually took place. The reports of the Missionaries, throughout the series of their labours, bear testimony to the fact that the Christian instruction of the natives was chiefly carried on in schools and classes, and that the bishop in his course of catechizing, only followed up the plan which had been acted upon before his arrival. Let us refer to some extracts.

\* "Colonial Church Chronicle," p. 165.

They are taken from no reserved documents, but are to be found interspersed throughout the published details of the Society's labours. One Missionary in a communication bearing date October 26, 1837 says, "I had prayers soon after daylight, and addressed the natives. The weather being unfavourable, prevented their going to their plantations, which gave me an opportunity of assembling them for school, which I did, dividing them into three classes, the men forming one, and the women and children the other two. Most of them were able to repeat the three printed Catechisms, and four of the men could read fluently, one of whom acts as a teacher, and is a candidate for baptism. After evening service, several natives came to my tent to converse upon religious subjects. After some previous catechizing, I put the question to several, 'What payment can you render unto God, His anger being just?' Several replied, 'We can render none;' and others could not reply to the question. The eagerness displayed in their countenances at this time was very gratifying; and when one—the candidate for baptism, Tepuke—said that Christ was our only hope, He was our payment, the light which appeared to have been conveyed to the minds of many by this heart-cheering truth filled me with that joy, which I think I may say, with Scripture for my authority, is peculiar to the Missionary—part of the hundred-fold in this life which has been promised him."†

Towards the end of 1838 and beginning of 1839, New Zealand was visited by the Bishop of Australia. Let us hear his statements as to the character of the Mission work.

"I shall offer to the notice of the [Church Missionary] Society, those conclusions with regard to the present state and future prospects of their Missions, which I was enabled to form, through the exercise of my judgment, upon all which presented itself to my observation. In this proceeding I shall use great plainness of speech. It is in my power, I think, effectually to contradict the assertions of the adversary and the scoffer, who have sometimes gone the length of affirming that the attempt to Christianize the people of this nation has been a failure—that nothing has been done. On the other hand, I shall not suffer my admiration of that which has been really effected to hurry me into an unqualified approval of every thing connected with the establishment of the Mission, or the operation of the Missionaries; nor to deter me from pointing out any parti-

† "Missionary Register," 1839, p. 348.



culars in which I think there is room for improvement." If, then, the glaring defects, so freely imputed to the Society's work—"defective catechetical teaching"—an acquaintance with the Scripture, on the part of the native Christians, that extended no further than "a knowledge of the words and facts"—an ability "to read the words and repeat the subject-matter of the chapter they read," and nothing more—and such a negligent discharge of their duties on the part of the Missionaries, that they were contented merely to preach a sermon, without being at the pains to see that "the subject was made their own" by the hearers, "and digested"—had such faults really existed the Bishop would have perceived them, and have pointed them out to the Parent Committee as needing to be corrected. Now, then, let us hear his testimony. "At every station which I personally visited, the converts were so numerous as to bear a very visible and considerable proportion to the entire population; and I had sufficient testimony to convince me that the same state of things prevailed at other places which it was not in my power to reach. As the result of my inspection, I should state, that, in most of the native villages, called pas, in which the Missionaries have a footing, there is a building containing one room, superior in fabric and dimensions to the native residences, which appears to be set apart as their place for assembling for religious worship, or to read the Scriptures, or to receive the exhortations of the Missionaries. In these buildings generally, but sometimes in the open air, the Christian classes were assembled before me. The grey-haired man and the aged woman took their places, to read and undergo examination, among their descendants of the second and third generations. The chief and the slave stood side by side, with the same holy volume in their hands, and exerted their endeavours each to surpass the other in returning proper answers to the questions put to them concerning what they had been reading. These assemblages I encouraged on all occasions, not only from the pleasure which the exhibition itself afforded, but because I was thus enabled, in the most certain and satisfactory way, to probe the extent of their attainments and improvements. . . . They have, as the Society is probably informed, the whole, I believe, of the liturgy in their own language, accompanied, for several years past, with portions of the New Testament." And then, still further to show that the knowledge thus acquired was not superficial or illusory, the bishop adds—"In speaking of the character

of the converted natives, I express most unequivocally my persuasion that it has been improved, in comparison with the original disposition, by their acquaintance with the truths of the Gospel. Their haughty self-will, their rapacity, furiousness, and sanguinary inclination, have been softened, and, I may even say, eradicated; and their superstitious opinions have given place, in many instances, to a correct apprehension of the spiritual tendencies of the Gospel."

We present our impugner in the "Colonial Church Chronicle" with this testimony of the Bishop of Australia, full and explicit as it is on the points in question, and we ask him to inform us which statements, his own or the bishop's, are to be received as truth; for as they stand at present, they are irreconcilable. The bishop found catechetical teaching the prevailing mode of instruction; he saw the people in classes, old and young: questions put and answered; he tested the knowledge they had acquired, and found it such as to exercise an ameliorating influence on the character of the most decided kind. If the Bishop's testimony be true, then how does the counter-statement merit to be designated, and in what light do individuals deserve to be regarded, who, in lending themselves to such fabrications, too plainly show that their object is not the vindication of truth, but the disparagement of the Church Missionary Society?

Let us bring in a few more fragmentary notices: they are pleasing reminiscences of the past, not altogether to be forgotten. The Rev. A. N. (now Archdeacon) Brown sketches a scene at the foot of Maungatautari, a hilly range which separates the valley of the Waipa from another valley more to the eastward, in which flow the three rivers, the Waikato, Piako, and Waiho, or Thames—"At night the natives assembled round the fire in front of my tent, and in place of the conversation, which in bygone evenings, used to be their darling themes—war and lust—they were profitably employed in examining each other in Scripture subjects. Among the questions which I heard put were the following—'In what does the glory of this world consist?' 'In what does the glory of heaven consist?' 'What is the new birth?' 'By whose power is it accomplished?' 'For what purpose did Christ come into the world?' They were all correctly answered. To the last question these replies were given—'To teach us truth;' 'To make payment for our sins;' 'To save sinners and to destroy the works of Wiro (the evil spirit).'"

The Rev. W. (now Archdeacon) Williams

bears remarkable testimony to the condition of the converts in the Eastern District. "Of the people generally I can safely affirm that I never baptized any party of natives who possessed, on the whole, more information. This may, in some measure, be accounted for by the fact, that the natives of the East Cape have, if I may use the expression, quite a propensity for attending school; and, having committed to memory the Catechisms, which contain a concise summary of Christian doctrines it is seldom that a plain question can be put without being answered; so that it becomes necessary to vary the interrogations in every way, to ascertain that the truths are really understood."\* The system of "questioning the subject in and out" had been thought of by others, as well as by the bishop, and had preceded his arrival in the island.

But we have another testimony to adduce, that of the Bishop of New Zealand himself. The amount of scriptural knowledge which he describes himself to have found among the native Christians is very different indeed from the stinted measures which our friend in the "Colonial Church Chronicle" assigns to them. By him we are informed, that, previously to the Bishop's arrival, all that had been attempted to be conveyed to the converts was a knowledge of the words and facts of Scripture; and that an ability to read the words and repeat the subject-matter of the chapter constituted the utmost of their attainment. The bishop's own perceptions of what had been done were very different. He reached Auckland in May 1842, and in the July and November following addressed two letters to the Hon. Secretary, which are pertinent to the question under discussion. Some extracts will suffice. After a reference to various facts exhibiting the power of the Gospel on the native character, he writes—"These, and a hundred similar instances of the influence of the Gospel upon the native character in its worst form, will show how universally the whole mass has become leavened with a knowledge of the truth. . . . Among the native Christians, I have met with most pleasing instances of the natural expression of deep and earnest feelings of religion. . . . I can only add, in few words, that my experience of the native character in the highest sense has more than equalled all my anticipations." He found the catechetical mode of instruction in full action—"I have been occupied in visiting the native villages in the neighbourhood of Auckland;" amongst others, the vil-

lage of Putiki, in Waiheke. "Saturday evening was spent in reading and explaining Scripture, and the Sunday in divine service and school. The school was conducted in the most orderly manner; grown up men, in full English dress, standing round in classes, according to proficiency, and reading and taking places with all the docility and good humour of children." Again, at Waikanae, the district of the Rev. O. Hadfield—"On the morning after my arrival, a large congregation assembled in the chapel; and I afterwards went to the school, at which I saw 400 natives, arranged in classes, in a very orderly manner. I passed through the whole of the classes, and was much pleased with the proficiency of the people in reading and writing, and, *above all, by their acquaintance with the Scriptures. In fact, there is scarcely an intelligent native who will not readily find any passage in the New Testament which may be quoted.*"

These statements are the more forcible, when it is remembered that the bishop was especially careful not to tint the picture which he drew with colours brighter than were warranted by truth. "I would rather that you should give me credit for feeling more than I can express, than incur the danger of seeming to exaggerate beyond the facts of the case." The writer whose allegations have constrained us to turn aside for a moment from the prosecution of more pleasing themes, assumes to possess a considerable extent of diocesan knowledge, whether acquired from personal observation in New Zealand, or otherwise, we know not; but his statements are directly contrary to those which the bishop has left on record, and surely the shadowy recollections of events which took place some seventeen years ago, are less worthy of credence than the official and matter-of-fact statements of the time itself.

Indeed, the history of the Mission confirms the truthfulness of the bishop's convictions; for, previously to his arrival, the work of evangelization had passed through a searching ordeal, in which, had it been of the meagre and superficial character attributed to it, it must have been severely injured, if not entirely overthrown. The danger to which we refer is that which arose from the intrusive efforts of Romanism.

No doubt the idea entertained by the agents of that subtle system was, that they should find little difficulty in transferring to their own account the previous labours of Protestant Missionaries, and that the converts, as yet weak and unestablished, would, in considerable numbers, fall into the snare which had been laid

\* July 1841.

for them. Accordingly, a Romish bishop, with many priests, reached the islands in March 1840, and the work of tampering with the native converts was actively prosecuted. Yet were they enabled to stand fast in their profession; and what was the element of their conservation? Their acquaintance with Scripture. The people had, with remarkable energy and quickness, possessed themselves of the power of reading, and the Bible Society had opportunely placed in their hands the Maori New Testament. It was eagerly and earnestly read, and the happy result was the raising up of a barrier against the encroachments of the Romish system, which all its efforts could not prevail to overcome. Scriptural knowledge, like the coral reefs around the isles of the Pacific, on which the force of the great ocean expends itself, while the embryo formation, designed to form a new dwelling-place for man, lies shielded within, defended the recently formed, and, as yet, tender work.

“Blessed be God for permitting his word to be so widely spread and circulated among the New Zealanders! How powerful a barrier has it presented to the inroads of anti-christ. The late visit of the Roman-Catholic bishop and his pro-vicear to this place appears, on the whole, to have furthered the cause of Protestantism—the cause of the Gospel; for the natives, with greater diligence than ever, are searching the Scriptures, and comparing the dogmas of the apostolic church with the words of truth and righteousness.” Such is the remarkable language made use of by Archdeacon Brown, November 9th, 1841; that is, a date some six weeks earlier than that on which the bishop embarked at Plymouth for New Zealand. We put it earnestly to our readers, and to every impartial person, is the result which might have been anticipated, had the scriptural instruction afforded to the native Christians been of that superficial and defective kind ascribed to the Missionaries by the writer in the “Colonial Church Chronicle?” No, it was their knowledge of the New Testa-

ment—the capability of referring to it—the fact that they had the word stored up in their minds—this, under God, preserved the natives.

It is remarkable that the same ill-success tracks to this day the footsteps of Romish error in New Zealand. Archdeacon Henry Williams, in his report for the year 1857, expressly states—“I am thankful to report that Popery is extinct among the natives in this district, though there is a priest moving from place, having his head-quarters at Kororarika. On Sunday, November 8th, he passed through Paihia, from Hokianga, with his baggage, as the congregation was returning from church, and was severely reprovved by the natives for doing so. He made light of it; and replied that they were wrong to be so strict, that his service was over before he left the Waimate; and that Moses travelled on the Sabbath-day; therefore, there was no harm. Of Opotiki, a place on the east coast, the Rev. T. Chapman remarks—“Here the Romanists have a priest, and this is the only place on this coast where they have maintained their ground. In the interior of the island, we learn from the Rev. T. S. Grace, the Missionary at Taupo, that they have been equally unsuccessful. “The Romish priests have made various attempts to draw away one or other of the Taupo people, but hitherto without effect. Another of their principal teachers has come over to us. They almost invariably fix upon some one who is guilty of some fault, and perhaps suspended from receiving the Lord’s supper. On reaching the pa, which the Romish priest had left only two days before, I found he had re-baptized thirteen men, who, when I arrived, were breathing out threatenings of slaughter in the most dreadful manner. One of them declared that his heart was hard; that he could not repent; that he knew he should be lost; that he must have payment, and that in blood. If such be the practice of the bishops of Rome, what can be expected of their converts?”

The third head—that of Ordinations—we shall hope to deal with in our next Number.

## OUR PROSPECTS IN INDIA.

A PREVIOUS article has dealt partially with this subject. Dire as the calamities have been which have come on India, there is yet consolation in the remembrance, that unless some stern necessity had existed, they would not have been permitted; and that, in God’s all-wise administration of human affairs, they will be overruled for ulterior good. We ventured to indicate some particulars in which

such issues may be expected, and, by the removal of obstructions and groundless prejudices, the progress of the Gospel be facilitated. More especially we referred to the disparaging views which have been entertained as to the results of Christian Missions in India. Our converts have been designated as valueless, and of no character—individuals who, from interested motives, had professed Chris-

tianity, and who, on the occurrence of any difficulties, would, without confirmation, renounce it. The experience of the gloomy period through which the Missions have passed has disproved such distrustful conclusions. The Missions have been baptized in blood—blood shed as freely by the native as the European Christian. North India has had its martyrs; the native flocks have been scattered; they have been despoiled of their goods; they have been fugitives in the jungles; and some have been cut down by the tulwars of the insurgents; but whatever else they have parted with, they have held fast the faith of Christ.

We have already mentioned some instances of such fidelity. We can spare room for another. We shall refer to the instance of the Rev. Gopenath Nundy an ordained native in connexion with the American Presbyterian Mission. At the commencement of the outbreak he was stationed at Futtehpur, and, when the aspect of affairs looked dark and threatening at that station, conducted the native-Christian women to Allahabad for safety, where he was when the 6th Native Infantry mutinied on June 6th. A narrative of his sufferings, drawn up by himself, has been published in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, from whence we make some extracts, "in the hope that it may convince some, who have been reluctant to believe, of the genuineness of that Christianity which Evangelical Missionaries have sought to plant in India." It may be well to mention, that when he decided to escape from the horrors of Allahabad to Mirzapur, he had with him his wife and three children, two about six years old, twins, and one of a year old.

"We left Allahabad," he says, "and took a boat to go to the opposite bank of the Jumna. We arrived at day-break, and took the road to Mirzapur on foot. In the evening we reached a village about fourteen miles off, partly on foot and partly on a hackery, but not without very great difficulty, for our lives were often exposed to the mercy of armed villagers, but our gracious heavenly Father saved us from their wicked hands. Here we took shelter in a Brahmin's house, who professed to be a friend, but, through the whole night, sought for an opportunity to kill us. Being apprised of his wicked intention, we kept awake, without any sleep. Early next morning, when we were ready to resume our journey, we found the hackery which brought us had disappeared. The driver had received his full hire for Mirzapur. Our host, affecting great sympathy, (as his wicked design, of murdering us and taking every thing we had, was not yet accomplished,) begged us to re-

main another day, when he promised to procure a hackery. As we were tired, and our feet swollen, we were obliged to comply with his wishes. In the middle of the day, while sitting in his house, we witnessed such cruelty and barbarity as eye has seldom seen, or ear heard, or tongue attempted to describe, perpetrated by the inhabitants of the village on the public road; and the same was no doubt done in other villages. Amongst many others, I will mention one case. A syce (groom)—not a Christian, but a Hindú, a chámar by caste—with his wife and only child, a babe one year old, was returning home from Cawnpur to Mirzapur. He was caught by the villagers, and stripped of every thing he had. When the villains came to strip the woman of her clothes, she begged hard not to take her under garment, but they, without any mercy or humanity, snatched the baby, a stout healthy child, from her arms, and holding it by its two little legs, dashed out its brains upon a stone. Seeing this act of atrocity, our hearts were chilled within us, and we felt greatly alarmed, as we had a baby of about the same age. We passed the remainder of the day in heaviness of heart, but trusting in our God, and thinking how to get out of their hands. The night approached, and it was an awful night to us. We saw our host bring out his swords and clean them before our eyes. I asked him what he brought them out for. His answer was, should any of the villagers attack us, he would defend and fight for us. His plan, as we discovered, was to murder us in cold blood, when we were asleep, that thereby he might obtain possession of all that we had. We passed a most miserable night, expecting every moment to have our heads cut off; but our very blessed Father assured us that our lives should not be injured, only our property taken away. We kept up the whole night, praying and singing praises to God, and did not even lie down for a moment. The Brahmin, too, did not sleep, but continued watching for the moment when we should fall asleep, that he might execute his wicked design, but he was unsuccessful. When the morning light began to be visible, we prepared to start, not for Mirzapur, as the road was unknown and hazardous, but back to Allahabad, of course on foot; but, before we left, I told Mrs. Nundy to give up every thing, knowing well that we should be attacked. We left the Brahmin's roof, and, the moment we came out, a crowd of men, our host among the number, fell upon us. We gave up every thing, even the very clothes on our bodies: they did not leave us the single Bible we had. Our shoes were also taken:

In mine I had hid a rupee and a few pice. While they were engaged in dividing the booty amongst themselves, each one tried to secure the lion's share to himself, in doing which many were no doubt killed and wounded. We made our escape, running as fast as we could. After proceeding about a mile, we looked back, and saw a number of villains pursuing, evidently with a view to kill us, but we ran, and came within the boundary of another village. The villains, seeing us gone beyond the limits of their village, turned back. We went up to a well, and the people gave us water to drink. We then came to a potter's house, and begged him to give us a ghurra, which he did. I filled it with water, that we might have a supply; for water in that part of the country, especially in the months of May and June, is very scarce, and only found in deep wells. We travelled till 9 A.M., when both ourselves and our dear children (two of them six years, and the baby one year old) felt fatigued and tired, and sat down under the shade of a tree. The poor children cried most bitterly from hunger, but we had nothing to give them. We laid our petition before that God who fed His people, the Jews, with manna in the wilderness, and indeed He heard our prayer. We saw from a distance a marriage procession coming towards us. I went up to them, and they gave us five pice, which enabled me to buy suttu\* and gúr.† With this we fed the children, and resumed our journey. We travelled till 11 A.M., when we found that our three children, having been struck by the sun, were on the point of death, for the sun was very powerful, and the hot wind blew most fearfully. Any who have lived in the Upper Provinces, can well sympathize with us. Seeing no village near (and indeed, if there had been any, we should not have gone to it, for fear of losing our lives), we took shelter under a bridge, and, having gathered some sand, made our poor children lie down. But they seemed dying, and we had no medicine to give them. We raised our hearts in prayer to our great Physician, who is always more ready to hear than we are to apply to Him. He heard our supplications. We saw a small green mangoe hanging on a tree, though the season was nearly over. I brought it down, and having procured a little fire from a gang of robbers, who were proceeding to Allahabad to plunder, I roasted it,

and made some sherbet, and gave it to the children to drink. People of the poorer classes, when struck by the sun, always administer this as a medicine. It acted like a charm, and revived the children. From inability to proceed any further, we made up our minds to remain there till next morning; but towards sunset the zemindar of the nearest village, a Hindú by caste, came, with the assurance that no injury should be done to us, took us to his house, and comfortably kept us through the night, supplying all our urgent wants. We partook of his hospitality, and slept very soundly, as we had been deprived of rest for three days and three nights.

"Early on the following morning we left our kind host's house, and started for Allahabad, which was only three miles off. We arrived at the ghát about 9 A.M., and while crossing the river Jumna, we saw, with heartfelt sorrow, that the Mission bungalow was burnt to ashes, and the beautiful church totally disfigured. On our arrival, swarms of Mohammedans fell upon us; but our gracious Father again saved us, by raising up a friend from amongst the foes. This was a goldsmith, a Hindú by caste, who took us into his house, and kept us safe through the day. At sunset, when we left his protection, we fell into the hands of some other Mohammedans, who were roaming about like ferocious animals thirsting after blood. When we saw there was no way to escape, and the villains ready to kill us, we begged them hard to take us to their head, the mouliwí, who for some days usurped the supreme authority there. With great difficulty we induced them to comply with our wishes. When we were brought before him, we found him seated on a chair, surrounded by men with drawn swords. We made our salaams; upon which he ordered us to sit down, and put the following questions—  
 Q. Who are you? A. Christians. Q. What place do you come from? A. Futtehpur. Q. What was your occupation? A. Preaching and teaching the Christian religion. Q. Are you a Padre? A. Yes, Sir. Q. Was it not you who used to go about reading and distributing tracts in the streets and villages? A. Yes, Sir: it was I and my catechists. Q. How many Christians have you made? A. I did not make any Christian, for no human being can change the heart of another; but God, through my instrumentality, brought to the belief of His true religion about a couple of dozens." On this the man exclaimed, in a great rage, and said, 'Tobah! tobah! \* what downright blasphemy! God never makes any

\* Flour made of gram, a legume much used in India for feeding cattle.

† Treacle.

\* Repent.

one a Christian, but you Kafirs pervert the people. He always makes people Mussulmans; for the religion which we follow is the only true one.' Q. How many Mohammedans have you perverted to your religion? A. I have not perverted any one, but, by the grace of God, ten were turned from darkness to the glorious light of the Gospel. Hearing this, the man's countenance became as red as a poker, and he exclaimed, 'You are a great ———, you have renounced your forefathers' faith and become a child of Shoyton (Satan), and now use your every effort to bring others into the same road of destruction. You deserve a cruel death: your nose, ears, and hands should be cut off at different times, so as to make your sufferings continue for some time; and your children ought to be taken into slavery.' Upon this Mrs. Nundy, folding her hands, said to the moulwi, 'You will confer a very great favour by ordering us all to be killed at once, and not to be tortured by a lingering death.' After keeping silent for a while, he exclaimed, 'Savan Allah! you appear to be a respectable man. I pity you and your family, and, as a friend, I advise you to become Mohammedans. By doing so you will not only save your lives, but will be raised to a high rank.' My answer was, 'We prefer death to any inducement you can hold out.' The man then appealed to my wife, and asked her what she would do. Her answer was, thank God, as firm as mine. She said she was ready to submit to any punishment he could inflict, but she would not renounce her faith. The moulwi then asked if I had read the Korán. My answer was, 'Yes, Sir.' He then said, 'You could not have read it with a view to be profited, but simply to pick out passages in order to argue with Mohammedans.' 'Moreover, he said, 'I will allow you three days to consider, and then I will send for you and read a portion of the Korán to you. If you believe and become Mohammedans, well and good; but if not, your noses shall be cut off.' We again begged, and said to him, that what he intended to do had better be done at once, for as long as God continued His grace, we would never change our faith. He then ordered his men to take us into custody.

"While on the way to the prison, I raised my heart in praise and adoration to the Lord Jesus, for giving us grace to stand firm, and to acknowledge Him before the world. When we reached the place of our imprisonment, which was a part of the serai where travellers put up for the night, and where his soldiers were quartered, we found a European family and some native Christians. We felt extremely sorry, seeing them in the

same difficulty with ourselves. After conversing and relating each other's distress, I asked them to join us in prayer, to which they readily consented. While we knelt down and prayed, one of the guards came, and, giving me a kick on the back, ordered me either to pray after the Mohammedan form, or to hold my tongue. The next day, Ensign Cheek,\* an officer of the late 6th Native Infantry, was brought in as a prisoner. He was so severely wounded, that he was hardly able to stand on his legs, but was on the point of fainting. I made some gruel of the *suttú* and *gúr* which we brought with us, and some of which was still left, and gave him to drink, also a potful of water. Drinking this, he felt refreshed, and opened his eyes. Seeing me a fellow-prisoner, and a minister of the Gospel, he related the history of his sufferings, and asked me, if I escaped safe, to write to his mother in England and to his aunt at Bancúrah, which I have since done. As the poor man was unable to lie down on the bare hard ground, for that was all allotted to us, I begged the daroga (constable) to give him a charpoy.† With great difficulty he consented to supply one, and that was a broken one. Finding me so kindly disposed to poor Cheek, the daroga fastened my feet in the stocks, and thus caused a separation not only from him, but also from my poor family. While this was going on, a large body of armed men fell upon me, holding forth the promise of immediate release if I became a Mohammedan. At that time Ensign Cheek cried with a loud voice, and said, 'Padre, Padre, be firm; do not give way.' My poor wife, not willing to be separated, was dragged away by her hair, and received a severe wound in her forehead. The third day, the day appointed for our final execution, now came, and we expected every moment to be sent for, to finish our earthly course, but the moulwi did not do so. Every ten or fifteen minutes some one of his people would come and try to convert us, threatening, in case of refusal, to cut off our noses. It appeared that the cutting off of noses was a favourite pastime with them.

"On the sixth day, the moulwi himself came over into the prison, and inquired where the Padre prisoner was. When I was pointed out, he asked me if I were comfortable. My

\* Ensign Cheek had arrived from England only a few weeks, or rather days, before, and had paid a brief visit to his worthy relatives at Bancúrah, near Burdwan, whilst going up to join his regiment.

† A very primitive low bedstead,—consisting of four feet (*chári pái*), connected by four pieces of wood. The bed is formed of interlaced string.

answer was, 'How can I be comfortable, whilst my feet are fastened in the stocks? However, I am not sorry, because such has been the will of my Heavenly Father.' I then asked him how he could be so cruel as not to allow a drop of milk to a poor innocent baby, for our little one lived principally upon water those six days. The same day the European and Sikh soldiers came out under Major Brazier, and, after a desperate fight, completely routed the enemy. Several dead and wounded were brought where we were, as that was his head-quarter. The sight of these convinced us that the enemies would take to their heels. They gradually began to disperse, and by the following morning not one remained. We then broke the stocks, liberated ourselves, and came into the fort to our friends, who were rejoiced to see us once more in the land of the living. Ensign Cheek died the same day, after reaching the fort. His wounds were so severe and so numerous, that it was a wonder how he lived so many days, without any food, or even a sufficient quantity of water to quench his burning thirst. It must be a great consolation to his friends to hear that he died in the fort, and received Christian burial. I had not sufficient conversation with him to know the real state of his mind; but the few words he expressed at the time when the villains fastened my feet in the stocks, lead me to believe that he died a Christian, and is now in the enjoyment of everlasting rest in heaven.

"The saving of our unprofitable lives, I may say, is a perfect miracle; for it was not once or twice, but no less than ten times that our lives were exposed to imminent danger; but our gracious Heavenly Father not only saved us, but gave us grace to stand firm, and to make a public profession of our faith before the enemy. Thanks, thanks be to His great name!"

We have ourselves received a letter from this excellent man, dated March 2, 1858, in which he says—"The moulwi, when he failed in his endeavours by argument to bring us to renounce the Christian faith, brought forward all the threats which a wicked heart could invent. He threatened to take off the different limbs of our body, and thus torture us to death; but when he saw that this had no effect, he then promised to give us riches, land free of rent, and other worldly grandeur; but, thanks be to God! he still received a negative answer. His next attack was on my poor wife, who, although naturally timid, yet at that moment was astonishingly bold in declaring her faith. Well may I insert the sweet words of our blessed Lord, 'And ye shall be brought before governors and kings

for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what you shall speak. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.' Surrounded as she was by no less than one hundred infuriated and savage-looking men, with drawn swords, ready to inflict torture, yet she defended her faith most gloriously. When the moulwi appealed to her, and inquired what she would do, thinking no doubt that her natural weakness would yield to his proposals, but not knowing that a greater power than his was directing and supporting her, she humbly, and with a loud voice, declared that she was ready to undergo any punishment he would inflict, but would not deny her Master and Saviour. While the man was arguing with her, she felt certain that we should be called upon to seal our faith with our blood. She began to teach the little boys in the presence and hearing of all—"You, my sweet children, will be taken and kept as slaves, when we shall be killed, but do not forget to say your prayers every day; and when the English power is re-established, fly over to them for refuge, and relate the circumstances of our end;" and, while instructing them, she was kissing them all the time. This pitiful scene no doubt touched their hard and aching hearts. The moulwi ordered us to be taken into the prison, and kept for a further occasion. Thus came we out through our fiery trials, praising and glorifying Jesus for giving us grace and strength to confess Him before men."

The little flock of native Christians at Futtehpur had also their burden of trial to sustain.

The station was visited by the Rev. S. Fullerton at the end of January and early part of February. He found a scene of desolation; the Missionary bungalows, the churches, orphan institution, the Christian village, all involved in one common ruin. The recollections of the past crowded on his mind, and painfully mingled with the stern realities of the present moment. At his last visit, these ruined dwellings were inhabited by the Missionary families—the Freemans, the M'Mullins, Campbells, all earnestly pursuing those labours of love, on which the blessing of God promised more and more richly to descend. In the desecrated church he had met them and their native flock, and had enjoyed a happy communion season, made more interesting by the public renunciation, on the part of a young proselyte, of Mohammedanism, and his dedication of himself to Christ and to His service. And as he quitted these well-known places, over which were extended the tents of the English soldiers, the touching words of

the 137th Psalm came to his mind—"By the waters of Babylon we sat down: yea, we wept when we remembered Zion."

It was with some difficulty he found the native Christians. They were lodged in the bazaar of the cantonment, an immense building, in the centre of which there is a court. Poor people! The storm came upon them in the midst of a tranquil season, which they had long enjoyed, and had scattered them like the leaves of the forest. The rags with which they were covered, and their emaciation showed too plainly the sufferings to which they had been exposed. So soon as he could control his feelings, the Missionary asked for a Bible and a Hymn-book. The 103d Psalm was read; and after a hymn had been sung, they knelt down on the bare ground, and returned thanks to God for the protection which had been extended to them during seven or eight terrible months, so full of tribulation, that they seemed as long as so many years, nor were the absent ones forgotten, or earnest supplications wanting, that so great calamities might be overruled, to the salvation of many souls.

After the departure of the Missionaries in boats for Cawnpur, as related in a previous Number, the native Christians had been protected by the English Commandant, Col. Smith; and several attacks of the insurgents, specially directed against the Christian village, were repulsed. At length, on June 18th, their dwellings were pillaged and set on fire; and plundered of every thing they had, except the clothes they wore, the Christians fled into the surrounding villages, hoping that no further notice would be taken of them, and that they would be permitted to remain in the vicinity of their ruined homes. But the Nawab ordered them to be seized and put to death, promising rewards to such as should bring in their heads. They then fled in different directions. Some reached Cawnpur, just as it was retaken by Havelock's victorious band. But others were not so successful. Many of the children, unequal to the fatigues and privations of the journey, died on the way. One young woman, a catechist's wife, with her infant, was separated by some accident from the little band of fugitives, and after some days' search, they were both found, in a miserable cabin, lying dead. They had perished from want. Although there was a village close at hand, no one would give them a drop of water while living, or, when they were dead, bury their poor remains—they were Christians! One Christian, Dhokal Parshad, and his wife, had been put to death by order of the Nawab. Twenty-nine others, whose names, with some exceptions, could not

be ascertained, had undergone a similar fate; and of survivors, reckoning young and old, there remained upwards of one hundred.

The fate of the Europeans and their families, who had left in boats, was collected from some of the native Christians, who had accompanied them in their flight, and who had succeeded in escaping, after they had fallen into the hands of the Sepoys. As they passed down the stream, they had often been fired upon by the villagers along the banks, without, however, any serious injury. But as they approached Cawnpur, their situation became desperate. The Sepoys occupied both banks, and a bridge of boats precluded their advance. In this extremity, they landed on a small island, where they remained concealed three days. At length the Sepoys discovered them, and commenced to fire on them. One of the Missionaries immediately arose and said to his companions—"In all probability, our last hour has come; let us commend our souls to God." Mr. Freeman then read a portion of the Scriptures, which he accompanied by some remarks. Then a hymn was sung, and a second prayer offered. Another hymn was followed by a brief exhortation and prayer by Mr. Campbell; and then, casting all the arms which they had with them into the river, they awaited the arrival of the Sepoys. They were tied two and two, yet so as not to separate the wives from their husbands. Thus they were conducted towards Cawnpur. But having been without food for some days, several of them, especially the females, had no strength, and sank exhausted on the ground. Here they remained all night: nothing, save a few drops of water, were given them, while the Sepoys, in a circle, strictly guarded them. Fatigued as they were, not one of the Missionary families slept during that night: the hours were passed in meditation and in prayer. The next day, one hour after they had reached Cawnpur, they were led forth to the parade-ground, and there shot down or sabred. One young native Christian girl, named Margaret, unwilling to leave the Mission families to whom she was attached, remained with them, after the other native Christians had fled, nor did she leave them until forcibly separated from them when they were being led forth to execution. From her lips these latter details were gathered. Four Missionaries and their families perished on this occasion.

Thus many have died rather than falsify their profession, and the native Christians, in their endurance of tribulation, have emulated the constancy of English Christians. They have suffered together with them, and laid the foundation of a more rapid spread of Gospel truth throughout India. "Except a corn of



wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much more fruit." Our Lord's personal ministry yielded comparatively but few results. And it was no doubt with reference to this that we find him saying, "I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished." But when he died and rose again, then came the harvest. Our Missionary work in Northern India had never been subjected to any stern outbreak of persecution. The law of Christian productiveness, death in order to life, had not taken effect upon it. The corn of wheat, therefore, which we had introduced there, continued to abide alone. The testimony on this point from Missionaries of various denominations is concurrent. So spoke the Baptist Missionaries in May 1857—"Crowds listen, and apparently with cordial assent, to the Gospel message; but conversions are comparatively rare. Multitudes hear, but few obey the voice of Christ. The labour is incessant, but the fruit gathered is small." The death which brings with it the quickening influence, has now, however, passed upon the work: the copious rain of heaven will descend, and the seed will spring up, as we have not yet seen it, abundantly.

One thought more, and we have done. A formidable obstruction, which interfered with freedom of conscience, and intimidated the people from following out their convictions, has been removed. The *caste* system has received a blow from which it never can recover. Its main pillar is gone. That chief stay was our army of Bengal—our Brahmin and Rajpút army; and as, unhappily, our policy has been to "*be more Hindú than the Hindús*,"\* it was the concentration of the high-caste system. It was dispersed over the face of the country, and wherever it was cantoned it strengthened that rigid yoke of social oppression under which the masses groaned. That army has brought upon itself utter destruction; and high caste, weakened to a degree of which we can scarcely form a just conception, must fall, unless we, by a suicidal policy, seek to prop up the tottering structure. And yet, why should we do so? We have tried to conciliate it, and win it over to our side: we humoured it, and yielded to its waywardness. But this spoiled and petted favourite misapprehended our motives, and, thinking that we caressed it because we feared it, became arrogant and inflated with an idea of its own importance; until at length it set us at defiance, and stood forth the inveterate foe of all that bears the British name. Let it be entombed in the grave which its own

devices have prepared for it. Any attempt on our part to resuscitate it would, we feel persuaded, be repugnant to the true feelings and wishes of India. The masses have suffered grievously at the hands of Mussulmans and high-caste Hindús, especially during the late disturbances; and the determination on our part in no wise whatever to involve ourselves in any recognition of the high-caste man as possessing any superiority over the low-caste man, but dealing with all alike according to their true qualifications, whether high-caste or low-caste, will inaugurate an era of freedom, to which the poor people of India have hitherto been strangers.

Finally, India has its monsoons. They are ushered in with great disturbance of the elements. The wind roars as it bears onwards the clouds in dense masses; the thunder, which never ceases to roll, ever and anon breaks upon the ear with a sudden and tremendous crash, and the lightning is without intermission. Then comes the outpouring of the rain, and the rushing of the rising streams. But when the sky clears, the face of nature is changed as by enchantment. Before the storm the fields were burnt up: except in the bed of the rivers, scarcely a blade of grass was to be seen, and the parched air was loaded with dust. But now vegetation is alive, and the earth, relieved and refreshed, puts on her richest robe of fruit and flowers. Then comes the sowing season, when the sower lays the foundation of rich and not long retarded harvests.

So shall it be when the storm which still lingers shall have exhausted itself: a new era of effort and encouragement shall expand before us. And we now place before our readers recent communications from Missionaries in different parts of the Bengal Presidency, which are full of promise. The first from the Rev. J. Vaughan, dated Feb. 8, refers to the Calcutta neighbourhood.

"Calcutta, Feb. 9.

"I have just returned from a little Missionary excursion, in company with the Rev. A. Stern. We sailed about fifty miles up the river, visiting and preaching in all the principal towns and villages on the banks. It was throughout a very interesting tour, and it is no small cause of gratitude that we were enabled at all to itinerate after a period of such fearful excitement. But so it is: we were permitted to go from village to village, preaching the glad tidings of salvation without any interruption, without a word of abuse or complaint, except on one occasion from an old Brahmin, who trembled for his craft. The people, in almost every instance, not only permitted us to preach to them, but

\* Campbell's "Modern India," p. 518.

declared a readiness to listen, for we generally began by the remark, 'We are padris; we have come to speak with you about the religion of Jesus Christ.' Instantly the reply was given, 'Very good, Sahib, sit down and deliver your message.' Some one would then bring us the best seat at hand, and thus we began to preach to the people seated or standing around us.

"A greater misrepresentation could not be given than to say that the people are offended by the visit of a Missionary. I believe the reverse is nearer the truth: they have no objection to any man who comes to them openly declaring himself a messenger of Christ. We had no difficulty in getting congregations. Wherever we went the people flocked together, and always listened with more or less attention. One large village, named Ullú, presented a very striking aspect. It had contained a population of some 20,000; but it has been visited by a deadly malady: thousands of poor people have been cut off, and thousands more have abandoned the place from terror, so that we found it bereft of about half its inhabitants. A European doctor and magistrate had visited the place; but each had taken the fever, and left. We felt that this was a place which we ought not to pass by. We spent two days preaching to the poor people. It was a very sad scene: several poor creatures were going about, suffering under the fatal disease. At first we thought the people were prepared to listen to the truth. Some, indeed, said, 'We have tried our religion long enough: we have gone to our gods in our trouble, but they have not delivered us: we are willing to hear if you can show us a better way.' We tried to show them the more excellent way. Some approved, some questioned, some opposed. We left the place, feeling that affliction had rather hardened than softened their hearts. At Hashkali we had a singular illustration of the effect of the late Government proclamations. The múnshi of the place told us, that two of his clerks appealed to him against us as breaking the law in thus going about to preach, when the Governor-General had promised there should be no more preaching. It is clear that the natives would never have dreamed about the unlawfulness of preaching, if our rulers had not put the idea into their heads. At this place we made the acquaintance of a Romish priest, who is stationed at Jessur. We had a long conversation with him, and his account of the success of his labours would have been enough to discourage us, had we not remembered how they do their work. He has been only one year in his station, did not know the

language when he went there, and has baptized fifty converts! At Dakhinpur we met with an interesting young man, a Brahmin. As soon as he saw us, he led us into the heart of the village, and seemed really anxious to hear the word. He told us that he was fully convinced that the worship of the heathen was vain, and he appeared to be feeling after the truth. He followed us to different parts of the village, and took from us two or three tracts, which he promised carefully to peruse. It was strange to see the anxiety of his poor old mother. She followed her son, crying after him that he should leave us. It is evident the young man was marked in the village. Had he been in an English school I should not have thought much about it; but the opinions which he had formed seemed, so far as we could learn, not to have been acquired from intercourse with Christians. Sherbucbas is another large place. Here we had very nice opportunities of preaching to the people. I got at this place a novel congregation in a strange spot. Seeing in the distance the ruins of a Rajah's palace and several temples, I and one of the catechists went to explore. I was much struck with the scene. The edifice had been once a place of considerable extent and magnificence, but it was now a mass of ruins. I concluded that no one was living there; and determined upon a thorough inspection of the remains. Going down a narrow passage, I all at once came upon a company of females, seated in an inner court. I of course retreated as fast as it became me. As their backs were turned towards me, I hoped I had escaped unseen. But I had only just turned away, when I observed two or three of the women peeping after me. As soon as my eye caught theirs they rushed back terrified. I cried out that they were not to be alarmed, I was no enemy, and would not harm them. This seemed to give them courage; presently some seven or eight ventured out and standing in the corridors, and behind pillars appeared anxious to hear what I had got to say. It was a nice opportunity, and I and the catechist began to speak unto them the word of life. The message must have been strange to them, for in all probability they had never heard a word of Christ before. One of them seeing a book in the hands of the catechist modestly asked him to read, which he did, they the meanwhile listening with great attention. When we left the place one of them ran out and put a small present into the hand of my companion, in token, I suppose, of their gratitude. I afterwards learned that several of those ladies are the widows of the late rajah, who died very poor

during the last year. They live in this solitary place alone under the guardianship of an old Brahmin, who very fortunately was out of the way when we arrived. Perhaps, if we could gain the lot of females in this country, we might see in them more to cheer us, but it is a rare chance that the poor women hear a word of Jesus. At Mutteari we were encountered by a very subtle and clever young man. He had been educated in the Hugly Vernacular Training School. He did not know any English, but he was a thorough 'young Bengal.' He gloried in the fact that he had risen above the obscurities of Hinduism and the childishness of Christianity. 'No religion,' said he, 'is divine: all are alike untrue. The only religion is that which arises out of a cultivated intellect. Learning makes a man truly religious; we need nothing else.' It was amusing to see two or three Brahmins bring this young man in a triumphant way as their champion to fight their cause, and then to hear him give expression to sentiments which were as crushing to their system as to Christianity. They appeared almost to rue their choice. It required very little effort to expose the young man's fallacies and hold them up to ridicule, but to convince him was not so easy, for like his English-speaking brethren, he evidently came to spout, not to reason.

"The Brahmins are indeed the curse of this land. They do literally close the door of knowledge upon the people to turn them away from the faith. How often has a serious thoughtful audience been disturbed by their sophistical and blasphemous remarks. Their most shocking feature undoubtedly is, their attributing to God all the sin which they perpetrate, declaring that He (not they) is the doer of it. Several times I was almost tempted to be angry when a Brahmin with a calm indifferent look would make this horrid statement; but I believe the best way is, not by argument to try to convince them, but to appeal at once to the common sense of the people. I have found, I think, in every instance, that such an appeal is effectual; for, after all, the subtle Brahmin can say, there is a voice even in the breast of the heathen which affirms, 'Let God be true, but every man a liar.' My little experience leads me to think, that we ought to go more to the poor of the people. Often have I said during our late tour, 'It is true now as before, the common people hear the word gladly, but the higher classes reject the counsel of God against themselves.'"

The next communication, dated March 27, is from the wife of the Rev. A. Medland, our Missionary at Mirut—

"There is a spirit of inquiry manifested

amongst some villagers in the neighbourhood, unlike any thing we have previously seen. About the time of the outbreak here (May last), an old native Christian went to a village called Mulliana, about three miles from Mirut; he staid a few days, and, on going away, left some books—amongst them the "Gospel of St. Mark" and the "Book of Proverbs." Two or three of the men read them, and became so far convinced of the truth of Christianity, that they came to the Mission Compound to make further inquiries. We were then in the Hills, but Joseph, our native catechist, spoke to them, and invited them to attend the Sunday services, which they did at once. On our return, Mr. Medland was very much pleased with them. They evinced every mark of sincerity. They have never asked for pecuniary aid; but on the contrary, said, if Mr. Medland would send them a teacher, and give the materials for a house for him, they would build it. Some of them are masons, others field labourers—low-caste men, but some of them very respectable of their class, and of known good character. From fourteen to twenty generally worship with us on Sunday mornings; once as many as twenty-five were present. About ten of them broke their caste by eating with our Christians on Christmas-day. Four or five have come here for instruction, once in the week, for the last three months; and, since it has been safe to do so, for nearly two months past, Mr. Medland has been to their village weekly, when more have benefited by the instruction. I accompanied my husband on one visit, and was much pleased with the remarks of two of the men who spoke, and the earnestness of many more. There are five or six Mr. Medland thinks he ought not longer to refuse to baptize, and has promised to do so (D.V.) on Easter-day. To one of these, whom he did not know as well as the others, he said, 'Why do you wish to be baptized?' He replied, 'I wish, if I live, to live unto Christ; and if I die, to die unto Christ.' Who can refuse water, that such should be baptized? We heard, a few days since, that some of them have cut off the tuft of hair on the top of the head, which is the distinguishing mark of the Hindú. Joseph went out to their village, and heard great noise and lamentation in one house, and on asking the cause, learned that it was the mother lamenting that her husband had cut off their boys' tuft of hair. They are most anxious to have their families taught, and I am thankful to say we have a native catechist, in whom we have confidence, that we can send there. He was the catechist at Bareilly, and his wife taught the girls'-school at the time of the outbreak

there. They escaped here with their family. The magistrate has kindly given a piece of land, adjoining Mulliana, and the catechists' house is nearly built, so that we hope he will go there to live about the time that the men are baptized. This week, four other men came from three other villages, of the same class of men; and professing to be interested in Christianity, my husband went to one of their villages yesterday. We hope and pray that these people may be Christians indeed, and that it is the beginning of a work which may spread in North India. It originates so entirely from the operation of the word of God, that He must have all the glory. The old man who first went to them was baptized by a chaplain, about thirty years since, and desired by him to go to his people and tell them about Christianity. He had been a fakir, and confesses that he returned to his old trade, and has mixed up idolatry with Christianity in his wanderings; but it is a pleasant feature in his case, that he at once confessed it to be evil, destroyed his false books, and is now attending to any instruction given, and living as a Christian."

A third communication, of still later date, May 14, is from our Missionary, the Rev. T. Valpy French, at Agra.

"I seize the opportunity of a whole holiday to reply to your late kind communication, which, I fear, I have as yet taken no notice of. It is about two months since I reached Agra, after my visit to Calcutta, to escort Mrs. French and our little ones, and thus far, in the city and the neighbourhood, we are free and undisturbed in all our Mission operations. My two colleagues are entering on their work with great vigour and spirit, and seem already deeply interested in the college, to which they devote about as much time as is compatible with a close and systematic study of the languages. Shackell reads prayers already in the Kuttra church: though I will not say he is throughout perfectly intelligible, yet he is sufficiently so to warrant the trial. Clinton is writing a short Urdu sermon with his munshi, to preach next Sunday evening (Whit-Sunday). As St. Paul's, the station church, is to be without a chaplain till the end of the year, the archdeacon has begged us to take independent charge of it till that time, which we have agreed to do, the chief responsibility of the charge resting with Clinton, but we also rendering occasional help. We performed our journey, fortunately, at a time when the roads were more secure than they have since been. A major in the army was killed about ten days ago, twenty miles from Agra, while travelling hither in a dák garí. His companion fled into a village, as it was

night, and was so saved. A body of some 500 rebels happened to be crossing the road at the precise moment they came up.

I wish I could report that our college had thoroughly regained its position. Though we are gaining ground, it is but slowly; and there must be much secret opposition in some quarter or other in the city, though we cannot tell from whence it proceeds. Our upper boys give us a good deal of satisfaction in many ways, but I do not see any immediate hope of their making a public profession of faith in the Saviour. One Mohammedan youth, of about fifteen years of age, was baptized yesterday, at his own earnest request. He is an orphan; and, while his father and mother lived, was brought up in the American Presbyterian School at Allahabad. The word of God seems to have taken hold of his mind in a remarkable manner. Since I returned from Calcutta I have been specially preparing him for baptism. Last week he came to me crying very bitterly: he said that he felt much distressed whenever he read the word of God and prayed. He seemed to have a strong sense of sin, and a very anxious desire that he might be made worthy to partake of the holy rite of baptism. Last week, being not well, he begged that he might be excused school two or three days, to give himself only to the study of the Bible and prayer, which I granted him. His conduct yesterday was very edifying and impressive. Another, whom I baptized yesterday, was a Mohammedan, a learned munshi from Delhi, whom I have been instructing upwards of two years. I first became acquainted with him by meeting him in my bazaar preaching. He made violent opposition, and read, out of a Mohammedan controversial work, some passages full of objections to the Gospel. About ten days afterwards he begged to be received as an inquirer. Since that time he has wavered; often appearing impressed, but then again stumbled by reading controversial works. He is thoroughly acquainted with the whole argument against Christianity, and has a very acute mind; so that I have often felt his case a difficult one, and almost despaired of ever seeing him actually embrace Christianity. However, he has at length passed successfully through the final struggle, and yesterday was baptized by the name of Mahoub Messeh. He is one of those men whose abilities and character would qualify him hereafter, if he continue steadfast, by God's grace, to be a native pastor or Missionary: at present I hope to employ him in the college. I had a letter from another Delhi munshi lately, begging to be employed in the college, as he prefers teaching to Government-office work, and

stating that he was about to be baptized by Mr. Medland, of Mirut. He was, it appears, a teacher in one of Mr. Jackson's schools in Delhi, and is also a learned Mussulman. I shall try to find him a place in the college, as it will be a great thing to gather a Christian society around us. Of all the present needs we have, next to the outpouring of God's Holy Spirit—that pre-eminent and continual need of our Mission churches—the raising up of a Christian community, with respectable and well-educated native leaders, is a great point; and nowhere can this be done with less tendency to nurture pride and foster an undue independence of spirit than in connexion with our colleges, where European learning is honoured in its representatives, and there is active mental employment to be found for the educated converts. I was, yesterday afternoon, much gratified with a visit from a very respectable Mohammedan, who had received from me a Persian New Testament, in a large village about forty miles off, during my winter journeyings. He brought the book wrapped up in a cloth, and told me he had very carefully read it, which was evident, indeed, from the excellent idea he had of its contents, and from the condition of the book, which testified to continual though respectful usage. He said he had studied the Korán closely in the original, but was come to the full persuasion that the only way of salvation was through Christ. He mentioned his having been struck with the passage, 'He that loveth me shall be loved of my Father.' 'Now,' said he, 'since to be the friend of God is the great and chief object I have in view, what better or more effectual method of securing this object have I than to join myself to, and love, Christ?' He begged me to baptize him, which I have promised to do after some examination of him, should he prove sufficiently grounded in the faith. There is something particularly interesting about this man; and the whole work is apparently of God, for I am not sure that I ever had a single conversation with him. Another Mohammedan, a candidate for baptism, is from Futteguhr. He is just gone thither for ten days to fetch his wife, that they may be baptized together. Another rather learned man, a Hindú, is also undergoing a course of instruction from me. These latter cases I will tell you more about, should the parties be baptized, and appear entirely satisfactory. Other inquirers are at a point more remote from baptism, still deeply interesting: most of them inquirers long previous to the mutiny. One of these, a youth in the first class Government college here, was much influenced by the excellent Missio-

naries at Delhi. He bought from me a large Bible a few days ago, as he could not well read at night in his own small one, and is also studying Greek, with a view hereafter to the more thorough understanding of the Scriptures. He would make a valuable native pastor, please God, as he is of a very attractive character. I could tell you of other things, but you will be led to take too favourable a view of the state of things if I do; for the masses are still as alienated as ever, I believe, from the Gospel. You will say, 'Why wonder at this?' and indeed I do not wonder; but some are beyond measure sanguine as to the results of this outbreak. Mean time, I am heartily thankful to God that things look something more hopeful. I feel greatly the importance of a few such collegiate institutions as we have. The road seems to open and widen, as we look forward, to more extended usefulness; but all betokens a very gradual, and often painful process towards the great result. Mean time, what a comfort it is to rest upon words such as I was preaching from last evening to our native congregation—'Behold, I create the smith that worketh in the coals . . . . No weapon that is forged against thee shall prosper.' We have about 160 or 170 pupils in the college at present, of whom a full third are Christians—many from Secundra. One of our head pupils, favourably disposed towards Christianity, I am sending to Peshawur, as one of the head teachers in the Mission school. Leighton wishes another as head teacher in his Amritsar school; and the two best, though about equal to these two above mentioned, we retain as teachers, in our own college, of some important branches of knowledge: so you see we are partly answering the purpose of a normal school for Christian teachers. However, the *native ministry* is the object towards which my views are most earnestly directed. You would be so delighted, and so would all our friends in Salisbury Square, with dear old Paul, Mr. Lamb's munshí. He is an elderly man, of majestic appearance, with a noble beard, overflowing with intelligence and beaming with kindness and love. I think I told you that he failed in the Old-Testament history at the Ordination in 1856, and that I proposed to train him more regularly for orders. Mr. Lamb's death has given me, though in a most melancholy and deeply-to-be-regretted manner, the opportunity I desired. He is being carefully instructed in Scripture history. I also translate with him and the other catechists 'Butler's Analogy,' 'Hengstenberg's Christology,' and 'Augustine De Civitate Dei.' I hope also to give him some portions of 'Pearson on the Creed.' He

is a wonderful preacher: the people quite hang upon him; and those interesting conversations at Mirut may, I doubt not, in a great measure be traced to Paul. I fancied sometimes Mr. Lamb must be exaggerating his worth; but, on closer acquaintance with him, I find in him even more than Mr. Lamb gave me to expect. He works in such a winning, patient, laborious manner, that, with God's blessing, it seems as if every Mission must be blessed where Paul is. Should you have the opportunity of showing this to our new bishop, and of recommending Paul's ordination to take charge of one of the new Missions in connexion with Mfrut, I should feel it a great encouragement, as I am working hard with him. I am sorry to say the practical working of the Church Missionary Society in North India is greatly to the discouragement of a native pastorate. There is no opening in the Missions for a man of ability and respectability. All are kept down to a prescribed level; and the more intelligent are not trained with that object. I feel it very deeply, as it is manifestly an unnatural state of things, and tends to render the Mission Church despicable, and a miniature of the State, where natives are kept (of necessity perhaps) from all offices of trust and responsibility, but which is contrary to the essence of the Christian church. Yet I am not a friend of violent changes; and only wish to see the materials we have to work with used to the utmost, and a gradual preparation going on for a less *exotic* development of the vine planted in this country.

To Mr. French's testimony we add some extracts from a letter of Mr. W. Wright, Assistant-Master to the Church Missionary College, Agra, dated May 17, 1858—

"Most of the senior boys of the school manifested an attachment to us throughout the mutiny. Some of them, not without risk to themselves, visited us in the fort. Others employed themselves in searching, on the sides of the roads, for books belonging to the college, or to our private libraries, and this when the danger was so great that no European was allowed to leave the fort. Mr. Wood, a teacher in the school, when ill, and no other servant could be procured, was attended to night and day, in and out the fort, by a lad of his own class.

"A boy, at present in the class under my charge, was chiefly instrumental in saving the lives of an Anglo-Indian lady and her children. His father, a *bajar* (clothman), got Hindustani dresses made up for them, hid them in his own house, and fed them gratuitously till they could go with safety to the fort. For this service the boy, Brij Bollob,

has just obtained an appointment in the accountant's office, with a much higher salary than his present attainments might entitle him to receive (thirty rupees, to be raised to forty soon). Whenever, soon after the battle, I was able to visit the college, four or five of the senior boys were always straggling about round its ruins. A boy of the sixth class in our school, oftentimes before the mutiny, urged me to commit to his keeping my most valuable things. I shared, however, in the general infatuation of thinking nothing would happen. A friend of mine, more wise than myself, did give this lad the most valuable of his furniture, and it was all safely delivered him again when peace was restored. This lad, Bollob Ram, was often threatened by neighbours for protecting goods belonging to the Sahibs. These things should be a sufficient proof, that, at Agra at least, neither the Missionaries, nor the Missionaries' doctrine, produced the ill-will of the natives. The Government College roof was burnt; ours escaped: but the cause may have been that ours was too lofty for them.

"Alarms and reports are still propagated, and indeed the causes for them have not been removed yet. Only yesterday morning three guns were heard in church, which were afterwards ascertained from an 'extra' to have been fired over the corpse of a major who was murdered by a company of the enemy's sowars (cavalry) within ten cos of Agra, his companion, severely wounded, having had an almost miraculous escape to Agra. The native population have been disarmed. It was feared there would be some difficulty in doing it, but it passed off quietly. It is reported that the Nawab of Futtehgurh (Furruckabad?) has been taken prisoner—he who blew English ladies and children from his guns. The European soldiers demand much of our pity, having to endure all the horrors of war, living in tents in this fearful heat, not a few of the numbers ill or dying with sun strokes. They and their devoted chaplains demand our most earnest sympathy and prayers.

"A few lads of the school seem willing to come to my house for instruction, but I cannot say whether a deeper anxiety than that of obtaining a knowledge of English actuates them. One is often deceived. It may lead to a purer desire. We must sow beside all waters. On several occasions when I accompanied Mr. Leighton to the bazaar, the people were, I thought, even more attentive than formerly. Most of the time I can spare, after the five hours' school, is given to private reading.

"Oh may the blood-stained triumphs of war be a prelude to the peaceful triumph of the cross! 'The kingdom shall be the Lord's.'"

## INDIA AND ITS MASSES.—OUR FIRST STEP.

WHAT course had best be taken for the enlightening of the population of India? The ryots of Bengal alone, we are informed, amount to 35,000,000 of people; and of these not more than two or three per cent. can read intelligently. Whole sections of the population are, in this respect, blind. The Bible may be translated with all fidelity, and circulated in the thirteen cultivated languages of India; yet to one half of the dense masses, the females, it could be of no use; for, with the exception of the temple girls, they are denied all knowledge of letters. The hill tribes, and other portions of the population who lie beyond the limits of caste, to the amount of 30,000,000, are similarly circumstanced; and even of those who have received some education, not one in a thousand, we are told, can read like a European, as fluently as he could speak.

What, then, is to be done? The field is vast, and yet perishable. There are millions awaiting help, and yet they are passing rapidly away. What we do, needs to be done quickly, extensively. Yet here lies the difficulty. All the means of action hitherto proposed must necessarily be of slow development, and can only by degrees expand, so as to meet in any effective way the necessities of the people. Thus our Missionary Societies are diligently occupied in multiplying their stations, and increasing the number of faithful men, whether European or native, who are engaged in teaching the Gospel to old and young. Yet, after forty years, how disproportionate the amount of effort! What masses remain untouched! Let Macleod Wylie's book, "Bengal as a field of Missions," be consulted. It will amaze its readers by the vastness of the destitution which it reveals. Again, there has been recently formed a Christian Vernacular Education Society, which proposes the accomplishment of two objects, "Institutions for training masters to teach in their mother tongue, and the preparation of Christian books in the various languages of India," objects of whose utility no doubt can be entertained. But the machinery has yet to be got up, and the work is pressing. In Bengal alone there are 80,000 village schools. Suppose we had the opportunity of superseding the present ignorant teachers of these schools by a superior class of men, trained in our normal institutions, how soon might it be before the transfer could be accomplished? Not, we apprehend, before the present children should have reached adult age. What we need to do is to bring the native

mind to the translated Scriptures. We know of no great national changes that have been brought about except in this way. It was thus the reformation was accomplished in our country. We wonder at the facility with which, on the accession of Edward VI., Romanism was superseded by the national establishment of scriptural Christianity. But the preparations had been made long before. Tyndale's New Testament sowed the seed; Coverdale's Bible completed the work. The people had the Bible given them in their own vernacular. They could read it, and they used it. The reformation amongst the Armenians originated in the same way. They, too, could read, and they had the Scriptures given them in the modern Armenian. The work there has been rapid and effective, because raised upon so sound a basis. The New Zealanders, by a still more rapid process, shook off their heathenism, and became a professedly Christian people. But they had learned to read: they were in this respect a self-taught people in a great degree. A few had acquired the faculty in our Missionary schools: the few gave the impetus to the many; and at the same moment the material on which the newly-acquired power was to be exercised was given them in the Maori New Testament.

What do we need to do with the Hindús? Primarily, teach them to read. History, arithmetic, geography, writing, is all very good, but all secular subjects, and, at the present crisis, beside our mark. We have not time to spend on them. We want that the people should read; and then we shall know what to do with our Bibles. We want, too, for this purpose, a simple machinery, numerous, and immediately available. We want to put those who can read in the way of teaching others to do the same. Two or three per cent. can read intelligently. Let us see, then, whether we cannot induce these men just so far to become the instructors of others, as to teach them also how to read.

We may be content to take a hint from Missionary work in another and different field of labour. Upwards of 300 years back the reformed faith was established in this country, and for some 270 of those years the aboriginal inhabitants of the sister island were left without the means of scriptural instruction. The Bible had indeed been translated into the Irish language, but only one small edition had ever seen the light. At length, in our day, after so long a period, the Hibernian Bible Society printed the Irish Scriptures

in the native character. But then a difficulty arose. The people, as to the great mass of them, could not read. What was to be done under such circumstances? Precious time had already been lost. Generations had passed away. There were neither the means, nor the agents available for the opening of schools throughout the land. To open normal schools, and proceed to train up teachers, was a tedious process; and when at length raised up, there would be a difficulty, from the opposition of the priesthood, in bringing them forward. Some simple, cheap, and expeditious method of imparting to the people the power of reading was needed, and that method was providentially suggested and successfully put forth. Men who could read were selected here and there throughout the land, who would be willing, on receiving a moderate compensation for their time and trouble, to teach their neighbours to read. All the qualifications necessary were, that they should be men of respectable standing in their neighbourhood, able to read themselves, and willing to teach others to do the same. It was not necessary that they should be enlightened men, scripturally taught men: had that been the case, we should have been compelled to wait a long time. As to the when and how of their instruction, that was left entirely to themselves. All that was required was, that, on a given day, their pupils should present themselves for examination before one of the Society's inspectors, sent down expressly for that purpose, and the payment made to the teacher depended on the results of that examination. There were no formal schools. The teachers taught their pupils as they could. They were itinerating, instead of being centralized teachers. It may be classified, by those who think that nothing can be done except in the way of a formal organization, as an Irish mode of doing business; but it was one adapted to the circumstances of

the country, and wrought effectively. As the people learned to read, the Irish Scriptures were placed in their hands, and in this way was sown the seed of that harvest of scriptural inquiry and conversion which has since been gathered in. Is there no possibility of a similar procedure being carried forward throughout India, our efforts being concentrated on one grand object, teaching the masses to read? Let normal schools be set on foot, and well-qualified teachers be trained; we shall want them all by-and-by. But we cannot wait for them. We must be doing something the meanwhile. History, geography, arithmetic, are no doubt desirable; but there is something more important which must precede them. Let the people be taught to read, and let them have the Scriptures. Missionaries—may they be multiplied a hundred-fold; but nothing will so facilitate the labours of the Missionary as a growing acquaintance, on the part of the people, with the facts and ideas of the Scripture, through their own perusal of it.

We merely suggest. Let others think upon it. It would be interesting if Ireland, from its peculiarity of Missionary proceedings, might be permitted to furnish forth something which would be useful to the general progress of Mission work throughout the world, and more especially the large and important field of India. It would be to repay a benefit once conferred upon herself. It was when present at a Committee of the Church Missionary Society that the idea of printing the Scriptures in the Irish tongue was first suggested to the mind of one who was subsequently among the foremost in the work. He was struck by the pains which were being taken to give the Scriptures in their own languages to the various tribes and nations, and the thought immediately flashed across his mind, If thus to others, why not to our own?

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### THE "CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER" AND THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

It is with regret that we find ourselves compelled to resume the discussion on the subject of the Indian Episcopate. But the efforts to inflict serious injury on the Church Missionary Society do not relax; and although we feel persuaded that such efforts will not only prove unavailing, but will eventually recoil on the parties who are urging them onward, and that, even if they were suffered to remain unnoticed, yet we consider it more becoming to reply, at least to some extent, to the articles which are being put forward, not in the hope

of convincing gainsayers, but for the satisfaction of friends.

There is no doubt that at this moment a very determined effort is being made to injure the Society, and deprive it of the support which has hitherto been yielded to it as an evangelical Society; and that the spirit of hostility which has pursued it throughout its lifetime appears to think that a favourable juncture for its indulgence has been at length attained, and is zealously endeavouring to make the most of it. The irre-



gulars which have so long hovered on our flanks, and endeavoured, by desultory attacks, to impede our onward movement, dispersing like light fleecy clouds, reveal the heavy masses which betoken a determined and systematic effort to cripple us, and, if possible, crush us altogether. That we should be exposed to counter-efforts of this kind is rather in our favour, for if "we were of the world, the world would love its own;" nor are we aware of any agency, characterized by fidelity to the Gospel, which has not been similarly dealt with. We believe that the offence of the cross has not ceased; that its distinctive doctrines are now, as they ever have been, distasteful to the carnal mind; and that the individual or Society which refuses to participate in the efforts which are being made to dilute and modify that Gospel, must be prepared for a measure of rebuke and persecution. Indeed, we are disposed to think that the spirit of hostility to Gospel truth is peculiarly active and energetic at the present moment, and that, undiscouraged by the failures of the past, it is girdling up its loins for a new contest. The carnal mind feels the point and sharpness of the Gospel in the way of reproof and conviction, and it cannot endure it. Hence the intellectual ingenuity exercised to modify its action, so that the conflict between the Gospel and unregenerated human nature may cease, and that, by mutual compromise, peace may be established, the carnal mind renouncing its more offensive acts, and clothing itself like the Pharisee of old with a religious exterior, and the Gospel so relaxing its stringency of application as to admit the possibility of a religious life being constructed on an unregenerated basis, and thus enabling men who have never experienced the new creation of the heart to conclude themselves of the number of true Christians, and apply to themselves all the comforts and promises of the Gospel. We believe the world to be especially busy at the present day in devising new ways of deceiving itself, and very anxious to obtain universal sanction to this proceeding; and they who refuse, whether individuals or Societies, to be accomplices to such a compromise, must prepare themselves for the consequence.

Now the Church Missionary Society has ever been distinctively evangelical, and, because of this, claims to be recognised as a true daughter of the Church of England; for the doctrines usually designated as evangelical are confessedly the doctrines of the Church of England. Men may dislike this truth, and endeavour to rid themselves of it,

but the Articles remain; they are the expression of the views which the Church of England takes of God's mind, as revealed in the Scripture, and of the sense which it puts on that revelation: and they are essentially evangelical. No honest mind can peruse them without admitting them to be so. It is only by Jesuitical evasion that they can be otherwise rendered; and many have put on a gloss, and have persuaded others into a misunderstanding of them—although we cannot think they have deceived themselves—and, in so doing, they have shown how little any authoritative exposition of Scripture would avail to prevent religious error; for the mind which extravagates with regard to the original text, will do just the same with respect to the accredited interpretation which defines its meaning; and so far from religious disputation being terminated, it would only be the basis of it which would be changed, and controversy transferred from the inspired text to the human addition. The carnal mind to the very end will persevere in its effort to rid itself of the disquieting testimony of the pure Gospel, and, by force or fraud, to silence it.

If called upon to indicate one especial and vital point in which the evangelical character of these Articles is apparent, we would refer to the 11th, 12th, and 13th Articles. There is nothing intervened between a sinner and Saviour. They teach that the first religious act of a sinner is the apprehension of the Saviour in order to justification; and they teach that this justification must precede good works, which are the fruits of truth, and follow after justification. They protest, therefore, against that displacement which good works have ever experienced at the world's hands by being intervened, in some shape or another, between the sinner and the Saviour—something brought in which it is supposed the sinner can do, and which he must do before he can be in Christ: and at the present day, when the great tendency is to consider the church to be what Christ is, not that which is saved, but that which saves—the ark, instead of that which is within the ark—sacramental ordinances are the favourite form by which this interference with the freeness of Gospel salvation is accomplished. Instead of being the seals of faith, they are the substitute for faith, and as there is no Christ for justification except through baptism, and no Christ for the spiritual feeding of the life already supplied except through the Lord's supper, so baptism justifies, and the supervenient sacrament saves; and thus, in contrariety with our thirteenth Article, works done before justification make men meet to receive grace. The

sinner, instead of simply casting himself on the unmerited mercy of God in Christ Jesus, relies on a certain pre-requisite, which, as he conceives, introduces him into the covenant, and places at his disposal Gospel privileges. On this he rests, rather than on Christ personally; and thus the church and its ordinances come to be viewed as in the stead of Christ, and the exercise of lively faith in Him.

The Church Missionary Society has hitherto, by God's blessing, been enabled to eschew all such deceptive views. There has ever been in the constituent body such a vigour of true evangelism, as that, upon its part, there has been no swerving. In the selection of Missionaries this has been considered as the grand essential qualification—an experimental acquaintance with the Scripture in its truth of doctrine. And in the prosecution of its Missionary work the same solicitude and holy jealousy continue to be exercised, that there be no swerving from those principles, upon the guarantee of which its agents are selected. Such a defection on the part of any individual can be regarded in no other light than a virtual dissolution of his engagements with a Society, whose great object is the maintenance and dissemination of the pure Gospel. This, in the view of all true sons of the Church of England, is the consideration which is of paramount importance, and the one which, at whatever cost, must never be surrendered. It is of men who have this conviction on their minds that the great evangelical Societies of the Church of England are composed. There are around us varied necessities: the world we live in abounds with them—necessities of a spiritual nature, the most urgent of all other. There is destitution abroad and destitution at home—destitution in our colonies, and destitution throughout heathendom. These men, who know the value of God's truth, who have felt its power on their own hearts, they know this to be the great want, and they wish to give it forth, at home and abroad, wherever it is needed, and similar convictions bring them together. They have an affinity with each other, and they unite. They have different objects in view, and they form themselves into different Societies, working organizations for carrying out a practical purpose; and the same men will be found enrolled in every one of the great institutions which grace our day and church. They are formations within the limits of the Church of England, not embracing all the members of the church, because all are not likeminded; because there are members, both ministers and laymen, who, although included within the limits of the same ecclesiastical commu-

nity, are averse to evangelical principles, and practically decline to act upon them. There are some whose dominant tendency is towards Rome, and who, regarding that minister and congregation the most advanced which has disfigured the simplicity of the Church of England ritual to the nearest proximity with the Romish standard, are withheld from an entire and avowed apostasy to that corrupt system, from which our forefathers protested, by circumstances only. There are others, who, disliking such innovations, yet sympathize not with evangelical doctrine, who, labouring under defective views of the corruption of human nature, deal with the Gospel as though it were a modification of the law of works, and speak of a sincere obedience, which, if rendered on their part, Christ will supplement so as to enable it to their salvation. Others there are who set aside faith as the basis of union with Christ. In their estimation it is too contracted. Instead of this they substitute baptism; nay, they desire a broader platform on which to erect their superstructure, and, indicating the participation of a common humanity as the true bond of union with the Saviour, merge all men into one common brotherhood. Others there are, in whose estimation truth of doctrine is of little value, unless embodied in that which they consider to be exclusively the apostolic form and discipline. In separation from this, Gospel truth, in their judgment, is as Sampson when the seven locks of his head were shaven off. They regard it as ineffective in action, and incompetent to deal with the great emergencies of our world.

To the other points of discrepancy it is not needful that we should further advert; but on that which has reference to ecclesiastical polity a few words in self-defence may be requisite.

We also consider ecclesiastical organization of importance. Truth in its energy converts men, and the constituent elements of churches are thus raised up. In order to their well-being, the communion of saints, and the growth that is dependent on the reciprocity of Christian love, they need to be moulded into order, and the members to be brought into due arrangement as regards each other. There are various forms of church polity in existence, some more, others less scriptural. We prefer that which prevails in our church, and desire loyally to adhere to the ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons. But we cannot commit ourselves to a basis more narrow than the one provided for us in the Articles of the Church of England. We indi-

cate the nineteenth Article, and, in hearty agreement with it, recognise as a portion of the visible church every congregation where "the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered according to Christ's ordinances, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." We believe these grand essentials are to be found in other than episcopal churches, and that the truth of God, as ministered by those of Presbyterian and other organizations, has been found in nowise devoid of its inherent energy, and has continued to be the instrument by which the Spirit of God carries on the work of the new creation. We look abroad on the Mission fields, and we have found that the victories of the cross are not confined to episcopal instrumentalities, but have been achieved by others as well as ourselves. And as to ordination, we are contented to abide by the wording of Article twenty-three—"It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." There is no precise definition given of the "men who have public authority given them;" and therefore, while we claim for episcopal orders, that those who have received them are to be considered rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered, we cannot rule with some, that they *only* are such, and therefore to the exclusion of all others. In conformity with these principles, the Society has acted with all fidelity in its Missionary procedure. As the truth of God, in its healthful action brings out the glad results of converts and congregations, the constant aim and effort of the Society has been to mould them into a similitude with the episcopal church to which its members belong. But it considers the form as the casket which is to contain a church of living members, united in their retention of revealed truth, and holding it forth in a consistent profession before men: and when, unhappily, the spirit of true evangelism has departed, it considers the form which has been thus voided to be no more capable of spiritual action, than the human body of acts of natural life when the immortal spirit has left it. As with the Shunamite's child, life is extinct, and means must be taken, with God's blessing, to resuscitate it. Now we are not so unreasonable as to expect individuals, whose views on such important points are dissimilar

from ours, to unite themselves with the Church Missionary Society, and lend their aid to carry out its objects. No doubt there are other organizations to be found within the limits of the Church of England, with which they can more satisfactorily combine; and with such organizations engaged in the prosecution of objects similar to our own—although not after the same fashion or upon the same principles—we have no wish to interfere: on the contrary, so far as they are disseminating God's truth, and are available for the salvation of poor sinners, we wish them God speed. We may not always approve of their proceedings; but provided they pursue them without compromising us, we express no dissent, and enter no protest. In this periodical there has been a careful abstinence from all aggressions on other Church of England Societies, nor can it be said that we have ever crossed their path, or uttered one word in their disparagement. Even now, in this controversy, we are merely on the defensive: we did not initiate it, and, beyond this present article, have no desire to pursue it further: and although, in the pages of the "Christian Remembrancer," two Missionary Societies of the Church of England are placed in invidious contrast with each other, we shall not permit ourselves for a moment to follow the mischievous example. And may we not appeal to all unprejudiced persons, and ask of them whether it would not be for the advantage of all parties, if Evangelical Societies, and our own Society in particular, were similarly dealt with; and if men, who do not understand our principles, and cannot, therefore, appreciate our mode of action, would at least refrain from us, and let us alone? But this is not so, and one cause may be indicated why the same tolerance is not permitted to us, which we are willing to concede to others. It is indisputable that Evangelical Societies are the best supported at home, as well as blessed with the largest amount of satisfactory results abroad. Yet how is this? for we cannot pretend that the professors of evangelical principles in the Church of England have the superiority in number. It is true that those who hold another principle as their basis, are divided into sections, and that very probably not one of these subdivisions is co-equal in number with the men of evangelical principles. Unitedly, however, they have the preponderance. Yet in income, strength of agency, and extensiveness of operation, the Evangelical Societies of the Church of England occupy the foremost ground. Whence is this? Because of the superiority of their leading principle. Their

radix is truthful, scriptural. In the mass of membership which connects with this, and so in its aggregate constitutes a Society, there may be, and no doubt is, more or less of that admixture which at present is inseparable from all human institutions. But God's truth is at work in the body, and therefore it is pervaded by an energy and perseverance very superior to the mental galvanism which, in default of a better influence, is sometimes brought into requisition, when a mixed mass is moved for a brief space into a sort of spasmodic effort, powerful while it lasts, but of short duration. But these artificial and uncertain impulses, interrupted by long periods of languor and inertness, are very different from the steady and persevering action of a living principle.

Hence there are some who are ill-affected towards the Church Missionary Society. They are so for various reasons. They would, if possible, interrupt our prosperous advancement. These are the men who look upon the reformation as a calamity, and who desire nothing so much as to bring the English church and the Romish apostacy to mutual advances, and eventual reconciliation. To get rid, in some way or other, of the Church Missionary Society, would be to remove a grand obstacle to the successful prosecution of their object. They are active, intriguing, and clever men, and they have their dupes—respectable and well-meaning persons, but of strong prejudices and dim perceptions of truth, who are by no means aware of the depth and strength of that conspiracy which exists in this country for the overthrow of the reformed faith, and who may be, nay, indeed, are, usually incredulous as to its existence. Through such the secret emissaries work. Some bugbear is conjured up; some grievous misrepresentation is devised and put into circulation. The Church Missionary Society proposes certain arrangements as desirable to be carried out in any extension of the Episcopate. Hence the rumour, "The Church Missionary Society is opposed to any extension of the Episcopate;" and then, by an easy transition, "The Church Missionary Society is impatient of episcopal restraint—is an enemy of the Episcopate." Forthwith there is disquietude and alarm, and then comes the sound of warlike preparations. If not swords, pens are wielded, and elaborate articles are put forth, such as those in which we have been of late so unsparingly assailed. Meanwhile the secret instigators of the movement, the sowers of dissension and division in the Church of England lie in *perdue*, and wait for the gratifying spectacle which they hope to see—the

disruption of the Society. These are the Hamans, and the Society in their eyes is as Mordecai sitting at the king's gate; and their temper of mind is identical with his who said, "All this availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate." If Mordecai had been more servile in his demeanour towards Haman, it might be that he had escaped an unenviable notice; but, alas! "he bowed not, nor did him reverence." Honest men cannot compromise their principles, and therefore the prototype did not more earnestly desire the destruction of the Jews, than our modern Hamans the destruction and overthrow of those great combinations in which men of evangelical principles find opportunity of grouping themselves together, and thus encouraging one another's hearts, and strengthening one another's hands.

The writer of the article in the "Christian Remembrancer" on "the Church Missionary Society and the Indian Episcopate" assures us that he is not actuated by any hostility to the Church Missionary Society. We shall endeavour so to persuade ourselves. But may he not be giving expression to the enmity of others? for assuredly as we read his article, it seemed to us as though we were gazing upon the gallows fifty cubits high, which Haman, with such zest, prepared for Mordecai, no doubt, not with his own hands, but through the skill and industry of others. But in all seriousness we would ask him, does he really wish to break up the Society? Some good service assuredly it has done, and this he admits. "We recognise the zeal for extending the Gospel which it has embodied, and the entering in among the heathen which it has so successfully obtained, and we honour it for its works' sake." Whatever, then, be its faults or defects, God has vouchsafed to use it.

Is it well, then, is it safe, to aim a fatal stroke at an agency which God has condescended to use in the great work of saving souls, and thus wound it unto death? But this the writer has essayed to do. According to his statements, the Church Missionary Society is assuming undue power: it is of lay and Presbyterian origin, and yet, strange to say, is adopting devices of Romish growth. It is a "*monstrum informe, ingens*," combining in itself all that he thinks to be evil in Presbyterianism on the one hand, and in Romanism on the other. In short, the spirit of the Jesuits of old, who, "in Paraguay and India, were engaged in most unseemly and disastrous conflicts, with Prelates first, and then with the Pope," by some mysterious trans-

migration, has entered into and taken possession of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society; and what remains but the conclusion, which is plainly enough indicated, if not avowed, that, like the Jesuits, the Church Missionary Society, by an act of ecclesiastical authority, ought to be suppressed. We know one party who would exult in such an issue, and we think we can assure our friend that the co-operation of his holiness the Pope could be had without difficulty on such an occasion, and that he would take part in it with much more hearty zeal than his predecessor did in the suppression of the Jesuits in July 1773. But hereafter, when the excitement of the present discussion has passed away, supposing this issue to be obtained, does he really think that the recollection of it would afford him satisfaction, when viewed in the light of a near eternity? We have said that the tendency of his article has been to accomplish the disruption of the Society. We have no wish to misrepresent him, but we refer to the article itself. He labours first to sever the bishops from their patronage of the Society, and that upon the plea that it is antagonistic to the Episcopate. We have before declared, and we repeat the assurance, that to a judicious and well-considered extension of the Episcopate, the Church Missionary Society is only not opposed, but has given, and will continue to give, all the aid in its power. But it does not consider it desirable to introduce the Episcopate into the primitive roughness of newly-broken Mission ground, or by encumbering the native churches with a foreign Episcopate, stunt their growth and future usefulness. And yet, because the Church Missionary Society, parentally interested in the well-being and future prosperity of those interesting churches which it has been the instrument of raising up, refuses to identify itself with crude and ill-considered schemes, it is at once denounced in what we must designate *unregulated* language, as guilty of the assumption of "*unregulated* power," as "self-aggrandizing and factious," "disloyal to authority," "having recourse to all secular means to support its influence, and guilty of a disingenuous evasiveness." What is the proof introduced of the Society's factious spirit? The Gospel-Propagation Society, in 1857, "formally, and by an act of the corporate body, prepared a memorial to the Prime Minister, the President of the Board of Control, and the Directors of the East-India Company, setting forth the unwieldy extent of the Indian dioceses, referring to the thousands of native Christians in the province of

Tinnevely, and praying that they would be pleased to advise Her Majesty to erect three new episcopal sees in India." "The Church Missionary Society expressed surprise at this movement." No doubt it did so. The larger portion of the Tinnevely converts have been given to the Church Missionary Society; but in the arrangements thus proposed for the future *status* of these converts no reference is made to the wishes or views of the Church Missionary Society, but the interests of the whole body of converts are dealt with precisely in the same way as though it had no existence at all.

"In this prayer," we are informed, "several of the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society concurred, whose names are contained in the list published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." Yes, and in obtaining these signatures the existence of the Society was again ignored; nor was the Parent Committee aware that its Missionaries had been applied to on the subject, until their names appeared in print. But the Church Missionary Society "deliberately repudiated the memorial." Nay, but the position of the Church Missionary Society was unhappily complicated on the subject. The appending of the names of its own Missionaries compelled it, unless it fully agreed with the movement, unequivocally to say so. Had the kindred Society confined itself to its own Mission, and contented itself with the signatures of its own Missionaries, the Church Missionary Society might have remained silent, as it preferred to do. But this was no longer possible. The Society felt the question was not merely, whether the Episcopate should be extended, but how it had best be done. And when constrained to act, it was simply to this point that it directed itself, not to a direct repudiation of the prayer of the memorial, but as to the necessity of introducing such arrangements as might best secure the successful issue of the measure: the Committee's request to those who had the control of Indian affairs simply amounting to this, that previously to the establishment of any new Bishopric in India, measures might be adopted "for better defining episcopal powers and the relative ecclesiastical position of the clergy and laity." Is this repudiation?

Such, however, the writer assumes it to be, and on this assumption he proceeds. "The memorial thus repudiated was adopted, not by a Committee merely, but by the incorporated Society itself, by the Board usually presided over by the archbishop, and attended by other bishops, and speaking in the name of the whole body of bishops, all of whom are mem-

bers of the Society." Their Lordships, therefore, it would appear, are bound by this decision; and inasmuch as the Church Missionary Society, for reasons sufficiently cogent, declined to countersign such a memorial, and prayed for further inquiry and wise preliminary measures, the bishops who are members of both Societies, are required "to consider the position in which they are placed. The policy for which they are responsible in one Society is now opposed by the other; and we respectfully ask, which they intend to abide by. We beg them to consider their position, and ascertain how it is, by whose instrumentality and rashness they are placed in conflict with themselves. We beg respectfully to inquire whether their position as Vice-Presidents of at least one Society is more than a name; and whether they are willing to delegate the authority of their rank and position to its acting manager, and accept such views of ecclesiastical or Missionary polity as these may please to put forth. They are surely bound to examine the matter, and to assert, if they claim it, a voice in so important a question as the fair, legitimate, and necessary extension of the apostolic office in the evangelization of the world, which we hesitate not to say is deliberately repudiated by the Church Missionary Society, in their name, and under their authority, as members of the Committee." It is not without necessity that the word "respectfully" is introduced into the above paragraph. To us it does not read respectfully. Rather it sounds like an attempt to force upon their lordships the judgment of the writer, instead of leaving them free, on the evidence which might be placed before them, to form their own. But on such unfair showing does he labour to carry out so serious an issue, as the severance from the Church Missionary Society of ecclesiastical patronage.

But, not content with this suggestion, he is solicitous to induce a similar act of separation on the part of the clerical members of the Society. They are warned against the dangers of "a Directorate controlled by managing Secretaries." But the Committee is appointed at the Society's annual meeting, by the members of the Society at large. Other bodies have the power of appointment in themselves, and, when new members are chosen, the general body of supporters have no voice in the matter;" but if the action of the Church Missionary Committee displeases the members of the Society, the remedy is in their own hands: they can object, and substitute others. Its lay element is especially referred to in the hope of provoking the jealousy

of the clergy—"a layman is, and always has been, its President," . . . "in the presence, certainly of high, if not the highest dignitaries, a layman still presides over Committees." What does the writer really object to in this arrangement? Is this his idea, that the lay element should never be permitted to take precedence of the clerical? Yet the Sovereign is a lay element, and occupies the throne in the presence of the highest dignitaries. Perhaps the writer would prefer to see, as at Rome, the priestly element enthroned. And yet we should have supposed that the organization of the Society would have been considered unobjectionable by the generality of Englishmen. Thus, for instance, the second law of the Society is thus worded—"The office of Patron of the Society shall be reserved for such member of the Royal Family as may honour it with their protection; and that of Vice-Patron for His Grace the Primate of all England, if, being a member of the Society, he shall accept the office. The President shall be such temporal peer or commoner as may be appointed to that office: and Vice-Presidents shall consist of all archbishops and bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, who, being members of the Society, shall accept the office; and of such temporal peers or commoners as, being also members, shall be appointed thereunto." And then it is true that the Committee consists of twenty-four lay members of the Church of England, but associated with them are all such clergy as are members of the Society. With such a constitution in existence, it is absurd, nay, more than absurd, it is mischievous, and of malign intent, to speak of "usurpation of authority in the acting organs of the Society." If there be, as the writer pretends, symptoms of such a tendency, the corrective is easily administered. But our ingenious friend would evidently desire to see a division in our camp, and every man's sword set against his fellow. He therefore recommends a protest from members of the Society—"We do think that it is the duty of, at least, the members of the Committee, those clergy who are such by their office, to give this subject candid and deliberate attention;" to form and express their opinion, whether they intend to adopt the view promulgated in their name, that, in the early stages of Missions, episcopal authority, present and active in them, is to be dispensed with; . . . we are bold to say that such is not their view, not their determination: we believe that others have abused their consequence, and spoken in their name, without their concurrence; that they have been betrayed: and

therefore we venture to submit to them whether it is not incumbent on them to free themselves from the imputation thus recklessly cast upon them." The writer assures us that he does not place himself in hostility to the Society. When a man, arresting us with a drawn sword, makes serious passes at the vital parts, where the most dangerous wounds may be inflicted, it is very difficult to believe the assurances to which, at the same moment, he is giving utterance, that he is not your enemy, and is actuated by no hostile intentions. We are bound, of course, in all courtesy, to accept his assurance; but we must at the same time defend ourselves just the same as if he were in earnest, and be on the alert to parry his strokes. He has addressed himself to the clergy. May we also be permitted to speak freely.

Well, then, let the clergy of the Church of England be premonished: the present is more than a question respecting the extension of the Episcopate: it is a question as regards the sufficiency of the presbytery for the cure of souls. There are certain offices which we know to be exclusively with the Episcopate, and which the presbyters of the church are incompetent to perform. Such are, confirmation, the admission of candidates to holy orders. But for the teaching and preaching of God's word, and the administration of the sacraments, we were wont to consider the presbyters as well qualified as the bishop, and carrying with them just as full a measure of blessing. We had in remembrance to how "weighty an office and charge they have been called—to be messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord: to teach and to premonish; to feed and to provide for the Lord's family." But we have been in error. Before congregations have been gathered, or there are any to be confirmed or ordained, even in the very incipency of evangelistic operations, the Episcopate must supplement the action of the presbytery, which, unless thus conjoined, is valueless as to any permanent results. This is the real question as regards the introduction of the bishop at the commencement of the Mission, whether the presbytery possesses any distinct action or usefulness, or whether it be emasculate unless in conjunction with the Episcopate. And this, too, in presence of the parochial system of the Church of England, where the resident minister is not a bishop, but a presbyter; and, in such an arrangement, recognised as requiring only the unction of the Holy Ghost to be officially competent for the development of all objects connected with the cure of souls.

The views which the writer entertains of

the presbytery will best appear from his own words. "Paul, Peter, and the rest of the apostolic company were apostles. Presbyters were the after appointment, to carry on their work at the local points where converts had been gained." But were not the apostles presbyters? Does not Peter, in his first Epistle, chap. v., say—"πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ, ὁ συνπρεσβύτερος;" and John, in his second and third Epistles, designates himself thus—"ὁ πρεσβύτερος." How is it then that presbyters were an *after appointment*? But were not the terms πρεσβύτεροι and ἐπισκόποι applied to the same individuals (Acts xx. 17. 28.)? How is it, then, that the apostolic office is inclusive of ἐπισκόποι only, and not of πρεσβύτεροι? What, in brief, were the apostles? They were evangelists, or presbyters, or bishops, as we now understand the term, as the exigencies of the truth and the circumstances of the church required. These functions have come down to us. But besides these, there were others, peculiar to themselves, which have not been transmitted. They were, for example, inspired men, supernaturally directed, and possessed of miraculous powers. To no one order, therefore, amongst us, neither to bishop, presbyter, or deacon, has the apostolic office, in its plenitude, descended. Bishops of the present day cannot be affirmed, except in a modified sense, to be the successors of the Apostles. Nor are they exclusive in that succession; for modern presbyters are their successors, so far as the apostles were presbyters; and evangelists, or Missionaries, are their successors, so far as the apostles were evangelists, or Missionaries; but none can be considered to have entered efficaciously into the succession who have not entered into the truth and doctrine of the apostles. Without this, men have only the form, not the truth and reality of their office.

We cannot but protest against this undue magnifying of the Episcopate, to the great disparagement, not only of other orders of the ministry, but of the whole body of Christ's faithful people, as "a spiritual house, a royal priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." It is "the apostolic Episcopate which has been found so fruitful, so full of evangelic blessing in other lands, and in all ages." "The perpetuity of the church," not so much in apostolic doctrine—this seems to be a matter of less moment—but in "the apostolic form," this is the great desideratum, and this is to be secured by the extension of the Episcopate. As this is done, "churches will be able to multiply themselves: they will exist as

witnesses for the primitive rule and faith, against the infinite subdivisions, and the various and lax doctrines of Christian sects on the one hand, and against the corruptions and despotism of the Papal monarchy on the other." But are we so really uninstructed, so blind to the lessons of the past, as to persuade ourselves that the power to conserve the church from error rests in the Episcopate? Have bishops never become themselves vitiated with false doctrine, and helped, by their influence, to spread the taint among the churches over which they presided? Churches have preserved the form and lost the truth of doctrine, and what have they become? Whited sepulchres and grave-yards of the spiritually dead, where souls lie sleeping in the death and gloom of a lifeless formality, until the Saviour's voice, the message of the Gospel, in the power of the resurrection, is made to pass over those places of the dead. Thus the Greek church is "the orthodox Greek church"—this corrupt body, without truth of doctrine, or holiness of life, whose bishops and priests not only fail to minister the Gospel to the people, but abuse all the power and influence which they possess in efforts to prevent the light from penetrating within the gloomy precincts over which they preside: it is episcopal in form, and therefore a sister church, which no one may intermeddle with. If, as an ecclesiastical body, it intercepts, instead of transmitting the light, its right to do so is to be recognised, and no one is to disturb, divide, or interfere with those prelates, who are thus contravening the great purpose for which church offices were instituted. The Episcopate has been preserved; then let us rejoice, although it tramples under foot the Gospel of the Redeemer: and as to souls, let them perish, rather than the church's catholicity be disturbed. These men are "brother bishops," and therefore, according to "the œcumenic canons," "intrusion into their sees is prohibited," and all attempts to disseminate the knowledge of God's saving truths amongst these dark bodies are placed in the same category with the aggressors of the church of Rome, in the dark ages, on the liberties of independent churches.

Such is the exaggerated view entertained by this school of the Episcopate: in it consists the vitality of a church. Where this is absent, let the presbytery be never so efficient, and the Gospel be taught with never so much care and diligence, the utmost that can be expected are a few desultory short-lived results, without comprehensiveness or durability. Where episcopacy be retained, the

Gospel may fall into desuetude and be forgotten, and yet the body which has ceased to be a depository of God's truth will continue to be a portion of the church catholic. It is the extension of the Episcopate, not the power of the Holy Ghost descending on the faithful dispensation of the word, which "rekindles Christian life in almost unchristianized communities, and in feebly-sustained Missions." It is "the apostolic office"—and that *per se*, and to the exclusion of the presbytery, which is thus emasculated and reduced to a condition of servile dependence on the Episcopate—that alone confers efficiency.

The bishop, "as such," it matters not what he may be as to his views of religious doctrine, "is the legitimate ruler and director of the Missionary action of the church." He may be an hinderer of the great cardinal truth, that "we are justified before God only for the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our works or deservings: he may be an advocate for the baptism of polygamist converts; or obstruct the formation of the native pastorate by insisting on qualifications unattainable in the infantile condition of the native churches;" but it matters not he is the legitimate director of the Missionary action of the church: and it only remains for the clergy to surrender their own convictions, and submit their will to his; for he by himself, within his diocese, bears the key of the house of David: he opens, and no man shuts, and shuts, and no man opens. As the Episcopate constitutes the vitality of the church, he who fills it must be left entirely to his own absolute and irresponsible action; and except with his sanction, and under his direction, no forward movement must be made.

Yet with these exaggerated views, and undue magnifying of the office, which is only injured and weakened by unscriptural pretensions being urged on its behalf, it is curious to observe that the Episcopate is the idol of this school only just so long as it moves in the orbit which they prescribe, and yields itself to the furtherance of their peculiar objects. But let a bishop be evangelical in his principles, and convinced that his office is valuable only as it maintains and sets forward the pure truth of the Gospel, proceed to act decidedly, and in accordance with those principles, and then that on which praise and adulation had been so profusely lavished becomes the object of extreme obloquy and vituperation. In their treatment of the Episcopate on these occasions, this school reminds us of the Neapolitan population, who honour the saints with much homage, in



order to persuade them to the free dispensing of such temporal blessings as they want; but if they be disappointed—if the rain does not come, or the mortality of some prevailing epidemic diminish not, then they become angry with the image, and abuse it as much as they had previously honoured it. We have only to refer to another article in this periodical—the “Christian Remembrancer” for July, to find an illustration of all that we have just stated. Nothing can be more disgraceful than the low vilification of which Bishop Gobat is the subject. He is a modern Jeroboam, “who sets up high places where high places have been before, because he sees they draw; he sends out scripture readers in appointed circuits, because it is of the nature of scripture readers to get into polemical talk; he opens schools in judicious situations, because he finds by catching the children he can lure the parents; he has chapels for the elder and schools for the younger, just as in that famous door, still preserved, it is believed, at Cambridge, Sir Isaac the Great cut one hole to admit the cat, and another to admit the kitten. He is a setter of night lines, ‘in forbidden eastern waters.’” Our readers will understand by such passages what it is that Bishop Gobat has really done, and how it is that he has provoked the ire of these men; but we would very simply ask, Is he not a bishop? Has he not been consecrated by archiepiscopal hands? Yet is he dealt with disrespectfully. Yes: “he has endeavoured to bear rule by dint of overbearing arrogance, not by the influence of meekness.” But surely—we quote from the pages of the “Christian Remembrancer,” which, in one article unduly magnifies the Episcopate, and in another disgracefully treads it under foot—surely “the Episcopate is *under law*: its general powers in spiritual matters have been long since defined; its rights, responsibilities, and duties, in regard to the other order of the ministry, are well ascertained.” Surely it is not for any associated body of churchmen, lay or clerical, that brings itself in collision with, and that disputes these rights and duties, to charge the Episcopate with undefined powers or arbitrary authority.” No: this is the exclusive privilege of Anglo-Catholics. “Gymno-biblistism”—such is the new coinage of disparaging phraseology, by which we are to understand the truth affirmed in Art. VI. of the Church of England, “Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not found therein nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man as an article of

faith, or be thought as requisite to salvation”—this is the object of their utter antipathy, and against this the Episcopate is to bear itself with uncompromising hostility; and so long the Episcopate is under law, and neither clergy or laity are to interfere with it: it is an element too sublimated for ordinary men to deal with—one on which they are incompetent to form any judgment. But let a bishop refuse the dictation of this Anglican school, and conscientiously and fearlessly maintain God’s truth, and then writers in the “Christian Remembrancer,” after *ex-parte* statements, which they are pleased to call accumulative evidence, proceed to the conclusion, that a bishop may “scandalize Christendom, abuse the ear of the church at home, divide his own communion, give a text to the scorner, and a theme of taunt to the infidel.”\* So remarkably does the tone and temper of Anglo-Catholicism vary according as the bishop happens to be “of this or that way of thinking.” So long as he thinks with and acts with the school, he is a bishop *as such*—a divine ordinance: if otherwise, his Episcopate is no protection to him from vindictive intolerance and misrepresentation. So in the article under review, amidst the fulsome adulation which he offers to “episcopacy in the abstract,” the writer finds opportunity to disparage the character of the living and the memory of the dead. The charge of one of our recently appointed bishops is referred to, and the expression of his conviction that a too minute surveillance of the action of the presbytery on the part of the Episcopate was not desirable, as indeed it is impossible, because of the great extent of our home dioceses, is thus sneeringly remarked upon—“This theory of the Episcopate, and the conclusion it in fact points to, are contained in the old couplet—

“It is so great, because it is so small:

It would be greater were it none at all.”

We will only say that it is not the enemies of the church alone who will begin to think whether episcopacy of *this kind* is worth the keeping.” We thought so. It is only episcopacy of a particular kind that is an object of veneration with the Anglo-Catholic.

So with the memory of the honoured dead. The profane footsteps of the writer press rudely within the sacred precincts. So long as any disconnected passages can be found in the charges of the late Bishop of Calcutta, which are disapprobatory of any thing in the proceedings of the Church Missionary So-

\* P. 236.

ciety, they are eagerly and ostentatiously brought forward; but when the same prelate, towards the close of his long Episcopate, gives the strongest possible proof of his confidence in that Society by vesting in its hands, and placing at its disposal, the large sum which he had collected for the endowment of Missionary canons in connexion with the Cathedral as a centre of Missionary action, it is most disingenuously attributed to his increasing infirmities, although it is well known that his intellectual powers retained their vigour and clearness to the very last.

It will be an evil day for the Church of England, should that day ever arise, when its Episcopate shall be induced to submit itself to the influence of that party which, in its hostility to the great cardinal truth of Protestantism, "the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation," (Vide heading of Article VI.) has disparaged it by the low term of "Gymnobilism." We do not affirm the writer of the article on the "Church Missionary Society and the Episcopate" to be of this school, although, as he has placed himself in such close alliance with them, the discrimination between him and others more thoroughly anti-evangelical becomes a matter of very delicate perception, just as, in natural things, it is often difficult to distinguish between different shades of the same colour: but this we do not hesitate to say, that there are those amongst us, "false brethren unawares brought in," who, in their adulation of the Episcopacy, have one object in view—to obtain such an influence over it as to be enabled to wield it as an instrument against the free action of the Gospel. It is not attachment to the Episcopate which moves them, so much as hatred to the distinctive doctrines of grace. Their clamour for extension simply originates in the hope and expectation that, amidst the increase of episcopal appointments, they shall meet with many of like views with themselves, who, as well in the commencement as maturity of Missions, will help to the introduction of another Gospel: and so long as the Episcopate is subservient to this policy, it shall have adulation; but the bishop who conscientiously uses his office for its true and proper object, the maintenance and extension of Gospel truth, must prepare himself for some portion of that obloquy which has been so unsparingly expended on Bishop Gobat. Evangelism in a bishop is an offence unpardonable, and calls forth a spirit of hostility which does not hesitate to avail itself of coarse and unmeasured language. To such Bishop Gobat has been subjected. His wise and scriptural procedure for the spread of

truth and light is designated "hostile approaches," "the covered way, the zigzag, and the mine." He is one who has recourse to "adroit ambuscades;" men who approach him for further instruction are "the budding neophytes, or, Gobaticè, the inquirers." He "does not designedly single out individuals for his attempts at conversion. He does not put salt on the tail of this or that particular bird. . . . He circulates the Scriptures, we may suppose, with a general aim, but which can only succeed by the conversion of individuals. He leaves the law of moral attraction to settle who are to be converted. The colporteur or reader goes about, and, as of old, certain men cleave unto him. Still the fact of his not having an individual aim, if fact it be, does not alter the character of his act. The act is one of proselytizing as against the whole Greek communion, from which these chance adherents are detached, as truly as he who should fire a loaded gun from his window into a crowded thoroughfare would be held guilty of a murderous intent against society in general, or, as lawyers say, of malice against all mankind. Is it not proselytizing if the Romanists hawk pictures of the Virgin and saints in popular thoroughfares, and fling into cab-windows stories about the Holy Coat of Treves and our Lady of Salsette? Bishop Gobat takes his basis on the Bible, and the Bible only. Dr. Wiseman recognises reverence as due to images and relics, and ascribes an authority to tradition, and a value perhaps to legend. The former, in his popular movements, appeals to the pride of reason and the right of private judgment; the latter to the feelings of reverence, the sense, and the imagination: yet actions precisely similar would surely be accounted proselytizing in the latter, which are so denied in the former." "Actions precisely similar"—to restore a fallen church, and to corrupt a scriptural church, in the estimation of the writer are actions precisely similar. Bishop Gobat seeks to communicate truth; Cardinal Wiseman to infect with error: one imparts the corrective, the other disease: they are alike faulty. Bishop Gobat is no better than the Romish emissary, and the latter no more blameable than the Protestant bishop: they had each touched the bounds of a sister episcopacy, and the Episcopate is the vital and saving element of a church, whether it cover truth or error, and, as such, ought never be interfered with; and Bishop Gobat, in his solicitude to save souls, is as one who, "actuated by malice against all mankind, fires indiscriminately a loaded gun into a crowded thoroughfare;" and thus, professedly in its

zeal for episcopacy, but really in its hostility to Gospel teaching, the "Christian Remembrancer" permits in its pages a bishop to be compared to the juvenile delinquent, who, in contravention of the captain's order prohibiting ship's boys fishing from the vessel's sides, is found lurking in the main chains with a line and a hook, and, when taxed with disobedience, indignantly urges, "No, Sir, I was not fishing: I was only *setting night-lines*." And then follows the application, "He merely lets drop the line: there is, to be sure, a hook, baited, perhaps, at one extremity, probably at the end which finds its way into the water: how that may be he is not quite certain, as he looks another way, and walks off without further notice. Happening to pass the spot again, his curiosity is interested by a wriggling, the struggles, probably, of a spirit 'engaged in research.' And now he looks you fully in the face, and wants to know if it be not his duty as a Christian to help the unlucky fish—if fish there be, and there probably is—out of his uncomfortable position, into which he has done nothing, you see, to bring him. Would you, cavalier, like to be left to wriggle on the hook of eager inquiry? Surely no. But is he, therefore, a 'fisher of men' in these forbidden eastern waters? No, indeed, he is only a setter of 'night lines.' The defence need surprise no one, though one may notice the relishing *naïveté* with which your true Protestant turns Jesuit. And how, we would ask, is the writer of the above sentence to be classified? True Protestant he certainly is not: what affinity he has with the other designation we leave at the door of his conscience. We would only say, that the tactics of the "Christian Remembrancer," in this its 101st Number, have not been wise or well chosen. The two articles, "The Church Missionary Society and the Indian Episcopate," and "Bishop Gobat and the Jerusalem Bishopric," ought not to have been placed in such proximity. In the first of these articles, under the pretext of great reverence for bishops "as such," and a deep conviction of the importance of their office, a fierce attack is made on the Church Missionary Society; but in the second article, instead of the Church Missionary Society, a bishop becomes the object of vituperation, and is shamefully lampooned. The Episcopacy is only the pretext. The true animus is a bitter hostility to pure evangelism, which cannot be exceeded by the Church of Rome itself; a spirit of antagonism to the Gospel of Christ, so strong, that even bishops themselves, when evangelical, meet no mercy.

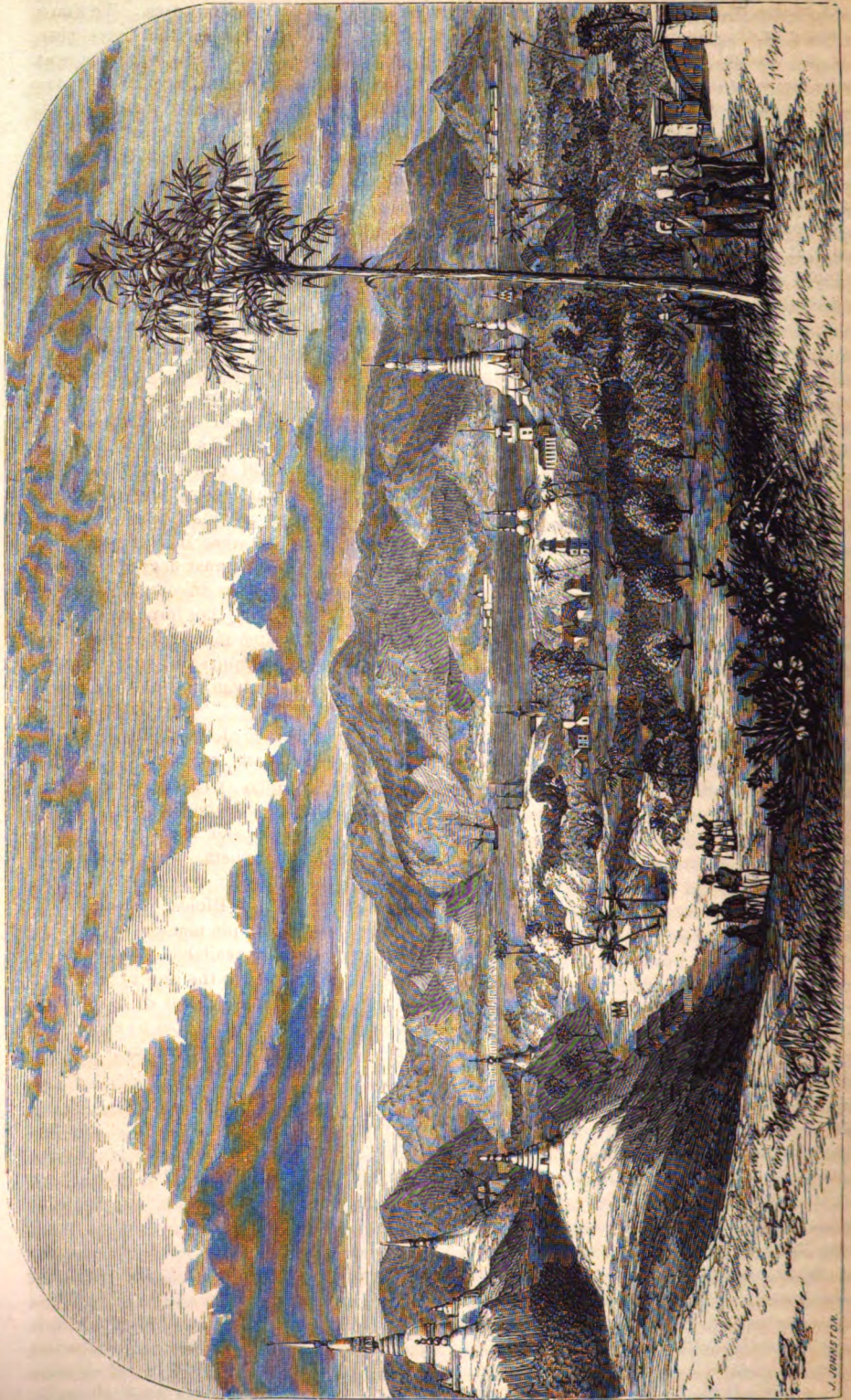
But a little further. The Church Missio-

nary Society has urged, in moderate and becoming language, that "measures may be adopted for defining the episcopal powers, and the relative ecclesiastical position of the clergy and laity previously to the establishment of any new bishoprics in India." Forthwith the Society is denounced to be an anti-episcopalian conspiracy, "casting the frame of its action into another mould than that of the church." Its effrontery is thus rebuked—"The Episcopate is *under law*; it has its place known and recognised in Christ's church; its general powers in spiritual matters have been long since defined; its rights, responsibilities, and duties, in regard to the other order of the ministry, are well ascertained. It is not for any associated body of churchmen, lay or clerical, that brings itself into collision with, and that disputes those rights and duties, to charge the Episcopate with undefined powers or arbitrary authority." "The bishop is *under law*." True, like every other office and relation in which men are placed, its duties and responsibilities are clearly defined; but, as in other offices and duties, the individual charged for a time with such responsibilities may be either ignorant or forgetful of his obligations, or indisposed to compliance, and he may thus act against the law of his office. If the writer in the "Christian Remembrancer" can show us, not only that the office is *under law*, but that the individuals introduced into this office are so circumstanced as to preclude all possibility of deviation from that law, then, of course, an office so peculiar and supernatural in its action is elevated far above all human arrangements. But if bishops, like other men, may do wrong, may judge erroneously, or, from other causes, commit themselves to a course of action which hinders instead of helping the Gospel, then is it for their own interest, as well as for the interests of the church at large, that such measures be adopted as may provide, as much as possible, against such abuse of office. It is remarkable, that, in the form of ordaining or consecrating an archbishop or bishop, there is an express reference to this principle, and the designate is empowered to exercise, not absolute or irresponsible authority, but such as he has by God's word; nay, more: lest he should be disposed to pass the limits there assigned to him, and, through defective conscientiousness disregard injunctions such as these—"Rebuke not an elder, but entreat him as a father, and the younger men as brethren;" "Against an elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses," &c.; he is reminded that there are secular laws which

have force in this respect, and which restrain those who are not disposed to place the necessary restraint upon themselves; and that the authority exercised by him is to be such "as shall be committed by the ordinance of this realm." Such safeguards exist in this country—laws which define the relative position of superior and inferior, whether ecclesiastical or civil, and intervene to preserve the weaker from being at the mercy of the stronger. They are intended as restraints on men, in whatever position, whether ecclesiastical or civil, who would otherwise abuse the power and authority entrusted to them. Surely there is nothing unreasonable in the request that like precautions may be extended to our colonial possessions and dependencies. For, at present, what is the *status* of Missionaries of the Church of England, or in what relation do they stand to the bishop? Rather that of "stipendiary curates than of beneficed clergymen; for a bishop in England cannot refuse a licence or institution to a benefice without assigning a reason which will bear investigation before a Court of Common Law; nor can he deprive a clergyman of his benefice without a judicial process. But no law has provided any such check in the case of Missionaries. The bishop has the power of withholding a licence, or of withdrawing it, at his sole discretion, without assigning any cause, as in the case of stipendiary curates in this country." This assuredly is not satisfactory. Societies and Committees also have their duties to perform. The writer of the article under review is pleased to admit that "Societies are a recognised agency in our church." If so, then they have their duties and their rights. Yet our impugner appears to question this. "We are at a loss to understand what rights these are." We will reply in the language of the late Bishop of Calcutta, an authority not unfrequently referred to in this diatribe on the Church Missionary Society, and to which, therefore, he cannot object. Writing to the Calcutta Corresponding Committee, May 26th, 1837, he says—"The Missionary Committees have a far greater latitude in India than lay-patrons at home. On presenting his clerk to the bishop, the patron at home is *functus officio*. The clergyman is removed, on being once instituted and licensed, totally and for ever from the patron, and is transferred to the superintending of the bishop. The patron has nothing whatever more to do with him." But in India the Committee is, (1.) the continued paymaster of the Missionary after he is duly licensed, for institution and induction there are none. (2.) They corre-

pond with him. (3.) They supply him with catechists. (4.) They report his chief proceedings home. (5.) They propose removals and changes of station to the bishop. (6.) They exercise unavoidably an influence which does not belong to the mere lay-patron, and are aiding, in a variety of ways, to the comfortable and honourable discharge of the Missionary's most exalted and most spiritual duties." Moreover, these its rights a Committee is bound to exercise. There is a footnote to the article in question, which, in some half-dozen lines, contains more common sense than is to be found in half-a-dozen pages of the essay to which it is appended, and which appears to have been added by some wiser head, like a drag on the dangerous velocity of a locomotive: it is this, "while, however, we would vindicate the rightful authority of the bishop, we are far from calling in question the special duty which belongs to every Society, as trustee of charitable funds, of the disposal of which it must give a full and strict account. Every Missionary Society is bound, in fidelity to its contributors, to satisfy itself that proper agents are chosen to engage in the work. When chosen, they are under the bishop's jurisdiction; but the Society is still bound to ascertain, by communications from themselves, that they are engaged in work of the character contemplated by the Society, and to inform itself of the results of such work." Societies, then, have their duties, and bishops have their duties. How desirable that the respective boundaries of these jurisdictions be clearly defined, so as to avoid the possibility of misunderstanding. Is it surprising, in the present uncertainty of these relationships, that perplexities have occurred, and misunderstandings sometimes arisen between the representatives of the Society abroad and ecclesiastical authorities? They have not been confined to our Society. The writer before us has busied himself in calling up some of the old difficulties which have long been buried in oblivion. We, too, did we think it our duty so to do, might search into the transactions of other Societies, and we should find there like experiences. But we affirm, that with the increase of the Episcopate the danger of such collisions necessarily increases; and therefore, for the sake of all parties, Committees at home, bishops abroad—Missionaries, nay, above all, the truth of God, which grievously suffers when collisions take place—we ask for an adjustment of these relationships. "It is impossible not to apprehend occasional contrariety of judgment on practical operations, between a bishop personally taking part in the work, and the Missionaries





PROME, FROM THE HEIGHTS.

long engaged in it, or the Committee with whom the funds are entrusted; and that partialities will exist for particular systems of operation. Such contrarieties or particularities in a settled church create little trouble, because all parties have their prescribed departments of labour; but in Missionary operations nothing is yet defined. When such contrarieties of judgment, therefore, have arisen, they have interfered with the whole work of a Mission. Every thing has been checked and thrown into confusion by the idiosyncracies of a spiritual ruler. The Committee abstain from citing the instances; but they plead for the avoidance of the risk, and for the adoption of measures which may prevent its occurrence in India."

But against all such arrangements, the school of which the writer in the "Christian Remembrancer" is an exponent, protests *totis viribus*. They want the extension of an Episcopate, unlimited in its power, and capable, therefore, of arbitrary action: and why? Because it is only such an Episcopate that it can hope to use in contravention of the Gospel. Let an irresponsible Episcopate be promoted on the scale which is now contended for, and we shall next see with what indefatigable earnestness the anti-evangelical party in the Church of England will labour to fill it with persons of its own selection; and then will come the great effort to extrude the pure Gospel from the existing Missions of the Church of England, and to prevent the initiation on evangelical principles of any new Missions.

It is because the Church Missionary Society, by its memorials and statements, has boldly countermined these secret operations, that it has been assailed with such severity: no pains are spared to inflict upon it serious

injury. Distrust is sought to be introduced between the Committee and the friends of the Society in general; the clergy are addressed in the hope of estranging them; and the bishops are summoned to withdraw themselves. The Church Missionary Society is described as "a rising, encroaching tyranny in the church;" but it is because we resist the encroachments of a tyrannical principle—a principle hostile to the Gospel, and intolerant to all who refuse to be coerced into servility to its rule, that we are so designated. We cannot, however, expect to be more leniently dealt with than the Episcopate. Our libeller is pleased to say, "We are not among those who make an idol of the Episcopacy." No doubt. The article on the Jerusalem bishopric is conclusive on that point. "As Catholic Christians, we are something more than mere episcopalians." We apprehend so; and we would ask how much is comprehended in the expression, "Catholic Christians." The roots of this principle have felt their way beyond the limits of Protestantism, and have introduced themselves into connexion with another system. The idol lies in that direction, and the Episcopate of the Church of England is only an object of adulation so far as certain secret purposes are subserved. It is altogether a mistake to suppose that any measure of Jesuitism abides with us. The sympathizers with Rome have so much need in their vocation of that peculiar mode of action, that they have absorbed the whole of it, and have left nothing for us but the straightforward procedure which alone befits the honest Protestantism of the Church of England. But here we close this controversy—

Si quis

Opprobriis dignum laceravit, integer ipse;  
Solventur risu tabulæ; tu missus abibis.

## THE PROVINCE OF PEGU.

A REPORT on the administration of the province of Pegu for the year 1855-56, by the Commissioner, Major P. Phayre, has been placed in our hands. It is remarkable for the condensed information which it presents, and the satisfactory evidence which it affords of rapid improvement in this recently acquired district.

We shall place some extracts before our readers bearing upon various points of administrative detail.

"The country of the Lower and Central Irrawaddy, which was annexed to the British Indian Empire in December 1852, contains about 32,250 square miles. It extends from

the sea, on the south, to a line drawn along the parallel of 19 deg. N. latitude, from the Arracan mountains on the west as far east as the hills bordering the River Salween. This tract comprised the ancient kingdom of Pegu, to which have been added the districts extending for fifty miles beyond Prome, and the country watered by the Sitang river and its tributaries. The province now to be described is situated in the valleys of two rivers, the Irrawaddy and the Sitang. These flow in a general direction towards the south. Their valleys are bounded, on either side, by mountain ranges. The range on the west of the Irrawaddy is that which separates Arracan

from Burmah. Its extreme altitude is from 3000 to 4000 feet. That on the east runs midway between the Irrawaddy and Sitang rivers, and has an altitude not exceeding 1500 feet. It is the water-shed from whence tributary streams pour, east and west, into the two main rivers. On the slopes of this central range the finest teak forests are situated. It is generally called, by the Burmese, Yo-ma, meaning backbone or main range. On the east of the Sitang, the first range of hills, termed Poungloung, twelve to fifteen miles distant from the river, has a height of from 1500 to 2000 feet. From thence, as far east as the Salween river, is a succession of mountain ranges, the highest of which is 8000 feet above the sea. The whole of these mountains are covered with fine timber-trees, well adapted for house-building and general purposes. The delta of the Irrawaddy is intersected by numerous salt-water creeks, which are the highways for communication throughout more than 10,000 square miles of country. Their banks are fringed with a variety of richly foliated mangrove trees. The land within is a vast expanse of rich alluvial soil, which, even to the rude tillage of the Burmese peasant, scratching the earth with a rake in small patches, which dot the surface amidst boundless grassy plains, returns a hundred-fold. In the upper portions of the country the soil is less fertile. Yet even there it is bountiful, and though the seasons are not so certain, nor the rain so abundant, as near the sea-coast, the husbandman is not dependent on one cereal, viz. rice, but can raise a great variety of crops.

The people who inhabit the country above indicated consist principally of three tribes, belonging to the Mongolian race. They are:—

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|----------------|--|-----------|
| 1. The Burman. |  | 3. Karen. |
| 2. Talaing.    |  |           |

These people have no doubt emigrated in a remote period from the great plateau of Central Asia, and, following the courses of the Salween and other great rivers, through the Chinese Province of Yumán, have reached the Irrawaddy by the branch which flows from that country.

The first is the dominant race, which has held possession of Pegu for nearly a century. The conquest of Pegu by Alompra, the founder of the present royal family of Burmah, was going on just about the time of the battle of Plassey. The original southern limits of the Burman people may be set down about Prome; but the Burmans have now become either really or nominally the mass of the population far south of that limit.

The Talaing race has probably inhabited the lower course of the Irrawaddy from a very remote period. There is no other race now extant, which can be looked upon as anterior to it in possession of the delta. To the eye of a stranger, these people are not distinguishable from the Burmans.

The Karens, divided into two great tribes, are now spread over the whole delta, and are industrious agriculturists. Their arrival in the lower Irrawaddy is no doubt comparatively a recent event. In the northern portions of the province they inhabit the hills, whole clans residing together in one long barrack-like shed. In the mountains, east of the Sitang river, are tribes closely allied to those, and called Karen by the Burmese, who appear to be aboriginal. Those of them nearest to the plains, though rude, are simple, truthful, and confiding in the British Government. Those more remote live a life of savage independence, and, with the suspiciousness of savages, desire to have little or no intercourse with strangers.

There are a few other tribes in the province, but, being mere stragglers from elsewhere, it is not necessary to do more than mention their names. They are—

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|--------------|--|-----------|
| 1. Khyens.   |  | 3. Shans. |
| 2. Zabaings. |  |           |

The Khyens are a numerous race in the Arracan mountains, where many of their clans are independent. The term Zabaing refers rather to an occupation than the distinctive name of a race. The people so called are breeders of silk-worms in the hill districts. The term is probably a Shan word, applied to those who first introduced the worms from the eastward, and the meaning of it is not now understood. The Shans are emigrants from the country of Laos, who have settled down in various parts of the country in small parties. All the tribes enumerated belong to the Indo-Chinese family.

The Burmese language belongs to the monosyllabic class, and is probably allied to the Thibetan. The alphabet with which it is written is derived from the ancient Pali, and has probably been introduced through Ceylon. It is evident that the Burmese received a knowledge of letters, with their religion, from Indian Buddhist Missionaries.

The Talaing, or Mon language, though of the same general class as the Burmese, differs considerably from it, as much probably as English does from high German. It approaches, I believe, nearer to the Karen language. The written character has the same type as the Burman, but with some specific differences.



The Karen language is divided into numerous dialects, which vary so much from each other, that a Karen of the South requires some continued intercourse to understand the tribes called Karen inhabiting the hills beyond the Sitang river. The Karen language was not a written one, until about twenty years ago, when a modification of the Burmese alphabet was adapted to it by the American Baptist Missionaries. Since then thousands of that people have learnt to read their own tongue."

Such is the province generally, its physical aspect and inhabitants.

On the breaking out of the last war, and the successive defeats of the Burmese army, great confusion ensued. Rangoon and Bassein fell to our armies in April 1852, but the British troops were, in the first instance, confined to the sea-port towns, and the interior of the country became a prey to anarchy. Various bandit chiefs set up a pseudo-independent authority, and carried on civil wars, while the character of the country in the delta of the Irrawaddy, intersected by a network of creeks, seriously impeded the action of land forces, and the efforts made for its tranquillization. This, however, was effected so far as the lower provinces were concerned, in the spring of 1853; but in the north affairs remained unsettled. There was no certainty as to whether the country would be restored or otherwise to Burmah, and the recollection of the occurrences which took place in 1824, 1825, 1826, on the evacuation of Pegu by the British, when all who had been active in affording to them assistance were not only deprived of their estates by the Burmese Government, but some of them put to death on various pretences, caused many to stand aloof from us. Nevertheless, in the early part of 1855, the British rule had been extended over the entire province, and even the district of Tharawaddy, stretching eighty miles in length along the eastern bank of the Irrawaddy, amidst the hills and dense forests of whose eastern boundary the turbulent had found for years a secure shelter, was reduced to order.

The period which has elapsed has been diligently employed in carrying out various plans of improvement. The province has been divided into six districts, Rangoon, Bassein, Henzada, Tharawaddy, Prome, and Thongoo. Local officers have been appointed; a river police organized; a line of demarcation made for the protection of the northern frontier; and defensive posts erected along the line, from the Arracan hills on the west, to the central range which lies mid-

way between the Irrawaddy and Sitang rivers. A regiment, the Pegu Light Infantry, composed of natives of the province, has been raised and disciplined, and is employed in garrisoning these frontier posts. The revenue in two years has increased in the proportion of two-fifths to one. Rice, almost the only grain-product of the country, is greatly increasing in cultivation, the prohibition on its exportation, which existed under the Burmese rule, having been removed, and the exports having advanced from 17,344 tons in 1853-54, to 126,674 in 1855-56. The town of Rangoon, which, on the commencement of hostilities had been destroyed by order of the Burmese authorities, has risen from its ashes, remodelled and improved. "Brick pathways have been changed into metalled roads; narrow and noisome alleys into broad and airy streets; bambú huts into neat houses; a few irregular pukka godowns are replaced by rows of handsome brick shops and warehouses. The river frontage no longer presents a back view of squalid hovels, tottering on a foundation of fetid mud, but a clear strand, wholly open on the river side, and on the land side lined by pukka houses. . . . Already the river teams with ships, bearing the colours of all nations; the banks are lined by a denser crowd of boats, plying between the shore and the shipping, conveying to them the produce, not only of Pegu, but lead, catch, petroleum, and timber, from Ava and Ameerapoora, and receiving back tea, silk, crockery, and spices from China and the Straits; wine, spirits, and tobacco from India; and the produce of the looms and factories of the mother country."

But there is one element of improvement which we regard with the highest satisfaction, and that is, the rapid spread of Christianity throughout the province. So long as a population continues under the influence of a false religion, their fidelity to a Christian Government can never be depended upon. Irritated, because deprived of political ascendancy, the false system refuses to be conciliated, misrepresents every act of Government, and engenders suspicion and dislike amongst the people. Millions may be expended in social improvements; wise fiscal regulations have given a wholesome stimulus to industry and commerce; yet the hearts of the people will remain without any feeling of attachment to their rulers, which, in the hour of peril, can be depended upon: nay, the very measures intended for their good, through prevailing ignorance and superstition, may become the occasion of deep-seated disaffection and rebellion. A wise Government will therefore regard with satis-

faction such an increase of Christianity among its heathen subjects as is the result of conviction and of their own choice. Not only for its own sake will it do so, but because of the benefit conferred upon the population ; for a Christian Government, deserving of the name, must know and be convinced that scriptural Christianity is the regeneration of nations, and that the ablest legislation, in separating from this, can only touch the surface of society. It is only as the domestic circle—the nation's inner life, is reached and cleansed—that a people can become civilized in the true sense of the expression, for otherwise the *quasi* civilization which exists will be like that of the Chinese or Hindús, a veil that renders indistinct, but does not wholly conceal, violated relationships and callous hearts.

And yet the position of a Christian Government is a delicate one, and requires discreet action. If solicitous, for the reasons already referred to, that Christianity should become acceptable to the people, it will carefully abstain from all direct interference. Political power, secular influence, must remain quite apart. They have been sometimes used to try and check the progress of Christian inquiry ; but a just retribution has never failed to paralyze the arm which has been thus uplifted against the command of God, and the true interests of man. But neither may political influence be used to facilitate the progress of the work. That work is only of value as it is genuine, and in order that this may be secured, the people must be left so free and uninterfered with, that there shall be no inducement to embrace it, save their own conviction of its truth.

It is in this respect that private effort, in the form of Missionary Societies, comes in so appropriately and seasonably to aid the action of the Government. The Government will just so far deal with the agents of such organizations, as to secure to them a fair hearing. Violence shall not be suffered to obstruct them. So long as they are discreet they shall be free to move and free to act amongst the people. The Government may well secure such liberty to men who, although by a separate action, are supplementing its efforts, and accomplishing results, which, however desirable, are beyond the power of any human legislation to attain. Yet while the Government withholds itself from all attempts, either by bribery or compulsion, to force on the action of Christianity, it will not, if it be wise, discourage or misrepresent the proceedings of faithful Missionaries. It will not look coldly on their labours, or view

with distrust the new and restorative energy which they are introducing into the stagnant mass. They will not speak of the work of evangelization as a dangerous experiment, calculated to disaffect the natives, and provoke disturbance or rebellion. The progress of Christian truth is not by a sudden violence, but by a gradual, and, in many instances, scarcely perceptible progress. Disturbances will occasionally take place in families, as one more advanced than the rest, under strong convictions, casts his idols to the moles and to the bats ; and a district be disquieted for a season from similar causes on an extensive scale. These, however, are short-lived agitations, and soon quiet down again, while every new acquisition which Christianity makes is an advance towards permanent tranquillisation, and the establishment of Christian government on a settled basis. So long as Missionaries are discreet, even although, for a season, untoward issues should arise, a ruler, who has a just sense of his position, will feel that he dare not interfere to embarrass or to stay their action : that would be disloyally and presumptuously to employ the power with which he has been entrusted against the interests of Him whom the Father has exalted at his right hand, that "at the name of Jesus every knee should bow." He dare not do it : it would be to insure, at no distant period, his own overthrow. As experientis has already shown in India, the heathen, from whom he had discouraged the Gospel, and forced it away, would eventually become his direct enemies, and, by a just retribution, the disquietude and rebellion which he had dreaded, rising up in the midst of an uneducated and ignorant people, and grappling with him as with a giant's strength, would threaten either the subversion of his rule, or a costly expenditure, in order to its perpetuation, of money and of men. If it be, therefore, the part of a wise ruler to look with a friendly aspect on the advancement of Christianity amongst the heathen placed under his care, it is gratifying to find, that in the Government report on the province of Pegu there is just that measure of notice bestowed on Missionary action and its results which we think to be desirable. The labours of Missionaries are not ignored, neither are they aggressed upon, and unkindly dealt with, but they are acknowledged, and favourably referred to. The results are indeed important. Even within the province of Pegu, the Christian converts constitute no inconsiderable portion of the population, and we may anticipate a still more rapid extension.

"The actual number of Christian converts

among the Karens, in the province of Pegu, is 10,322 persons. These, with their families, make a probable number of 50,000 souls under instruction or Christian influence. These are Protestants. The Catholic Missionaries have probably one thousand converts. Those of the Karens who reside amongst the Burmese and Talaiings in the delta of the Irrawaddy have generally become Buddhists; while those living amidst the hills, like all the hill tribes of Indo-Chinese race, worship the spirits of the mountains and the streams, by offerings of food and flowers, by feasting and revelry. The regular periods of worship, when whole tribes unite in a demonstration, are only observed at seed-time and harvest. The Burmese, Talaiings, Zabiings, and Shans, are Buddhists of the atheistic school."

Favourable mention is made, in other sections of the report, of the educational measures of the same Missionaries.

Such notices of Missionary action the Pegu Commissioner felt it his duty to introduce; and inasmuch as the province, amidst the convulsions of India, has remained undisturbed, so much so as to be enabled, without danger to itself, to surrender to the necessities of the Calcutta Government the European forces stationed at Rangoon and other places, it might have been concluded that our high officials at home, if they could not have concurred in regarding the progress of Christianity as an element of improvement, would at least have been silent. We regret to say that this has not been the case.

On July 27th there was laid on the table of the House of Lords the copy of a letter, bearing date April 28, 1858, from Lord Ellenborough, then President of the Board of Control, to the Chairman, &c., of the East-India Company. That paper we have not time to deal with at present. Suffice it to say, that it insists upon a reversal of the educational measures which have been in progress in India since 1854; and that more especially does it direct itself against grants-in-aid to Missionary schools. These are condemned as compromising the Government with that which is designated as a system of proselytism, and thus endangering the peace of the empire "by exciting the apprehension that the Government desires, through education, to convert the people."

To this procedure of giving grants-in-aid to Missionaries the noble writer of the letter chiefly attributes "the almost unanimous mutiny of the Bengal army, as well as very extensive indications of a hostile feeling among the people."

Now we put it to any reasonable man,

whether it be credible, possible, that a system which had been in existence not so much as three years when the disturbances broke out, could, within so short a time, have excited so serious and extensive a rebellion? Here is a deep-seated conspiracy planned with great subtilty, and pervading the entire of the Bengal army and Presidency, so that there was scarcely one native regiment which had not its band of conspirators diligently occupied in disaffecting the body, and thus co-operating with one great movement which was in progress through the land; and yet this upheaving of many thousands, in one tremendous convulsion—which, after gigantic efforts upon the part of England, is still like the sea, when, in its swollen and agitated state, it exhibits the force of the hurricane that has but just expended its fury and passed away—has been chiefly caused, if we are to believe the late President of the Board of Control, by some grants-in-aid which have been given to a few Missionary schools throughout the land, during the brief period from 1854 to 1857. But this opinion, fraught as it is with absurdity, is sustained by a memorandum from Sir G. R. Clerk, Secretary of the Indian Board, the object of which is by accumulative evidence brought together from various quarters to confirm the position of Lord Ellenborough. This document will no doubt receive all the attention that it merits, and will be taken to pieces by abler hands than ours. But how much it is worth as a body of evidence, the accuracy and impartiality of which may be depended upon, our readers will best judge from that portion of it which refers to the province of Pegu. We shall first place before our readers Sir G. R. Clerk's annotations on Major Phayre's report, and then indicate some few points which we consider not unworthy of their attention.

"An instance of our supercilious disregard of the existing institutions of others, combined with what would be a ridiculous, were it not so dangerous an obtrusion of our own, is to be found in the Commissioner's official report on Pegu, in 1855-56. Thus, 'Although the revenue system, if such it can be called, which existed under the Burmese Government, was extraordinarily clumsy, yet it was not oppressive, and appears to have suited the people, and to have been acceptable to them. The great bulk of the people had abundance of food and clothing, and generally comfortable houses.

"Throughout the province, as elsewhere in Burmah, the great majority of the people are taught to read and write their own lan-

guage in the Buddhist's monasteries. There are few villages without one of these establishments. The phoongees, or monks, are supported by the alms and offerings of the people, and are the national schoolmasters.

"Female education is by no means uncommon. Girls are taught in private schools, by lay masters, or by women who have taken religious vows. They would not be admitted at the monasteries."

"Then comes our onslaught, preparatory to a large amount of self-laudation.

"Normal schools have been commenced by the American Baptist Missionaries at Rangoon and elsewhere. The (British) Government have made a donation of 2000 rupees to the Rangoon normal school (Missionary).

"The Rev. Mr. Simons, a Missionary belonging to the American Baptist Missionary Society at Prome, visits that jail (British) on each Sunday, and discourses with the prisoners (natives). He informs me that he has hopes of having effected good among them."

"Now this is an unjustifiable proceeding towards helpless confined prisoners of another persuasion, whose own priests, if attempting to enter the jail, would have a bayonet at their breasts in an instant. Moreover, escaped convicts are sure, sooner or later, to retaliate this endurance of any degree of suffering beyond that which may have been judicially awarded.

"When there ensue bloodshed and anarchy, such as prevail now in India, it is not the American Government which feels the degradation and insult that are hurled by indignant masses at the public authorities.

"Jail discipline, it must be admitted, has scarcely had a commencement in the province of Pegu. During the year 1853, outbreaks, almost simultaneously, occurred in every jail in the province. In these, numbers of lives were sacrificed. This result was unavoidable, for the prisoners made desperate attempts to escape, and, in many cases, possessed themselves of the arms of their guards."

"The official records show that these outbreaks also occurred in jails in some of our oldest districts in India; that experienced magistrates have pointed out the difficulty of conforming to 'circulars' for overcoming certain caste prejudices without disturbance; but the Government appear to have known so little of the people of India, that they have persevered with no better support than the sympathizing Native Infantry."

Now the passage, as it reads, is calculated to produce false impressions. The reader would naturally suppose that the paragraphs taken from the Pegu Commissioner's report

are, in the original document, in as close connexion with each other as they appear to be in Sir G. R. Clerk's memorandum. Thus regarded, the impressions to which they tend are as follows—that the people, under the Burmese Government, were in a comfortable and prosperous condition, so as to render little interference necessary on our part, and that they might very advantageously be left in the condition in which we found them; that the people were provided with their own educational establishments, where they were taught to read and write, efforts inclusive even of female education to a considerable extent; that notwithstanding this, American Missionaries had intruded their normal schools, and other measures of the same nature, on the institutions and prejudices of the people, which the Governor of Pegu had supplemented by grants-in-aid; that American Missionaries had even been permitted to visit the jail, and discourse with the prisoners, a "precipitate innovation on jail discipline," which has already caused irritation and attempts at outbreak on the part of the prisoners; and which, if suffered to continue, will issue in more formidable disturbances: and then we are forewarned, "When there ensue bloodshed and anarchy, such as prevail now in India, it is not the American Government which feels the degradation and insult that are hurled by indignant masses at the public authorities."

Now if our readers suppose that the extracts from the report stand in the same relation to one another in the original document, which they appear to do in the above passage, they are greatly deceived. They are extracts taken from various parts of the report, broken off from their legitimate connexion with other passages which modify the meaning, and very ingeniously adjusted, so as to answer a purpose and imply conclusions with which they have nothing to do.

The first extract in the compilation is Section 133 in the report, p. 23, a part of the chapter on revenue; and, if all that be requisite to the well-being of a people is that they have abundance of food and clothing, and generally comfortable houses, the people of Pegu, in these respects, appear to have been sufficiently provided for. But what was their moral state, for we are not speaking of mere animals, but of men? We refer to the criminal returns, and find first-class crimes in fearful prominence: no less than thirty-seven of such cases—crimes accompanied with murder—having been perpetrated during a single year, in a population estimated at a million and a quarter of souls. "The cool

and deliberate way the Burmese commit murder is remarkable. They appear to place no value on life." Such is the millennial state to which the population had attained under the happy influence of the Buddhist religion, and the educational efforts of Buddhist monks. "Perhaps the main cause of the disregard of human life which exists may be traced—paradoxical though it be—to the Buddhist religion, which forbids the taking of all animal life, but draws no broad distinction between the life of the lower animals and that of man. When the passions are excited, the feeble bonds, which refrain from murder, are soon burst asunder. There is little doubt but that, at the capital, it is infinitely easier now to compound for the killing of a man than the killing of an ox." Other crimes are frequent, such as assaults with wounding, the *dhas*, a generic name for knife, dagger, &c., being always at hand, and quarrels frequently leading to bloodshed; but we pass on to the matter of jails, and it appears that, during the year 1853, "outbreaks almost simultaneously occurred in every jail in the province." What caused these *emeutes*? The intrusion of American Missionaries into the jails on Sundays? Not at all. The specific cause, although entirely omitted in Sir G. R. Clerk's memorandum, is expressly given in the report. It is as follows—

"Under the Burmese Government, criminals were either executed with despatch, or after, even for the most heinous offences, a few weeks or months' confinement, they were generally released on payment of a fine, or sometimes by intercession of the Buddhist monks. After the province became British, and when men were sentenced to imprisonment for terms of seven, ten, or more years, they at first never appear to have supposed that this was any thing more than a nominal sentence. Their relatives used to apply for their release, as if confident of its being granted. When, however, they saw that these applications were not attended to, despair possessed them, and a general effort was made to escape at the hazard of their lives. For the last two years the prisoners have, like the rest of the community, 'settled down,' and general open risings in jail are not heard of. During 1855, one deperate attempt was made by convicts at work near the river-side at Rangoon, to escape, but they were all retaken."

Jail outbreaks in Pegu have had so much to do with Missionary action there as the grant-aid system with the Indian mutiny. There is just as much evidence for the one as for the other. It is a gratuitous assumption sug-

gested by strong prejudices against all attempts to promote the evangelization of the heathen subjects of Great Britain. To obey the commands of Christ, in the opinion of some men, endangers the quietude of the British empire, and therefore must needs be subjected to every species of discouragement and misrepresentation.

But again, it might be concluded from the memorandum that the American Missionaries, by the establishment of schools, were unnecessarily interfering with a people, who were already sufficiently provided with educational institutions of their own. Probably, in the mind of some legislators, it is a matter of perfect indifference whether a child attend a heathen or a Christian school, and whether he be taught to worship idols or to worship the true God. We trust that the Christian people of this great country are not just yet prepared to approve of such opinions, and suffer them to be adopted and acted upon as the policy of England. But what will our readers think when they are informed that the educational efforts of the American Missionaries have mainly reference to a people who have otherwise no schools, no educational establishments whatever, and who, until the Americans took them up in the way of help, of necessity could neither read or write, for their language had never been reduced to writing?

The extract in the memorandum beginning thus—"Throughout the province, as elsewhere in Burmah, the great majority of the people are taught to read and write their own language, &c.," is to be found in Sections 164 and 165 of the report. Then follow in the report, Sections 166 and 167—

"Normal schools have been commenced at the chief towns of the districts of Rangoon, Bassein, Hensada, and Prome, by the American Baptist Missionaries. Village schools have also been opened. These are, almost entirely, for the instruction of the Karens.

"The greatest degree of success appears to have been achieved in the Bassein district, where the Rev. Mr. VanMeter informs me he has thirty-eight village schools. The average attendance at these is 1008 scholars. These schools are almost entirely supported by the people themselves. The books are supplied gratis. Of these schools, two are academies, in which the course of study embraces arithmetic, land surveying, history, geography, astronomy, and natural philosophy, all in the Karen language. In the academies, also, the pupils are instructed in theology, and they are carried further, in each branch of education, than the scholars in the ordinary village

schools. Attention is likewise paid to Burmese, as the language of business and of intercourse between the several races inhabiting the country."

These paragraphs are omitted in the memorandum. They would not have sustained the accusation of "a supercilious disregard of existing institutions," there having been no institutions existing among the Karens which could have been disregarded. It answered better the purpose of those—who wish to misrepresent the persuasive and gentle change in opinion and inclination which Christianity, when introduced like leaven into the mass, is sure to produce, as a dangerous system of proselytism—so to garble the extracts, as to convey the impression that the educational measures of the Missionaries were directed, not to the Karens, but the Burmese.

But again, "The British Government have made a donation of 2000 rupees to the Rangoon Normal School (Missionary)." So runs the memorandum. Notification of this fact thus appears in the report—"The Government have made a donation of 2000 rupees to the Rangoon normal school, where there is an average attendance of 197 Karen scholars." These concluding words the memorandum omits, and in place of them substitutes the one ominous word, "Missionary."

What shall our readers think of garbling such as this? The reactionary policy recommended by Lord Ellenborough is a very serious proceeding, carrying with it heavy responsibility, and at least requiring, before decided upon, very careful and impartial consideration. We might have ventured to entertain

the hope, that, with the resignation of the noble Lord from the Board of Control, the letter recommending it would have passed into oblivion. But this is not the case. Written on April 28th, it is ordered to be printed on July 27th, and laid on the table of the House of Lords. An unexpected prominence has been given to it. It has been referred to by the new President of the Board of Control as embodying the principles which, for the present at least, are to regulate the Government of India.

In Lord Stanley's reply to the deputation of gentlemen connected with various Missionary Societies, he was pleased to state—"Having been questioned with respect to the paper which has lately been issued, containing a letter of Lord Ellenborough's, and a memorandum by Sir George Clerk, I am bound to say that my feelings are very much in sympathy with those of Lord Ellenborough and Sir George Clerk." Lord Ellenborough's letter contains the principle of which Lord Stanley approves; Sir G. Clerk's memorandum the evidence in support thereof. We ask our readers, is the latter a document to be depended upon? We have dealt with one portion of it: but the entire document is of similar construction.

We desire to know whether the country is prepared to sanction so serious a retrogradation on no more reliable evidence than that which is presented in the memorandum of Sir G. R. Clerk? We can only say, that if it be, the policy will be worthy of the arguments on which it is based—a vicious policy on a foundation of misrepresented facts.

#### MISSIONARY SKETCHES IN NORTH INDIA WITH REFERENCES, TO RECENT EVENTS. BY MRS. WEITBRECHT.

RECENT events have indeed given a painful prominence to the Mission field of North India. If God's people in this country were in any measure forgetful of its claims, and if the efforts put forth for its evangelization were disproportionate to its necessities, that forgetfulness has been corrected. It has been forced on our attention. Amidst scenes of unutterable horror, and the bitter sufferings of numbers of our countrymen, we have been familiarized with its vast extent, and towns and cities, unknown in the records of Missionary effort, are now well known. Whatever may be the effect on politicians, this we know, that the determination of the Christian church is to labour more earnestly than ever for the evangelization of these provinces, and we express the hope, that wherever European blood

has been shed during the late struggle, there, in memorial of the dead and in mercy to the living, a Christian Mission will be commenced, and, by the blessing of God, such a change effected in the people, that the Christian children shall shudder at the atrocities committed by their heathen parents.

"India has long been crying to England through her Missionaries, and the cry has fallen unheeded, even on Christian ears. A cry of deep distress has lately been heard from those distant shores, which has entered, not into the ears only, but into the hearts of hundreds of families in this land; and, while the blood of England's murdered sons and daughters is yet fresh, let us calmly, determinately, courageously, enter, with quickened ardour, perseverance, and energy, upon the

work of India's evangelization. Thus let England be avenged on her enemies.

"That were indeed a glorious return to make to those who have wounded her in her tenderest relations; and it would be a return worthy of the name she bears, as a country professing allegiance to One who bled and died for man's redemption—One whose own mission from heaven to earth contains in it the spring and principle of every mission of mercy, and of grace, that can be attempted.\*"

At such a moment, when North India is thus imprinted on our thoughts and feelings, Mrs. Weitbrecht's interesting publication comes most seasonably. It blends the recollections of the past with the realities of the present, the hopes and aspirations as regards the future. Names and labours which ought never be forgotten, are revived and placed before the reader. He is taken by the hand, and introduced to the various Missionary stations from Calcutta to Mirut. Thoroughly acquainted with her subject, the authoress groups together all that is most interesting for the reader to reflect upon, and paints the various scenes with an accuracy and freshness which a long and intimate acquaintance with many of the localities could alone enable her to do. We regret that we have no room for other than very limited extracts, but we shall introduce some few passages, which we doubt not will decide many of our readers to obtain the volume for themselves. The book opens with Calcutta, and, after a sketch of various Missionary stations, dedicates one chapter to the solemn chastisements which have recently fallen on the land, the dangers and marvellous preservation of Calcutta, and the heartrending scenes which presented themselves, when the survivors of the fearful massacres up the country began to arrive.

"A great part of the distress of our country-people in Calcutta has arisen from the constant arrivals of their stripped and suffering friends, and the dreadful tales of woe all had to relate. So many of these touching stories have already appeared in print, that we will only mention one or two, extracted from private letters.

"On going on board the steamer, as it was passing down the river," writes a medical man, "I beheld on the decks, and in every part of the vessel, English children, of all ages and both sexes, running about without a single garment of any kind attached to them; and upwards of forty of these poor things are now collected in Calcutta, who are too young to tell their names or parentage, and remain

unclaimed. In many instances it is scarcely known how they were preserved; but it would seem chiefly by the compassion of Hindú villagers, who have in many instances been kind and pitiful, and the faithfulness of native nurses, many of whom allowed themselves to be killed rather than resign their infant charges to the murderer's grasp."

"On descending to the cabin, I was startled by seeing five ladies huddled together on the floor in one corner, without dresses, and all covered by one sheet.

"One poor refugee, the wife of a civilian, reached, in her flight, a village of Maitres (very low-caste Hindús). They were very kind to her, and consulted for her safety. She proposed to them to feign herself a corpse, and have flowers strewed over the cloth that covered her, if four of them would carry her to the river, as if for burning, where she knew there was a boat. As these are the very people employed to carry the dead, this plan answered admirably, and they told those who met them, and inquired what they had got, that it was a relative of their own."

"Thus she reached the river side, found a boat, embarked, and escaped. It was a pure act of benevolence, for she had no reward to give her deliverers; and it shows that the Hindús can do a kindness without a mercenary motive, which has sometimes been questioned by their European masters.

"Another arrived, who was left, the last European female, among nearly two thousand Sepoys, who had been delivered by the Lord out of their hands, but how she could hardly detail. For a month she and her children wandered up and down the country, living in the jungle when man refused them shelter, and feeding on whatever they could. In the morning she would seek some village, and look out among the women in the streets for one with an infant at her breast about the age of her own, which she would hold up to her, to let it speak its own wants and tale of early sorrow. Some women thus appealed to would gladly nurse the babe; others would turn away."

"How she lived she could not tell; but one day she was sitting under a tree with her

\* The writer was informed by a Missionary, who had himself escaped from the mutineers, that he had taken pains to trace the causes which had operated on the villagers who manifested sympathy with our suffering countrymen, and he had invariably found that those who had been in some measure influenced by Christian schools or preaching—i. e. indirect Missionary effort—though nominally heathen, were the persons who showed some feeling and compassion to the refugees.

\* Mrs. Weitbrecht's Missionary Sketches.

children, persuaded that the end of her journey was come. She saw some sowars (cavalry) coming towards her, and, fearing their errand, rose with her little ones, walked quietly up to them, and said, 'I know you are seeking to kill me: kill the children first—don't torture them—then kill me.'

"Their hearts were in the hands of Him who notices the sigh of the sorrowful. They said they would not kill her, but took her to a place of shelter, and an influential native gentleman sent her on to a station, where she was received by some Europeans, who did all they could for her; but then her mind seemed to fail her, and she lost her memory, only knew her baby died a victim to its privations. When able to travel, she was moved to a place on the river, where she heard of her husband's death—a dreadful blow. Her little boy was then seized with cholera, but he was spared to her, and accompanied her to Calcutta with her daughter, where this delicate and nervous female, who had lived through what many strong ones would have sunk under, has rallied, and will, it is hoped, be spared to her children."

Leaving these sad scenes, well designated in the chapter which delineates them "the voice of the rod," let us accompany the authoress up the great stream of the Ganges.

"As we gradually ascend the stream, we are interested in observing many things peculiar to India. At comparatively short intervals, the ghâts, or landing-places, descend from the banks into the water. These wide flights of steps are finished on each side with a balustrade, and the head of each is usually crowned by a picturesque building, either a mosque, a pagoda, or a cluster of small Hindû temples, called mhuts, which are of beehive shape, and not a great deal larger, and which, when grouped together, produce a very good effect.

"We are attracted by the crowds of men and women bathing at these various ghâts. We notice particularly the women, half immersed in the water, with little bunches of flowers which they have purchased from the priest in the temple before they descended to the river, and we listen to their affecting prayer, 'O holy mother Gunga, accept our offering, and wash away our sins.' The little nosegay is then set afloat, and the deceived worshipper finishes her ablution, with the persuasion that she is inwardly and outwardly purified.

"The scenery on either side of the river is charming. The moisture of the climate and the nature of the soil concur in producing perpetual verdure; and though the sun pours

down so fierce a flood of light, that it would seem as if its scorching influence were sufficient to dry up every blade of grass, the whole earth is covered with a rich carpet, and, the moment the sun sets, a refreshing coolness fills the air, and the eyes are feasted with scenery of the richest luxuriance.

"The rich foliage descends, in many places, to the very edge of the stream, and the tree often dips its pendants into the water at full tide. The bambú flings its long branches down with all the grace of the willow, the numerous species of palm-trees rise in regal majesty above, and the fine feathery foliage of both are relieved by the bright masses of the neem, the pekul, and a host of others, some bearing resplendent flowers of a thousand dyes.

"The mangolia is common in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and, amid a vast number of the acacia tribe, there is one of peculiar beauty, called the *babul*: it is covered with a small tufted flower of a golden colour, which gives out so delicious a perfume to the breeze that one is sufficient to scent a garden.

"At intervals, between the pagodas—which generally communicate with villages a little inland, whose thatched roofs are discernible between the trees—pretty houses appear, inhabited by Europeans or rich native gentlemen, standing in the midst of beautiful gardens full of gorgeous flowers, which blossom in profusion all the year round, interspersed with groves of mango, tamarind, and other fruit-trees, in attractive variety, and bringing to our minds pleasant recollections of what we heard and read of India in our early days.

"But in the midst of such thoughts we are painfully interrupted by noticing the blazing funeral pile, consuming the body of some deceased Hindû of high caste, or by the corpse of one of lower rank, which has been cast entire into the water, and floats past our boat, with birds of prey feeding upon it as it descends the stream. We see Agurparah on our right, and, ascending higher, Serampur on our left; and their Christian churches and Missionary dwellings seem to whisper a cheering word to us in passing, and to bid us forget the hosts of idol temples that still so far outnumber them, and look forward to the day when 'the idols He shall utterly abolish.' Our hearts are full of prayerful aspirations that it may soon be said of this land, 'Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.'"

We heartily recommend this little volume, with its accompaniment, a well-executed map, to the Christian ladies of England. The authoress and the subject have alike claims upon them.



## CHINA OPENED.

THE gate into the vast interior of China is to be thrown open in May 1859. The Missionary and the merchant will be free to enter; the one with the glad tidings of great joy which are for all nations; the other with his British goods and manufactures, which, if well assorted, and got up with special reference to the necessities of the Chinese market, after a little time, when the people get accustomed to us, will be sure to pay. The prospect before us is grand and imposing. Often have we, in desire looked beyond the narrow seaboard and the mountain ranges which separate it from the central platform of the empire, and thought—When shall free access be afforded us to those stirring, busy myriads, who labour so industriously to supply the wants of their brief span of existence here, and know nothing, think nothing, of eternity? At length the barriers have given way, and Chinese exclusiveness must permit the entrance of the foreigner. The great river road, the "Father of rivers," the "Child of the ocean," is to be free of access to the stranger, as far, at least, as Hankow. This city is in the province of Hupeh. At the point where the Han—a great river in itself, whose sources of supply are far distant in the remote provinces of Shense and Honan—yields to the superior magnitude of the Yang-tze, the contributions of its mighty stream, stand clustering together the three cities of Wuchang, Hannan, and Hankow, forming, with their widely-extended suburbs, one great mart. The united population is estimated at three millions to five millions of souls. "No other place in China presents an equal amount of wealth and population in the same area, vieing with the greatest emporia of the world."\* This is the confluence whither flow the mercantile enterprises of Hupeh province, northward of the Yang-tze; of Hunan, its sister province on the southern bank; and of Sechuen, higher up the stream of the great river, the finest province of all China, which appears to "produce every thing—more silk than any other province, more and better wax and tobacco, grass cloths of the finest quality, tea of the coarsest, grain in vast quantities."

Let us pause a moment. We have a few words to address, first to the British mer-

chant, and then to the British Christian who is anxious for the evangelization of China. No doubt these characteristics are often to be found combined in the same person; and where the merchant is one who regards divine counsel, there will be no need to impress this upon his mind, that gain got by injuring our fellow-man is no gain, but a calamity. A demoralizing traffic, like that of opium, can have no blessing from God. It interferes with the procedure of the lawful trader, and destroys his market. Under the deteriorating influence of opium the Chinese lose alike the means and disposition to buy of him the comforts and conveniences of civilized life. The opium trade injures the Chinese, and hinders the development of honourable commerce, which, while advantaging itself, not only does no injury to others, but benefits them, and improves their condition. We want, then, British merchants, men worthy of the name, who will eschew opium in its debasing associations, and fit out their ships for the new market of the Yang-tze with goods, which they can sell with a good conscience, and which the Chinese can purchase without the fear of injury.

Now, hitherto our exchanges with China have been in a very unsatisfactory state. We have purchased of the Chinese tea and silk to the amount of 15,000,000*l.*, and they have purchased from us commodities to the value only of 10,500,000*l.* The balance of 4,500,000*l.* we have to pay in hard specie. Hence the absorption of silver, and the monetary derangement consequent upon this. But of our sales to China, opium has been the preponderating article, while those of a healthful character have been in greatly inferior quantities. Opium is delivered to the amount of 7,000,000*l.*, while of the remainder, 3,500,000*l.*, two millions only have been in British manufactures, and the rest in Indian cotton.

This may seem a discouraging view of things, and the merchant may consider it hopeless to contend against so great a disadvantage. He may regard China as a great market, so spoiled by opium, that there is no demand for any thing healthful and of reciprocal benefit; and no doubt, to a great extent, East-Indian opium has helped to block out British manufactures from the Chinese market.

But we would not have the British merchant take so discouraging a view of things.

\* Vide "Church Missionary Intelligencer," vol. for 1855, p. 258.

Hitherto the competition between opium and British manufactures has been on unequal terms. The opium has been contraband and has paid no duty, while British goods have been severely taxed. Moreover, the respective fields on which they have hitherto operated have been unequal. The opium has, we fear, penetrated far into the interior, although, we venture to hope with diminished power as it advances from the coast, the rays of its unhappy influence becoming more sparse and scattered, so as to leave untouched large masses of the population. But British manufactures have scarcely, if at all, penetrated into the interior. They have not made their way beyond a certain distance from the free ports, and this from various causes. First, because there is reason to apprehend that sufficient care has not been taken to adapt the goods which have been sent out to the necessities of the market, and the requirements of the Chinese people. The native cloth suits them better than our cottons, because it lasts longer: they cannot afford to buy the flimsy cloths whose inherent poverty is attempted to be disguised with dressing, which the buyer rubs out with his hands. But further, British goods, whether suitable or otherwise, have not, except in inconsiderable quantities, reached the interior cities of China. There have been not only custom-houses, and the uncertainty connected with arbitrary imposts, but the transit has been impeded by other causes. "All the free ports, except Shanghae, are separated from the inland waters of China by a chain of mountains." Over these, goods must be transmitted. "Every piece of merchandise brought down from or carried up to the interior must be carried for twenty miles over a chain of mountains, and carried on men's backs." If there be no mountain barriers between Shanghae and the interior, there has been a hindrance in that direction likewise—the Ta-kwan, or great custom-house at Hangchow. Between the Wang Poo river and its affluents and the network of interior waters there is no communication. Goods must be transhipped at Hangchow, and thus come under the grasp and heavy imposts of the Ta-kwan. But in addition to these disadvantages under which British goods have laboured, we have had as yet no commercial intercourse with the colder provinces, to which our woollens will be most acceptable. All these difficulties by the new treaty are swept out of the way. The great Yang-tze will conduct our merchant vessels by an easy course beyond those mountain barriers into the populous interior. The transit duties

leviable at inland custom-houses are to be duly regulated, and published in English and Chinese, and the merchant is to have the option of commuting them at an *ad valorem* rate. The new port of Neuchong, at the head of the gulf of Liantung and the sea port of Moukden, will place us in immediate communication with Manchowria and the millions of Corea, "where men are jammed together far closer than in China Proper, and where the climate is one which requires thick clothing, and does not produce cotton."

It is an opportune moment for the fair trader; or, if we may not use the expression now that the trade in opium has been legalized, for the honourable British merchant who is anxious to advantage himself only so far as he can do so without injury to others. Only let it be remembered that they who improve the opportunity must organize in complete separation from all who have to do with the opium trade. "There are some houses which pay a certain attention to cottons or woollens, but the largest British houses in China care very little about British exports. . . . The fact is, this business is neither pleasurable nor profitable. These men come out to make fortunes in from five to seven years, not to force English calicoes up into remote places. Their work is to buy Chinese produce. If the English manufacturer wants his work done, they will do it for him as it comes in their way. But if he wants extraordinary exertion, carefully collected information, and persevering up-country enterprise—and this is what he does want—he must do it himself."\*

We are persuaded that wholesome commerce, energetically put forth, is able to compete successfully with the degrading opium trade, and, by giving the millions of the interior, as yet, to a considerable extent we trust, free from the morbid craving after opium—a legitimate excitement, and opening a channel by which their energies may be exercised without detriment to themselves, if it cannot altogether prevent, at least to mitigate and modify the evil. Why should opium gather 7,000,000*l.* from China, and British manufactures only 2,000,000*l.*? We wish to see this proportion reversed. Healthful commerce is competing successfully with the slave trade on the African coast, and why not with the opium traffic on the Chinese coast? We fear that the British Government in India will still continue to cultivate and sell opium, and

\* "China in 1857-58," from the *Times*, pp. 200, 201.

merchants of high and low repute be found to purchase and transmit the drug to China, and numbers of infatuated Chinese be found to purchase and consume it, to their own great injury, until better influences come into action, of which we see but little hope at present. But we must not take a disheartening view of the aspect of affairs. Much, very much may be done, if done boldly and promptly; and much of this may be effected by British manufacturers and merchants of the right stamp.

And now a brief word to the friends of Missions. After all, China's hopes and prospects, as indeed those of every other nation, are wrapped up in the Gospel. The moral constitution of that great empire is in a sadly enfeebled state, but the Gospel is the specific. If there be an opportunity for the merchant, there is an opportunity for the Missionary. To him, also, China is open. Christianity is to be tolerated, and its professors protected throughout the empire; but let it be remembered, that as the permission to trade covers the wholesome and the hurtful article, so likewise is it with respect to the toleration of Christianity: it extends alike to the genuine and the spurious article—that which helps and that which hurts the soul. Protestantism and Popery alike have free entrance. Here, too, there will be competition: as the opium trader will exert himself to pre-occupy the ground and block out the honourable merchant, so will the emissaries of Rome crowd on to pre-occupy, if possible, by every and any device, the hearts of the Chinese, so as to allow no room for the action of the Gospel. Shall the servants of Rome outstrip the servants of Christ? Shall they manifest more zeal for error than we do for truth? Shall we hear of shipments of Romish bishops, and priests, and *Sœurs de Charité*, hasted up the waters of the Yang-tze, while Protestant Missionaries continue to go forth, as they have hitherto done, by scanty bands? Awake to the Lord's work, to your own duties and responsibilities, Christian England! Come forth from your retirement the many in this land, who know in your hearts' experience the power of the Gospel, and decide on an effort on behalf of China proportionate to the grandeur of the opportunity. What a disgrace will it not be, if, when God's providence opens so wide a door, God's professing church is found without the

heart to use it! What a shame, if, as the horizon of usefulness expands, our hearts are found unequal to expand with it! Then, indeed, may the emissaries of Rome triumph over our fallen state, and mock at those who were always complaining that China was not open, and, when it did open, were found unequal to the emergency. We have lingered long enough upon the coast, amongst the most deteriorated of the population, and the most disadvantageous of circumstances. Shall the merchant go up the Yang-tze with his goods, and the Romish priest with his fables, and the Christian evangelist be left behind? Would we could blow such a trumpet as Gideon blew when the Spirit of the Lord came upon him, and Abiezer was gathered after him! Would we could utter sounds which should be heard and felt in every Christian home throughout England! Lo, the pillar moves, and shall the Lord's host remain behind? Whom shall we Christian men and women of England resemble at this crisis? Shall we be like that portion of the tribes of Israel whom the prophetess commended, when she sang—"Out of Ephraim was there a root of them against Amalek; after thee, Benjamin, among thy people; out of Machir came down governors, and out of Zebulon them that handle the pen of the writer, and the princes of Issachar were with Deborah; even Issachar, and also Barak;" or like those in whom there was nothing praiseworthy, so that the strings of the prophetic harp could only utter lamenting and reproving sounds—"For the divisions of Reuben there were great searchings of heart. Gilead abode beyond Jordan; and why did Dan remain in ships? Asher continued on the sea-shore, and abode in his breaches." Yes, it shall be registered above, what is done now, what part we take, whether we be evasive of our duty, or hearty and self-denying; and on the great day of account the record shall be unfolded before angels and men. "Blessed shall they be of whom it shall be said, Zebulon and Naphtali were a people that jeopardied their lives unto the death in the high places of the field." What do we want? The occupation of every leading point to which access is afforded us, and that by men of devotedness and ability, who, with linguistic powers, shall be able to grasp the peculiarities of the Chinese language. But we must forbear at present.

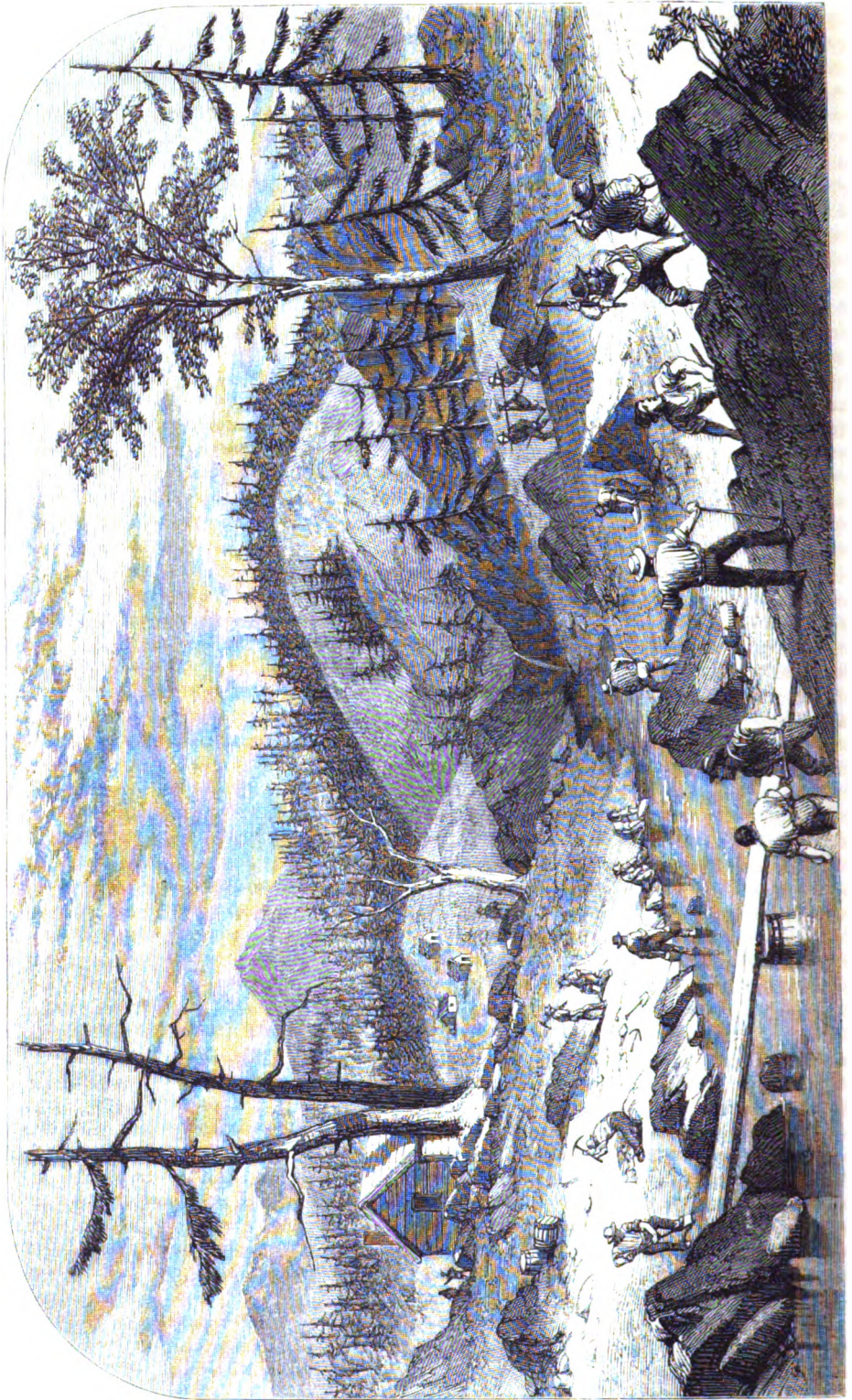
## THE GOLD FIELDS OF CALIFORNIA AND AUSTRALIA.

ONCE, when man, disinclined to carry out the divine command that he should replenish the earth and subdue it, crowded one locality with an over-population, while other, and probably fairer regions, were left tenantless, a pressure was put upon him which constrained him to forego his own inclinations, and to move forward in obedience to the providential purpose of God. "The Lord said, Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth." The same tendency to adhesion has continued to manifest itself. Old-established regions, long the dwelling-places of man, have become so overcrowded as to render the means of subsistence difficult, while in strong contrast with these are the vast solitudes of our world, lying waste and tenantless save by wandering tribes, the remnants of once numerous races, which have wasted away under the blighting influence of their own vices. From the densely-populated countries man requires to be led forth into the possession of vast tracts intended for his use, but which he has never occupied; and a new providential phenomenon, although of a different character from that which took place at Babel, is effecting this result. Instead of being constrained, man is allured to leave his old homes. An object of attraction, potent in the influence which it exercises on the natural mind, is being exposed to his view. It is gold. It is being found in immense quantities—treasures, such as in former years might have graced the pages of some imaginative tale, but which in our day are reduced to the tangible results of the miner's industry; and these rich deposits have their place in the neglected regions, which have hitherto been left almost devoid of the presence of man. There the treasure lay, scarcely veiled beneath the soil, only needing the application of a gentle violence to remove the thin covering and reveal it to the eye and hand; yet until the appointed moment came, it remained as closely secreted as though it needed a shaft to be sunk several hundred feet to reach it. No sooner, however, was the discovery made, than the gold-producing regions became powerful centres of attraction, where population increased, and men of diverse nations grouped together with unprecedented rapidity.

Upper California was discovered by the Spaniards in 1543, and more than two hundred years after, viz. in 1767 they decided to

settle and civilize it, the enterprise being entrusted to the care of the priesthood. A Franciscan friar was named Missionary President. San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco, so called after the patron saint of the Franciscan order, were successively occupied. The system carried out was an enslavement of the aboriginal race to the temporal and spiritual despotism of the fathers; one so deteriorating in the influence which it exercised, that the population could only be sustained by proselytizing expeditions into the Indian territories, in which women and children were the first objects of capture, in the expectation that the husbands and parents would voluntarily follow them into captivity. The newly captured, according to the Franciscan mode, were as rapidly as possible converted into Christians. Captain Beechey, in 1826, thus describes the process—"I happened to visit the Mission about this time, and saw these unfortunate beings under tuition. They were clothed in blankets, and arranged in a row before a blind Indian, who understood their dialect, and was assisted by an alcalde to keep order. Their tutor began by desiring them to kneel, informing them that he was going to teach them the names of the persons composing the Trinity, and that they were to repeat in Spanish what he dictated. The neophytes being thus arranged, the speaker began—'Santissima Trinidad, Dios, Jesu Christo, Espiritu Santo,' pausing between each name to listen if the simple Indians, who had never spoken a Spanish word before, pronounced it correctly, or any thing near the mark. After they had repeated these names satisfactorily, their blind tutor, after a pause, added 'Santos,' and recapitulated the names of a great many saints, which finished the morning's tuition. After a few days, no doubt, these promising pupils were christened, and admitted to all the benefits and privileges of Christians and *gente de razon*. Indeed, I believe that the act of making the cross and kneeling at proper times, and other suchlike mechanical rites, constitute no small part of the religion of these poor people. The rapidity of the conversion is, however, frequently stimulated by practices much in accordance with the primary kidnapping of the subjects. 'If, as not unfrequently happens, any of the captured Indians show a repugnance to conversion, it is the practice to imprison them for a few days, and then to allow them to breathe a little fresh air in a walk round the Mission, to observe the happy mode of life of their converted countrymen; after





A SCENE IN THE GOLD REGION.

which they are again shut up, and thus continue incarcerated until they declare their readiness to renounce the religion of their forefathers.' As might be believed, the ceremonial exercises of the Roman-Catholic religion occupy a considerable share of the time of these people. Mass is performed twice daily, besides high days and holidays, when the ceremonies are much grander, and of longer duration; and at all the performances every Indian is obliged to attend, under the penalty of a whipping; and this same method of enforcing proper discipline, as in kneeling at proper times, keeping silence, &c., is not excluded from the church service itself. In the aisles and passages of the church, zealous beadies of the converted race are stationed, armed with sundry weapons of potent influence in effecting silence and attention, and which are not sparingly used on the refractory or inattentive. These consist of sticks and whips, long goads, &c., and they are not idle in the hands of the officials that sway them."

Such modes of conversion were far from being of an attractive character, and the native tribes, which had once been numerous around the Missions, gradually receded, and withdrew into the interior. And yet while thus depopulating the country, so far as the aboriginal races were concerned, the fathers afforded no encouragement to free settlers of their own blood. Jealous lest their authority should be interfered with, they "arrogated to themselves the property of almost the whole of the land, so that settlers could only establish themselves by their toleration. By this means only a select number were admitted, and these firm adherents of the Missionaries, who would blindly obey their mandates; which mandates, with the inquisition in their neighbourhood, were not to be trifled with." Hence, in 1835 the whole of the free settlers did not exceed 5000, a number inclusive of the whole population of white and mixed castes.

In 1822 California became a province of revolted Mexico, and the Missions soon began to feel the influence of these political changes. The new Government directed the liberation from the serfdom of the padres of all Indians who had good characters, and were supposed able to maintain themselves, from having been taught the art of agriculture or some other trade. For such a transition it was, however, found that the Christian Indians were wholly unprepared. "These people, who had always been accustomed to the care and discipline of schoolboys, finding themselves their own masters, indulged freely in those excesses which it had been the endeavour of their tutors to repress; and many having gambled

away their clothes, implements, and even their land, were compelled to beg or plunder, in order to support life. They at length became so obnoxious to the peaceable inhabitants, that the padres were requested to take some of them back to the Missions, while others, who had been guilty of misdemeanors, were loaded with shackles, put to hard work, and employed in transporting enormous stones to the beach to improve the landing-place."\*

Thus the results of these Missions, so far from being of advantage to society, were found to be embarrassing and injurious; and yet it seemed as though the very evils which they had generated, necessitated their continuance. The padres could alone control their converts. But new difficulties arose. The pecuniary supplies from Mexico dried up; the great source of income, "the pious fund of California," became diverted from its original purpose, and eventually a law was passed by the general Congress of Mexico "for entirely removing the Missionaries, dividing the lands and cattle amongst the Indians and settlers, and appropriating their funds in Mexico to the use of the state."† Thus, amidst changes and reverses, the Missions dwindled away, and their boasted results, having no reality or power of endurance, with the removal of the earthly supports by which they had been propped up, fell to pieces.

In the February of 1844 the exploratory expedition of Captain Fremont crossed the Sierra Nevada by a pass 2000 feet higher than the south pass in the Rocky Mountains, at an elevation of 9338 feet above the sea. Descending amidst great difficulties, they struck the Rio de los Americanos, and encamped at its junction with the river Sacramento. Leaving behind them the snow-covered ridges and pines forests of the higher mountains, they reached at length a surpassingly beautiful country. "The undulating river shore was shaded with live oaks, which formed a continuous grove over the country, the grassy sward extending to the edge of the water." Some extracts from Captain Fremont's diary, as affording us glimpses of the interior of California in its time of solitude may be interesting.

"*March 25th*—We travelled for twenty-eight miles over the same delightful country, and halted in a beautiful bottom at the ford of the Rio de los Mukelemnes, receiving its name from an Indian tribe living on the river. The bottoms on the stream are broad, rich, and extremely fertile, and the uplands are

\* Captain Beechey's Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 320.

† Forbes's "California," p. 142.

shaded with oak groves. A showy lupinus, of extraordinary beauty, growing four to five feet in height, and covered with spikes in bloom, adorned the banks of the river, and filled the air with light and grateful perfume. On the 26th we halted at the Arroyo de las Calaveras (Skull Creek), a tributary to the San Joaquin. This place is beautiful, with open groves of oak, and a grassy sward beneath, with many plants in bloom, some varieties of which seem to love the shade of the trees, and grow there in close small fields. Near the river, and replacing the grass, are great quantities of annole (soap plant), the leaves of which are used in California for making, among other things, mats for saddle cloths." . . .

"*March 27*—We came among innumerable flowers; and, a few miles further, fields of the beautiful blue-flowering lupine, which seems to love the neighbourhood of water, indicated that we were approaching a stream. We here found this beautiful shrub in thickets, some of them being twelve feet in height. Occasionally three or four plants were clustered together, forming a grand bouquet about ninety feet in circumference, and ten feet high, the whole summit covered with spikes of flower, the perfume of which is very sweet and grateful. A lover of natural beauty can imagine with what pleasure we rode among these flowering groves, which filled the air with a light and delicate fragrance. We continued our road for about half a mile, interspersed through an open grove of live oaks, which, in form, were the most symmetrical and beautiful we had yet seen in this country. The ends of the branches rested on the ground, forming somewhat more than half a sphere of very full and regular figure, with leaves apparently smaller than usual. The Californian poppy, of a rich orange colour, was numerous to-day. Elk and several bands of antelope made their appearance. Our road now was one continual enjoyment, and it was pleasant riding among this assemblage of green pastures, with varied flowers and scattered groves, and out of the warm green spring to look at the rocky and snowy peaks where lately we had suffered much."

On their route, from time to time, parties of the Indians, the aborigines of the country were met. "While we were searching for a ford, some Indians appeared on the opposite bank, and, having discovered that we were not Spanish soldiers, showed us the way to the ford, several miles above. The Indians of the Sierra make frequent descents upon the settlements west of the coast range, which they keep constantly swept of horses: among

them are many who are called Christian Indians, being refugees from Spanish Missions. Several of these incursions occurred while we were at Helvetia. Occasionally parties of soldiers follow them across the coast range, but never enter the Sierra. On the opposite side we found some forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment, which, after about three miles through fine groves, we made on the river. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade. Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the Missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spanish, *Mansitos* (tame), in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains. They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforeseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited on them." Collisions were of frequent occurrence between marauding Indians and avenging Spaniards; and in re-ascending the mountains the travellers had their attention directed to a spot where a refugee Christian Indian had been killed by a party of soldiers which had unexpectedly penetrated the hilly country. Further on, two Mexicans, a man and boy, craved from them protection, their party having been attacked by Indians, the boy's father and the guide slain, and two women, the man's wife and the boy's mother, carried away into slavery.

In these extracts, no traces are to be found of an evangelizing influence resulting from the labours of the Franciscans. The so-called Christian Indians, on the dissolution of the Missions, rejoined the wild tribes in the interior, carrying with them no Christian principle—nothing to sustain themselves or others—and soon relapsed into barbarism.

Soon after the Mexican revolution, Americans began to cross the mountain barriers of the interior, and settle down amidst the inviting uplands of California. From the borders of the Mississippi they opened a path through tribes of Indians hostile to the white man, presenting, in their extraordinary daring, a remarkable contrast to the timidity and indolence of the Creole. Several Americans were found by Fremont, settled in the valley of the Rio di los Americanos, the first pioneer having reached this new home from Missouri in 1838-39. These migrations continued to increase so rapidly, that San Francisco was, in fact, an American Settlement before California became a territory of the United States.



In 1846, war broke out between that Government and Mexico, and in 1847 California became an American annexation.

Up to this period the golden treasures of the region had remained undiscovered. The Indians, whilst searching diligently for the flints which they needed for their arrow heads, discovered it not. The Spaniards had their lust for gold, and they had dreamy expectations of riches to be found on these coasts. The expedition (1537) of Francisco de Ulloa "had returned in safety to Mexico, after having visited the river Colorado and the Pacific coast as high as 30° north. Many and wondrous were the tales these bold adventurers related of precious stones, and gold, and pearls, of amazons and wealthy cities." Expeditions were fitted out, but with ill success; until at length the Jesuit fathers undertook the task, and commenced their Missions, 160 years after the discovery of California by Grigalva, in 1534. On the expulsion of the Jesuits from Lower California, in 1767, and the transfer of their Missions to the Franciscans, Upper California was occupied by the zeal of the new Missionaries. Amidst their busy agricultural operations the fathers also thought of gold, and found time to sink shafts in search of it. They sunk them in the centres of districts since found to be rich in gold, and they found it not. It was not designed to be their portion; but that which they could not find, after the country had passed to the Americans, came into the hands of those who sought it not. The first discovery occurred in December 1847, when some labourers, constructing a ditch near Sacramento, discovered some flakes of gold. A gentleman, taking an early walk among the hills around Sonora, struck his foot against a stone, and turning to look at that which had caused him a momentary inconvenience, found a piece of quartz richly coated over with gold—so rich, that it contained more gold than dross. Market gardeners, who had occupied apparently valueless tracts for the purpose of cabbage growing, found themselves in the midst of the richest diggings.

It is remarkable, that throughout the long period when Romish priests exercised throughout the land a dominant power, the treasures remained concealed. Had they been discovered previously, what welcome aid they would have afforded to the world-wide extension of Romish proselytism; but they were reserved for other hands. Then commenced the rapid increase of population.

The powerful influence of gold upon the human mind soon manifested itself in the numerous adventurers of various nations and

languages, who, with unprecedented rapidity, congregated on the Californian shore. From 1846 to 1848 the white inhabitants numbered only 10,000 souls. "At the end of 1849 200,000 persons had congregated there from all parts of the earth. In 1850 there were 250,000, and 60,000 more were expected from the United States, by way of the Rocky Mountains. Englishmen were to be found there, and, amongst them, Cornish miners in considerable numbers, from the mines of Mexico and South America, as well as some who had been squatters in Australia; Mexicans, wrapped up in their variegated blankets and broad-brimmed hats; Germans; Italians; Frenchmen. Of this nation the immigration had been so large, that some parts of the city of San Francisco were completely French in appearance, the shops, restaurants, and estaminets being painted according to French taste, and exhibiting French signs, the very letters of which had a French look about them. There were also Americans in great variety—mechanics, backwoodsmen, and farmers from the western States. From the State of Missouri the people had flocked in thousands to the gold-diggings. "Their costume was always exceedingly old and greasy-looking. They had none of the occasional foppery of the miner, which shows itself in brilliant red shirts, boots with flaming red tops, fancy-coloured hats, silver-handled bowie knives, and rich silky sashes. Their hats were felt, of a dirty-brown colour, and the shape of a short extinguisher. Their shirts had perhaps, in days gone by, been red, but were now a sort of purple. Their pantaloons were generally of a snuffy-brown colour, and made of some woolly home-made fabric. Suspended at their back, from a narrow strap buckled round the waist, they carried a wooden-handled knife in an old leathern sheath, not stitched, but riveted with leaden nails; and over their shoulders they wore straps of cotton or cloth as suspenders—mechanical contrivances never thought of by any others in the mines. As for their boots, there was no peculiarity about them, excepting that they were always old. Their coats—a garment not frequently seen in the mines for at least six months in the year—were very extraordinary things, exceedingly tight, short-waisted, long-skirted surtouts of home-made frieze of a greyish-blue colour. As for their persons, they were mostly long, gaunt, narrow-chested, round-shouldered men, with long, straight, light-coloured, dried-up-looking hair, small, thin, sallow faces, with rather scanty beard and moustache, and small grey sunken eyes, which seemed to be keenly perceptive of every

thing around them. But in their movements the men were slow and awkward, and in the towns especially they betrayed a childish astonishment at the strange sight occasioned by the presence of the diverse nations of the earth. The fact is, that, till they came to California, many of them had never in their lives before seen two houses together, and in any village in the mines they witnessed more of the wonders of civilization than ever they had dreamed of."

But besides these, there is another class which claims recognition. Even Chinese exclusiveness has been overcome, and wherever gold deposits are to be found, that acquisitive people, notwithstanding prohibitory enactments, are to be found in considerable numbers. Part of Sacramento Street, San Francisco, is occupied by Chinese retail merchants. These constitute a wealthy clique, by whom ships are chartered and the poorer classes of their nation brought over. No sooner does a ship reach port with Chinese immigrants, than they are taken in charge by the head men, supplied with necessary stores, and forwarded to the mines, where an impost is exacted on their labour, to repay the advances which have been made. "It is said that these self-constituted mandarins exercise so much influence over the Chinese population of the country as to subject them to fines and bastinado," and even transmission back to their native land.

In the quarter of San Francisco where this people congregated, "the majority of the houses were of Chinese importation, and were stores stocked with hams, tea, dried fish, dried ducks, and other very nasty-looking Chinese eatables, besides copper pots and kettles, fans, shawls, chessmen, and all sorts of curiosities. Suspended over the doors were brilliantly-coloured boards, about the size and shape of a head-board over a grave, covered with Chinese characters, and with several yards of red ribbon streaming from them, while the streets were thronged with long-tailed celestials, chattering vociferously as they rushed about from store to store, or standing in groups studying the Chinese bills posted up in the shop windows," &c.

One more section of population remains to be mentioned—Jews—the only people who did not betake themselves to gold-digging. "While men of all classes and nations showed such versatility in betaking themselves to whatever business or occupation appeared to be most advisable, without reference to their antecedents, and in a country where no man, to whatever class of society he belonged, was in the least degree ashamed to roll up his

sleeves and dig in the mines for gold, or to engage in any other kind of manual labour, it was a remarkable fact that the Jews were the only people among whom this was not observable." They contented themselves with the clothing-trade, which was entirely in their hands.

The extracts we have given from Fremont's Journal have given us some idea of what California was before the gold immigration. Let us now glance at a later publication, and realize the position of the mines, the facilities of approaching them, and the disturbance given to the beautiful, yet wild and unoccupied interior.

"Looking at the map of California, it will be seen that the 'mines' occupy a long strip of mountainous country, which commences many miles to the eastward of San Francisco, and stretches northward several hundred miles. The Sacramento river running parallel with the mines, the San Joaquin joining it from the southward and eastward, and the Feather river continuing a northward course from the Sacramento—all of them being navigable—present the natural means of communication between San Francisco and the 'mines.' Accordingly, the city of Sacramento, about 200 miles north of San Francisco, sprang up as the *dépôt* for all the middle part of the mines, with roads radiating from it across the plains to the various settlements in the mountains. In like manner, the city of Marysville, being at the extreme northern point of navigation of the Feather river, became the starting-place and the *dépôt* for the mining districts in the northern section of the States; and Stockton, named after Commodore Stockton, of the United-States' navy, who had command of the Pacific squadron during the Mexican war, being situated at the head of navigation of the San Joaquin, forms the intermediate station between San Francisco and all the 'southern mines.'

"Sacramento city is next in size and importance to San Francisco. Many large commercial houses had there established their head-quarters, and imported direct from the Atlantic States. The river is navigable so far by vessels of 600 or 800 tons."

The plains, elevated very little above the level of the river, spread out, in the commencement of spring, "like an ocean of grass-covered earth, dotted with trees, and sparkling in the sunshine with the gorgeous hues of the dense patches of wild flowers." "But after a few weeks of dry weather, the hot sun burns up every blade of vegetation, the ground presents a cracked surface of hard-baked earth, and the roads are ankle-

deep in the finest and most penetrating kind of dust." Far beyond the horizon of the plains rise "mountains beyond mountains, all so distinctly seen as to leave no uncertainty as to the shape or relative position of any one of them, and fading away in regular gradation till the most distant, though clearly defined, seemed still to be the most natural and satisfactory point at which the view should terminate."\* The ascent from the plains is very gradual, over a hilly country well wooded with oaks and pines. As, by bad roads, full of ruts, and roots of trees, the traveller penetrates deeper into the hill country, the traces of gold-digging begin to meet his eyes, the upturned earth in the ravines and hollows indicating the diggings which, having been exhausted of the surface gold, had been deserted by the miners. "A long straggling street of clapboard houses and log cabins, built in a hollow at the side of a creek, and surrounded by high and steep hills, points out the centre of existing effort. The bed of the creek, and all the little flats alongside of it, were a confused mass of heaps of dirt and piles of stones, lying around the innumerable holes, about six feet square, and five or six feet deep, from which they had been thrown out." "Along the whole length of the creek . . . were parties of miners, some laying into it with picks, some shovelling the dirt into the 'long toms,' or, with long-handled shovels, washing the dirt thrown in, and throwing out the stones, while others were working pumps or baling water out of the holes with buckets. There was a continual noise and clatter, as mud, dirt, stones, and water were thrown in all directions; and the men, dressed in ragged clothes and big boots, wielding picks and shovels, and rolling big rocks about, were all working as if for their lives, going into it with a will and a degree of energy not usually seen among labouring men."

But California was not to have a monopoly in gold production. Almost simultaneously, Australia commenced to reveal its hidden treasures. About the same time with the commencement of the Franciscan Missions in Upper California, English convict colonization commenced on the Australian shore. On January 20th, 1788, the first fleet anchored in Botany Bay. What the colony was in 1809, after twenty years of a miserable infancy, may be understood by the following extract from a brief despatch of Governor Macquarrie's:—

"I found the colony barely emerging from

\* Borthwick's "Three years in California," p. 108.

infantine inebecility, suffering from various privations and disabilities; the country impenetrable beyond forty miles from Sydney; agriculture in a yet languishing state; commerce in its early dawn; revenue unknown; threatened with famine; distracted by faction; the public buildings in a state of dilapidation; the few roads and bridges almost impassable; the population in general depressed by poverty; no credit, public or private; the morals of the great mass of the population in the lowest state of debasement; and religious worship almost totally neglected."

An energetic man, he gave an impulse to progress. "He made roads, erected public buildings, and again and again traversed the whole length and breadth of the colony, following closely in the footsteps of new explorers." On Christmas-day, 1809, the first brick church, St. Philip's, was consecrated by the Rev. Samuel Marsden; and in 1812 the population was found to consist of 10,454 individuals, of whom 5,513 were men, and 2200 women. The Blue Mountains on the west bounded the settlement, beyond which no one had been able to penetrate the country. Necessity, however, forced the settlers to surmount this barrier. A drought occurred in 1813, which not only injured the crops, but deprived the numerous flocks and herds of sufficiency of pasturage. Three gentlemen volunteered to attempt once more the arduous task of searching for a pass across the Blue Mountains. Their names, Wentworth, Lawson, Blaxland, are still remembered in the colony. "With incredible toil and hardships, they effected a passage across a chain of mountains clothed with dense timber and brushwood, and intersected by a succession of ravines, which presented extraordinary difficulties, not so much from their height as their precipitous character. At the foot of the opposite side of the mountains an easy journey led to Bathurst Plains," the finest pasture country the colonists had yet seen, and the locale of the first great gold discovery in Australia. A practicable road was soon constructed; and on May 7th, 1815, a little before the battle of Waterloo, a site was selected on which a town was to be built, to which was given the name of Bathurst.

Other valuable tracts were discovered, and Australia began to be regarded as a promising field for agricultural enterprise. Colonists increased, attracted by a free passage, with free grants of land, and the use of convict labour. The Hunter-River district, one of the finest for agricultural purposes, was settled. A wilderness in 1822, by 1827 half a million of acres along the river's bank had

been surveyed, granted, or sold to settlers whose capital was estimated at from 400,000 to 500,000*l.*, and whose stock included 25,000 horned cattle, and 80,000 fine-woolled sheep. On Port Hunter stands Newcastle. The River Hunter and its tributaries, the Paterson and the Williams, afford access to valuable tracts, and, amongst others, by a deep cleft through a spur of the Australian Cordilleras, to the great squatting district of New England and Liverpool Plains. Between Botany Bay and Shoal Haven is "Illawarra, also known as the Five Islands, one of the most fertile and wildly beautiful districts in the world, which, from its peculiarity of situation, bounded by the sea for eighteen miles, running north and south, and by a mountain chain which encircles about 150,000 acres, unites the peculiarities of both temperate and tropical climates—a sort of Norway or Switzerland, rocks, lakes, fat alluvial valleys under a southern sun, tempered by breezes from the sea."

In the year 1834, Victoria, or Port Philip, was a desert. Enterprising settlers from Tasmania commenced to occupy it in 1835, and in April 1837 the town of Melbourne was laid out on two hills, east and west hills, sloping down to the banks of the river Yarra. In 1836 commenced the colonization of South Australia, and the site of the present city of Adelaide was selected; the port then a narrow creek about as wide as the Thames at Richmond, the landing in a mangrove swamp. The mangrove creek is now a convenient harbour, united by a railway with the capital.

It would be foreign to our purpose to trace the Australian colonies through their intermediate changes, the seasons of promise, sanguine expectation, and discouraging reaction. There has been the winter season of depression; there have been political contests, on various questions, internal and external—land question, convict question, taxation question. Amidst all, progress was made, and the "year 1850 found New South Wales with 200,000 free people, an export of 2,899,600*l.*, and an import of 2,078,300*l.*" With the next year came the gold discoveries, to which we wish to give this article a special direction; but before we enter upon this latter period, there is a point in the previous history which cannot be passed over in silence, although a painful one to bring to remembrance. How have the aboriginal tribes been dealt with since the first shipment of convicts reached those shores? The records of the past intimate that they existed in considerable numbers. When the first settlers landed, "the native blacks, who then swarmed

along the whole coast, from Botany Bay and far beyond in either direction, came to meet the white strangers naked, armed with the shield, the spear, and the boomerang, which the settlers at first took for a wooden sword." It was the misfortune of this unhappy race, that the white men with whom they had to do in the first instance were the refuse of England's population, men too bad to be kept at home, and, for their crimes, exiled to the antipodes. Soon collisions arose. As flocks and herds and population increased, and more room was needed, the stranger appropriated it without any reference to the wants and wishes of the native races. "They were unceremoniously thrust back without treaty, bargain, or apology." The ground being appropriated, the blacks were punished if they trespassed. Thus dealt with, they began a course of mischievous aggression: the white man retaliated. Ruthless men, as they often were, in whose eyes human life was of no value, birling convicts—emancipist, expirée, or ticket-of-leaver—they banded themselves together, and on the tracks of the savage hurried forward to blood and acts of extermination. "It was common, after an inroad of the blacks upon the sheep or cattle, for the men of two or three adjoining stations to assemble for a regular and indiscriminate slaughter, in which old and young were shot down like wolves, pregnant women being special objects of destruction, as the pole-cat, or weasel, heavy with young, is a rich prize for the English gamekeeper. Occasionally bush-gossip let out that the black-fellows were going to get a dose; and, indeed, in more than one notorious instance, damper, well 'hocussed' with arsenic or strychnine, was laid in the way of the savages, whereby many were killed. Some attempts were made to bring to justice the perpetrators of this cowardly, as well as barbarous, act."\* The damper was analyzed, poison detected, but no white evidence could be obtained. "The bodies of the poisoned were too far decomposed for a lucid diagnosis, and, in short, their deliberate murderers escaped the cord." It was not always so, however. About the year 1837, "a party of stockmen on Liverpool Plains, having had their herds much molested by the natives, determined on signal vengeance, and resolved to wreak it on the first blacks they met. Having fallen in with the remnants of a tribe, which, having been partially domesticated with Europeans, made no attempt to escape, they captured the whole of them, with the

\* "Mundy's Antipodes," pp. 109, 110.

exception of a child or two, and having bound them together with thongs, fired into the mass until the entire tribe, twenty-seven in number, were killed or mortally wounded. The white savages then chopped in pieces their victims, and threw them, some yet living, on a large fire, a detachment of stockmen remaining several days on the spot to complete the destruction of the bodies. In this case the law was sternly vindicated, for the murderers, having been arrested and brought to trial, seven of them in one day expiated their offences on the scaffold." With such records before us, we cannot be surprised if whole tribes have perished from off the face of the earth. These were dark times, the remembrance of which is humiliating; and it is with pain we write the following sentence—the Spaniards have not been so guilty as regards the aborigines of California as we, the English, have been respecting the aborigines of Australia. For the former, something was attempted to be done. It was an ignorant and mistaken effort, for the Spaniards were an unenlightened nation, and had lost themselves in the superstitions of the Romish system: they knew no better. But Protestant England long withheld her hand from the poor blacks of Australia. She cast upon their distant shores the tainted element of a convict population, and interfered with no sufficient effort to save them from injury. There are but few left now to whom reparation can be made for past injuries inflicted on their race. In the Blue Book of Victoria colony for the year ending December 31st, 1853, the number of 2500 is the supposed amount of aborigines. In the Blue Book of Van Diemen's Land for the year ending 1854, *the number of aborigines is sixteen.*

We now pass on to the period of gold discovery.

In 1848 an individual engaged on iron works at Berrima, in the county of Camden, eighty-one miles from Sydney, exhibited to the Colonial Secretary, on whom he had waited for the purpose, a lump of gold imbedded in quartz, and offered, for 800*l.*, to make known the locality where he had found it. The mass was conjectured to have come from California, and the offer was declined. But the existence of gold deposits in Australia was no longer to remain a secret. A gentleman (Mr. E. Hargreaves), visiting California, was struck with the similarity between the richest diggings of that country and a district of Bathurst which he had travelled over fifteen years previously. He thus, in his own mind, established an identity between these two auriferous regions, which Sir Roderick Murchison,

seven years previously, had pointed out as existing between the eastern chain of Australia and the Ural Mountains; a pregnant fact, of the value of which he felt so strongly convinced, that, in 1846, a year before the Californian discovery, in an address to the Royal Geographical Society of Cornwall, he recommended unemployed Cornish tin-miners to emigrate to New South Wales, and dig for gold in the debris and drift of the Australian Cordillera. But Hargreaves resolved to test the conclusion to which his mind had come, and, returning to Australia, after an exploring expedition of two months, found all his expectations realized, and indicated to the Colonial Government, Lewisponds, Summerhill Creek, and Macquarrie River, as the localities where gold was to be found. The gold digging commenced in May 1851, with such an uncertain measure of success, that some left disgusted, when a powerful stimulus was supplied by the following incident. "In the first week of July an educated aboriginal, formerly attached to the Wellington Mission, and who had been in the service of W. J. Kerr, Esq., of Wallawa, about seven years, returned home to his employers with the intelligence that he had discovered a large mass of gold amongst a heap of quartz upon the run whilst tending his sheep. He had amused himself by exploring the country adjacent to his employer's land, and his attention was first called to the spot by observing a speck of some glittering yellow substance upon the surface of a block of quartz; upon which he applied his tomahawk, and broke off a portion. At that moment the splendid prize stood revealed to his sight. His first care was to start off home and disclose his discovery to his master; and in a very short period three blocks of quartz, containing a hundred-weight of gold, were released from the bed, where, charged with unknown wealth, they had rested perhaps for thousands of years, awaiting the hand of civilized man to disturb them." For twenty years the stock-keepers had kept their cattle in these districts, and, civilization creeping in, had planted in every fertile valley a band of colonists intent on pastoral and agricultural pursuits; and harvests had been sown and reaped, and the lowing herds yielded their milk and butter in the midst of riches, which remained unnoticed until the moment came when they stood revealed to the eye of man.

The gold-fields of Victoria soon followed those of Bathurst, and Ballarat and Mount Alexander became centres of effort. At Mount Alexander—the Mount Byng of Mitchell—visited by that enterprising traveller in

1835, the gold was taken up with pocket-knives from soil a few inches below the surface, in such profusion, that one man filled a quart pot with small nuggets in the course of the day. The excitement was intense. The road from Melbourne opens to view an extensive sweep of plains, and there, as far as the eye could reach, the line of pilgrimage might be traced, now rising into view, now hid for a moment as it moved along the undulations—English, Germans, Irish, Scotch, Tasmanians—all eagerly pressing forward to the spot where they might be enriched with gold.

On rising from the plains into the hilly country the scenery becomes beautiful, hills rising over hills, covered with grass and shady trees, the valleys enamelled with flowers. The dividing range passed, the character of the rock changes—a fact observed by Mitchell in his first exploration of this district. The extract in his work which refers to this may not be uninteresting.

“We were fast approaching those summits which had guided me in my route from Mount Cole, a height then more than fifty miles behind us. Like that mountain, these heights also belonged to a lofty range, and were immediately over a lower part of it, through which I hoped to effect a passage. Leaving the party to encamp, I proceeded forward in search of a hill I had long seen before me, and found that the heights immediately beyond our camp were part of the dividing range, and broken into deep ravines on the eastern side. Pursuing the connexion between them and the still higher summits on the north-east, I came at length upon an open valley, enclosed by hills very lightly wooded; a change evidently owing to a difference in the rock, which was granite, consisting of small grains of felspar and quartz, and a few plates of mica, whereas the hills we had recently crossed belonged chiefly to the volcanic class of rocks, with the exception of the range I had crossed that evening in my way from the camp, which consisted of ferruginous sandstone. With the change of rock a difference was also obvious in the shape of the hills, the quantity and quality of the water, and the character of the trees. The hills were distinguished by a bold, sweeping outline, and were no longer broken by sharp-edged strata, but crowned with large round masses of rock. Rushing water was gushing from every hollow in much greater abundance than elsewhere; and, lastly, the timber, which, on the other ranges, consisted chiefly of iron bark and stringy bark, now presented the shining bark of the blue gum, or yarra, and the grey hue of the box. The *anthisteria australis*, a grass

which seems to delight in a granitic soil, also appeared in great abundance; and we also found the aromatic tea—*Tasmania aromatica*—which represents in New Holland the winter's bark of the southern extremity of South America. The leaves and bark of this tree were of a hot, biting, cinnamon-like taste, on which account it is vulgarly called the peppertree. I could rise with ease to the summit of this friendly hill that I had seen from afar, and found it but thinly wooded on the summit, so that I could take my angles round the horizon without difficulty. Again reminded by the aspect of this region of the Lower Pyrennees and the pass of the Orbaicetta, I named this summit Mount Byng.”

The effect produced by these discoveries on the population of the colonies was the disturbance of the old modes of occupation, and the direction of human energies and effort, under a high-wrought excitement, into new channels. The little knots of population which had collected at certain well-known localities, leaving the interior unoccupied, were in a great measure broken up and dispersed abroad, and thus the movement commenced, which afterwards, as from a centre, extended itself in different directions, until it made itself felt in Europe, Asia, and America. The inhabitants of Sydney rushed to Bathurst. Manufacturers and tradesmen lost their workmen. Homes, trades, and appointments were given up, and an equipment for the diggings, in the shape of a dray, arms, tools for mining, was regarded as infinitely preferable to the best stationary employment. The same powerful influence which acted on those in the more immediate vicinity of the gold-fields, extended itself to distant parts of the earth; and as the news spread homeward to the old countries, numbers decided on emigrating to the new El Dorado. The noble expanse of Port Philip's waters was soon studded with shipping, while between the beach and the town numberless tents were pitched, the temporary refuge of the new comers, their families, and effects. Sometimes the arrivals took place at the most unpropitious moment—when the weather was most inclement, rain pouring down in torrents, and the mud more than knee-deep, not only in the thoroughfares, but in every spot where it was possible for a human being to set his foot. And when at length the difficulties of the journey from Melbourne to the diggings had been overcome, and the dreadful roads, whose badness spoiled the pleasurable feelings which the beautiful scenery of Australia Felix was fitted to produce, had been passed, then there came the severity of labour

and the peculiar strain which intense excitement exercises on man; the depression of disappointment; the exultation of success; and all in search of an object whose influence on the character and future prospects is more likely to be for evil than for good. Men found they had to toil hard if they would have the gold. It was not always to be picked up on the hill-sides in an afternoon stroll, nor were nuggets to be gathered, like potatoes, by the bushel. Some, discouraged, sold their equipments and turned back, taunted by the villagers and upward passengers on the road by the cant phrase, "Have you sold your cradle?"

But others remained, and the places of the gold deposit presented a busy scene. Some used the cradle. "The cradle is placed lengthwise with in the water. The cradleman, holding the handle his left hand, with a stick or scraper to break the lumps of earth or stir up the contents, keeps the cradle constantly going. The waterman, standing at the head of the cradle, with a ladle of any kind, keeps baling water continuously into it. A third man washes carefully into a large tin dish the deposit that has fallen through the sieves of the cradle on to the boards beneath, carries it into the stream, where he stands knee-deep, and, tilting the dish up under the water, and shaking its contents, the precious metal falls to the bottom, while the earth and sand are washed out by the water.

"After long-washing, the glittering dust is seen along the bottom edges of the dish. This residuum is carefully washed into a pannikin, dried over the fire, and bottled and packed for exportation. Meanwhile the cradleman and waterman examine the quartz stones in the upper sieve for quartz gold. Occasionally some are found with pieces of quartz adhering. The rest are thrown aside. The cradle filled, the men are at work again, and the rocking recommences. On the top of the hill diggers are hard at work; the carriers descend the steep side, dragging a loaded sled filled with the gold-impregnated earth, some with tin vessels on their heads, others with bags on their backs. The earth thrown down, they reascend the toilsome way; and this is the process from morn till dewy eve."\*

Such were the new and unexpected scenes into which our Australian colonies were introduced, and the influx of population into the great maelström of excitement was such as might have been expected. The increase of population in New South Wales for the

year 1854 amounted to 20,000, although, in this colony, we may consider, unless new discoveries be made, that the surface efflorescence of the gold deposit has been gathered up, the value of gold sent to England being estimated—

In 1853, at . . . . .	£1,781,172
In 1854, at . . . . .	773,209
Reduction . . . . .	<u>£1,007,963</u>

But in Victoria, it has been far otherwise. The gold yield in the colony increased year by year from 1851 to 1856. In 1857, as compared with 1856, there has been a slight diminution.

#### STATISTICAL TABLE.

Returns of the total amount of gold brought to Melbourne by Government escort, during each year since the discovery of the gold-fields.

	oz.	dwt.
1851 . . . . .	104,154	0
1852 . . . . .	1,148,829	0
1853 . . . . .	1,491,436	0
1854 . . . . .	1,476,666	7
1855 . . . . .	2,132,397	19
1856 . . . . .	2,625,968	15
1857 . . . . .	2,481,020	7
Total . . . . .	11,460,472	8

The necessity of more scientific operations than those which have hitherto prevailed is now, however, beginning to be felt. It is understood that all the ground which has been worked by mere diggers can be successfully worked over again, while for the quartz reefs the application of machinery is indispensable. As the alluvial deposits become worked up, numbers who are engaged in them, and who are unfitted for steady mining operations, will be drafted off to other branches of industry, and the social arrangements of the colony be thus expedited.

"The number of persons in the colony of Victoria actually engaged in the several operations of mining is stated, last July, at 62,236. This includes, not only the miners, but also the casters of washing-stuff, engine-drivers, &c., but excludes all other persons in the gold-fields," and, amongst others, the Chinese, who have reached Australia in considerable numbers. At the date of recent despatches, their numbers at the Victoria diggings are estimated at no less than 25,454. Of these, a population of 20,000, or equal to one-third of the Europeans, is engaged in the production of gold. Such a heavy tide of immigration appeared to be setting in from the celestial empire on the Australian shore, that, "excluded from South Australia and Victoria by the imposition of heavy penalties," they have

\* Sidney's "Australian Colonies," p. 253.

been endeavouring to obtain access to the interior through the port of Sydney. "Ship after ship has arrived from Canton, each bringing 300 at a time of these industrious foreigners. The shopkeepers are not unfriendly to this immigration, for the Chinese purchase their outfits in Sydney, and, as they pay cash, are no despicable customers; but the diggers dislike them extremely, and grudge them all the gold they get as so much loss to themselves; while the working-classes generally look with an evil eye on the arrival of swarms of men who may, at some future time, abandon the gold-fields, and supply squatters, manufacturers, and railway contractors with cheap labour." The result has been, that a Bill has passed the Assembly of New South Wales, levying a tax of 10*l.* a-head on each Chinese passenger arriving by sea.

Assuredly there never was a period when the thirst for gold, and the powerful influence which it exercises over the human mind, was more apparent than at present.

But are there not better riches—unsearchable riches, as the apostle speaks—durable riches, as the wise man calls them? They are close at hand. They are not hid. They are revealed. They are obtruded on the attention of men—the riches for the soul; the all things which pertain to life and godliness. A man may belike him who found the auriferous mass of one hundred weight of pure gold; yet what can that do for him as an immortal being? Can it buy pardon, and ease the conscience? emancipate him from the degrading yoke of sin? enable him to meet death with Christian hope? Nay, very often sudden enrichment injures a man; strengthens his sins, as well as strengthens his temptations; gives him more opportunity for indulging them; ruins him for eternity. Man wants something better adapted to his need; and God has provided and placed it near him. And yet this great hope of the Gospel—the hope that is in Christ—he cares not for it; and, when it is urged upon him, he rejects it, and treads it under foot. He will not have Jesus. No; his heart says, "We will not have this man to reign over us." He is in poverty: yes; his soul is. As an immortal being he is in rags: the filthy rags of his own righteousness are all he has to cover him: he is in a state of guilty nakedness, and has nothing wherewith to come before God. His soul hungers, and seeks to still its cravings with vain things. He spends his money for that which is not bread, and his labour for that which satisfieth not, when he might have the sure mercies of David—the true manna, the living waters. And yet he deceives himself as to his impoverished condition, and often never finds it

out until he be laid upon the bed of death, or perhaps not even then. When shall men listen to the voice of Him who says, "I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich."

Strange it was that the golden deposits should have remained so long a secret, and that for some sixty years the Spaniards had their Missions, and the English their convict colonies in the midst of riches, and yet they found it not.

But mark, when they did come to light, how eagerly men rushed to the rich localities. How powerfully attractive the influence! What an abandonment the world has seen of old countries, and old associations, and old occupations! What a ready endurance of hardships if men might haply reach the El Dorado!

The riches of a soul are centered, not in a locality, but in a person, a living person; one who is not far from every one of us; one who brings Himself near in promise for faith to lay hold upon. In Him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; and there is in Him a power of attraction of a superior kind. He draws hearts, and they who experience that attraction are willing to abandon all that interferes with the apprehension of Him. Paul did so. (Phil. iii.) Numbers of His people have done so: they have surrendered willingly, goods, friends, liberty, honour, reputation, life, rather than part with Christ. They have esteemed Him better than all; and they go up to Him, not with the feet of the body, but with the strong desire of soul. Natural men give up other things for gold: gracious men give up gold for Christ. Natural men will give up one earthly thing for another which they esteem more contenting, more precious: gracious men give up all for Jesus. It is true they are as yet comparatively few, who, like Paul, are willing to count all things loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord. But it shall not be always so. Great discoveries shall yet be made of the preciousness of revealed truth. Rich mines shall be opened, and they shall become powerful centres of attraction. "Many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths, for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." All the great discoveries which have characterized our era—the increase of the current medium of commercial intercourse between the nations, which previously had been of a restricted character, inadequate to the growing nece-



sities of a rapidly expanding field of enterprise; the application of electricity to the use of man, and the rapidity with which, irrespectively of distance, thought is interchanged—all are accelerating the movement of human affairs towards the great crisis, when old things shall pass away, and all things become new. "For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind."

Meanwhile, let it be observed how, at the gold-diggings, men toil and labour. Some busy themselves in deep excavations: they dig often and deep, and there is no gold. Still they persevere, until they reach the bluish marl in which gold grains are deposited: others ply the cradle. One breaks the lumps of earth; another pours in a continuous stream of water; a third washes carefully into a low dish the deposit that has fallen through a sieve of the cradle on the boards beneath; until, after long washing, the glittering dust is seen along the bottom edges of the dish. Why do they take such pains? Because they are in earnest. Reader, are you in earnest? You say that you do not enjoy the comforts of religion; that it has not enriched you; that you are still poor. But have you sought? If you have, you must find, for the promise is, "Seek, and ye shall find." Have you sought Him where He is to be found, in his word—his word read and his word preached? Have you sought Him on your knees, diligently and humbly? Have you sought Him in his ordinances, means of grace? Have you sought Him as the diggers seek the gold? Is He not worth the same pains which they bestow on the gold that perisheth? Is He less worthy of it? Are you like those who went to the gold-diggings expecting to find nuggets strewed like pebbles over the surface, and when they found that they must work to get them, and that, too, in rainy and inclement weather, amidst discomfort, they turned away disgusted? So some turn away from Christ. They would take Him, if they might have him cheaply, and on their own terms; but when it is said, "Strive ye to enter in at the strait gate," they turn back, and walk no more with Him.

A few more observations will complete our review of the Californian and Australian gold-fields, and enable us to introduce our readers, in a future Number, to the Fraser River district and Vancouver's Island, without the abruptness which would have been unavoidable, had no notice been taken of the previous history of gold discovery.

But let us observe how, in distant portions of our world, new centres of population have been formed, and the foundations of new empires

are being laid. A certain portion, indeed, of the population, drawn together at these points, is of a floating character, and will remain only so long as the surface gold lasts. So soon as this has been reaped, and settled industry becomes necessary in order to obtain further supplies, they will move on to new fields, and migrate, as many have done, from California to Australia, and from Australia elsewhere. But the more valuable portion will remain, and settle down in permanent occupation of the land. After the first excitement is over, and a little capital has been amassed at the gold-diggings, the more steady and reliable will apply themselves to agriculture, or such other branches of industrial labour as they were accustomed to in their own country, and for the produce of which they find a market open. They who mine must have the needful supplies provided for them by others; and thus the gold which they dig passes from them into the hands of those who furnish them with the necessaries of life. Thus encouragement is afforded to the development of the ordinary branches of industrial effort; and as these progress, society, which at first was in a rude, chaotic state, will begin to assume shape and form.

Let us glance a moment at the progress of the Australian colonies. Thus in the colony of New South Wales it is interesting also to observe that agriculture is being extended, the increase during the year 1854 being estimated at 7409 acres, of which 3000 have been devoted to the production of food for cattle. In the amount of land sold there has been also an increase from 73,675 acres in 1853, to 83,396 acres in 1854. Increased facilities are being given to settlers by the introduction of railroads and other means of communication by which the transit of produce to the sea-marts is facilitated.

But the progress of Victoria is far more rapid. The population in the beginning of 1851 was computed as 23,000;\* in 1853 it had increased to 198,406.

In 1856 it had progressed to 410,766 souls and in 1857 to 470,000. In the year 1843 the city of Melbourne contained 1095 buildings, assessed value 66,847*l.*; in 1858 it contained 11,153 buildings, assessed value 995,945*l.* The house rate, which in 1843 was 1521*l.*, was, in 1858, at a shilling in the pound, 49,797*l.*

On looking closely into the statistics of population, it is with great satisfaction that we find orthodox Protestants to be greatly in the majority. By the expression 'orthodox

\* Sidney's "Australian Colonies," p. 323.

Protestants, we understand those whose profession of faith is inclusive of all that is requisite to the salvation of the soul. The entire aggregate of such amounts to no less than 290,506 individuals, while Romanists number only 70,160, although some, without sufficient data, would rate them as high as 90,000. They are doing their utmost, however, to increase their ranks, by encouraging immigration from Ireland. Protestant influence, however, must continue to be in the ascendant, if only the various denominations of scriptural Christians subordinate their human differences to the grand essentials of salvation in which they are in accord. The pressure of serious responsibility, and the difficulty of making any thing like adequate provision for the religious wants of the vastly increasing population, have hitherto precluded the indulgence of a sectarian spirit. "Any thing like denominational warfare is justly regarded here as unnatural strife. Sectarian zeal is altogether at a discount. There is too much in the outfield of the colony, too urgent a necessity to be provided for, too arduous a battle to be fought with a common foe, to permit of such a mistake, or to sanction so pregnant a crime as a debate amongst ourselves on our points of difference. Hence there is a very brotherly feeling among evangelical churches and ministers. They meet together and work together, not only without apparent jealousy, but with every token of sincere goodwill; and out of this mutual charity has sprung an Evangelical Alliance, which is destined, I trust, to bind still more closely together the various branches of the Golden Candlestick, and to accomplish many blessed results in the moral and spiritual condition of our people." There is indeed a great work to be done; not only to supply their own interior wants, but to act aggressively on the numbers without, whose profession of religion is devoid of saving truth, amounting, inclusively of Romanists, Chinese, and wandering aborigines, to upwards of 120,000.\*

We may well conceive what a pressure of responsibility this vast increase of population has thrown upon the Bishop of Melbourne and his clergy. One brief extract from his correspondence may help our readers to realize his difficulties.

*"Bishop's Court, Melbourne, July 21, 1857.*

"There never was a period when we stood more in need of help from our brethren in England. During the last year I have been

obliged to request my Commissary not to send out any more clergymen, because I could not maintain them upon their arrival until they should be appointed to a parochial cure, nor defray the expenses attendant upon their removal to, and first settlement in, the place where they might be located. At the same time, applications for clergymen, and promises of maintenance upon their appointment, are continually made to me. My hands are fettered only by the want of a few hundreds of pounds annually for incidental expenses connected with the introduction of fresh clergymen; and it is the more painful, because I am sure that every 100*l.*, thus supplied, would, under the blessing of God, call forth many hundreds in the way of subscriptions for local objects.

"Moreover, every year increases the inequality between the religious wants of the people and the provision made for their supply. New gold-fields are continually opened, new villages formed, new lands brought under cultivation; but, alas! few new parishes constituted, few additional ministers located in the country."

"The questions, How is an adequate number of clergymen to be procured? and, If procured, how are they to be maintained? still await a satisfactory solution. I know that the Lord of the harvest alone can send forth labourers into his harvest; and also that He alone can dispose the hearts of men to contribute of their substance to his service; but, nevertheless, He acts through the agency of man, and by an instrumentality adapted to the proposed end. We must, therefore, endeavour to devise suitable means, and seek the blessing of God in the employment of them. Accordingly, the attention of the members of our Church Assembly is now much occupied with the latter of these questions—the raising of funds for the maintenance and extension of the church in this Colony; and my own attention has been long directed to the former—the raising of a body of clergy."

"England, I doubt not, contains many persons qualified, both spiritually and intellectually, to become able ministers of the Gospel, but to whom there is no opening for admission to the ministry at home. Such, if they could be conveyed to us, and tested for a time here, would be very valuable fellow-helpers in our work. They must, however, be very carefully selected, and must be men, not only of decided piety and sound doctrine, but also of superior intellectual abilities, and of bodily as well as mental vigour."

\* Correspondent in "News of the Churches," September 1858.

## “ HOW IS A CHRISTIAN GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH CASTE ? ”

A PAPER on the subject of caste, prepared by the Rev. Dr. Duff, has been published at the request of the Calcutta Missionary Conference. It enters generally on the subject of caste, its true theory and influence upon the Hindú character, the tenacity with which it clings to the Hindú mind, and still lives on amidst the changes to which Hindú society has been subjected, as though reserved in its overthrow to grace the triumph of the Gospel. The entire tract is highly important; but it is the concluding portion of it, in which the question, “What is to be done with caste?” is pointedly answered, that we consider to be of the most value, and which we now introduce to the attention of the reader.

*“What, then, is to be done with caste?”*

“After all that has now been stated, and much more, to the same effect, that might be adduced, it would seem, that, as a Christian Government, we are shut up to but *one consistent and practicable line of action*, even that of *solemnly resolving to have nothing whatever to do with caste, to wash our hands in innocence concerning it, and, in every possible way, simply to ignore its existence altogether.*”

“Not that we would urge an exterminating crusade against caste or its peculiar usages. Far, very far from it. Let there be no direct or violent attack, by the arm of secular power, on it or any of its usages. So long as our native fellow-subjects are in darkness, and know, and feel, and believe no better, let them retain and freely practise what usages and customs they please, so far as these do not interfere with the peace and order of society, or openly trench on the grand fundamental laws of general morality. But while we would studiously abstain from all forcible means of inducing or compelling them to tear asunder and throw away the encumbering fetters of caste, let us be careful, both in word and deed, to refrain from aught that would confound bare tolerance with favouring approbation—simple liberty of conscience with formal sanction of law.

“Instead of fencing round caste, as heretofore, with favours and prerogatives; let us, by practically not recognising it at all, denude it of all special favours and prerogatives.

“Instead of scouting, as formerly, the most ordinary claims of religious toleration; instead of fawning on Mohammedans and high-caste Hindús, and inflicting the grossest stigma and injustice on all bearing the Christian name—declaring the former alone to be eligible to all offices of respectability, enrolment, and trust, civil and military, and ignominiously extruding the latter by prohibitory regulations; yea, and when any of the laws on the subject may have been relaxed, modified, or annulled, instead of still throwing, as in time past, all possible encouragements in the way of the former, and all imaginable discouragements in the way of the latter; let us henceforth proclaim it to all India and the world, that, in future, we are, as a Government, to have nothing whatever to do with caste as such; that we are to ask no questions concerning it; that we are to look to the *highest qualifications* for the particular business in view, and to *these alone*, as the determining elements in the selection of candidates. Let us honestly act out the spirit and intent of such a proclamation, by practically proving to India and the world, that whosoever brings the most eminent qualifications into the labour-market, throughout every department—military, judicial, fiscal, police, or educational, must thereby ensure a decided preference, and fetch the highest price. And let it further be made to be felt, that, mental attainments, original and acquired, as well as official aptitude, actual or potential, being equal, he will be the object of choice whose moral character, not in the Hindú ceremonial sense, but the true European or Christian sense, is best established; or whose openly avowed and consistently professed moral and religious principles may furnish the surest guarantee for uprightness and conscientiousness in the discharge of duty.

“In actually carrying out such an ordinance, let it be decreed, that, in registering the names of successful candidates, their proper names alone, and not, as most frequently hitherto, their caste, be officially recorded; or if, in addition to the bare name, there be columns for place of nativity, seminary of education, or any other item of identification, let it still be peremptorily forbidden to have any separate column for caste.\*

“In these several ways, let caste, without any violent or forcible interference, be simply and absolutely ignored by our Christian Government, in connexion with the hundreds of thousands of offices at its disposal throughout every branch of the public service, and the effect will, in time, be found vastly to exceed the apparent smallness and simplicity of the

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\* This is meant to apply exclusively to the registering of the names of successful candidates for office; and it is not designed to extend to registers connected with *general statistical* purposes.

means. The mere fact of such universal and continuous non-recognition of caste, by the paramount and sovereign power, will silently operate on the Asiatic mind, as by a slow but steady process of attrition; and, along with other and more potent influences, will eventually succeed in reducing its once lofty and proud pretensions into something like a fluent, or constantly diminishing, and, finally, evanescent quantity. Besides its simplicity and practicability, the grand advantage of adopting such a course is, that it obviously involves no violence to religious scruples, no restraint on liberty of conscience. The real nature of every particular service, its requisitions, its peculiarities, its advantages and disadvantages, must be well known. Every man, who thinks himself qualified, is free to offer himself as a candidate; there is no compulsion, direct or indirect; only, if any one does enter on any special line of service, he must be prepared faithfully to discharge all the duties associated with it, and bear with, or conform to, all its resulting accessories and inseparable concomitants. Let him be made assuredly to understand, that, having once been admitted into any post or office, from the lowest to the highest, no excuse for the non-performance of any of the duties properly connected therewith, on the score of interference with caste or any other usages whatsoever, will for a moment be listened to or tolerated. Of the nature of any such interference, real or supposed, he himself is left to be the sole and indisputable judge. If he has settled it in his own mind that the discharge of the required duties is compatible with the maintenance of caste purity, good and well; but if otherwise, then he has only to hold back, and not bring himself within the fatal circle of temptation to stain or tarnish it by contact with aught that is weakly and credulously imagined to be polluting.

“What has been here suggested as the proper practical course to be pursued accords substantially with the recent order of Sir John Lawrence in the Punjab—‘The system of caste,’ says that noble document, ‘can no longer be permitted to rule in our services. Soldiers and Government servants of every class must be entertained for their merits, irrespective of creed, caste, or class. The native Christians, as a body, have, with rare exceptions, been set aside. I know not one in the Punjab (to our disgrace be it said) in any employment under Government. A proposition to embody them in the public service, six months ago, would assuredly have been received with coldness, and would not have been complied with: but a change has come;

and I believe there are few who will not eagerly employ those native Christians competent to fill appointments. I consider I should be wanting in my duty, at this crisis, if I did not endeavour to secure a portion of the numerous appointments in the judicial department to native Christians; and I shall be happy (as far as I can) to advance their interests equally with those of the Mohammedan and Hindú candidates. Their future promotion must depend on their own merits. I shall, therefore, feel obliged by each Missionary favouring me with a list of the native Christians belonging to them, who, in their opinion, are fit for the public service.’

“What is now required is, that an order somewhat similar to this, in its spirit, scope, and leading object, but still more comprehensive in its range and explicit in its terms, should be authoritatively promulgated for all India. . . .

“It were foreign to the purpose of this paper to refer to the modes in which private individuals, in their domestic and social economy, ought to deal with caste. Suffice it to say, that the grand principle of *ignoring* it to the uttermost is as applicable to them as to the Government.

“It behoves us all, however, to remember, that, though this ignoring—consistently and universally acted out—may, and indeed must, help in somewhat abating its noxious influences, it can never of itself wholly eradicate it. No; caste has, like a cedar, struck its roots deep into every crevice of the soil of Hindú nature; wound itself, like the ivy, round every stem and branch of Hindú intellect; and tinged, as with a scarlet dye, every feeling and emotion of the Hindú heart. It reaches to the unborn child; it directs the nursing of the infant. It shapes the training of youth; it regulates the actions of manhood; it settles the attributes of old age. It enters into and modifies every relationship of life; it moulds and gives complexion to every department of society. Food, and raiment, and exercise, and the very functions of nature, must obey its sovereign voice. With every personal habit, every domestic usage, every social custom, it is inseparably interwoven. From the cradle to the funeral pile, it sits like a presiding genius at the helm, guiding, directing, and determining every movement of the inner and outer man. Beyond the ashes of the funeral pile, it follows the disembodied spirit to ‘the world of shades,’ and fixes its destiny there. It communicates itself to all the parts of a living idolatry; chains each to an unchangeable position; and cements the whole into a close and rock-like body.

"How, then, are we to get rid of caste? Plainly, it is too old, too intricate, too deeply seated, too extended in its ramifications, to give way to any power that is merely human. What, then, can exorcise its demon-spirit? Nothing, nothing, but the mighty power of the Spirit of God, quickening, renewing, sanctifying the whole Hindú soul. It is grace, and not argument—regeneration of nature, and not any improved policy of Government: in a word, the everlasting Gospel, savingly brought home by the energy of Jehovah's Spirit, which alone can effectually root out and destroy the gigantic evil.

"And it is the same energy, in working through the same Gospel of grace and salvation, that can root out and destroy the other monster evil under which India still groans—Idolatry, with its grim satellite, Superstition. As caste and idolatry sprang up together from the same rank soil of old nature—growing with each other's growth, and strengthening with each other's strength—luxuriating in mutual embrace and mysterious wedlock for untold ages—fling abroad their arms, 'branching so broad and long,' as to smite the whole land with the blight of their portentous shadow, both are destined to fall

together. The same cause will inevitably prove the ruin of both. The same light of knowledge, human and divine, accompanied by the grace of God's Spirit, will expose the utter folly and irrationality of idolatry and superstition; and, at one and the same time, lay bare the cruelty and injustice of that half-natural, half-artificial caste-system, which has done so much to uphold them. Then will the stupendous fabric of idolatry fall down, like Dagon before the ark of the living God; while the anti-social and tyrannous dominion of caste will be resented, abhorred, and trampled under foot, with an indignation not lessened by the reflection, that, over ages and generations without number, it hath already swayed undisturbed the sceptre of a ruthless despotism, which ground men down to the condition of irrationals, and strove to keep them there with the rigour of a merciless necessity.

"Oh that the Protestant churches of Britain, America, and the European continent, would awake and arise to the responsibilities of present duty—the height of present opportunity! What triumphs might we not then expect, under God, to accrue to the Redeemer's cause in India!"

## MONOGAMY, AND THE BAPTISM OF POLYGAMISTIC CONVERTS.

THE following foot-note occurs in the "Christian Remembrancer" for July last—

"It is highly unsatisfactory to find the Committee (Church Missionary Society), simply on its own authority, adopting and announcing to its Missionaries a decision upon so important a question as the 'baptism of polygamist converts.' The Society, and through it, in some degree, the church, is committed by such a step, although it owes its origin merely to a single individual. Pending any authoritative decision, such a question, involving as it does Christian morals, and prudence, and ecclesiastical discipline, should be left to the determination of each foreign bishop in his diocese, which, however, as usual, is wholly overlooked by the Committee in the matter. The circumstance of the Bishop of Natal, seconded by the Archbishop of Dublin and the late Bishop of Norwich, having expressed an opinion contrary to that asserted by the Committee, ought at least to have caused them to hesitate. As it is, should a Missionary of the Society be in the Bishop of Natal's diocese, whose judgment is he to follow?"

The following paper was written some time back. The above foot-note induces us to give

it insertion. The "Christian Remembrancer" inquires what course a Missionary, amidst differing opinions, is to pursue. The answer is plain—that which is according to Scripture.

"What is marriage?" is a question which is being now agitated, whether the institution be such as that it may lawfully assume a polygamistic aspect, or whether the union of one husband with one wife, in such wise as to be binding on each, to the exclusion of all others, be that vital and essential property, a departure from which is destructive of the institution.

It is admitted by all, and, indeed, as a matter of fact, it cannot be controverted, that man in Eden was monogamistic. It is alleged, however, that a departure from this original strictness was permitted; that instances are on record of individuals, who, being under the special care and protection of God, as being in a peculiar sense his, had nevertheless taken more than one wife, and yet continued to enjoy his favour; that polygamistic practices eventually received a positive recognition and *status* under the dispensation of Moses; that, under the New Testament dispensation, there is no such full and express

prohibition of polygamy as to render its usage incompatible with the adoption of, and continuance in, a Christian profession; and that there are passages on the records of the New Covenant which, while preferential of monogamy, nevertheless concede the Christian *status* of the man who had more than one wife. Views such as these, existing either germinally in some minds, or in others in full development, seriously affect their conduct. Some openly advocate polygamy, and carry on a crusade against the restriction to one wife as injurious to man, and productive of manifold social evils. The nucleus of this section of opinion will be found at Utah, in the United States of America, whither men and women, who have come under the influence of such views, expatriate themselves from countries whose laws inflict penalties on the bigamist.

Others there are, who, admitting marriage, in its original form, to be monogamistic, believe polygamy to be injurious to man, and contrary to the spirit of Christianity. They consider, however, that polygamistic practices had divine recognition conceded to them under the dispensation of Moses; and that, under the Christian dispensation, there is no such express enactment on the subject as to preclude the baptism of a polygamist; that it is a mistake, and grievous obstruction to Christianity, to require of such men a separation from their other wives in order to the retention of one only; and that they ought to be baptized, if in other respects qualified, without such a requisition. At the same time, they would prohibit the formation of any new polygamistic ties, and, suffering those which had been previously formed to diminish by the natural process of mortality, would thus gradually reduce these exceptional cases to that monogamistic uniformity which is most consonant with the spirit of Christianity.

This opens an important question. Missionary efforts progress; and we are now engaged in the consolidation of native churches, precisely the same work which, in the early days of Christianity, occupied the attention of apostles and evangelists, when, on the preaching of the Gospel in many tongues, the first harvest of converts was brought into the church, and provision was needful to be made for their congregational incorporation, and the due ordering of their Christian society and communion with each other. We cannot but conclude that the first founders of Christian churches found themselves beset by like difficulties, and called to the solution of like questions. We may well conceive that they sought and obtained guidance and direction, and that

the same aid will still and ever be vouchsafed to the Lord's servants in analogous circumstances. We have not, indeed, their direct revelation, but we have that which they have left on record, and this will suffice for us. The question is one of primary importance. To baptize a polygamist is to admit that a man may be a true and faithful Christian, and yet have many wives; and this concession being once made, it will be found that, in spite of all efforts, the practice will perpetuate itself. Let it be once ruled that polygamy is consistent with a faithful Christian profession, and some will soon be found, who, on the principle that what is lawful to some is lawful for all, will demand the extension of the same liberty to all members of the church. Had the first evangelists sanctioned the baptism of polygamists, the practice would have so extended itself, that, at the present day, there could be no question on the subject. The existence of the monogamistic standard among professedly Christian nations proves the exclusion of polygamy *ab initio*.

Whenever individuals are disposed to relax the stringency of Christian requirement in favour of polygamistic candidates, it will be found that it is because they have come to certain conclusions on this subject in their own minds—first, that under the Mosaic dispensation there is a divine recognition of polygamy; and, secondly, that under the Christian dispensation there is no such full and express declaration of its utter incompatibility with a Christian profession, as to preclude the reception of such a candidate.

Let us proceed to give these points all due consideration; and first, the position, that polygamistic practices have received divine recognition under the dispensation of Moses.

There is presumptive evidence against this; for it does not appear how such a recognition could be reconciled with the original institution, or with the revival of that original institution, and its positive re-enactment by Christ himself. But further—

Marriage, in its first institution, involved the element of unity; so much so, that in this its primitive aspect it is used as an emblem of the spiritual marriage and unity between Christ and his church—"and they two shall be one flesh." True marriage is the union of twain, so that they become one. How shall this union be preserved, if the duality of the parties be destroyed, and, instead of one wife, there be several? If each be a true wife, each is one with the husband; but how shall this be, for the husband is divided—his affections and companionship are divided? And if the wives be severally one with the hus-

band, then should they be one collectively : but amongst the many wives there is disunion, and that in proportion to the measure of affection which they bear the husband ; for true affection claims to have the object it loves in its integrity, and is justly jealous when this its right be interfered with, and there is peace among them only when there is indifference to the husband. In every way the unity, which is an essential element of true marriage, by polygamy is invaded and broken up : and that which the polygamist calls marriage, is deficient in an essential property of that marriage which God instituted.

But now let us look to the Mosaic dispensation, and the recognition of polygamy of which it is alleged to be comprehensive ; and, first, for the elucidation of the subject, let us premise what it is which we may be prepared to find under the Mosaic dispensation, which some misinterpret as recognition. It is explained in the words which our Lord uses, Matt. xix. 8, "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives." Now how much of force does the word *επερφευεν*, which we translate "suffered," carry with it? sanction, recognition, or merely non-interference with the natural tendencies so far as the interposition of an express prohibition is concerned? We answer, the last is all the force the word carries with it. It is the same word which is used, Luke viii. 32, The devils besought him, if he cast them forth from the man, that he would suffer them to enter into the swine ; "and He said unto them Go:" that is, He did not so put forth his power as to prevent them. He exerted it to cast them out of the man, but in the matter of the swine He suffered them to act out their own impulse. He did not command them so to do : He did not sanction it ; but merely He did not hinder it : as it is Mark v. 13, *Και επερφευεν αυτοις ευθεως ο Ιησους*. Just so far as this the Mosaic dispensation went in the matter of polygamy : it did not authorise, sanction, recognise, but merely it did not hinder by a positive prohibition, except in particular cases of an excessively injurious character, but suffered man to follow out his natural impulse. And why not a positive prohibition? Because it would have been in advance of the dispensation, and ineffective because of the hardness of men's hearts. The dispensation was preliminary. There was not a full development of the truth of God : there could not be, therefore, a full development of the precept ; for with the precept there must be a proportionate measure of power and influence available, to secure obe-

dience to its requirements ; and in order to dispose the corrupt heart of man to obey a monogamistic precept, there was requisite that full influence, which can only be yielded by a full exposition of Gospel truth. The measure of influence which the preliminary dispensation was capable of yielding did not suffice for such a precept, and therefore the precept was deferred, upon the principle which our Lord himself suggests, Matt. ix. 16, 17, "No man putteth a piece of new cloth into an old garment, for that which is put in to fill it up taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse. Neither do men put new wine into old bottles, else the bottles break, and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish ; but they put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved." Not only would a direct prohibition of polygamy have been ineffective because of the hardness of men's hearts, but it would have occasioned an injurious reaction ; and men having that put upon them, which, in their then state, they were unable to bear, would have broken loose even from such restraints as might be placed upon them.

The *status*, then, of revelation, with respect to polygamy under the Mosaic dispensation, was that of abstinence from a positive prohibition. To men's natural impulses, if they so indulged them, such an obstruction was not offered. All that revelation essayed then to do, was to mitigate and moderate the existing evil.

Let this view be verified by a reference to some of those passages which are supposed to embody a recognition of polygamy. We refer to Deut. xxi. 15. It is said, "If a man have two wives ;" *i. e.* if a man, through the lust of his own heart, has brought himself into that position, then the lawgiver proceeds to lay down rules which might diminish as much as possible the amount of social evils which such a root of bitterness was calculated to produce. But here is no sanction, no recognition, no more than there is in the 18th verse, "If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son." We find Laban saying to Jacob, Genesis xxxi. 50, "If thou shalt afflict my daughter, or if thou shalt take other wives besides my daughters:" as well might it be pretended, that Laban designed to sanction and recognise such a proceeding as the lawgiver, when he said, "If a man take two wives." The idea of Jacob doing this was not more abhorrent to the thought of Laban, than the act of bigamy, which the lawgiver supposes, was in the sight of God. This mode of expression continually occurs, and is to be so understood. Exod. xxi. 7, "If a man

sell his daughter;" not surely that God approved or sanctioned such a proceeding; but if so unnatural a thing was done, then humane regulations were introduced to prevent her being further degraded. Thus, evils which the law could not prevent, because it was weak through the flesh, were rendered less virulent, less antisocial in their action.

Precisely so it is with respect to the natural tendency in the corrupt heart to avenge. Under the preliminary dispensation, with its imperfect measure of influence, it were useless to enunciate, "Love your enemies," &c. All that could be done was to moderate the impulse of the vindictive principle. Though it could not be repressed, it might be kept within certain bounds: the measure of retaliation was not to exceed the measure of injury inflicted. (Exod. xxi. 24.)

In some cases of polygamy, of a very objectionable character, the law did enter a prohibition. Polygamy with two sisters was expressly interdicted. (Lev. xviii. 18) But beyond these more aggravated cases the law did not advance in the way of positive prohibition.

In various ways, however, God expressed his mind upon the subject. Monogamy alone had the stamp of the divine approbation, and that very fully and largely. When not dealing with exceptional cases produced by man's sins, but indicating that course which He desired should be pursued, God always speaks of "wife" in the singular, never of wives. Thus for instance, (Lev. xxi. 13) there is an express enactment. The high priest "shall take a wife in her virginity"—"he shall take a virgin of his own people to wife." Here, in the case of the high priest, there is a specific example: he, at least, was to be a monogamist. There is, in his case, an express commandment to that effect, and God gives here that express sanction and recognition to monogamy, which is in no instance to be found in connexion with polygamistic practices.

So in Psalm cxxviii., in the description of the man who is blessed of the Lord, it is not said, "thy wives," but "thy wife shall be a fruitful vine." So again the Book of Proverbs is decidedly monogamistic. In contradistinction to the ruinous vagrancy of the unchaste mind, the direction is, "Drink waters out of thine own cistern;" and then, immediately, "Rejoice with the wife of thy youth." So again, Prov. xix. 14, "A prudent wife is from the Lord:" in the choice of one wife his gracious guidance may be expected, but no further. He who goes beyond the singular limit is left of the Lord. So again,

in Prov. xxxi., in the description given of the virtuous woman who is a crown to her husband, the whole passage applies to one who is solely and exclusively in the relation of wife, and sharing it with none other; and who, therefore, had the opportunity of a full superintendence of her household, and thus of advancing the best interests of her husband. "Strength and honour are her clothing." Yes, *that* marriage is honourable in all—honourable to the man and honourable to the woman; but beyond the one wife there is dishonour and deterioration. So again, Eccles. ix. 9, "Live joyfully with thy wife whom thou lovest:" to do so is agreeable to God; it is according to his mind and purpose: but even under the imperfect dawn of a preparatory dispensation, before there was a full exposition of his will, He ignores polygamy, and withholds from it all countenance.

It would be interesting to trace out this part of the subject more in detail, but time will not permit. It is evident, that although, particular cases excepted, there was no express prohibition of polygamy, yet that the whole weight and influence of the Old Testament writings were in favour of marriage as a monogamistic institution, and that man was under preparation and gradual training against the time when marriage, by express enactment, might be restored to its original singleness, and polygamy repudiated by positive prohibition. And thus, at the close of the training process, the mind of God comes out with felicitous distinctness on this important subject in Malachi ii. The people had taken additional wives from amongst the heathen, and their offering was no more regarded, and the Lord's favour was withheld from them; and when they, blind as to their own wickedness, inquired, "Wherefore?" the answer was, verse 14, "Because the Lord hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously." The true position of the wife is thus vindicated: "Yet is she thy companion, and the wife of thy covenant." Such is her position, that which belongs to her exclusively, and is to be shared by none other; and then comes the clear and unequivocal expression of the divine mind on this important subject, "And did he not make one?" Was not that the original institution? Had He so purposed it that it should be so, could not He, who gave the one, have given more? But no: He made one, and no more. It is the law of human creation: "Male and female created He them." In the creation of fowls and animals these words are not introduced. There was no essential duality in their formation. In the



omission of this, they were to be fruitful and multiply; but, in the case of man, the adaptation of the man to one woman, and of the woman to one man, is first specified: they are first covenanted in pairs, and then the blessing is given, "Be fruitful and multiply." It is a law, the groundwork of which is to be found in the very constitution of man's nature. In proportion as he departs from it, he degrades himself to the level of the brutes, and loses the blessing—"Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth;" a blessing which can only be his as he is retentive of the marriage institution. Nor does this interesting passage in Malachi stop here. It goes still further: "And wherefore one?" God is pleased to assign one reason of his having so ordained, "That He might seek a godly seed." How shall children be trained for God under polygamistic institutions? Take the records of every family into which polygamy was permitted to enter, whether Abraham's tent or Jacob's household: in both were dissensions and unhappy influences. In the one case, Isaac was conserved only by the dismissal of Hagar and her son; in the other, Joseph was conserved from the contamination of his ungodly brethren only by his removal to Egypt. See Jacob's first-born, demoralized by the laxity which prevailed in his father's household, and the want of holy moderation in the parent, reproduced, in an aggravated form, in the sensuality of his sons. God did not cast off those of his people who were betrayed into polygamy. No. "Thou wast a God that forgavest them, though Thou tookest vengeance of their inventions." (Ps. xcix. 8.)

We conclude, therefore, on this first head, that to suppose there has been any thing like a sanction or recognition of polygamy on the part of God, in the Old-Testament Scriptures, is a misapprehension of their true meaning, which a prayerful perusal, and diligent collation of the various passages bearing on the subject, would serve to dissipate.

We come, now, to the next assertion, that there is no such full and explicit affirmation of the unlawfulness of polygamy in the writings of the New Testament as to render it necessary that polygamistic candidates should be excluded from baptism.

Let us look to Mark x. The question was as to the facility of divorcement, in which the Jews at that time indulged themselves, and for which they wished to obtain Christ's sanction. Moses, as they said, suffered them to write a bill of divorcement, &c. Our Lord explains how this was—"For the hardness of your heart." No express prohibition was interposed, for the reasons already stated; but

the law did interpose to protect the woman, so far as was practicable, from the injurious action of the man. She was not to be put away without a legal process.

Our Lord then proceeded to declare that this inconsistency and disruption of the marriage bond was altogether opposed to God's original appointment. "From the beginning of the creation God made them male and female." There was a law of duality in the creation of man: "He made them male and female," *αρσεν και θηλυ*, in the singular; that is, one man with reference to one woman, and one woman with reference to one man. He then teaches that the divine institution of marriage unites two so that they become one—"They twain shall be one flesh;" and as one, therefore, to the exclusion of all other. For as it is said, Gal. iii. 20, "God is one," and therefore there was no room for the interposition of a mediator between covenanting parties, who were one in the essence of the Godhead; so, likewise, in an inferior degree, between parties whom God hath so joined together, as that the man "shall leave father and mother, and shall cleave (shall be cemented) to his wife," there is no room for the introduction of a third party; and the institution, from its very nature, abhors, and is repugnant to, the separation of the conjoined parties, or the introduction of a third party.

In fact, it would appear, that, under the peculiar training of the Old Testament, the Jews had become convinced of the unlawfulness of polygamy, but their sensuality had sought compensation in the facility of divorce. But in this passage the Lord as strongly re-enacts monogamy as the rule of his kingdom, as He prohibits divorce, except in cases of unfaithfulness. He refers marriage back to its original institution, and replaces it on that basis; and that they understood Him as restricting a husband to one wife, is evident from the remark of the disciples, "If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry." They intended to say, that, on the whole, if the tie was one of such an indissoluble character, a man would best consult his own happiness by abstaining from it altogether. Our Lord terminates the matter by simply replying, that their suggested rule could never be one of universal application.

We say, then, that here there is an express exposition of the Lord's mind upon this subject, intended for the guidance and regulation of his church. His words prohibit divorce, except in the special case referred to: then do they as decidedly prohibit polygamy; for his prohibition of divorce is grounded upon the monogamistic character of the mar-

riage institution; and this, therefore, is as strongly affirmed as the other is condemned. And if our Lord re-asserts the original institution as that which is henceforward to be considered as the marriage which he recognises and sanctions, then does he cast out polygamy as well as divorce, as abuses which were to have no place in his kingdom.

We shall find this law and rule reiterated in the strongest terms by the Apostle Paul, in 1 Cor. vii. 2, where he says, "Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband." The Greek is singularly expressive: *εκαστος την εαυτου γυναικα εχεται, και εκαστη τον ιδιον ανδρα εχεται*. Not only was each man to have his own wife, but the wife was to have her husband in such wise as that he should be "*τον ιδιον*" to herself—her own specially, in separation from all others. Can this be said in the case of polygamy, where each wife, so far from having her husband "*τον ιδιον*," has him only in common with others? Is this repudiatory of polygamistic practices, or otherwise? If not, how can it be reconciled? If it be,  *finita est causa*: there is no more room for controversy. Polygamy, according to the Christian rule, is unlawful, and there is no room for the admission of a polygamist by baptism into the church of Christ.

But a passage is adduced from 1 Tim. iii., in which the apostle, enunciating the qualifications of one who was to be selected as a presbyter, makes use of the expression "The husband of one wife." From thence it is inferred that there were those in the church who had more than one wife, who were polygamists, and who, although not prohibited from baptism, were nevertheless precluded from the higher position of *επισκοπος*.

We answer, it is a greater advancement from the world into the Christian body, than from the Christian body to the ministry of the church. The one connects with the essentials of salvation, the other concerns only the degree of service. The body of believers, into

which the individual is concluded by baptism to be introduced, is the royal priesthood. There can be no higher *status*. Ordination confers no priesthood, but faith in the Redeemer does. If, then, polygamy were a disqualification from the minor distinction, it must have disqualified from the greater. We cannot, therefore, conclude from the passage the existence of polygamists within the church. If polygamists, as such, were disqualified from the ministry, *à fortiori* they were disqualified from baptism. We do not speak as to gifts and capabilities, but as to moral prerequisites. We believe that the true solution of the passage is to be found in the same epistle, chap. v. 9, where, in order to admission amongst the widows of the church, this is specified, "having been the wife of one man;" one who, in her unconverted state, had been free from the laxity which was common amongst heathen women, and had adhered with fidelity to one husband: and, just so, admission to the ministry was to be limited to those who, in their unconverted state, had not broken through the decencies of life, but had contented themselves with one wife. Such irregularities, repented of, excluded not from baptism, but to the episcopate and the widowhood it was esteemed desirable that none should be admitted, but such as "had a good report of them which are without." We conclude, therefore, that not only is there no recognition of polygamy under the Mosaic dispensation, but that there is express prohibition of it under the Christian dispensation.

As such, it is impossible it can be permitted to find entrance into the Christian church. The candidate who is unwilling to reduce himself to the simplicity of the monogamistic institution is either suffering under defective instruction or defective influence. He either does not know what he ought to do, or, knowing it, is not prepared to do it. In either case he is not as yet qualified for baptism, and must be deferred until such time as he comes to better instruction, or a better mind.





A CHINGOOK BURIAL. — Plate P. 249

## BRITISH COLUMBIA.

We have visited Australia and California, not, indeed, in search of gold, but in search of information, and with a desire to understand the phenomena which, in connexion with gold discoveries, are being wrought out amongst the nations of the earth. We now ask our readers to accompany us from California to a New El Dorado, British Columbia, and its important dependencies, Vancouver and the adjacent islands. The correspondent of the "Times" has agreeably described the character of the coast scenery from San Francisco to Vancouver's Island. Jutting headlands, eighteen in number, are the landmarks by which the steam-navigator may estimate the progress which he makes, until, rounding Cape Flattery, he enters the Straits of Fuca. This vast extent of coast is described as being one continuous pine forest. "From the shore, where the trees dip into the sea, back to the verge of the distant horizon, over hills, down valleys, across ravines, and on and around the sides and tops of mountains, it is one great waving panorama of forest scenery." . . . "Yet the broken character of the country relieves the scene from monotony, and it fully realizes the idea of the grand and the beautiful combined. One spot in particular made an impression upon me which I wish I had the power to convey by words. Between Cape Mendocina and Humboldt Bay, on the northern limits of California, a grand collection of hills and mountains, of every variety of size, shape, and form, occurs. This grand group recedes in a gentle sweep from the coast, far inland, where it terminates in a high conical mountain, overtopping the entire mass of pinnacles which cluster around it. The whole is well clothed with trees of that feathery and graceful foliage peculiar to the spruce and larch, and interspersed with huge round clumps of evergreens, with alternations of long glades and great open patches of lawn covered with rich grass of that bright emerald green peculiar to California. This woodland scene, viewed of an early morning, sparkling with dew-drops under the rising sun which slowly lifted the veil of mist hanging over it, surpassed in beauty any thing I have seen on this continent. . . . The scenery which meets the eye on entering the Straits of Fuca is one of great beauty. On the left is the long-looked-for Island of Vancouver, an irregular aggregation of hills, showing a sharp angular outline as they become visible in the early dawn, covered with the eternal pines, saving only

occasional sunny patches of open greensward, very pretty and picturesque, but the hills not lofty enough to be very striking. The entire island, properly speaking, is a forest. On the right we have a long massive chain of lofty mountains covered with snow, called the Olympian range—very grand, quite alpine in aspect. This is the peninsula, composed of a series of mountains running for many miles in one unbroken line, which divides the Straits of Fuca from Puget Sound. It belongs to America, in the territory of Washington, is uninhabited, and, like its opposite neighbour, has a covering of pines far up towards the summit. The tops of these mountains are seldom free from snow. The height is unknown, perhaps 15,000 feet; while far away in the distance, within the Washington territory, loom loftily the giant forms of Mount Baker and Mount Rainier. Interposed between shores of a character thus striking, the waters of the straits expand, bearing upon their bosom the clustering islands of San Juan."

Our readers have now entered the threshold of a territory, which, visited by Vancouver in 1792, has been, since then, an appendage of the British Crown, but one which, regarded as of little value, was left in the hands of fur-trading Companies, until the discussion of the Oregon question brought it into notice; and now the discovery of gold deposits has suddenly invested the whole territory with a paramount importance. We are persuaded, however, that its true elements of value are of a far deeper and more permanent character than those which connect with gold-finding; and that, when the efflorescence has been gathered up, and the strong excitement which now exists has subsided, its capabilities as a home for man will be found to have attracted thither elements of population far superior to the reckless and improvident miner, who too frequently gathers riches out of the sand to expend them on folly and vice, and, at the termination of his labours, is as penniless as when his toil commenced.

Before we proceed to deal with the geographical features of this new country, it may be well to premise that the climate of the territories westward of the Rocky Mountains is far superior to that which prevails in the vast extent of country which stretches eastward of those mountains to the shores of the Atlantic and Hudson's Bay. Sir John Richardson states that the mean temperature on

the Pacific coast of British North America is about twenty degrees higher than on the Atlantic coast in the same parallel of latitude. The difference of climate as the Pacific is approached is marked and decided. "The prevalent winds in the regions beyond the tropics have a great influence upon the climate of the countries which they pass over. The prevalent winds in the extra-tropical regions being from the westward, those winds bring from the Pacific Ocean a large quantity of moisture, the tendency of which is to ameliorate the climate of the regions which receive its first benefit. As they proceed further to the eastward, they lose a portion of that moisture and pass over regions, frozen or covered with snow through a large part of the year. Hence, as they come down to Canada, they are more severe, charged with less moisture, and actually colder by having given up latent heat to the regions they have passed over."\*

A glance at the physical conformation of the great American continent will help us in endeavouring to place before our readers the characteristics of British Columbia.

A prominent feature of that continent is the great backbone, or mountainous vertebræ, usually denominated the Andes, extending over a space of more than 10,000 miles from the arctic to nearly the antarctic circle. This mountain range may be thus divided—the great cordillera of the Andes, extending from Patagonia to the Isthmus of Panama, a stretch of 4500 miles; the mountain system of Central America, 1200 miles; and the North-American Cordillera, extending, under different names, from about the twentieth to the fifty-eighth parallel of north latitude. Now it is remarkable that the great chain of the Andes frequently divides into two branches, the eastern and western, enclosing thus longitudinal valleys, such as those of Cuenca and Quito. In the northern portion of the chain this tendency is more decidedly developed, in the Oregon or Rocky Mountains extending, in two parallel chains, from the Sierra Verde to the mouth of the Mackenzie River, occasionally united by a transverse ridge. Besides these, there is another chain in the Sea-alps of California and of the north-west coast, running along the shores of the Pacific from the Tropic of Cancer to Behring Strait, this also being connected with the interior ranges by transverse ridges, the best known of which is the Snowy Mountains, the water-shed between the Colorado, which flows into the Gulf of

California, and the Columbia, which enters the Pacific. The Sea-alps run parallel with the coast, and at a short distance from it, as far as Mount Olympus, when, passing through the centre of Vancouver's Island, they appear to unite with the chains which occupy Russian America. The southern portion of this chain is sometimes called the Cascade range, from the numerous falls and rapids which mark the course of the Columbia and other rivers, as they force their way through this barrier to the sea. Thus, at Fort Yale, about 110 miles from the mouth of the Fraser, that river rushes between huge and naked rocks belonging to the Cascade range, the sides being almost perpendicular. So far as this point, the navigation is open for vessels drawing not more than twelve feet of water; but at the rapids a portage has to be made along an Indian track-way, and over rugged ground.

We have noticed the main features of the mountain ranges of British Columbia, and, with these outlines, the disposition of the entire territory may be understood. First, we have Vancouver Island, extending from latitude 48° 19' to 50° 53' N., and longitude 123° 17' to 128° 28' W. "Its length, measured from N.W. to S.E., is 278 miles, its extreme length 290 miles, and in breadth it varies from 50 to 65 miles. On the east and north-eastern side it is separated from the main land of British America by the Gulf of Georgia and Queen Charlotte's Sound; and on the south from that of the United States by the Straits of San Juan-de-Fuca; while on the north and western it lies open to the North Pacific." North of Queen Charlotte's Sound will be found Queen Charlotte's Islands, between 52° and 54° north latitude. The group consists of three islands, about 150 miles in length by about 60 miles in breadth.

The mainland, with its bold shores, divides itself into three distinct portions, the maritime territory varying in breadth as the Sea-alps close in upon, or retire from, the shore. It is much intersected by creeks and inlets of the sea. Fort Simpson, of which we shall have to speak more particularly, is situated near the northern frontier, on a peninsula. Of this portion of the territory there is little available information. "If native report can be relied upon, large tracts of level pasture land are to be met with near Tschesatl, or Jarvis inlet, midway up the Gulf of Georgia.

Advancing beyond the Sea-alps, we have next to consider the extensive plateau through which the Fraser and Thompson rivers pursue their course, extending to the first range of the Rocky Mountains. "The Fra-

\* *Vide.* Answers 265 and 268, Lieutenant-Colonel Lefroy, before Select Committee on Hudson's Bay.

ser river rises in the north, and keeps a direct course through the centre of the colony for upwards of 400 miles, until where, at the "Forks," it is joined by the Thompson river; it then turns to the west, until it empties itself into the Gulf of Georgia: it is at present navigable for steamers for about 150 miles from its mouth. The Thompson river, which is but an insignificant stream as compared with the Fraser, rises in the east, in the Rocky-Mountain range, and flows through an extremely fertile and magnificent country, until it unites with the larger stream. The colony is intersected also by a great arm of the Columbia, but which has no outlet to the sea except through the territory of the United States. The Finlay river, rising north of the Fraser, keeps a southerly course until it joins the Peace river, which runs through the Rocky Mountains to the east, into Lake Athabasca. There are other rivers again to the north-west—the Salmon and the Simpson, which flow into the Pacific Ocean opposite Queen Charlotte's Island, which island is also embraced in the new colony. There are also numerous inland lakes, but none of great magnitude. The country is principally mountain and valley, the Peak Mountains and Cascade Mountains running through its centre, parallel with the Rocky Mountains, in a north-west course: the valleys are described by all who have seen them as rich and beautiful, and the mountain scenery truly sublime.\*

On this plateau are to be found many of the fur-trading posts of the Hudson's Bay-Company. Fort St. James, the principal dépôt, stands near the outlet of Stuart's lake, a sheet of water about fifty miles in length by three or four in breadth. The scenery is said to be magnificent. The low western shore is indented by a number of small bays formed by wooded points projecting into the lake, while the background rises abruptly into a ridge of hills of varied magnitude and beauty. "On the east the view is limited to a range of two or three miles by the intervention of a high promontory, from which the eye glances to the snow-clad summits of the Rocky Mountains." "Further on, over a somewhat flat country, and in latitude 53° north, stands Fort Alexandria, on the banks of the Fraser, so called after the celebrated traveller Sir Alexander Mackenzie. It is agreeably situated on the outskirts of the great prairies. The surrounding country is beautifully diversified by hill, dale, grove, and plain: the soil is rich, yielding abundant successive crops of grain and vegetable.†

Of the capabilities of the Thompson-river district no doubt can be entertained. Sir George Simpson, in a letter to Sir John Pelly, dated February 1857, admits that the "country situated between the northern bank of the Columbia, and the southern bank of the Fraser river is remarkable for the salubrity of its climate, and excellence of its soil." Now the Couteau country, or Thompson-river district, is a continuation of this territory, and possesses the same characteristic features. Mr. James Cooper, a resident for the last six years in Vancouver's Island, in his evidence before the Select Committee, describes this district as one of the most beautiful countries in the world. This information he had received from individuals who had lived in that country, or in the neighbouring countries, in the service of the Company, probably thirty or forty years.

One remaining tract of this mainland claims our attention for an instant—that which is enclosed between the parallel ranges of the Rocky Mountains. One of the witnesses examined before the Select Committee had traversed this district, having journeyed up the Columbia river, crossing the Rocky Mountains between Mount Hooker and Mount Brown. He describes the country north of the boundary as a "woody country, not very fertile, and rather mountainous; the grass scant, but apparently nutritious, the country at the back of the route being prairie ground." This description is sufficiently modified and cautious. There is evidently, from a comparison of the questions put, and the answers they received, nothing of over colouring. We are therefore wholly unable to reconcile with that which we believe to be the truth, the following passage in a work on the Hudson's-Bay territories, published in 1849— "The territory north of the 49th parallel, and north-west of that drained by the Columbia river (New Caledonia), is a sterile land of snow-clad mountains, tortuous rocks, and lakes frozen over more than two-thirds of the year, presenting scarcely a single spot in which any of the vegetables used as food by civilized man can be produced."

Sir George Simpson made a journey of 2000 miles in forty-seven days, from the Red River *via* Fort Edmonton to Fort Colville, in 1841. He crossed the Rocky Mountains at the confluence of the sources of the Saskatchewan and Columbia, near Fort Kotanie, at an elevation of 8000 feet above the sea, with mountains rising about half that altitude around. The descending river to the Kotanie country was rugged and boggy, with thick and tangled forests, craggy peaks, and dreary vales; here

\* Hand-Book to British Columbia, pp. 5, 6.

† Cornwallis's British Columbia, p. 114.

and there hills of parched c'ay, where every shrub and blade of grass was brown and sapless, as if newly swept by the blast of a sirocco; with occasionally prairies and open swards, intersected with gloomy woods and burning pine forests. In one place a valley was seen thirty miles long by six wide, without a tree, and environed by mountains. The natives of these regions were generally in a wretched condition."\*

We cannot accept this statement: on the contrary, we are disposed to think, that when explored by those who will candidly and without reservation state what they know, it will be found to be little inferior to the districts on the Thompson's river. Indeed, it is said that Brigham Young purposes to lead his next Mormon exodus to the sources of the Columbia river, as a land possessed of great natural advantages, where the extremities of heat and cold are seldom known.

The information we have been enabled to collect concerning these interior countries is as yet very scant. Before the influx of gold-diggers, however, the veil of mystery will be rudely torn away, and we shall be made acquainted with the true features of a territory, which, up to the present time, has been dealt with as a land so destitute of natural capabilities as to be fitted only for fur-trading purposes. Whatever it be, whether uniformly barren, or with rich productive districts dispersed abroad, this at least is certain—that gold has been discovered; that the Fraser and Thompson rivers, and probably the Upper Columbia are auriferous streams, and secrecy and mysticism are no longer possible.

It will not be possible in this paper to pass on to the examination of Vancouver's Island. Another and important subject claims our attention. British Columbia is the home of the Red man, and here he is to be found in larger numbers than on the east side of the Rocky Mountains. His means of subsistence have been more abundant, the climate less severe: he retains much of his native independence, and is not reduced to the impoverished condition of his brethren on the east of the mountain range, and towards the shores of the Atlantic. The numerical disproportion, according to the testimony of Sir George Simpson, is considerable. In the larger extent of territory, on the east side, the Indian population is estimated at 53,000; on the west of the Rocky Mountains, inclusive of Vancouver's Island, at 80,000.

Now we have been in possession of these

\* "Hudson's-Bay Territories," by R. M. Martin, Esq., pp. 26, 27.

lands since the beginning of the present century, and, since 1821, they have been under the exclusive licence of the Hudson's-Bay Company. What has been done for the aboriginal tribes in the way of Christian instruction? On June 18th, 1857, the first Protestant Missionary reached Vancouver's Island. Previously to that a Roman-Catholic Mission, subsidized by the Company, the chief seat of which is in Oregon, presented the only faint semblance of a recognition upon our part that the Indians were heathen, that they needed instruction, and that we were under an obligation to afford to them the means of Christian ministrations.

Explicit testimony has been afforded on this point: we refer to the evidence of Mr. J. Cooper before the Select Committee. (4001) Mr. KINNAIRD.—"Had you many schools there (at Victoria, Vancouver's Island), for the benefit of the natives?—Not one for the benefit of the natives." (4005) "Are there any schools for the education of the Indians?—Not one." (4006) "And is there nothing done for the Indians?—Nothing at all is done: there has been no attempt at civilization at all." "Or at Christianizing?—Nothing at all." "You said that the Indians resided on the sea coast: do they generally reside in villages on the coast?—Yes, each tribe has a village of its own." "They are not scattered abroad in the country?—No." "Then there would be no difficulty in establishing schools and churches for them, if it were thought right?—None." "But no steps for this purpose have been taken?—No, except, as I mentioned before, that one or two Roman-Catholic priests have been among them." "Have any chapels been erected?—The Roman Catholics have one chapel." "Where?—In Victoria."

The Hudson's-Bay Company, in the exercise of its authority, has promoted indiscriminately Protestant and Romish Missions. Sir George Simpson, on the question being put to him, (1101) "Will you state what religious establishments there are?" gave the following reply, "In the Company's territories there are nineteen Missionary stations of the Church of England, twelve Roman Catholic, four Wesleyan, and one Presbyterian, making a total of thirty-six. In Oregon there is a Roman-Catholic Mission; on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, one; at Albany and Temuscaming, one; at the Pic there is a Wesleyan Missionary; at Fort William there is a Roman-Catholic Missionary; and at Vancouver's Island there is a Church-of-England Missionary; making in all forty-two stations." We would take leave to ask, is it a matter of indifference whether it be Protestantism or



Popery, the pure Gospel or its counterfeit, that, by English influence, is promoted amongst the heathen? What is Romanism? Simply this—Christian truth and human error so compounded, that the former is neutralized, and reduced to inertness, while the deleterious influences of the latter pervades the whole system. Let a wholesome ingredient be taken and mixed with poison in such quantities as that the poison shall be the preponderating element, and if the entire compound thus subtly prepared be absorbed into the system, what must be the result? This may be immediately pronounced an uncharitable judgment, for if this be true, it may be urged no Romanist can be saved. None can be saved by the system. Many, we trust, are saved in despite of it; that is, they are not *bond fide* Romanists: they attach themselves to the truth rather than to the error of the system. But why, within the Hudson's-Bay territories, have Protestant and Roman-Catholic Missions been indiscriminately sanctioned? We suppose it has been concluded that both are good, although not, perhaps, in the same degree, and both capable of ameliorating the condition of the heathen. Where, then, are the results of Romanism in this respect? Her Missions amongst the heathen have been a failure. Romanism is simply an adaptation of Christianity to the requirements of the natural mind. It gains adherents, not by raising man out of his fallen state to newness of nature and life, but by bringing itself down to a level with his corrupt condition. It is not human nature that is amended, but Christianity that is debased. The lower the man is sunk, the more the system must be willing to adulterate itself with unworthy elements; and thus, in heathen lands, Romanism differs little from heathenism, except in name, and the heathen who are called converts are practically as much heathen as they were before.

We candidly acknowledge that such is our view of the peculiar action of Romanism upon the heathen, that, in commencing a Mission for the communication of Christian truth, we should far prefer a field of labour where no attempt at improvement has been made, than one on which Romish emissaries had expended their most zealous exertions. Romanized heathenism is far more difficult to deal with than the same element in its original state. Wherever Romanism has opportunity of acting, if it does nothing more, it at least effects this—it prejudices the human mind against the true Gospel of Christ. The only consolatory circumstance in the presence of

the fact that Christianity has hitherto been known to the Vancouver-Island Indians by its misrepresentation only, is, that the Romish Mission has been so weak, that the mischief effected can only be of limited extent. No doubt, had Protestant Missionaries been in the field at an earlier date, Romanism, in its contrariety to the truth, would have manifested greater activity.

In the licence which placed these north-western territories under the rule of the Hudson's-Bay Company, that Company became, for the time being, the representative of the parent state, and ought to have carried with it into the government of the dependency the principles of the mother country. And here, amongst us, the establishment is Protestant. It is true there have crept in of late deviations from the integrity of this principle. The state subsidizes Maynooth, a college for the education of Romish priests, and appoints and salaries Romish chaplains in the army. These irregularities we regret, more especially as we fear they will increase to more ungodliness. It is true the reasons urged are plausible. Many Romanists are serving as soldiers of the country, and as we accept their service, it is thought that it would be an invidious thing not to afford them the consolations of their own religion. We confess we cannot see the force of this reasoning. We believe the compromise on our part to be neither for the good of the soldier, nor for the good of the country. We believe the soldier would be better without his priest. Apart from priestly influence, there might be some hope of the superstitions in which he has been trained losing their power over his mind; the darkness might become less dense, and opportunity be afforded for more correct views. The great auxiliary of priestcraft, whereby the human mind is most effectually closed against the claims of pure and undefiled religion, is prejudice, and this assuredly, without the presence of the priest to feed and strengthen it, would lose somewhat of its inexorable character. And if we are bold to say that it is not for the advantage of the soldier that the country, by pecuniary aid, should help the Romish system in its efforts to retain its superstitious ascendancy over the human mind, we may, without hesitation, add our conviction, that, for the country itself, nothing can be more prejudicial. These compromises must be displeasing to Him who is a jealous God. Moreover, Romish agents will never make either soldiers or civil subjects of a Protestant state more loyal, but much less so. It is impossible it can be otherwise. The Romanist,

otherwise with the best intentions, can render but a divided allegiance. Our Saviour could say, "My kingdom is not of this world;" and therefore the recognition of his kingship does not in the slightest degree interfere with the allegiance which we owe to our earthly Sovereign. But the head of the Romish system cannot with truth make a similar affirmation. Bellarmine's admissions on this point are worthy of observation; for while he denies that the Pope by divine right possesses directly temporal power, he, at the same time, admits that there is a sense in which he does possess the highest temporal power, and he illustrates it by the union between flesh and spirit in the person of man. The flesh, he observes, is subordinate; the spirit presides. The flesh has liberty to perform its own proper functions, provided they interfere not with the end and duties of the spirit. But when they do, the flesh is to be restrained, and placed under coercion. Thus, political and ecclesiastical power constitute one body. The spiritual power does not interfere with temporal affairs, but permits them to proceed, provided that they do not interfere with the spiritual object, or do not need to be made available for its accomplishment. But should such contingencies arise, the spiritual power may and ought to coerce the temporal power, by every means which may be requisite for that purpose. His words are these—"Ita prorsus politica potestas habet suos principes, leges, judicia &c., et similiter ecclesiastica suos episcopos, canones, judicia. Illa habet pro fine, temporalem pacem, ista, salutem æternam. Inveniuntur quandoque separatæ, ut olim tempore apostolorum, quandoque conjunctæ, ut nunc. Quando autem sunt conjunctæ, unum corpus efficiunt, ideoque debent esse connexæ et inferior superiori subjecta et subordinata. Itaque spiritualis non se miscet temporalibus negotiis, sed sinit omnia procedere, sicut antequam essent conjunctæ, dummodo non obsint fini spirituali, aut non sint necessaria ad eum consequendum. Si autem tale quid accidat, spiritualis potestas potest et debet coercere temporalem omni ratione sc viâ, quæ ad id necessaria esse videbitur."\*

But although there be unhappily these deflections from the integrity of our Protestant principle, yet still the state is essentially Protestant. We have not two distinct religious establishments, a Protestant and a Popish one. Romish ecclesiastics assume, indeed, national

\* "Disputationes Rob. Bellarmini," cap. 6. De Romano Pontif, lib. v. cap. 7.

titles, but the state regards such as foolish usurpations, and regards them with justly-merited contempt. But in the Hudson's-Bay Company's administration the ecclesiastical establishment, such as it is, is comprehensive alike of Popery and Protestantism.

But there is now a Protestant Missionary in British Columbia, and it may be interesting to revert to the circumstances of his appointment. An appeal on behalf of Vancouver's Island and its native inhabitants was published in our Number for July 1856. It was drawn up by Captain Prevost, R.N. That paper drew forth from an anonymous friend a contribution of £500, expressly for a Mission to Vancouver's Island. Soon after, Captain Prevost being appointed to the command of the "Satellite," on a special mission to Vancouver, expressed his willingness to give a free passage to a Missionary, if the Church Missionary Society were prepared to avail themselves of the opportunity. Mr. W. Duncan, who had passed through the Highbury Training College, readily complied with the invitation of the Committee to proceed to that distant land, and, with the permission of the Admiralty, left England on board the "Satellite," December 23, 1856, arriving at Vancouver's Island June 13, 1857. Subsequently, Fort Simpson, at the extreme north of the British Columbian coast, was selected as the most suitable locality for the commencement of the Mission. The dialect spoken at this place is the Chimsyan. The sum total of resident Indians in the vicinity of the Fort is estimated at very nearly 2500: there are also seventeen other tribes, all living within a distance of fifty miles, who either speak Chimsyan, or something very nearly approaching to it. And besides this, at certain seasons the Indians from the interior congregate at this dépôt, for trading purposes, to the number of 15,000. The condition in which Mr. Duncan found these tribes will be best collected from the following synopsis which he has forwarded of the manners and customs of the Chimsyan Indians.

"In a general way, the Chimsyan Indians about Fort Simpson begin to break up about the beginning or middle of February. About 100 of them then go to Victoria, or the American ports, which are about 500 miles south of this place: others go to places where they make canoes, boxes, &c. About the middle of March there is a general break up for about three weeks. All that can possibly be spared from the camp, and are able to go,

now proceed to take small fish in a channel a little to the north of Fort Simpson. This fish is so abundant that they take it by means of a scoop net. There, also, they prepare grease and oil for their yearly consumption, and for sale. They also bring immense quantities of the fish to the Fort, which is salted, and served out in rations to the men all the year round.

"After this the Indians begin to break away in hunting and trading parties, and then is the time that large numbers of strange Indians come here to trade: also a second party of about 100 leave for Victoria, and other places south. This is about the latter end of April. In the summer, those that are left, employ themselves in preserving salmon-herring spawn, and berries, all of which they meet with in abundance near at hand. At the latter part of the year the Indians who went south, return, bringing great quantities of rum, and various kinds of property, most of which is got by demoralizing practices. Then feasting and house-building commence, and a great many young people of both sexes are admitted into the mysterious craft they call 'Allied:' white people call it 'Medicine work.' Property, also, now is given away, or changes hands, and a great quantity is torn up.

"These things occupy them till February again. At present (Feb. 1858) there are 143 houses occupied; a great number of these are built on the beach, and have to be supported on props to escape being flooded. They are generally large and strong buildings, and cost them a deal of labour to erect; but their labour is greatly augmented in carrying out a fashion they have of raising two massive pieces of round timber horizontally, one for each side of the roof to rest upon.

"The sides of the houses are made of broad split plank, let into recesses made in the corner and centre uprights. The roofs consist of large slabs of bark, a huge hole being left at the top for the smoke to escape by. Some of the fronts are very fantastically painted. The doorway is generally very low, and the door itself, in most cases, nothing more than a piece of plank suspended from the inside, just sufficient to stop up the entrance. Some few houses have figures, either painted or carved in wood, attached to them. These figures denote the crest of the family within: for instance, one house has a huge piece of timber on the top, to represent a whale; others have eagles, &c. The inside of the houses is generally very cheerless. A bark mat placed over a board forms a bed, and they have generally the blanket they go out in, and a mat to cover

them when they sleep. Boxes of property and food are placed all round the house, with small recesses left for sleeping compartments. The floor is invariably mud, with a few shells scattered on the top.

"There has been a good deal of building this year, and I am happy to say, that, in two or three cases, improvements have been introduced. A chief is now finishing a house which will have a wooden floor and two small windows in it.

"It is in connexion with housebuilding that most of their feasting takes place. Their greatest luxury at such times is rice and molasses: their second dish of importance is berries and grease. Now and then I hear of a rum feast being given, which is generally succeeded by quarrelling, and sometimes murder. They are very particular about whom they invite to their feasts, and, on great occasions, men and women feast separately, the women always taking the precedence. Vocal music and dancing have great prominence in their proceedings. When a person is going to give a great feast, he sends, on the first day, the females of his household round the camp to invite all his female friends. The next day a party of men is sent round to call the male guests together. The other day a party of eight or ten females, dressed in their best, with their faces newly painted, came into the Fort yard, formed themselves into a semicircle, then the one in the centre, with a loud but clear and musical voice, delivered the invitation, declaring what would be given to the guests, and what they should enjoy. In this case the invitation was for three women in the Fort who are related to chiefs. On the following day a band of men came and delivered a similar message, inviting the captain in charge.

"These feasts are generally connected with the giving away of property. As an instance, I will relate the last occurrence of the kind. The person who sent the aforementioned invitations is a chief who has just completed building a house. After feasting, I heard he was to give away property to the amount of 480 blankets (worth as many pounds to him), of which 180 were his own property and the 300 were to be subscribed by his people. On the first day of the feast, as much as possible of the property to be given him was exhibited in the camp. Hundreds of yards of cotton were flapping in the breeze, hung from house to house, or on lines put up for the occasion. Furs, too, were nailed up on the fronts of houses. Those who were going to give away blankets, or elk skins managed to get a bearer for every one,

and exhibit them by making the persons walk in single file to the house of the chief. On the next day the cotton which had been hung out, was now brought on the beach, at a good distance from the chief's house, and then run out at full length, and a number of bearers, about three yards apart, bore it triumphantly away from the giver to the receiver. I suppose that about 600 to 800 yards were thus disposed of.

"After all the property the chief is to receive has thus been openly handed to him, a day or two is taken up in apportioning it for fresh owners. When this is done, all the chiefs and their families are called together, and each receives according to his or her portion. If, however, a chief's wife is not descended from a chief, she has no share in this distribution, nor is she ever invited to the same feasts with her husband. Thus do the chiefs and their people go on reducing themselves to poverty. In the case of the chiefs, however, this poverty lasts but a short time: they are soon replenished from the next giving away; but the people only grow rich again according to their industry. One cannot help but pity them, while one laments their folly.

"All the pleasure these poor Indians seem to have in their property is in hoarding it up for such an occasion as I have described. They never think of appropriating what they gather to enhance their comforts, but are satisfied if they can make a display like this now and then; so that the man possessing but one blanket seems to be as well off as the one who possesses twenty; and thus it is that there is a vast amount of dead stock accumulated in the camp doomed never to be used, but only now and then to be transferred from hand to hand for the mere vanity of the thing.

"There is another way, however, in which property is disposed of even more foolishly. If a person be insulted, or meet with an accident, or in any way suffer an injury, real or supposed, either of mind or body — property must at once be sacrificed to avoid disgrace. A number of blankets, shirts, or cotton, according to the rank of the person, is torn into small pieces and carried off. But it is only in anger or trouble that property is thus actually destroyed. I am sorry to add that destruction of dead stock is not always resorted to in anger or swellings of pride.

Sometimes slaves have to be sacrificed to satiate the vanity of their owners, or take away reproach. Only the other day we were called upon to witness a terrible scene of this kind. An old chief, in cool blood, ordered a slave

to be dragged to the beach, murdered, and thrown into the water. His orders were quickly obeyed. The victim was a poor woman. Two or three reasons are assigned for this foul act: one is, that it is to take away the disgrace attached to his daughter, who has been suffering some time from a ball wound in the arm. Another report is, that he does not expect his daughter to recover, so he has killed this slave in order that she may prepare for the coming of his daughter into the unseen world. I think the former reason is the most probable.

"I did not see the murder, but, immediately after, I saw crowds of people running out of those houses near to where the corpse was thrown, and forming themselves into groups at a good distance away. This I learnt was from fear of what was to follow. Presently two bands of furious wretches appeared, each headed by a man in a state of nudity. They gave vent to the most unearthly sounds, and the two naked men made themselves look as unearthly as possible, proceeding in a creeping kind of stoop, and stepping like two proud horses, at the same time shooting forward each arm alternately, which they held out at full length for a little time in the most defiant manner. Besides this, the continual jerking their heads back, causing their long black hair to twist about, added much to their savage appearance.

"For some time they pretended to be seeking the body, and the instant they came where it lay they commenced screaming and rushing round it like so many angry wolves. Finally they seized it, dragged it out of the water, and laid it on the beach, where I was told the naked men would commence tearing it to pieces with their teeth. The two bands of men immediately surrounded them, and so hid their horrid work. In a few minutes the crowd broke again into two, when each of the naked cannibals appeared with half of the body in his hands. Separating a few yards, they commenced, amid horrid yells, their still more horrid feast. The sight was too terrible to behold. I left the gallery with a depressed heart. What a dreadful place is this! My only consolation I found to be in prayer and the blessed promises of God. I may mention that the two bands of savages just alluded to belong to that class which the whites term 'medicine men.' The superstitious connected with this fearful system are deeply rooted here; and it is the admitting and initiating of fresh pupils into these arts that employ numbers, and excite and interest all, during the winter months. This year I think there must have been eight or ten parties of

them, but each party seldom has more than one pupil at once. In relating their proceedings I can give but a faint conception of the system as a whole, but still a little will serve to show the dense darkness that rests on this place.

"I may mention that each party has some characteristics peculiar to itself; but, in a more general sense, their divisions are but three, viz. those who eat human bodies, the dog eaters, and those who have no custom of the kind.

"Early in the morning the pupils would be out on the beach, or on the rocks, in a state of nudity. Each had a place in front of his own tribe; nor did intense cold interfere in the slightest degree. After the poor creature had crept about, jerking his head and screaming for some time, a party of men would rush out, and, after surrounding him, would commence singing. The dog-eating party occasionally carried a dead dog to their pupil, who forthwith commenced to tear it in the most doglike manner. The party of attendants kept up a low growling noise, or a whoop, which was seconded by a screeching noise made from an instrument which they believe to be the abode of a spirit. In a little time the naked youth would start up again, and proceed a few more yards in a crouching posture, with his arms pushed out behind him, and tossing his flowing black hair. All the while he is earnestly watched by the group about him, and when he pleases to sit down they again surround him and commence singing. This kind of thing goes on, with several little additions, for some time. Before the prodigy finally retires, he takes a run into every house belonging to his tribe, and is followed by his train. When this is done, in some cases he has a ramble on the tops of the same houses, during which he is anxiously watched by his attendants, as if they expected his flight. By and by he condescends to come down, and they then follow him to his den, which is signified by a rope made of red bark being hung over the doorway, so as to prevent any person from ignorantly violating its precincts. None are allowed to enter that house but those connected with the art: all I know, therefore, of their further proceedings is, that they keep up a furious hammering, singing, and screeching for hours during the day.

"Of all these parties, none are so much dreaded as the cannibals. One morning I was called to witness a stir in the camp which had been caused by this set. When I reached the gallery I saw hundreds of Chimsyans sitting in their canoes, which they had just pushed away from the beach. I was told

that the cannibal party were in search of a body to devour, and if they failed to find a dead one, it was probable they would seize the first living one that came in their way; so that all the people living near to the cannibals' house had taken to their canoes to escape being torn to pieces. It is the custom among these Indians to burn their dead; but I suppose for these occasions they take care to deposit a corpse somewhere, in order to satisfy these inhuman wretches.\*

"These, then, are some of the things and scenes which occur in the day during the winter months, while the nights are taken up with amusements — singing and dancing. Occasionally the medicine parties invite people to their several houses, and exhibit tricks before them of various kinds. Some of the actors appear as bears, while others wear masks, the parts of which are moved by strings. The great feature in their proceedings is to pretend to murder, and then to restore to life, and so forth. The cannibal, on such occasions, is generally supplied with two, three, or four human bodies, which he tears to pieces before his audience. Several persons, either from bravado or as a charm, present their arms for him to bite. I have seen several whom he has thus bitten, and I hear two have died from the effects.

"One very dark night I was told that there was a moon to see on the beach. On going to see, there was an illuminated disc, with the figure of a man upon it. The water was then very low, and one of the conjuring parties had lit up this disc at the water's edge. They had made it of wax, with great exactness, and presently it was at the full. It was an imposing sight. Nothing could be seen around it; but the Indians suppose that the medicine party are then holding converse with the man in the moon. Indeed there is no wonder in the poor creatures being deluded, for the peculiar noises that were made, while all around was perfectly still, and the good imitation of the moon while all around was enveloped in darkness, just seemed calculated to create wild and superstitious notions. After a short

\* The tribes on the coast of British Columbia usually burn their dead, and the ashes are placed in a box, which is deposited in a secluded spot in the woods. This custom, however, is not universal along the coast. At Fort Rupert, 200 miles south of Fort Simpson, Mr. Duncan saw a great number of boxes fastened to pine trees, about fifty or sixty feet from the ground, which he was informed contained the dead: and, still further south, the dead are deposited in canoes, which are placed in order, facing the east, on an island or spot of ground set apart for the purpose.—See *Frontispiece*.

time the moon waned away, and the conjuring party returned whooping to their house.

"Before any young persons can join these medicine parties they are supposed to go into the bush for some days, and be there alone, whence they receive their supernatural gifts. But I am inclined to believe that this is not strictly carried out, for it is also supposed that they are not visible when they come back: it therefore becomes an easy matter to conceal them in their houses for a short time, and then publish a lie. The end of all these proceedings is the giving away property; so the chiefs reap the benefit. No person need think of becoming 'Allied,' until he or his friends have amassed considerable property, and are disposed to beggar themselves.

"One Sunday I was startled by a peculiar noise proceeding from the camp, and on going to see what was the cause, I observed a man, who, it seems, had finished his education as an 'Allied,' and was now going to give away his goods. He was proceeding to a distant part of the camp, and stepping all the way like a proud unmanageable horse. Behind him were about fifteen or twenty men, all holding on to a kind of rope, which went round his waist. They were pretending to keep him back, or hold him from taking his flight. They also kept up a furious noise with that instrument which has so much to do with their superstitions. Presently this party was joined by other two, upon a similar errand, and they now seemed to try which could make the greatest noise, or look the most unearthly. The three bands, after a good deal of manœuvring, proceeded, I think, to the same chief's house. How could I but long for the time to be hastened when these poor deluded creatures shall be seen flocking with meek and quiet step to the house of God on his blessed day?

"I think it is generally supposed that these parties I have described are the doctors of the Red Indians, because their proceedings are called 'medicine work,' and they 'medicine men.' But I find that the medical profession is altogether a distinct business, and the doctors a distinct class. After investigation of the matter, I am led to conclude that these medical practitioners are, for the most part, those who have themselves been visited with some serious sickness, and have recovered; or else have been, at some time in their lives, exposed to great peril, but have escaped uninjured. For instance, if a man or woman is taken in a fit, and remains motionless for so long that they are concluded dead, should such a one ultimately recover, that is the person who is regarded as competent to deal with diseases; for it is believed, that, during

the period of unconsciousness, supernatural power and skill was vouchsafed them; and also, by their recovering, it is concluded that they have successfully resisted the effects of bad medicine, or the evil workings of some malevolent being. Still I do not mean to say that all their doctors arise from these circumstances, but mostly so. I believe that any shrewd or eccentric man may, by fasting, successfully prognosticating, or otherwise acting so as to excite the superstitious reverence of the people in his favour, secure a footing in this lucrative profession.

"Next, as to the means employed by the doctors to recover patients. For pains in the body they employ a bag of hot ashes, after first placing a damp cloth on the skin. If the patient is afflicted with a pain in the head, they strike him on the place with small branches of the spruce tree. For wounds they have a salve, but they seldom use it except in bad cases: the most ordinary method is simply to place a quantity of gum over the lips of the wound to keep them closed. For most of the diseases which afflict them, they have some herb or decoction which they give as a counteractant.

"But the chief thing relied upon and resorted to, in case of failure of other means, is incantation. The instrument used is a rattle, generally in the shape of a bird or a frog, in the body of which a few small stones are placed. This is whirled about the patient while a song is sung. Occasionally the doctor applies his ear, or his mouth, to the place where the pain or disorder chiefly rests. It is also very common, at this stage, to make incisions where the pain is felt, or to apply fire to the place by means of burning tinder made of dried wild flax. If relief follows these measures, the doctor asserts that he has extracted the foul substance that has done the mischief; which substance is supposed by them to be the bad or poisonous medicine some evil-disposed one had silently inserted into the invalid's body. At such an announcement made by the doctor, the patient, and the patient's friends, overjoyed at his success, liberally present him with such property as they have got. If, however, a relapse ensues, and the invalid dies, the doctor returns every particle of the property he has received. When no relief follows the first trial, a more furious attack is made another time. If still without effect, there is but little hope of the patient's recovery.

"Another curious matter connected with these operations is, that when the doctor has got pretty warm in his work, he boldly asserts that he can see the soul of the patient, if it is present. For this he shuts his eyes for some

time, and then pronounces his sentence. Either the soul is in its usual place, which is a good sign; or it is out of its proper place, and seems wanting to take its flight, which makes the patient's case doubtful; or else it has flown away, in which case there is no hope for the invalid's recovery. The bold deceiver does not even hesitate to tell the people that the soul is like a fly in shape, with a long curved proboscis.

"This people ascribe nearly all their bodily afflictions, and most deaths, to the secret working of malevolent persons. This being the case, when any person dies—if of any importance amongst them—and especially if suddenly, the friends of the deceased fix upon some one as the cause, either a slave, or a stranger just arrived in the camp, or, more probably still, a person with whom the deceased has lately quarrelled. Whoever the victim is, however—whether man or woman—nothing short of his or her life will satisfy the bereaved persons. They believe in two ways an evil-disposed person may effect his purpose. One is by placing some bad medicine in the meat or drink of his victim, or, if sick, by persuading the individual to drink a poisonous draught. The other way is by magic, and this is by far the most common method they suppose. In this case they say that the deadly

substance is transmitted from the hand of the destroyer to the body of his victim, without the latter having any perception of the event.

"Such superstition as this is well calculated to produce that distrust of each other which I find so prominent amongst them; and also makes it somewhat dangerous for one to assist them a little with real medicine. I hear that several white persons—some of whom are American Missionaries—have been murdered for attempting this kindness, all because their medicine did not prevent death. There has not been a case of that sort among the Indians here yet; but I see that the same superstitions which have led other Indians to commit murder are deeply rooted here, so that it behoves one to be cautious. I have already given medicine and advice to some, which the Lord has been pleased to bless; so that they are beginning to gain confidence, and appreciate my coming amongst them. My efforts in this way have as yet been nearly all confined to the Fort people; but as the Indian women in here are generally the most influential in the tribe to which they belong, in gaining their confidence a great blow is struck at the prejudices of the people outside."

We must reserve the remainder of Mr. Duncan's observations for next month.

## HOW IS INDIA TO BE HELD?

AN important question this, and one which may well excite the solicitude of the statesman. We have suppressed the Sepoy rebellion; but the European has not been alone in the conflict: native troops—of races diverse indeed from the Sepoy, but still native troops—have been side by side with him in the time of danger. And now, when the Sikh has triumphed over the Hindústání, is the Sikh himself to be depended upon? Recent events give a significant answer to the question. In the 10th Punjab Irregular Infantry, a Malwa Sikh corps, a conspiracy has been detected, the object of which was to murder the Europeans at the station of Dera Ismail Khan, re-arm the 39th Sepoy regiment, proceed to Multan, re-arm two more regiments there, and then march in one united body on Lahore. The plot had been hatching a considerable time, and was discovered only four or five hours before the time fixed for its explosion.

How, then, is India to be held? How shall a new outbreak be prevented?

We answer—India, for a considerable time, until higher and better influences come into de-

cidated action, must be held by the strong hand of power. "We have learned now, from bitter experience, that in India, as elsewhere, the people of the country can only be kept in subjection by strangers, through the instrumentality of a foreign army." Mr. Raikes, from whose book on the revolt in the North-west Provinces of India the above sentence is quoted, expresses his opinion, that, for the retention of those provinces, a force of 30,800 foot and 11,200 horse will be requisite, besides a powerful artillery, to be kept exclusively in British hands. The European proportion of the force he sets down at 4500 British infantry and 1100 cavalry, which he considers will suffice, provided that the *matériel* of the main body, the native portion of the force, can be so arranged as that confidence can be placed in it. But here lies the difficulty. A part of it, he considers, should consist of an "organized police force, horse and foot," to the amount of 10,000 of the latter and 2700 of the former. But of what levies this force should consist appears to be uncertain. "It is far easier to propose a fitting organization for a police force, than to

decide upon the material of which such a body should consist. The native police of the North-western Provinces have proved unfaithful to their salt, when opposed to the mutinous soldiers of their own country; and the higher the organization of such police, the readier have they been to set up as mutineers, and hurry to join the revolted Sepoys at Delhi. The organized police in Oude have behaved as badly as the regulars; and if we had been unfortunate enough on this side of the Ganges to have entertained any such force, our dangers and difficulties would have been so far increased." And then, again, from whence are the native regiments to be raised? "The future constitution of our native regiments in Bengal and the Punjab is an anxious and difficult question." Mr. Raikes proposes the Punjab Guides as the model of future organization, in which each company or troop consisted of a separate nationality, or of men of one country, and native officers of another. "Take, for example, the following analysis of the Punjab Guide Infantry at a late period. No. 1 company consisted of all sorts of up-countrymen, *i. e.* high up in or above the Punjab, underdown country (Páruvea) native officers. This was familiarly called the Rúlla Múlla (*olla podrida*) company. No. 2, Puthans, from Peshawur, fierce, relentless, and savage-looking. No. 3, Punjabi Mohammedans, from Lahore or Sealkote, from the banks of the Beas, the Ravi, and the Chenab, tall, sleek, good-natured, quiet men, easily managed in the line, and ready to cut off the head of a brother Mohammedan in Hindústan when duty required. No. 4, Khas (pure) Afridís, speaking Pushtú. No. 5, Ghúrkas, from Nepal, brave little fellows, with high cheek-bones, eagle eyes, fond of cricket, shooting, fishing, and fighting. No. 6, Sikhs, tall, wiry, long-enduring, from the Manjha, or mid-country, between the Beas and Ravi." "In regiments thus constituted there is a perpetual rivalry of company against company, or troop against troop. National as well as regimental jealousies and antipathies prevent combination. Thus we come back to the old lesson, 'Divide and conquer.'" "In reconstituting our native army, and, to some extent, in forming an organized police force, we must take the Punjab Guide corps for our model, if we would never drift into mutiny again." Such is Mr. Raikes' suggestion. The nature of the proposed solution proves the greatness of the difficulty. Let the nation look to it. We doubt the possibility of organizing, on a large scale, upon such a principle. We doubt whether, after having

been embodied for some time, the distinct nationalities would not so far fuse, as to render a simultaneous act of insubordination by no means impossible. England wants a trustworthy element. It is only as Protestant Christianity spreads amongst the natives of India that such an element will be attainable. He, then, who would discourage Missionary action, is a shortsighted politician, unworthy, at such a crisis, to direct affairs. Let the old traditional policy of discouraging Christianity and flattering the false religions of the land be persevered in, and at no distant period we shall have another outbreak worse than that which has just expended itself. The blood-stained barracks at Cawnpur; the remembrances of the past; the scenes of unutterable anguish; the dust, for graves there were but few, of our slaughtered countrymen and countrywomen, protest against the statesmen who would attempt again to rule India upon a principle of indifferentism to the Gospel of Christ. For our disloyalty to the Gospel we have been disloyally dealt with. We compromised our principles to advance our interests, and our endangered interests, preserved from utter shipwreck only by an effort of desperation, have avenged our violated principles. Shall we be guilty of the same infidelity, and earn for ourselves the just reward of a severer punishment? How shall India best be governed? Upon Christian principle, and none other; a principle which abhors coercion, but which just as much abhors unfaithfulness to our convictions. Let the nation, in its policy, avow its convictions, and refuse, from interested motives, either to connive at falsehood or discourage truth. Let the Hindú, if he chooses, follow out his idolatry, and the Mohammedan, if he chooses, continue to bow the knee to the false prophet; but if they will listen to the claims of the Gospel, let them have full and free opportunity. Let us compel no man; let us bribe no man; but let us deceive no man, by pretending indifference to that which we know to be true, or assuming a deferential aspect to abominable systems which we despise in our hearts. This is the policy of a lie, and can never prosper. India needs the Gospel; and on India's reception of the Gospel depends England's retention of her Indian dependency. Let, then, the Missionary go forth free and unembarrassed. We want for him no Government support; but the time for official pooh-poohing of the truth of God is past, and we must have no more of it. The men of England will no longer endure it. On two subjects the heart of the country is being stirred: the confessional is one; the neutral



policy for India is the other. The country will not bow its neck to the yoke of the one; it is resolute in the determination to disembarass itself of the thralldom of the other: and as we would warn the Church of England to beware, if she value her own safety, how she tampers with the confessional, so we do not hesitate to avow our conviction, that to attempt to reconstruct the old policy, which has been broken and crushed by the late rebellion, will be the downfall of any ministry.

Let Christianity go forth. We believe the natives are willing to hear, if allowed to do so. As they hear and become influenced, we trust them, and no further. Meanwhile, India must be held by a strong hand. Whatever organization be adopted, the very existence of a native army will necessitate the presence in the country of a large European force. How, then, shall this be so disposed of, as, both physically and morally, to be kept in as healthy a condition as possible? It is of importance that provision be made for the preservation of both, and the necessity for large and expensive reinforcements be obviated as much as possible. The soldier for India should be permitted to enlist for a given period of service, at the expiration of which the opportunity should be afforded him of settling down in some of the many healthy sites which the hill countries offer, if he should prefer doing so to returning home. Moreover, in the selection of cantonments, the principle of the Roman *castra* should be acted upon. Positions of a commanding character should be selected in the different Presidencies as great military centres, elevated sites, of a climate superior to the flat country around, so as to combine the features of a sanatorium and cantonment. At present the waste of European life is excessive, and the troops, dispersed over the face of the country, are deprived, to a great extent, of all opportunities of religious instruction, and come under demoralizing as well as unhealthy influences. Vicious habits and tropical diseases decimate them, and more die of sickness than by the sword. At these central stations the means of religious instruction should be amply provided for them, and the most eligible measures be adopted to improve and conserve the *morale* as well as the *physique* of the troops. From these centres, railways should be thrown out as rapidly as possible, the modern *strata* of our day, so as to facilitate communication, and enable troops to be brought to bear upon a disturbed point with promptitude. Opportunity would thus be afforded of relieving outlying detachments as their health or other circumstances might require.

Some such plan of action appears to be imperatively called for. The expense attendant upon it, if pecuniary expenditure is alone to be considered, would not in the end be greater than that which is incurred by the never-ceasing transhipment of powerful reinforcements to fill up the waste of our European force in India. But, besides this, the new recruit but ill supplies the loss of the veteran soldier, whose time of service might have been doubled, if due measures had been taken to sustain his moral and physical constitution.

The existence of localities suitable for purposes such as those to which we have referred can scarcely be questioned. Besides other hill ranges and table lands to which reference might be made, we would specify the Khasia Hills, in Eastern Bengal, lying between 25° and 26° N. latitude, and 90° and 91° E. longitude, forming an irregular parallelogram, the length of which from north to south may be assumed at about seventy miles, and its average breadth at fifty, giving an area of about 3500 square miles. On the north it is bounded by the plains of Assam; on the south by those of Sylhet; on the west by the Garro Hills; and on the east by the central portion of Kachar. "Viewed from the plains to the south, these hills have the appearance of a long table-topped range, running east and west, and rising abruptly to the height of from 4000 to 5000 feet, with its upper crest straight, sharp, and almost perfectly horizontal. . . . The ascent to the hills by the beaten road, is at first very gradual along the sides of a sandstone spur; but at the height of 2000 feet the slope suddenly becomes steep and rocky, and the road mounts by bold staircases and zigzags to the tableland above. In the finest portion of the ascent the road is beautifully shaded by groves of the orange and citron, the jack and the betel palm, mixed with stately forest trees, many of them entwined with *pawn*, and here and there a gigantic banyan or caoutchouc tree—

'Branching so broad and long, that in the ground  
The bending twigs take root, and daughters grow  
About the mother tree: a pillar'd shade,  
High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between."

In this shade, the pine-apple and plantains also grow in wild profusion, and all seem like the uncultivated gifts of the Creator; but here and there water-pipes of hollow betel trunks, carrying a stream for several hundred yards along the hill side, show that they are not altogether untended.

"The groves from which the whole of Bengal is supplied with oranges, occupy a belt of

from one to two miles in breadth, at the sloping base of these mountains, and in a soil formed of the detritus of the limestone, which constitutes the principal rock on this side of the range. They seem to thrive luxuriantly to an elevation of 2000 feet above the plains, where the character of the vegetation indicates a change from a tropical to a more temperate region, and the wild raspberry and strawberry are detected on the borders of the numerous small springs which issue from fissures in the rocks.

"At the height of 3000 feet all tree vegetation suddenly disappears, and the scenery becomes barren and uninteresting. A few steps further on, however, and we open a magnificent prospect of the upper scarped flank of the valley of Mausmai, along which we ascend by a gentle acclivity, in view of four or five beautiful cascades, rolling over the table top of the hills, broken into silvery foam as they leap from ledge to ledge of the horizontally-stratified precipice, and throwing a veil of silver gauze over the gulf of emerald green vegetation, 2000 feet below. Indeed, the views of the many cataracts of the first class that are thus precipitated over the bare table land, on which the station of Cherra stands, into the valleys on either side, surpass any thing of the kind seen in any of the other mountain regions of India. Ascending to the table top near the village of Mausmai, we catch the first view of the station at Cherra, at an elevation above the sea of 4120 feet."\*

The article in the "Calcutta Review," to which we have just referred, institutes a comparison between Cherra and Darjiling, † at present the invalid dépôt for European residents in Bengal, as to the advantages and disadvantages of each as a sanitary station. The fall of rain at Cherra is much greater than that at Darjiling, but, as is justly observed by Professor Owen, "a fair estimate of the climatal condition of any locality can scarcely be formed merely from a consideration of the fall of rain." The mean humidity of the atmosphere constitutes a much safer guide, and this is within a fraction the same at both stations. In the Himalyan station, the uncertainty of the weather is much greater. "The weather at Darjiling cannot be depended upon for an hour; while in the Khasia hills, even during the height of the rains, there frequently occur breaks of the most

\* "Calcutta Review," Sept. 1856.

† Darjiling is situated on one of the lower and outlying ridges of the great Himalaya range, at an elevation, varying in different parts of the station, from 6500 to about 7000 feet.

lovely summer weather, continuing for several days." Again, the difference between the extreme mean of temperature for the whole year is much greater at Darjiling than at Cherra, being 23° 40' at the former place, and only 18° 70' at the latter; or, in other words, the temperature at Cherra is more equable throughout the year than it is at Darjiling."

There is another point of great importance, the facility of approach: this is decidedly in favour of the Khasia hills. "In the case of a traveller from Calcutta, for instance, proceeding to Darjiling, the two nearest points of access to which he can get by water are Nalagola on the Purnababa (the Dinagapur river) and Dulalgunge on the Mahanundo or Malda river. From Nalagola he has a land journey of 30 miles to make to Dinagepur, and thence 88 miles more to Silgori at the foot of the hills, or 118 miles. From Dulalgunge, by land journey, to Titaliya is about 50 miles, and thence to Silgori 16, making 66 miles. And from Silgori to Darjiling the distance by the road is 45 miles. That is, landing at Nalagola, the traveller has to perform a land journey of 163 miles; or, landing at Dulalgunge, a journey of 111 miles. While proceeding to Cherra, on the contrary, the traveller lands at Pandua, at the very foot of the hills, and thence in one short march of 10 miles, reaches the end of his journey. The Sûrma, the Sylhet river, by which he proceeds to Pandua, is navigable at all seasons of the year; and as we understand it is the intention of Government to run their inland steamers to Sylhet and Kachar, the journey to Cherra may then be performed with perfect ease and facility."\*

One paragraph more from "Thornton's Gazetteer of India," on the subject of the Khasia hills. "This mountainous region is considered to be advantageously situated as an almost impregnable military post for the north-eastern frontier, arising from its occupying the centre in a line of operations which might be directed against an eastern enemy, and from its possessing natural bulwarks, requiring little aid to render them impregnable."

Numerous other localities might be indicated, scattered over the face of the peninsula; but we cannot pursue this part of the subject further. A native force may be, nay indeed, must be, employed, and it may be done with safety, either by mixed regiments, or, if they cannot be obtained in sufficient numbers, by the transfer of Hindústáni troops to the Punjab, and Punjabi troops to Hin-

\* "Calcutta Review," Sept. 1856.

dustán, provided the native regiments be over-awed and held in check by an efficient European force, in a position to act with promptitude, should an emergency arise.

But there is another question agitated at the present moment—the desirableness of European colonization, one on which we confess ourselves to be undecided. The "Calcutta Review"\* for March last, has an able article on the subject, contending against the possibility of such a measure, the main obstacle being classed under two leading heads: 1st. Obstacles arising from climate; and, 2dly, Obstacles arising from antagonism of race; and it is upon this latter point that we think the arguments most cogent. We are disposed to think, with the writer of that article, that colonization is a process whose special reference is to new, unpeopled, or at least thinly-peopled countries. The introduction of colonies, consisting of a dominant and superior race, into the midst of countries densely populated by an inferior and subjugated race, is a measure of at least uncertain issue. Unless Christian truth be brought to bear very powerfully on the colonist and native, there must arise either antagonism or amalgamation. In the one case the natives are oppressed; in the other, the European superiority of character is lost. "It should be remembered that the fields of Canadian, and, still more so, of Australian enterprise [and we may now add those of the Vancouver territory], are little more than entered upon, and yet their demands for British labour are great and pressing and insatiable. Although only on the threshold of those vast arenas of exertion, we find it impossible to supply their demands for British men and British women. England cannot supply the requirements of the existing colonies, far less call into existence fresh and problematical colonies in India. . . . It will be enough for England if she can hold India, without attempting its colonization. Her resources will be sufficiently taxed to provide and maintain the host of British soldiers which will now be necessary for its coercion and restraint, without undertaking the actual transfusion of her population—a transfusion which, even if it could be accomplished to a certain extent, would form an impalpable and unprofitable drop in the ocean of India's people."

These reasonings appear to carry with them much force. Yet there are many who take the opposite side of the question. It is remarkable that the "Calcutta Review" for

March last contains two articles, one, from which we have already quoted, opposed to the theory of colonization, the other in its favour. The writer of the latter article considers, that by colonization the improvement of India may be expedited. "The practicability of European colonization in India is a *quæstio vexata* at the present time. By many it is advocated . . . as a means of laying a sure basis for the stability of British supremacy in this land (India), and for the prevention of such outbreaks as we have recently witnessed. It is scouted by others as Utopian, and utterly impracticable. We confess we have long approved of such a measure, judiciously modified to suit the peculiarities of India; and we think it deserving not only of consideration, but of immediate experiment, in proper localities."

An unpublished document, maintaining this side of the question, has been placed in our hands. It has been drawn up by one long conversant with India. A service of thirty-two years, during which lengthened period, from the peculiar nature of the duties he has been called upon to discharge, both in a civil and military capacity, he has had peculiar opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the working of the Government system, will, no doubt, induce our readers to peruse with interest the results of his experience.

A FEW SUGGESTIONS ON THE ADVISABILITY OF THE EUROPEAN COLONIZATION OF THE MOUNTAIN RANGES AND TABLE LANDS OF INDIA, BY MAJOR G. T. HALY, OF THE MADRAS ARMY.

"Although it cannot be said that India has ever yet been under European rule, it has long been well known to all who have given the subject a thought, that India has been won and kept by the European soldier; and even the most obtuse and bigoted must acknowledge that it has been saved by the European; and it is to them, and them only, that we can look to retain it, but not as hitherto—merely by the force of their armies.

"The simple question, therefore, is as to the best and most economical mode of keeping up a sufficient number of whites, as well by example to create a spirit of improvement, as to check the inherent rebellious spirit of the natives of India; for, independent of the late revolting outbreak, not a year passes without numerous commotions, of more or less magnitude, occurring throughout the length and breadth of the land. And such has been the want of confidence, that not even a court of justice has been without a guard of soldiers, either European or

\* "Calcutta Review," March 1858.

native; and it may be truly said the revenue of India has been levied at the point of the bayonet: and to this system, entailing the necessity for small detachments to protect the civilian, and in aid of, and to back up, the civil authority, may, in a great measure, be attributed the disorganized state of the native army.

"The paucity of European civilians has necessitated our trusting most of the work to be carried out by native functionaries, principally Brahmins, whose bigotry and antipathies, together with their well-known avaricious character and love of intrigue, render them at least but doubtful instruments for honestly carrying out the views and intentions of Government, or dealing out justice to the people. This is the belief of all classes, the universal cry being, 'Give us Europeans to deal with, and to rule over us, and we shall then have fair play.' The truth of this will be more fully shown by the 'Madras Torture Report,' and that on the 'Public Work Department' of the same Presidency.

"Manifold authentic instances could be adduced to prove the existence amongst the Government native servants, of a systematic practice of imposition, now become the 'Mamool' (custom.) In fact, in one way or other, it is generally believed that at least ten per cent. over the regular Government assignment is so levied, the unfortunate ryot cultivator being the principal sufferer. These impositions can only be stopped by the increase of European Government servants, and by throwing more Europeans into the country, as their example, combining deference to the law with a manful resistance to such extortions, will greatly tend to check them, by showing that complaints will be received and attended to. The native, under the present system, dreads to make complaints, owing to the persecution to which he is sure to be subjected by the native officials. Hence the frequent risings *en masse* of a district, as, in their opinion, the only means of bringing their grievances to the notice of the Government, and obtaining redress.

"The increase of the Christian population would of necessity have its own influence on society at large, and not the least of our shortcoming in India has been the manner in which we have ignored our religion, more particularly by showing a preference to heathen caste in filling the Government offices with Brahmins and other high-castes, much to the detriment of the other inferior castes, which are understood to include Eurasians (Indo-Britons) and other native Christians.

"The advisability, it may be said the necessity,

for an increase to the European population in India, can hardly, at the present day, be a question, though the feasibility and mode of accomplishing it may be.

"The European soldier, besides being the most expensive, is also the most unprofitable means of keeping up the required material. Colonization by emigration, on the contrary, will, at the same time that it secures the required bulwark, introduce a superior working class, and in no country in the world is this so much required; for India has much retrograded in this particular, under our rule, owing partly to her home-made not being able to compete with European goods, though the raw material, in many instances, is far superior, as silk, iron, wood, &c. What, for instance, can surpass in durability the Bombay-made ship? and these ships cost considerably less than English-built ones. Agriculture is carried on at present in the rudest and most primitive style: manuring is not in the least understood, and but rarely practised, except in the vicinity of the residence of Europeans; and attention to the breeding of horses, cattle, and sheep, is entirely neglected, except in isolated cases, either under the influence or at the suggestion of an European. It must therefore be evident that India has much to gain by the introduction of Europeans, both as regards the social-well being of the people and the general advancement of the country—besides the all-important advantages which would accrue to the British rule in India by the introduction and general establishment of a population on whose attached loyalty, dependence could be placed in times of trouble.

"The climate of India is of course the principal drawback to its European colonization. But this is not so great an obstacle as may at first appear, consequent on the great diversity of climate, caused principally by its mountain ranges, viz. in Bengal, the Himalaya; in Bombay, the Malabewashur; and in Madras, the Shevaroy, Pulney, and Nilgherries, the latter of late the sanatorium even for Bengal and Bombay, owing as much to the salubrity of its climate, as to its readiness of access, it being easier for those residing in lower Bengal and Bombay to reach their vicinity by sea, than to take a long and fatiguing inland journey to their own mountains, being distant only about eighty miles from the western coast, and about 100 from an eastern seaport; and increased facility will likewise be afforded by the railway shortly to be opened, and running round the basement of the hills.

"The proof of the salubrity of the Nilgherry Hills exists besides in the fact of its being the

sanatorium for European troops, a station having being formed, within the last few years, at Jackatalla, on the top of the eastern, or Cúnár ghát, where extensive public buildings have been, and still continue to be, erected. It is likewise the resort of retired and invalid officers, both civil and military, some of whom have opened large coffee estates, that extend down the side of the mountains as low as 2000 feet, the climate at which altitude (when the jungle has been cleared) agrees well with the European constitution; but the uncultivated tableland (altitude 7000 feet) would alone suffice for the occupation and maintenance of at least 5000 families, and this without the least interference with the natives; the few who live on and cultivate the hills having principally been induced to do so by the presence of European residents and visitors. There are, however, three classes of native occupants, viz. the Todawars, a Nomadic tribe (fast disappearing); Kotah, chiefly iron smelters and smiths; and the burghers, or cultivators on a small scale. The whole of these people were found to be eking out a miserable existence when first these hills were resorted to by Europeans, about thirty-eight years ago; but the burghers have much improved since it has become a sanatorium for Europeans.

The area of the plateau of the Nilgherry Hills comprises about 300,000 square acres, of which not more than 25,000 have been brought under cultivation. The soil is exceedingly rich and productive, and the climate sufficiently cool to admit of Europeans labouring throughout the day all the year round. The mean temperature at noon averages 68° in the hottest weather, and the coldest seldom exceeding 42°, with frost at night during the months of December and January. A most healthy climate is the natural consequence of so even a temperature; and these hills are one of the few places in the world that have not been visited by cholera. But for a full description of these beautiful hills, with this delightful climate, see Captain Ouchterlony's report to the Madras Government, in the "Madras Journal of Literature and Science," No. 34. vol. xv., December 1848. I have restricted myself to observations on the Nilgherry Hills, being those with which I am personally well acquainted; but the Kúndahe, an extensive adjoining range, must be equally eligible, and abound with magnificent forests and virgin soil, and consequently are well suited for the culture of coffee.

"The land on the Shevaroy is principally under coffee cultivation; but the Pulneys still

remain waste. There is another range, the Wynaad, about thirty miles from the western seaports, upon which large coffee estates are yearly being opened. These are lower (about 2800 feet), and therefore not so well suited to the European constitution. However, the clearing of the jungle, in opening these estates, has had a wonderful effect, the result being a healthy locality, in a part but a few years back noted for its deadly jungle fever, but now admitting of the residence of the European coffee planters with their families, who enjoy excellent health, though their occupation naturally causes them much exposure.

"There are considerable tracts of teak forest land both in Coorg and Mysore, where coffee and sugar estates have been opened under European superintendence, which is found necessary on all such estates throughout the country. But there being no lack of native labour in these parts, European managers, overseers, &c., are all that would be required. The climate, both of Coorg and Mysore, is well suited to the European constitution; Bangalore, for instance, the largest European station in the Madras Presidency, is noted as one of the healthiest garrisons out of England.

"In a country like Great Britain, from which so much emigration has flowed, I shall not presume on any suggestions as to the advisable mode to be pursued to gain the great desideratum of strengthening and improving our possessions in India by the European colonization of its mountain tracts and table lands, further than to remark that emigrants for India should leave so as to arrive at their destination early in November, the commencement of the cold season; and that, of course, on the outset, it would be requisite to hold out a sufficient inducement, in the way of a free passage, grants of land, &c., or few will be found willing to proceed to a country so little known or understood, and, at present, under so heavy a cloud: yet, I am persuaded that there are but few parts of the world in which a new comer would so speedily meet with comfort, independency, and a return for his labour and outlay—the climate and soil being particularly adapted for the cultivation of coffee, wheat, barley, potatoes, vegetables of all descriptions, and most of the European fruits, including the mulberry: and the climate has been proved well suited to the silk-worm.

"A most feasible mode, well deserving immediate attention, likewise exists for at once commencing in India a system of colonization at little or no expense to the state, viz. by inducements to officers, European pensioners, and invalid soldiers of grants of land,

&c. And with the faulty system at present in use, of reinforcing the army by drafts of mere lads, a third at least of those now going out will be *hors de combat*, as soldiers, within the first year, but would acclimatize well as settlers on the hills, and should be formed into a militia, in which all other European settlers should be bound to serve if required; an event which would not be likely to occur, as, independently of the force of the example of an industrious and peaceable population, the fact of so many able-bodied acclimatized Europeans being within call, would have its due weight on the native mind, and obviate the necessity for an expensive and overpowering European force.

"It would require one much more gifted, and an abler pen than mine, to point out the numerous advantages to be gained by the introduction of European civilization, enterprise, and energy; for it is a lamentable fact, and patent to all acquainted with India, that no attempt has been made by Government to develop the manifold resources of our Indian empire. On the contrary, a mistaken and blind policy has existed of discouraging European settlers; but it is to be hoped that that dark day has closed, and that a more enlightened one is dawning, and that India in future may look to be liberally governed, and not, as heretofore, ruled by the screw and bayonet.

"It may appear strange that these mountain ranges are so little known and appreciated as sanatoria for troops; but this may be partly accounted for by their having only recently been experimentalised upon as such; but "Mamool" (custom)—that millstone of Indian improvement (equally crushing with caste)—has had its weight; therefore "Mamool" has kept the sick soldier in hospital in the plains till the last moment, the survivors, at the customary period, appearing before a medical board to be passed for transmission to England, at an enormous expense to the State, and ruin to most of them, as many are immediately discharged on their arrival, with broken constitutions, as unfit for military service, and return to their homes either to be a burden to their families or their parishes; and

so ends the life of many gallant soldiers, who, with timely change to the hills, and care on their arrival there, might have recovered, and returned to their duty, as able-bodied, acclimatized soldiers, or remained on the hills as useful and comfortable settlers.

"In submitting these suggestions, I trust to be exonerated for having touched so lightly on the all important subject of religion, being actuated by the dread of alarming those of our rulers, whose dependence has hitherto been on a standing army, and that with a total disregard to all true Christian principle in their rule. This is the rock on which the late Government has foundered; and so will the present, unless they manfully come forward at the outset as Christian rulers, and neither fear nor be ashamed to acknowledge that religion which has been so long kept in the back ground by a false and pusillanimous policy. That this has been the ground of the present disturbance, and of our humiliation, cannot but be the opinion of all those really acquainted with India. In proof of this, who are more respected by natives of all castes than the Missionaries? And why? Because they have not been ashamed to acknowledge and uphold their religion. It is our mistaken policy that has chiefly maintained caste, to the detriment of our own religion; the religious toleration, so much boasted of, having been entirely in favour of the heathen. This is unfortunately an undeniable fact, which I am prepared to prove, as well as other points which, in the foregoing remarks, have been treated of.

"Education is another most important object, one which, from the thirst for learning which prevails in most of the native classes in India, might, under judicious management, be most easily carried on. The present educational system can hardly be so considered: not the least of its many defects are its showy but hollow university or college institutions, in which a certain class only is educated, and that far beyond their comprehension. To this faulty principle of over educating the few, whilst the populace remain in their former ignorance, may be traced many of the present evils."

## THE STATE OF PALESTINE.

OUR readers probably have scarcely been aware of the anarchy which prevails throughout Palestine. But it is full time that attention should be directed to the lawlessness and insecurity, both as to life and property, which are universal throughout that province. The

Turkish authorities have but little power, and the little which they might wield, they are, either from indolence or worse motives, unwilling to make use of. It is vain to conceal the fact, that, in the remote provinces of the Turkish empire, the Hatti Scheriff is a dead

letter, and so far from disposing the Mohammedan mind to toleration, has only served to exasperate it against Europeans, and all benevolent efforts put forth by them for the improvement of the populations. The same spirit which, in India, has exhibited the Mohammedan as the pitiless foe of the Christian, of whatever age or sex, and which, in Jeddah, with such a ruthless outburst of fury has glutted itself with the murder of a few defenceless Europeans, seems as though it could scarcely restrain itself in Palestine: and so angry is the aspect of affairs in that quarter, that events of the gravest character, should they occur there, would not surprise us. Despatches just received, from Jerusalem and elsewhere, are confirmatory of this view. Our Corresponding Secretary at Jerusalem, under date of September 15, thus expresses himself—“We commend ourselves to your prayers, and to those of all our Christian friends. There is no imminent danger, we think, and we know who is our Protector, and that nothing can befall us without his will. The present circumstances are a new course of lessons we have to go through, and I hope I shall learn a good deal. Smooth water makes the sailor too secure. May the Lord find us wakeful and faithful; and may we be enabled to set our people an example of true faith and cheerful confidence!”

On looking into his journal, inclusive of a period of nearly three months, from June 22 to September 15, we find the following notices—

“*July 19*—Heard of disturbances at Gaza. The Moslems attacked a Greek convent and church there. One of the monks was beaten, and the Christians threatened that they would be treated worse than their fellow-believers at Jeddah, if they would not behave in an humble way. The Moslem inhabitants of Gaza, like those at Nablous, are notorious fanatics.

“*Aug. 18*—Mr. Krusé, our Missionary at Jaffa, wrote to me that he had returned from his excursion at Khaiffa and Beyrout, and that, on board the steamer which brought him to Khaiffa, had been the five prisoners concerned in the assault on the family of Dickson, the American. In Beyrout only one had been found guilty, and he was bastinadoed till he confessed who the others were. They all were Dickson's neighbours, and were taken and sent to Beyrout. They are said to be the same four men that lately insulted Miss Saunders (American), although a janissary was with them. The principal persons of the Jaffa Mejlis, the Cadi, &c., have been called to Beyrout to answer for their negligence.

“*Sept. 6*—Yesterday we had news that the

French Consul at Kos (Stauchio) had been killed by the Moslems, and the English Consul there had had a narrow escape. Events of a sinister nature thicken upon us. Mr. Klein, one of the Missionaries, came back this evening from Nablous. He was unable to proceed further north, as the whole country in that direction was overrun by Bedouins of the tribe Es Saki (of the Merj Ibu Amin—plain of Esdraelon) who had a feud with the villagers of the district of Arabeh, north-west of Nablous. Arabs of the Ghor, near Beit-san (Scythopolis), were just coming up from their valley, when Mr. Klein had reached Sinjeet, five hours south of Nablous, and the spearmen were already commencing to possess themselves of the baggag-emule, and would have taken every particle, if Yakoob, our interpreter, who knew the Sheikh of the party (and had eaten bread and salt under his tent), had not strongly remonstrated against such a breach of the laws of hospitality: so they were suffered to pass by unmolested.

“*Sept. 9*—An old English lady, Miss Creasy, some nine years ago under-teacher of the Bishop's girls'-school, had left town on the 31st inst., late in the evening, apparently in order to go to Mr. Consul Finn's country-house, half an hour distant. Some people who met her saw her going in that direction, and one of these persons told her it was rather late, and afterwards observed two fellahs coming up behind her. On the following day it soon became known that she had not come to Mr. Finn's country-house or camp, and up to this morning not the least traces of her were to be met. But this morning a young Greek sportsman, happening to cross the fields between Mr. Finn's country-house and the Convent of the Cross, saw some wild dogs tearing or devouring something, which, on his shouting, they would not quit, till he shot at them. When he came near, he saw the dead body of Miss Creasy, in a horrible condition. He gave notice of his discovery to the English Consul without delay, and the Consul having sent for Mr. Atkinson, the surgeon, forthwith repaired to the place, accompanied by other gentlemen. The body was in a state of thorough decomposition, the feet and hands partly devoured by dogs, the face as black as coal: on the face were evident marks that the lady had been killed by heavy blows, probably of hands armed with stones. There is hardly a doubt that the foul deed was perpetrated by the fellahs who had been seen coming up behind her. She had been stripped of her ear and finger-rings, her watch, and purse, and keys. In the afternoon, the Consul,

accompanied by many of the European residents, went to Casi Benjamin, belonging to the Greek convent of Mar Elias, where the Pacha has his summer residence, and requested him to use all his power in order to find the murderers, and protect the Europeans, which the Pacha promised to do. All the Christian inhabitants are in a state of blank astonishment and consternation at Jeddah, Gaza, Jaffa, Kos. Well, the Lord is our protector. From henceforth I shall no longer go to Bethlehem without arms. I have often been, this year, all but attacked by camel-drivers, who derided me in their rude way, or tried to frighten my horse, so that I was obliged to use my whip. Two of them threw great stones at me. I know the mere sight of arms is sufficient to keep them off.

"Sept. 15—The Pacha has formed a committee of investigation, composed of three English gentlemen, and as many Effendis, on account of Miss Creasy's murder. Some six or eight individuals have already been imprisoned."

To these extracts from Dr. Sandrecski's journal, we add the following communication from our Missionary at Nazareth, the Rev. John Zeller. It gives a general view of the state of Palestine, confirmatory of the impression which the previous details are calculated to produce.

"It is unnecessary to speak about the uncertainty of the future destiny of the Turkish empire in general, if I be only allowed to illustrate the state of anarchy in Palestine. It would lead me too far to give a full description of the misrule of the Government in this land. Though I have been but a short time in Palestine, I might fill a book with most shocking instances of oppression, crimes, and misery, of all sorts and kinds, which come to my knowledge. What I myself witnessed during the short period of a fortnight last April, on my way to Jerusalem and back, may suffice to give some idea of the state of things.

"On my way to Jerusalem, I visited a Coptic Christian. He told me, that, on the preceding night, four of his cattle had been stolen from him by some people whom he had recognised. Whilst we were talking about the subject, the chief of the thieves himself entered the house, in broad daylight, and demanded a large sum for the ransom of the cattle. Their owner, though he is the secretary and friend of the governor of Tenin, who has a considerable number of horsemen at his disposal, dared not to arrest the robber, nor hope to recover his cattle in any other way. The Government, with all its satellites, is afraid of

the thieves, more than the thieves of the Government.

"At a place where beautiful plantations of fig-trees cover the mountains, I passed a garden presenting a most mournful aspect: all the young fig-trees in it had been cut down. This is the common revenge between quarrelling parties, and is never punished. The district of Nablous is constantly disturbed by wars between two factions, each striving for superiority.

"At another place where I halted for the horses to drink, a fellah (peasant) came up to me with his garments torn, and blood streaming over his face, and entreated me to procure him the protection of a European Consul at Jerusalem, as his enemies would not rest till they had killed him, and he could expect no protection from the Turkish authorities.

"On my way back to Nablous, my companions, who were some distance behind, had a narrow escape from a party of marauders, who attacked them with stones, shouting to their fellows to encircle and plunder us. In Nablous I found a Protestant of the neighbouring village, Rephidim, who, with five families, had left their village, and forsaken their houses and property, in order to escape the unbearable extortions of the Sheikhs and Government.

"When traversing the splendid plain of Esdraelon, the scenery was highly enlivened by the black encampments of Bedouins, who covered the plain. Travellers and poets have often endeavoured to describe the romance of Arab life, and the happiness of the Bedouin, with his ancient customs, and freedom under the blue sky; but the dark colours are very near the bright ones. Why are only ruined villages to be found in the finest plain of Palestine? Because of these Bedouins. Like the Midianites of old, they come up with their flocks from the Jordan in the spring, to feed on what the peasants have sown at the borders of the plain; and, for the portion that is left, the owners have to pay a heavy ransom to the Sheikh of the thieves. The Turkish Government turns a deaf ear to the peasants' petitions for redress, but collects, with unmerciful hand, fixed and arbitrary taxes, and when there is difficulty in the payment, the soldiers of the Pasha are worse enemies than the Bedouins.

"I will give you an instance illustrative of the character of the Turkish officers. Lately, a great quantity of silk stuffs, belonging to a travelling merchant, was stolen from the Khan at Nazareth. By the interference of the consuls at Jerusalem, the authorities at Nazareth were urged to investigate the matter. A sus-



person individual, a man perfectly blind from his youth, was apprehended, and received the bastinado of 400 strokes; and it afterwards appeared that the very Cadi himself had received a principal share in the goods, the blind man being no more than the instrument in stealing them. The Cadi, however, was not uneasy at having compromised himself, and, of course, very far from giving up the spoil: nor are the people surprised about it, for they are long ago used to such things.

"One of our Protestants, at an out-station, Yafa, is at present involved in a very disagreeable law-suit. A young Moslem fell into a well and died, but his relatives, pretending that a member of our congregation had killed him, demanded the blood, i.e. that one of his family should die for him in return. It was sufficiently proved that the accused, at the time the accident occurred, was at a great distance from the well, and everybody is convinced that the relatives of the dead only point him out as the murderer in order to extort money. They constantly threaten to kill him and his whole family. They have cut down a plantation of young olive-trees belonging to him, the damage of which amounts to 10,000 piastres. They encircled, during the night, his house at Yafa, and shot bullets into the walls and doors. At last he was obliged to agree to the payment of 3000 piastres; and then some rascal of a Bedouin, not at all related to the dead, appeared, pretending to be a relative, and threatening that he would revenge the blood. Yet neither the Government nor the Consuls have power enough to stay such persecution.

"Lately, Elias Esehaphure, our school-master in K'fr-Kana, was asked at a dinner-party, by the Cadi of Nazareth, how he could dare to instruct a Moslem in the religion of the Protestants. Elias answered, 'Because the man himself asked for instruction.' Upon which the Cadi threatened to bring him and the Moslem inquirer into much trouble, if they should again speak to one another. The English Vice-Consul from Khaiffa, who was present, reminded the Cadi of the liberties granted in religious matters by the Scheriff; but the Cadi answered, 'If the Sultan Abdul Medjid himself should fulfil such promises, he would soon be obliged to eat melons;' that is, he would be dethroned.

"These few instances, collected from so short a period as the last fortnight, and from so narrow a locality, may give some idea of the enormity of evil throughout the whole land during a greater period of time. How, under such a state of things, passions are let loose, how truth and right are trodden down, and

how, consequently, misery and a dangerous lethargy must increase among the poor population, may easily be imagined. But, alas! the other parts of the Turkish empire suffer no less than Palestine. It may be said of the whole empire, 'The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head, there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores: they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment. Your country is desolate; your cities are burned with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers.'"

The remark with which Mr. Zeller closes his communication is verified by the intelligence which continues to arrive from different parts of the Turkish empire. Such, for instance, is the following brief sentence from a letter published in the "News of the Churches," for last month, and dated Constantinople, Sept. 1st, 1858.

"Never since the beginning of the late war have the political elements here seemed so much disturbed as at the present moment, the immediate occasion being the discussions going on in regard to the finances of the empire, and certain changes in the ministry, and in the use of public funds growing out of these discussions. The city is so full of rumours that I am quite at a loss to know what to believe. There is even much talk about a rising up of the Mohanmedans against the Christians and Franks, and a general massacre, which has gained so much credence, as to lead some English ladies here to prepare for themselves native dresses in which to disguise themselves, if need be. I, for one, cannot suppose that the Turks of Constantinople are so perfectly demented as to undertake such a thing, for it would seal their doom at once and for ever."

To the same purpose is the following paragraph from the "Times" of Monday, October 10th, 1858.

"We have news from Berat, in Albania, to the 15th September, giving further accounts of the Turkish conspiracy to assassinate the Christian population. While the three fanatical Sheikhs were exciting, by their preaching, the population of Asia Minor to massacre the Christians, another of their body was similarly engaged at Smyrna, whence he was suffered to depart without any attempt having been made to arrest him. The Sheikhs arrested at Monastir, in consequence of the energetic measures adopted by the Governor-General of the Eyalet, were in communication with another agitator, by name Kodja-

Hadji, who came from Constantinople and organized a Mussulman congregation at Berat. The equivocal conduct of several Beys, well-known for their connexion with the famous Soliman, Governor of Podgoritza, who was dismissed from his place some few weeks since in consequence of a complaint made by the British Government, and that of the majority of the Cadis and Mollahs, who never lose an opportunity of persecuting the Rayahs, and of exciting the fanaticism of the Mussulmans of that country, cause the Christians to live in perpetual alarm, and lead them to believe that the Sultan secretly encourages their oppressors, than which nothing can be more erroneous; for, were it true, the Sultan would risk his own existence. The three fanatical Sheikhs were received with the greatest distinction at Avlona by Selim Bey, the Mudir, who was perhaps ignorant of their purpose. They succeeded in affiliating more than 5000 Turks at Monastir, most of whom are Redifs, officers and soldiers; the Zaptis and the Cavasses, or police, entered into the conspiracy, but the cavalry resisted every temptation offered them to assist in falling on the Christians at the moment they should be engaged at their devotions in church; and, as the Mussulmans are always well supplied with arms, the preparations were soon made. There remained only for the conspirators to secure the adherence of a Bey, who was pointed out to them as favourable to their cause, and by whose influence they would gain over the cavalry. One of the Sheikhs waited on the Bey, disclosed his plan, and promised him the highest position in the province. The Bey appeared to enter into the views of the Sheikh, and even made some objection to his plan, in order to show his sincerity; but after the departure of the fanatic he waited on the Governor-General, and informed him of what he had learned. The Governor forthwith adopted energetic measures, and caused several of the insurgent chiefs to be secretly arrested. He, at the same time, ordered all the Redrifs, Zapties, and Cavasses to quit the town, accompanied in appearance, but escorted in reality, by the cavalry. Two of the Sheikhs were arrested, but the third, whom the public voice accuses

of being the soul of the conspiracy, succeeded in effecting his escape. The Zapties and Cavasses have been disbanded. Many of the Redifs have deserted: the others have been marched, in small detachments, in the direction of Bosnia.

“The execution of three Christians at Salonica, in contempt of the amnesty of 1855, and particularly the insult offered to their remains by the Turkish populace, had created so great an excitement in Macedonia, that the English Consul had requested the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands to send some English ships of war into the Gulf of Salonica.

“A Turk was strangled at Berat by three of his countrymen on the 15th of August, and the assassins, being well known, were arrested by order of the Governor, but were released at the solicitation of the Cadi and the Mufti. These persons pretended that the Christians alone committed the crime. When the Governor ordered that the dead body should be examined, the Mufti, who was present, on pointing out the scratches on the neck of the victim, said, “Do you not recognise Christian nails?” This language, spoken by the interpreter of the law, might have produced very dreadful consequences, had it not been for the exertions made by the Governor to prevent it.

“The Mudir of Avlona, having been lately called on to execute a measure of reform, replied, ‘I do not acquiesce in the concessions which have been extorted from the Sultan, because they are all contrary to law. The Sultan may take my head, but shall not degrade my conscience.’”

Collaterally with these disquietudes are encouraging tokens of a spirit of inquiry amongst the Mohammedan population, and we must be prepared to expect, that, as these increase, the spirit of intolerance will display itself still more strongly. A Missionary, just returned from Palestine, has mentioned a case which had come under his own observation, of a Turk, convinced of the truth of Christianity, and earnestly desiring baptism, although it was undoubted that it would be immediately followed by his murder at the hand of his own relatives.

## GRANTS-IN-AID TO MISSION SCHOOLS IN TINNEVELLY.

It is a maxim all but universally received, that an ignorant population is a constant political danger. The school of politicians that opposed popular education has been so completely overmastered by arguments, facts, and statistics, that it is difficult to find a living representative of the exploded prejudice against the instruction of the masses, at any rate, the masses of Great Britain. Uneducated masses are the fuel for the fiery tongue of the demagogue; their opinions are a heap of incoherent prejudices; and innovations, which seem to their rulers most palpable improvements, may set them at once into a flame, far more easily to be kindled than quenched. The poor ignorant French peasantry in Brittany once rose into rebellion at the introduction of pendulum clocks, because they thought it had something to do with a new tax on salt. The Caffres at the Cape recently caused a disastrous famine by the slaughter of all their cattle at the injunction of one of their conjuring impostors. The uneducated Sepoy saw nothing irrational in the belief that biting a piece of greased paper could make him a Christian. It is an acknowledged fact that an ignorant population is a dangerous population.

This was doubtless one of the motives of true statesmanship which dictated the celebrated Indian Education Despatch of 1854, establishing in India the grant-in-aid system, which had worked so well in England. Now the chief educators of India have always been the Missionary body. They alone, as a body—we fully admit that there have been distinguished individual exceptions—have laboured, as their express calling, for the elevation of the teeming multitudes of Hindústán. They have not been allured there by high salaries, or retiring pensions; but they have gone thither because they believed they were in possession of the true secret that alone could stay the social corruption all around them. Having salt in themselves, they have known how to apply the conservative element to a people confessedly in deep need of it; and that people have recognised their philanthropy. It is difficult for an Englishman to conceive the weight of the Government influence on the mind of an Oriental. He knows nothing of the representative principle. He pays his taxes, and expects his rulers to do all the rest. He bows implicitly to what they may dictate. He has little thought of choosing for himself. But yet, in spite of this mighty momentum sway-

ing him towards the one side, and of all his preference for Governmental over voluntary action, we may surely be astonished if we find that he, discovering what is really best for his own children's welfare, and their advancement in life, foregoes the schools established by Government, and selects those established by Missionaries. In Missionary schools the Bible is of course a *sine-quá-non*. It is plainly and openly stated to the parents and the scholars that the teacher's desire is to make them Christians. Were Missionaries ever so foolish as to conceal their object, the native shrewdness of a Hindú would at once suspect it and unmask it. All this however notwithstanding, the people know where they can get the best education, and they freely avail themselves of it. In the year 1855, according to an official statement on the subject, the scholars in Government schools were only 25,362, the scholars in Missionary schools nearly fourfold, the numbers reaching 96,177. In the time of agitation and suspicion that preceded the mutinies, the Government schools at the seat of excitement were nearly deserted; the Missionary schools scarcely suffered any disturbance. Can any man who seriously examines the subject for himself be brought to believe that schools in which the Bible is taught are an explosive and revolutionary element, to be discountenanced, if not suppressed, by the powers that be?

Among the latest testimonies to the value of Missionary schools is a despatch from the Director of Public Instruction for the Presidency of Madras. Our readers are aware of the extensive educational operations carried on by Christian Missions in the district of Tinnevelly. There are 311 primary schools there connected with the *Church Missionary Society*, besides probably about half as many more under the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*; for the precise numbers are not furnished in the last Report. The last half-yearly returns of our own Mission there have just reached us, and show that we are now employing 238 schoolmasters and 80 schoolmistresses, all of them Christians, in these 311 schools, in all of which instruction in the Bible forms a prominent department of study; and that these schools are attended, not only by 4667 children of Christian converts, but also by 2268 children of heathen parents, who are cognisant of the universal course of instruction, amounting in all to 6935 children; whilst a small fee, nearly equivalent cour-

paratively, (considering the proportionate value of money to an English artisan and to a Shanar palmyra-climber), to the ordinary weekly payments of our national schools, is demanded for every male pupil. Of these scholars 2492 are girls. The Government Inspector, E. C. Caldwell, Esq. has recently visited and examined several of these schools of ours, together with various candidates, who then presented themselves for the Augmentation Grant; and we have now before us his printed official report of the result, dated Coonoor, June 9, 1858, (No. 482.) We will not weary our readers with his careful analysis of the attainments of each individual schoolmaster and schoolmistress, in a nominal list occupying several folio pages; but he concludes by recommending eighty masters and seventeen mistresses of the *Church Missionary Society*, out of 127 candidates, together with thirty-five masters and six mistresses of the *Gospel-Propagation Society*, out of 48 candidates, for grants-in-aid, according to the principle established by Sir C. Wood's celebrated Educational Despatch of 1854.

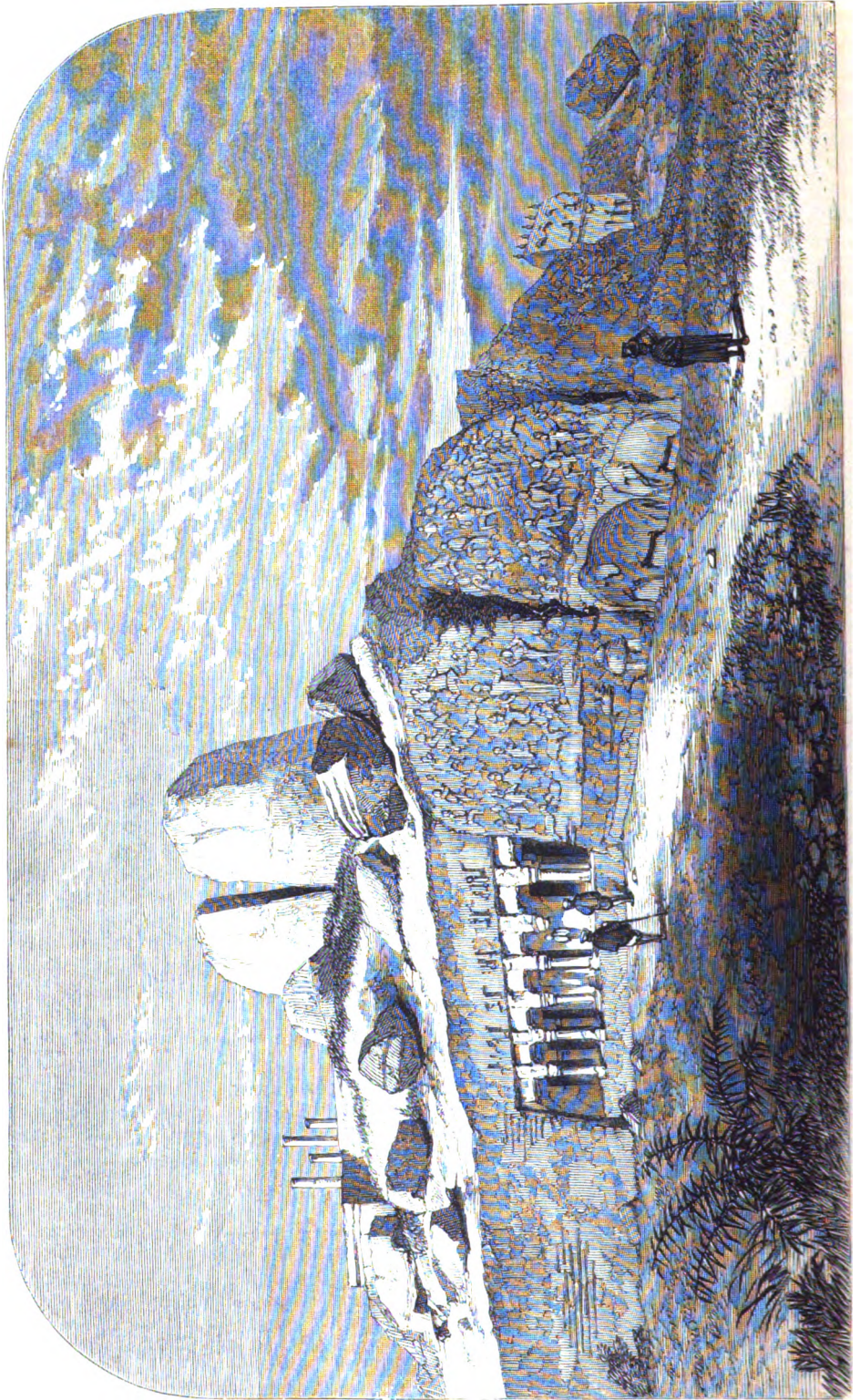
The chief of his department, A. J. Arbuthnot, Esq., Director of Public Instruction for the Presidency of Madras, confirms the Inspector's recommendation in the following emphatic words—

“Mr. Caldwell inspected many of the schools under the instruction of the masters and mistresses whom he examined, and he records his opinion, in the same words and on the same grounds as the late Inspector”—a clergyman, by the way, be it remembered, considered by the Home Government as unsuitable to be an Inspector because he was a clergyman—“that, ‘this is the most successful effort for the improvement of indigenous education’ (meaning by this term, the Director presumes, the education of the village population) ‘which has been yet made in India.’”

And yet Lord Ellenborough and Sir G. Clerk can recommend, in an official document (April 28th last) presented to the House of Lords, that no grants-in aid shall henceforth

be made to Missionary schools; and the present Secretary of State for India repeats to the gentlemen connected with various Missionary bodies, who waited on his Lordship, in reference to the religious policy of the new Indian Council, on August 7th last, that “his feelings are very much in sympathy” with this letter and memorandum. Are Christian people in England prepared for this reactionary policy? Will they allow the practical experience of able Civil Servants on the spot to be overruled by home-spun theories and speculations? Will the supporters of the two great Societies labouring in Tinnevely witness with acquiescence the heavy blow and great discouragement thus impending over their beneficent labours? After having received the Grant-in-Aid for two successive years, are these Christian schools now to be declared ineligible? Could such a proceeding have possibly any other aspect to the natives than that of direct Government discountenance of Christianity? After all that has transpired, is the attitude of England towards India to be more unchristian than before the mutinies? Are the Indian Council ready to recede from the Educational Despatch of 1854? Is the teaching of the Bible in a school to be a disability against its receiving a grant-in-aid? Is Christianity to be the only religion put under a ban in India? It matters little to us what statesman may hold the reins of power. Our politics belong to another kingdom: our *πολίτευμα* is in heaven. But it matters much to us whether our nation is loyal to the King of kings. We believe that our national safety is bound up with our national faithfulness. Civil and religious liberty have their duties as well as their rights. We cannot separate the responsibilities from the privileges of freedom; and Christian Englishmen are grievously lacking to their God and to their country, it, when they know these things, they do not demand, in a voice not to be mistaken, that they shall not be made parties to a policy which dishonours their Lord, and imperils the British empire.





THE ROCK TEMPLE AT MAHALALIPURAM, NEAR MADHAI. — (From a drawing made on the spot). — *Vide p. 236.*

## EARLY PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN SOUTH INDIA.

HISTORY has been often called, philosophy teaching by example. It is something more than an old almanac. The study of past events is not a mere indulgence of an antiquarian curiosity; but we read the present in the past, and it is our own fault if such researches do not make us wiser and better. Specially, perchance, is this true of the study of the history of Missions. What to follow, what to avoid, what means lead to success, and what to discomfiture, are all spread before us in the experience of earlier evangelists, as our warnings or examples, written for our admonition on whom the ends of the world (*τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων*) are indeed come. So is it with the Acts of the Apostles, beginning as that chronicle does, with the earliest germs and development of Missionary work, and breaking off so abruptly and incompletely, as if to teach us, that though the birthday of that work was on the day of Pentecost, it was to live on in its succession of preachers, even to the winding up of the age. That inspired fragment of Missionary history is a perennial storehouse for all "fishers of men" still. So was it with the lives of David Brainerd, and of Eliot, the apostle to the North-American Indians, and with the narratives of the early Moravian Missions to Greenland and the Cape, and the Puritan Missionaries of America. The amount of blessing conferred through them, for the quickening and directing of similar zeal, can scarcely be overrated. "I especially," says, for example, the Missionary Sartorius, writing from India in 1730, "received great benefit from Experience Mayhew's 'Indian Converts,' containing biographies of faithful preachers, pious women, and pious children, among the converted Americans at Martha's Vineyard, an island in the West Indies, where the author had been a minister." The volume wherein this sentence occurs promises to be useful in the same way, and we are therefore glad to introduce it to our readers as a charming and carefully edited little book, which affords us an instructive glimpse of the earliest Missionary operations in India of the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, more than a century and a quarter ago, and adds a valuable chapter to the history of Protestant Missions.\* These *Notices* con-

\* *Notices of Madras and Cuddalore, in the last Century, from the Journals and Letters of the earlier Missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* London: 1858 (pp. 169, post 8vo).

tain the condensed letters and journals of the three or four German Missionaries, then in that Society's employ, for the twelve years from 1726 to 1738, and who then represented all the Missionary zeal of England for India.

It seems to us, in the present era of Missions, but a puny effort for England to make; but even that, as their contemporary Reports† tell us, "was an expense that did far exceed their ability," while they "cheerfully relied upon that good Providence which had hitherto prospered all their undertakings, to raise up such a true Christian spirit in this rich and trading nation, as would abundantly supply whatever money should be wanting to carry on so charitable and glorious a design as that of enlarging the kingdom of God and of His Christ upon earth." They were indeed but "a few sporadic Missionaries," with no political *prestige* to help, and the horrid dissoluteness of many of the Europeans to hinder them; and yet the preached Gospel was mighty in their hands to lay the foundation of that building of many myriads of living stones, hewn out from amongst the Tamil people, which is growing year by year into a holy temple in the Lord. We cannot believe that the Society that sent them out committed an error in so doing, for time has proved them right; nor can we believe, for the same reason, that they did not take the right way to carry on Missionary work. Let them describe that method in their own words—

"It is true that the printing-press at Tranquebar, and the tracts edited there, have hitherto, in some measure, supplied what has been wanting in going forth among the heathen, and in the oral preaching of the Gospel. But still experience teaches us that circulating books cannot, in many cases, effect the object which, with the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, the oral preaching of the word of God encourages to hope for. The living voice has

The richness of these archives was long ago noticed. In Henry Martyn's life we read—"July 4th. Mr. Cecil showed me a letter in Schwartz's own handwriting. Its contents were of a very experimental nature, applicable to my case." On which the editor remarks, "It were much to be wished that very large extracts from Mr. Schwartz's correspondence with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were published. Much would doubtless be found there 'applicable to the case' of Christians in general, and of ministers and Missionaries in particular."

† Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Report for the years 1734, 1735, quoted by Hough

a great advantage over private reading, especially among the heathen of the East Indies. For not to mention that scarcely one in a thousand learns to read, many of those who can read are too careless and indifferent to take the pains necessary to understand and apply what they read. And hence it is evident how needful it is to go forth among the heathen and declare the Gospel to them by word of mouth."

"As to my method of preaching the Gospel, I have endeavoured to conform myself to the example of our Master, the Lord Jesus. Wherever our Saviour went, He entered the schools. He preached in the roads, on the mountains, on the plains, by the sea-side, and in ships. He spoke to individuals; He taught in the midst of crowds; He embraced every opportunity of preaching to men the kingdom of God. And this is what I have aimed to do."

"Tracts on Christianity are very good; but in making known the word of God to the heathen, preaching has a great advantage. It is a true saying: *vox scripta manet*—that which is written can be read again and again—but this refers to things already living in the mind which we wish to recal. On the other, hand, the living voice has something proper to itself; something awakening; something stirring; especially when the words proceed from the mouth of God, which carry with them, even now, the same power which they did when God first uttered them. When our Saviour, and afterwards, when his disciples began to seek the lost, their method was oral instruction; because the Eternal Wisdom, Jesus Christ, well knew the nearest way to the hearts of the people. If I insist somewhat on this, it is not because I hold the distribution of books either as useless or of little importance. No, I have myself distributed them, and I do so still. It is because I set a higher value on making the Gospel known by word of mouth. Where this cannot be done, it is good to impart books to those who love them and ask for them. But the oral declaration of the Gospel is as difficult as it is needful. Almost all heathens are as dull as the brutes. You may talk to them of God or of virtue; they understand one as little as the other, and care nothing for either: *ignoti nulla cupido*. Would you help these miserable people, you must first preach their polytheism out of them, and annihilate the entire catalogue of their gods, before you can bring them to the one eternal God. Then, when they believe in the one God, it is necessary to impress on them his attributes; to show the ruin in which men are by nature involved; to

represent to them, earnestly and impressively, the necessity of recovery from such ruin; and to commend to them the gracious means of recovery in Jesus Christ. This must be publicly and frequently preached, and yet, if it be not privately and severally inculcated, we have not fulfilled our office. If this be not done, and if all that is accomplished is to get the poor people to repeat a short prayer by rote, or a portion of the Catechism, which they do not understand, and will soon forget, no real fruit can be expected."\*

The experience of a century has only served to confirm these words.

Those who are familiar with the history of Missions are aware that the Missionary operations, one period of which we are now noticing, grew out of the Royal Danish Mission, established at Tranquebar by Frederic IV. of Denmark, the contemporary and antagonist of Charles XII. of Sweden. The tentative and desultory efforts of the Dutch on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel cannot fairly be regarded as coming under the category of Protestant Missions in India, for they had no permanently-located chaplains at their factories till a much later date;† so that to King Frederic we justly give the honour of being their first founder. Nor was it a mere nominal support that he bestowed on them: he appears to have been actuated by a strong sense of his responsibility to those heathen with whom his Eastern possessions brought him into contact; he corresponded with the Missionaries in his camp before Stralsund; he found time to welcome to his tent a Tamil youth, one of the first-fruits of the Mission. It was on the 9th of July 1706 that his first ambassadors for Christ, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plutcho, set foot on the shores of India; and those who take an interest in marking the coincidences of national prosperity with national godliness may add to their list the fact, that about this same period the fortunes of the royal Swede began to wane before those of Denmark's allies; and on the third anniversary of that day his power had been utterly broken‡ and the peace of his rival secured. We do not pretend to scrutinize the counsels of Ilim who "giveth no account of any of his matters;" but we are persuaded that we read history in vain, unless we learn that no King was ever the nursing-father of Christ's church among the heathen, no Queen ever its nursing-mother, without prov-

\* "Notices," pp. 30—33.

† "Hough's Christianity in India," iii. 87—90.

‡ Battle of Pultowa, July 8, 1709.



ing that loyalty to the King of kings is the truest state policy.

And whence came the Missionary spirit that supplied this pious monarch with the agents for his benevolent designs? It sprang, as it ever springs, from devout access to the throne of grace. The good Professor Aug. Hermann Francke, the founder of the well-known Orphan House at Halle, was many years employed for the selection of men of his own gracious temper as the agents both of the Danish and the English Missions. He was one of the school of the Pietists, a disciple of Arndt and Spener, "whose aim," as Barth says, "was to obtain a communion of Christians whose consciences should have become awakened to that certain verity, that nothing but healthful conversion, and our being born again, can fit us for the kingdom of God; that no public confession of faith, be it ever so scriptural and orthodox, can suffice for such a purpose."

"Of his letters to the Missionaries only a fragment survives, which owes its preservation to its being inserted in a diary of the Missionaries, published after his decease. It was addressed to some new Missionaries then (1725) in England, on their way to the East, and is interesting as having been written when he was approaching the end of his course.

"... All is summed up in this, that as the hand of the living God has been continually with you hitherto, so now, in the strength given to you, you should, with child-like simplicity and manly boldness, fix your whole trust on the living and majestic God, the Governor of the whole earth; and on the faithful love of your Chief Shepherd, Jesus Christ; and in such faith receive out of His fulness grace for grace, and the most precious and inestimable gift of the Holy Spirit, which is more needful to you, and in larger measure now, than it ever was in your whole lives, that you may fully run your course, and fulfil your office. And for this reason it is my highest and most earnest wish, and the centre of all my prayers for you, that the Lord may baptize you with such a baptism of his Spirit, and anoint you with such an anointing as may be necessary for you under all circumstances. There are many people pious and useful enough their way, but they have no true fire in them—no truly awakened spirit in preaching the Gospel of Christ—no true fervour, hunger and thirst, to bring souls to Christ: they are not earnest enough in prayer to grow stronger in spirit themselves, and to wrestle with God for a blessing on the souls

of others. They are well enough as sheep, but have not the properties of good shepherds of the sheep. . . . The Lord give you understanding in all things, and the true evangelistic and apostolic spirit!"\*

The men whom Francke selected seem all to have been men of this stamp. The *Christian-Knowledge Society*, through Archbishop Wake, their President (and indeed King George I. himself† and the Royal Family), had for several years aided the Danish Missions; but in 1728 the services of Benjamin Schultze were altogether transferred to them; and thus commenced those Missions in South India, which were again transferred, just a century later, to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. The journals and letters of himself and his brethren, introduced to us in the "Notices," are full of peculiar interest; and the Archbishop's prayerful and affectionate care for them shows the pleasure with which he followed their work. In those good old days the "ancient policy of perfect neutrality" had not yet been invented, and Governor Pitt offers the Missionary "free table" as long as he remains; and Governor Hubbard, "with whom I stayed for eight days, would have been glad if I could have remained at Cuddalore and begun a Mission;" and the Governor of Fort St. George "has ordered a sum to be paid monthly towards the expenses of my school, with this message, that, Though not much, it would be a little help."‡ It was not till many years afterwards that we learnt the evil lesson of Jeshurun. In those days it had not been discovered that it was perilous to enlist a native Christian as a Sepoy, for the Missionary Schultze tells us how the Major at Madras sent and took a heathen young man, who had been baptized after previous preparation, and admitted into the Company's service as a soldier.§ In those days an Archbishop of the Church of England might without blame address a Lutheran Missionary, not as a successor of apostles, but actually as an apostle and evangelist himself.|| In those days it was no reproach to a Society, that it practically maintained friendly and fraternal inter-

\* "Notices," pp. 50, 51.

† See two of the King's letters, in Hough, iii. 190; and "Notices," p. 48.

‡ "Notices," pp. 2, 137, 26.

§ "Notices," pp. 89.

|| "Notices," p. 72. "Præstantissimo viro, Domino Benjamin Schultze, Gentilium apud Indos Apostolo atque Evangelistæ merit colendisimo, Gulielmus, providentiâ divinâ, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, Gratiam atque benedictionem in Jesu Christo, Domino nostro."

course with other Missionary bodies, even though non-episcopal. The venerable Archbishop Wake was not suspected of disloyalty to the English church because he poured out his heart in epistles full of fervent affection for his German fellow-labourers;\* nor was the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* misdoubted as a Church Society, because it sustained and directed the labours of those in Lutheran orders, who even ordained native Missionaries themselves. Should such reproaches be cast on any parties now-a-days, they may be content to seek a silent shelter beneath authorities so respectable.

We must mark two or three other features of interest before we lay down this little volume. It abounds with sketches of people and places, singularly true in the main, though erroneous sometimes, and then only, when derived from hearsay. We present one of them to our readers, as we are enabled to illustrate it by the engraving which stands at the head of this Number.† It is one of the most celebrated rock-temples of India—

“We arrived,” writes Brother Schultze, “at Mavulipuram: it contains ten families, and twenty houses full of Brahmins. Here nothing is to be seen but vast uncouth rocks. A Brahmin pointed out the antiquities, and related the following fable—Vishnu is of the shepherd caste; and once on a time, to display his power, poured milk on to a hollow rock (the cistern he pointed out), and thereupon began to make butter. When the butter was made, he deposited it on a sloping rock, where it was turned into an everlasting stone.’ The stone we saw. It is as large as a peasant’s house, oval, and broken off at the upper end, and is poised on so narrow a base as to look quite threatening. The Brahmin said they had once harnessed twelve elephants to this butter-stone, and failed to move it. He also told us that a cat had come and lapped a little of Vishnu’s butter-milk; that this poor beast had committed so great a sin that it must be expiated; and that the cat was therefore turned into stone here, condemned to be an eternal spectacle. The Brahmin pointed out several middle-sized pagodas, hewn out of the rock, and wrought with great art, both inside and outside. One large pagoda had eighteen columns, the whole out of a single rock. Thence we went to the strand, to see Mavalipuram’s pagoda. Its fall is near, for the sea has already

\* “Notices,” p. 72—74. See another letter of the Archbishop’s in Hough, iii. 194, 195.

† From a sketch on the spot, by the Rev. W. Knight.

rent its encircling wall, and rages loose about it. A great city is said to have stood where now the sea urges its waves.”‡

Brother Sartorius also visited the place—“I arrived at Mahâ-bali-puram, where there is much to excite admiration. Several pinnacles of rock stand out among the bushes, some of which are sculptured as elephants, lions, oxen, idol-cars with figures of the gods, all of their full size. Then comes a longer cliff, some bow-shots wide, in which are spacious rest-houses, chapels, and chambers, and in several parts columns in front, all hewn out of the solid. On one rock many gods, giants, women, children, and animals, are sculptured, together with the deeds of the giants. For example, in the fifth birth of Vishnu, named Vâmanaavatâram, when King Mahâ-bali-sackri-varti reigned, the king of the world of gods, Dêven-diren, caused a stone-rain (hail), by which man and beast perished. But Vishnu took up a rock, and with it covered the shepherds, with their wives, children, and cattle. Some of them are represented in the act of running, carrying their children, and dragging their cattle.

“A large mass of stone, hewn into an oval form, hangs poised on a sloping rock, and appears as if it must fall. This, they say, was once butter, which Kischtnen [Krishna] stole from the houses of the shepherds, and deposited there; but a cat having come and eaten some of it, the whole was rendered unclean; so he caused both the butter and cat, &c.

“Laedschmi, the wife of Vishnu, is represented, with elephants bringing offerings to her in golden shells, borne on their trunks. Above, on the rock, are some slight remains of a chapel built of bricks. There is a small bath hewn out, in which the goddesses (probably the dancing-girls who ministered in the temple) bathed. The fire-hearth and conduit-stone of the god are also to be seen; perhaps heretofore there have been buildings and roofs over them.

“On the pinnacle of the cliff there is a chapel of some size, named Ema-Lôgam, i. e. Emen’s world, in which Emen (the god of death) is represented sitting, while, with his scribe, he examines the reckoning of the actions and works of men, and the period of their deaths and recompense. Near him stand his angels, or slaves, who torture the impious. In the chapel is Kailâscham, i. e. Isuren’s abode, or Paradise; and Veigundam, i. e. Vishnu’s abode. These gods are of large size, and beautifully cut. In front of this chapel, on the point of a hanging rock, they

‡ “Notices,” p. 11.

had begun to sculpture an idol-car, with various small figures of gods, but the work is left unfinished. It is probable that the kings and wealthy people of former times had these works executed from time to time, and made pilgrimages to the place. On the hill are thickets and bushes, inhabited by wild cats and porcupines. At the foot of the hill there is an idol-temple and many Brahmins' houses. Close to the sea there is a temple with lofty columns and of massive masonry, but the sea has beaten down the greatest portion of it. The Brahmins came in great numbers to solicit alms, but listened to what I said of the nothingness of their idolatry with levity and indifference.\*

"On our journey," writes again Sartorius to Francke, "to Cuddalore, we visited Mabali-buram, where there are many figures carved in the rock. The date of this remarkable place it is difficult to ascertain, because the Brahmins have involved it in their mythology. They say it is the work of Pandaver (otherwise Tarmarasackol, or the beneficent and righteous king,) who had five brothers, who reigned at Astinaburam, or Delhi, about 4840 years ago, shortly before the commencement of the Calijugam, or poverty period (iron age). Their names were Tarmen, Wi-men, Arsunen, Nagulen, Sagadewen. Tarmen gambled away all his estate, money, clothes, cattle, and the kingdom itself, to his kinsman Trijodiren. There was an agreement, however, that he and his brothers should receive it again, after an exile of twelve years, and a secret retirement of one year; but if they failed in concealing themselves, and were discovered by the spies of Trijodiren, they were to remain in exile a second period of twelve years, and so forth. During the time of their exile they resided for a season at Mabali-buram, and carved the figures. On a rock as steep as a wall Arsunen's [Arjuna] penance is sculptured in relievo as large as life. He has long dishevelled hair and beard, like those of the ascetics of this country. He stands on one leg, with his hands stretched out above his head, as if imploring Isuren to grant him the miraculous weapons, which never fail to wound and slay from ten to a hundred enemies; yea, a single shaft shall be multiplied into a hundred or a thousand, and slaughter as many foes. This he asked in order to recover his kingdom, well knowing that Trijodiren would never restore it according to agreement. Then comes Isuren, with the whole host of gods; wonders at his severe penance; beseeches him to abstain from it;

and hands him the arms, with which he overcame his enemies.

"The oval stone which hangs poised on the rock, and is said to have been butter, we partly measured with a line, and partly computed its dimensions, as follows—The rock on which it is poised is eighteen feet high, and very steep. The base of the butter-stone is twenty-four feet in circumference. The diameter of the lower portion is 30 feet; of the upper 24 feet; the length, 36 feet.

"One of the last Indian emperors, Krisdtna-rnjen, who reigned two centuries ago, is said to have harnessed sixty elephants to the stone, and failed to pull it down. The Europeans call the place the Seven Pagodas, from seven pinnacles of the rock and chapels seen from the sea. Above four miles to the east a great city is said to have stood, now overwhelmed by the ocean. Rocks are visible from the shore, and, some years ago, an English ship was wrecked upon them."†

A recent traveller adds somewhat to this description, though the Brahmins are still, it seems, what Sartorius found them—

"I am at present on a little expedition to Mahabalipuram, about thirty-five miles south of Madras, to see the curious rock-temples and other antiquities which exist here. This place is commonly known as the Seven Pagodas, and is said by one of the traditions respecting it, to be the remains of the submerged city of the giant Bali. We left Madras the night before last in a palankin, and have since been dwelling in a tent about a quarter of a mile from the coast, with the sea breeze blowing freshly in upon us. To my mind a tent is the best palace in India. One shakes off ceremony and enjoys the coolness of the night, and its frail foundationless erection is always to me a perpetual moral of our own fugitive tenure of this world. On the seashore stands a ruined temple, and the sea has eaten into the coast north and south of it. The number of hewn stones visible beneath the retreating surf show that the sea has been encroaching year by year; and a solitary pillar stands like a beacon, round which the waves break in vain. About as far from our tent inland is a granite rock, about fifty feet high, into the base of which are excavated two temples, with bas-reliefs in the interior, representing some of the multitudinous exploits of Vishnu and Krishna. On the surface of the rock, northward of the temples, is an elaborate carving of the hero Arjuna, one of the heroes of the Mahabharata, and Krishna's interlocutor in the episode of the Bhagavad-gita, performing tapas, or penance, by standing on one leg, and in as grievous a

\* "Notices," pp. 135, 136.

† "Notices," pp. 161, 162.

state of emaciation as the monkish effigies I have seen in some of our cathedrals. This penance was so potent, if completed, as to give him the power of subverting the universe; and the rock accordingly is covered with images of gods, men, and beasts, including Indra's white elephant, all hastening to implore him to desist in time. There are also a number of monolithic temples—each composed of a single boulder of granite hewn into the shape of a shrine. On a bas-relief, in another part of the rock, is the sculptured history of Vishnu taking the three strides which deprived the Bali of his dominion. About half a mile to the south are more monolithic sculptures of considerable size; but certainly the time seems to be gone by in India for any such costly efforts in favour of Hindúism. There is an air of slovenly dilapidation about almost all the temples; and there are few followers of the good Bali, who, amongst his other excellencies, used to feast the Brahmins. There is a more modern temple here at the foot of the hill, but it has suffered from fire, and is overgrown with weeds; nor has any one enthusiasm enough to be at the cost of beautifying it. If you witnessed the earthliness of the Brahmins you would not be astonished. The people tolerate them, but do not love their extortions; for they prey upon all other castes, like the mendicant friars of the middle ages. Their own wishes are literally bounded by 'What shall we eat and what shall we drink?' You would hardly think it possible that these words of our Lord should be so full and complete a portrait of any class of men—not one characteristic out of many, but the whole drift of their thoughts. 'Give me a present—Give me a situation—I have only so many rupees a month—How can I read when I have to eat?' And you will readily understand it is like priest, like people."

In the early days, of which these "Notices" supply a record, Romanists had not arrived at the conclusion in which they afterwards acquiesced, that an "invincible ignorance" precluded the people of India from embracing the Catholic faith. The Abbé Dubois had not then declared "that, under existing circumstances there is no human possibility of converting the Hindus to any sect of Christianity;" that "the time of conversion had passed away; and, under existing circumstances, there remained no human possibility to bring it back."\* Romish Missionaries

\* "Dubois' Letters on the State of Christianity in India."

were still endeavouring, with the weapons they had at command, to conquer India for the Papal See. And accordingly, when these earliest Protestant Missionaries, sustained first of all by King Frederic, and afterwards by our own Archbishop, began to preach everywhere the simple Gospel of the grace of God, relying upon no aid but the favour of Him whose Gospel it was, marvellous was the perturbation of those who had hitherto, without interruption, presented a distorted caricature of the religion of Christ and the people of India, and fierce their hostility against the messengers of the truth. "These Patres [Padres]," write the latter, "are our bitterest persecutors and calumniators, much more so than the heathen. We do not suffer a hundredth part of the opposition from the heathen that we do from them." "O thou simpleton," said a priest at Pondicherry to one of the converts of the Tranquebar Mission, "is this 'the true law' thou hast embraced? Dost thou not see the deceit of the German parsons? Wilt thou be wilfully lost? As a heathen thou wast damned; if thou wert baptized thou wouldst come into a state of salvation; so that if thou wert to die at any moment, thou wouldst be saved. But now that thou hearest the false law, thou art doubly damned." "Our catechists," says again Sartorius, "have frequent disputes with the Romish. When the subject happens to be the worship of images, the Mohammedans sometimes take part with our catechists. Even the heathen say, 'You are no better than we: we worship images, and so do you, only the names are different.'"

And we need not wonder that the hostility existed; for no contrast could be imagined greater than was presented between these simple Lutherans and the followers of Xavier and De Nobili. Christianity in the hands of the Portuguese Padres had become so corrupted and metamorphosed, that sometimes hardly any resemblance to its divine original could be traced. Take a few illustrations from these Missionary "Notices"†—

"A Romish Christian, just returned from one of their annual feasts at Paleiacotta [Pulicat] (held in honour of an image of Mary, said to have been found in the sea), mentioned to us that the feast had been very fine this year; and that a patre from Madras had made the pusei, i.e. performed mass. Pusei is the word applied by the heathen to the drink-offerings poured over the heads of their deities. Being asked what he understood of it, he replied, 'Nothing; it was celebrated in a European

† "Notices," pp. 46, 79, 93, 96, 109, 126.

language.' Q. 'What is the use of going, then?' A. 'Sir, You know that when the heathens have a feast many go to it from other places, spend a few fanams in offerings, eat, enjoy themselves, look at the feast, and then return home. In like manner, we have our feasts, and make merry.'"

"The Romish celebrated their annual feast on Thomas's Mount. They carried wooden images of Simeon, Christ, and Mary, round the mount, accompanied by heathen music, and pariah harlots, attired like the heathen dancing harlots belonging to the pagodas. The Portuguese call it the Feast of our dear Lady of the Mount; the Malabar Christians call it the Mother-feast; and the heathen call it the Feast of the Hill-god. The pariahs carry the banner of their caste, white, with an elephant depicted on it. Other castes wanted to [carry flags, upon which a quarrel ensued, which the bishop has in vain endeavoured to allay. The pariahs actually armed themselves with weapons to murder the patres and Christians of other castes, rather than surrender their right and usage. Upon this, the Moorish head interfered, and supported the pariahs in their claim. Decent people among the Romish begin to be ashamed of such disorder and abomination, and would have the feast done away with; but the Romish Christians say they would sooner cease to be Christians than be deprived of their feast."

"*Aug. 16: Lord's-day*—The Romish Christians of the pariah caste performed a play in front of their church, in a neighbouring village. One of the patres mounted a theatre built of sand, and briefly recounted the history to be represented, namely, that of St. Catherine, whom the Emperor Maxentius put to death in the fourth century. The patre then withdrew into the church, gave his blessing to the performers, and distributed flowers. He then returned home, leaving a catechist to take the management. Many scandalous and blasphemous speeches were uttered, as when two devils blasphemed the God of the Christians in order to turn St. Catherine from the faith. Others, in the most disgusting terms, endeavoured to persuade her to yield to the emperor's desires. All this was publicly spoken, in the hearing of heathens, Mohammedans, and Christians."

"I began the Malabar [Tamil] school with twelve children. The schooling is free. As a further encouragement, I teach them English and Portuguese. While teaching them that God is a Spirit, a boy said, 'That is true: our stone gods are nothing; but the wooden gods in the Portuguese churches

are also nothing.' One may perceive from this how the heathen are stumbled when they see that even Christians have what they take to be images of gods. Moreover, like educated Catholics, the more instructed heathen speak of their images only as mementos and ornaments. In both cases the simple herd pray to the images. In truth, I know not what argument a Romish Missionary can urge against the idols of the heathen, so long as the latter can retort upon the images of the former."

"At Pudupackam I expostulated with a Brahmin for worshipping a stone god. He replied, 'We are poor people: you, Europeans, can make your gods of gold and silver, because you are rich.'" It was plainly a breach of politeness to reproach them for adopting a cheaper material than ourselves, or to taunt them with an expedient to which their poverty only compelled them to resort. Well may Bishop Spencer call Popery in India Paganized Christianity, "plainly and openly inviting the natives to exchange one kind of 'blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits' for another."† Its normal progress is deterioration. It possesses no restorative power. Still do the Christmas processions parade the streets of St. Thomé and Madras; and it requires a practised eye to discern the difference between them and those of the heathen Pongal and Pulleiar feasts at the season of the New Year. We are not insensible to the many noble features in the character of Francis Xavier. We remember his touching hymn, "O Deus, ego amo Te." We know the eloquent panegyrics that many Protestants have passed on him. Had he only possessed the one true talisman, what an Apostle would he have been! But we also call to mind how sedulously he taught his catechumens the elements of Romish error, as well as so much of the truth. And that error has grown and expanded till it has overlaid all else. His image stands conspicuous in every Romish church in India, and gives its silent patronage to the Christianized Paganism enshrined there. Let him be a warning rather than a model. A Mission's strength lies in its purity. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.

But this little volume contains the portrait of a Missionary with no such exceptions to be taken to his life and work. He loved the truth, he lived it, he preached it in all its purity; and we could utter no higher aspiration for any of the Missionary bodies of

\* Missionary Charge, p. 274.

our day, than that all their agents may be like John Antony Sartorius, "the first Missionary sent out by England to India, whose bones repose in that heathen land." His self-denial, his laboriousness, his quick and ever-active intellect, would put him in the front rank of the pioneers of Christian civilization. But far better than all these natural endowments was the choicer and rarer spiritual gift of a clear apprehension and strong grasp of the truth, which he lived upon day by day, and seemed never to forget. "The doctrine of Christ," he writes, "is the *articulus articulorum*, the sum of all we teach, and all we learn: we can never outlearn it, nor sufficiently teach it."

He was the son of a village pastor in Germany, far away from the great ocean, and there seemed little probability that to him should come the call, "Depart; for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles." He may very possibly have been dedicated by his mother, like Swartz, from his early infancy, to the work of the ministry; but we know, at least, that after being a theological student under Professor Francke and Dr. Anton, at Halle, he was entrusted with a responsible post in the Orphan House, where his services were highly appreciated. But the Chief Fisher, as he says, had beckoned him. The cry from India was for more labourers, and the question was, Is not the appeal to me? The subject dwelt upon his mind so that he could neither labour by day nor sleep by night. When two other brethren, Worm and Reichsteig, were selected, one November, for Tranquebar, his conscience was for awhile relieved; but the demand for another man for Madras revived all his former convictions. He was selected to preach the Epiphany Sermon at Ulrich's church, and the appointed text, Isaiah lx. 1, would speak but one language to him. Could he whose soul had been lighted with heavenly wisdom deny the lamp of life to dark India? "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." The conflict began in earnest. "I bent my mind to meditate and compose my sermon; but my thoughts flew from the text and its promises to a particular application, a desire for India. The black heathen, the school-children, the voyage, &c., rose all before my mind. Still I kept all my thoughts to myself, except that I knelt down in my chamber, and prayed to God to remove it if it were a temptation; or, if it proceeded from Him, and were his operation, to bring it to effect. And upon this inward preparation followed the outward effect so quickly and suddenly that all were

taken by surprise."\* Prayer had resolved the difficulty. God's providence was co-operating with his grace. While He was preparing Sartorius for the work, He was preparing him for his future sphere of labour. The outward call came in the request to Professor Francke from the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* to select a Missionary for their new work at Madras. Sartorius asked only for a single night to deliberate: he sought counsel where it is never sought in vain. Without delay he put his hand to the plough, and never turned back; and in four-and-twenty hours he was on his way to England, and, after receiving ordination at the hands of the Rev. Mr. Ruperti, the Senior German Chaplain to George II., was received, a day or two subsequently, by Archbishop Wake, then just seventy-three years of age, and sped on his way with the Archbishop's blessing. Our space warns us that we must not follow him further; but we cannot omit one specimen of his touching letters to those whom he had left behind. His relatives in the old fatherland needed his words of comfort; and we know of no more beautiful illustration of the tenderness of a Missionary's heart than is disclosed in the following lines—

"I hope you have received my former letters, from which you will have seen how graciously my God and Lord has protected and led me. I also sent you several texts of Scripture, written on oles, or palmyra-leaves, with my name subscribed.

"I hope that you will now, at once, dismiss from your hearts the sorrow you felt on my account. What has been done I did not do of my own head, but God did it. God put into my heart an exceedingly powerful impulse to go to India. While I resisted this impulse, I often fell on my knees and prayed to God to deliver me from such thoughts (for I took them for a temptation of the flesh); and then He made the impulse stronger. God also called me to go to India: I have not run of myself. I thought much of you, my dears, and how you would grieve at it; but God made me certain in my own heart, and convinced me that it was His will, which must take place of every thing. Since, then, God called me, I said with Samuel, 'Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth.' Send me, Lord, for thy servant followeth." Have I, then, done wrong? Tell me. This you cannot say, but you must confess and say, This hath God done. But tell me further, ought I to have been disobedient to God? You must answer, No; that one must not be. Think of the

\* "Notices," p. 150.

prophet Jonas, who would not go to the heathen at Nineveh, when God called and sent him, but ran away. What happened to him? The whale swallowed him up, but, at God's command, it must vomit him unharmed on the dry land; and still Jonah must go to the heathen. And so you see well that we must be obedient to God, let Him call us wherever He will; for He is our Lord, Creator, God, and Father. Therefore it is certain that what has happened to me, God hath done it.

"But tell me further, Has God done well? Has He done right? You must say, Yes, for the issue shows it. God has led me in so wonderful a manner that I cannot tell it you all. I have already written much to you about it: let it suffice. He has also enabled me to learn, not only the Portuguese, but the Malabar speech, so that I can already preach and catechize in it. O! I wish that you could but once see me in the midst of the black school-children; how I am so joyful and lively, and tell them of God and Jesus Christ, and instruct them in Christian doctrines, while many heathen come running up to listen at the door, and wonder that I can already talk their language and preach it so well.

"Now, my dears, tell me: since God has called me among the heathen—since He has done right and done well—have not I done right in being obedient to God, and travelling here? Tell me, I ask you. I know you must admit that I have done right.

"Now I will ask you yet one word. Why trouble you yourselves, then, so much, and all too much? Why weep you, then, over it, and make my heart also fail, through your letter? I am not angry with you, for I know that you have done it out of love, and because you love me as your relation. But you may easily sin against God thereby. For you must admit that God has done it—that He has done right—that He has done well: and will you, then, weep? This is not properly against me, but against God. Therefore, take heed that you sin not out of too great love to me; but fix your heart in God, submit yourselves to his will, and praise Him that He has done well.

"You admit in your letter that in your country there is nothing to do, so that I should not have been able to be with you; but even if I had not come here I should have been obliged to be elsewhere, and not in my fatherland. That I am 2000 miles away, what is that? Life endures but a short time: we must think of eternity, and seek to be saved and to meet in heaven. There is no India in heaven, but we shall be there altogether. God grant it, through Jesus Christ our Saviour!

"You see, my dearest, I have again written much to comfort you; therefore, be pacified, else I will no more write to you so many comforting letters. I love you from my heart, and pray for you: believe it truly. I know, too, that you love me. That you do so is dear to me; and therein you do well. But out of this love to me, you must not be dissatisfied with God; that would be sin. Therefore praise God rather, and thank Him, for it is well with me; and God will, I hope, bless my ministry to the salvation of many heathen."

His career was not long, but every Tamil Missionary is indebted to him still for his translational and linguistic labours. He spoke, it is said, like a Brahmin. His name is high up on the roll where shine those of Swartz, and Weitbrecht, and Fox, and all the others of that noble army who have lived and died for India. And where are the men to follow them? Alas! how scanty are their numbers! Who are ready to write their names too on that same list of fame? If India wanted men then, how loud, how solemn, is the call now! Let the good Archbishop Wake, though dead, speak yet to our own great Universities, as he did to Halle more than a century ago—  
*"Petunt hoc necessarium auxilium pauci Indorum apostoli, qui in eodem opere indesinenter laborant; petunt novi catechumeni, eorum operâ ad ecclesiam additi; ipse denique Dominus atque Salvator noster, Jesus Christus, hoc non tam a te petit, quam pro jure suo postulat, requirit, efflagitat; nec in hac re repulsam feret."*

### THE CHIMSYAN INDIANS.

We present to our readers some additional extracts, from Mr. Duncan's Journal which, we regret to say, we have been compelled, from want of space, to abbreviate.

"The Chimsyans, I find, believe in two states after death, the one good, and the other bad. The morally good are translated

to the one, and the morally bad are doomed to the other. The locality of the former they think to be above, and that of the latter is somewhere beneath. The enjoyments of heaven, and the privations of hell, they understand to be entirely carnal. They do not suppose the wicked to be destitute of food

any more than they were here, but they are treated as slaves, and are badly clothed. What is very strange, they imagine that as the various seasons leave them they advance to the abode of the wicked. For instance, when the fish get out of the reach of their nets, they suppose they are then becoming the prey of the wicked beneath.

"The idea they entertain of God is, that He is a great chief. They call Him by the same term as they do their chiefs, only adding the word for 'above.' Thus: 'Shimauyet,' is chief, and, 'lakkah,' above; and hence the name of God, with them, is 'Shimauyet lakkah.' They believe the Supreme Being never dies; that he takes great notice of what is going on amongst men, and is frequently angry, and punishes offenders. They do not know who is the author of the universe, nor do they expect that God is the author of their own being. They have no fixed ideas about these things, still they frequently appeal to God in trouble. They ask for pity and deliverance. In great extremities of sickness they address God, saying, is it not good for them to die.

*'Kakm accord-an dahcoy,*

Shew good heart you towards me;

*Alkah ahm tum tsag-gee,*

Not good to die me.

"Sometimes, when calamities are prolonged, or thicken, they get enraged against God, and vent their anger against Him: raising their eyes and hands in savage anger to heaven, and stamping their feet on the ground, they will reiterate language which means, 'You are a great slave.' This is their greatest term of reproach.

"By far the most prominent trait of character in this people is pride; yet many other of the corruptions of our fallen nature they exhibit in deplorable measure. Revenge, with them, which is their only way of adjusting wrongs, is so dire and determined, that many years, and change of circumstances, cannot extinguish it. Several instances have been known where it has burst forth in terrible vengeance more than twenty years after its birth, and simply because an opportunity to satisfy it never exhibited itself before. Again, their excitableness is so great and so easily moved, and when moved, drives them to such desperate acts, that one has to be exceedingly guarded in the most common intercourse with them. Their dishonesty and treachery are so notorious, that trusting them is out of the question. But pride or conceit is the passion they most strikingly exhibit. It is astonishing what they will do or suffer in

order to establish or maintain dignity. Yesterday a young man fell down and cut himself a little with an axe. On arriving home, his father immediately announced his intention to destroy some property, which was to save his son from any disgrace attached to the accident. When a few people, or friends, were collected to witness the brave act, the father would carry out his vow with no small show of vanity. I hear that instances are numerous, where persons that have been hoarding up property for ten, fifteen, or twenty years—at the same time almost starving themselves for want of clothing—have given it all away to make a show for a few hours, and to be thought of consequence.

"The garment most generally worn by both sexes, is the common white blanket. For great occasions, however, most have got a blue or red one. The blue one is generally trimmed with stripes of red cloth, and set off with long rows of small white buttons. Sometimes blue cloth is substituted for the blue blanket, but only the wealthiest appear so gay. In most cases the blanket is simply held on by the hand. A few have it buttoned round the neck, and fewer still, in addition, have it tied round the waist. These latter arrangements more especially apply to the blue and red blankets. In most cases the blanket is the *only* garment amongst the men. Some few wear shirts. All the women wear an under cotton garment.

"The rule for both sexes is to go barefoot. Occasionally you see a few wearing moccasins, or shoes made of smoked deer skin. I have told several that have come to me complaining of sickness that it was partly owing to their having continually wet feet, and have recommended them to make clogs. I am sure that their skin shoes would be very comfortable if they would only put wooden bottoms to them. As it is, they are worse than useless in such a wet country as this. To induce the Indians to adopt this measure, I have got a pattern made, to show them what I mean. All who have seen it are pleased with the plan, and call the clogs *tsaush ah han*, 'shoes of wood.' For men hunting a great deal, these inflexible soles would not do; but the Chimsyans, as a race, scarcely hunt at all. They do more in trading up the channels with other Indians. The Company have boots and shoes to trade, and I now and then see an Indian with a pair on; but, besides being dear, they are not strong enough for Indian service, so that they are not likely to become generally worn.

"The Indians generally go about with their heads uncovered, but some few wear



caps, and others have a handkerchief round their head. The hair of the Indian is commonly of a black colour, long and flowing. Some of the women seem to take great pains with their hair, while the men are not so very particular: they do little more than twist it up into a knot on the top of the head, in which they sometimes stick a few oddities. The other day I saw a man with a marmot peeping out of his hair; but feathers are generally used, or else a handkerchief tied round the knot and left to hang down behind.

"These Indians here are particularly fond of painting their faces. Men, women, and children are alike in this. The only colours they use are black and red, but the number of designs they have, and the taste and patience they display in putting it on, is really surprising; and they just succeed in making themselves truly frightful.

"The women wear rings in their noses and ears, also round their fingers, wrists, and ankles; besides which they have a row of holes in each ear, through which they tie threads of scarlet wool, which have the appearance of a tassel on either side of the head. Some few, too, have large pieces of mother-of-pearl or sharks' teeth dangling from their ears. But much worse than all beside, is the custom of disfiguring the under lip of the women. The operation is commenced when young. The first step is to bore a small hole in the hollow just under the bottom lip, in which is left a piece of silver, in shape like a pen. After a little time this is taken out, and a small bit of wood, of an oval shape, is inserted horizontally. This, in time, becomes too small, and a larger piece takes its place; and thus the process goes on for years, until the lip is nearly dissevered, and frightful to behold. I can only compare the piece of wood to a small wooden shelf held before the mouth by the poor distorted lip. The largest I have ever seen, including both the wood and the lip, cannot have been less than four inches long and two inches wide. The wood, on both sides, is scooped out something like a spoon, and the inside is made to answer for a like purpose. In a house where I was some time ago, several were sitting near a kettle containing something they had just been boiling. Each had a spoon, and all were feeding out of the kettle. Among them was an old woman, and I observed that she first put the hot food upon her wooden lip, and after breathing upon it a few times to cool it, she raised her lip and the food disappeared.

"But I must not omit to say that this lip

is considered a mark of honour among the Indians. The women are the main depositaries of law, and the chief persons in council; but a woman's rank among women—that is—so far as her word, opinion, and advice are concerned, is according to the size of her wooden lip. So that if a young woman dares to quarrel with an old one, the latter will not remind her of her youth and inexperience, and therefore her unfitness to dictate to age, but rather she will remind her of the size of her lip, and reason mightily upon that. I am glad, however, that this custom is on the wane, and in another generation or two I hope it will be extinct.

"These Indians are not only divided into nine tribes, but also subdivided under five crests, the symbols of which are, the whale, the porpoise, the wolf, the eagle, and the raven. Marriage is allowed, but I do not think frequently celebrated, between persons of the same tribe. But it is a strict law with them not to marry in the same crest. All children are reckoned to belong to the same tribe as the mother, and also of the same crest; so that if their mother was of the whale-crest, her children would all be the same, and none of them could marry a whale, however distant; but they might marry any member of their father's family.

"There is also a custom here which reminds one of the East. When an Indian visits you, he will not think of going away until he is told. When the conversation has ceased, and he wishes to go, he will turn his face again and again to the door, and then look to you for a dismissing compliment, which is the word to go. If you fail to gratify him, after waiting long, he will ask you if he may go. But this is only the case when they come as visitors. If they come to beg, they will go generally as soon as their request is granted or refused.

"I find the principal amusement among the Indians is gambling, which is practised to a great extent, by both old and young, at all times. They have two games, both which generally take a very long time to decide. During one of them they usually sing and beat with sticks, each side performing alternately, as the game determines. Both consist of mere guessing about the presence or number of some bits of wood, which are concealed after a great deal of fuss. In one of the two games I have seen ten or twelve men employed at once, in equal sides, sitting on the ground, and apparently very much excited. At the other game only two can engage at once. The property they have staked is usually

placed in a heap close to them. It generally consists of blankets, or clothing of some kind.

"Besides gambling, the Indians occupy a great portion of their spare time at home in carving figures, making wooden dishes, spoons, and boxes. Most of them are very clever in this way. Some, too, are noted for carving in metals, making rings, bracelets, &c., all which are executed with great skill and taste. Their canoes, too, which cost them immense labour, are admired by all for their beautiful model and symmetry. Women make very nice mats of bark; they also weave, out of the wool of the mountain sheep, some very strong belts, by which they tie their children to their backs.

"I will not venture to state my opinions of the language of these people yet, for I feel too uncertain to do so. As to my progress, I may add, that I have gone through an English Dictionary, and taken about 1500 words, the most essential, and have succeeded in getting adequate Chimsyan for about 1400 of them; also from circumstances around, and by suggesting trains of thought, I have got about 1100 sentences in Chimsyan: so while the latter afford me sufficient examples of the construction of the language, the vocabulary will afford me material for thought for some time to come.

"Several of the Indians have been to see me and the Indian at work, and very soon began to put in their word, which was no doubt well meant, but was, in reality, a great hindrance. They joined heartily in the delight occasioned by a fresh discovery. It was rather tedious work for my Indian, and he sometimes complained of his head; but his great enthusiasm kept him up.

"The weather having been remarkably fine and frosty the last few days, I thought it a good opportunity to take a stroll over the generally soaking wet land, behind the camp, to seek out a likely place for the Mission premises. I say *behind* the camp, because the Fort and it occupy nearly all the rest of the small peninsula. As I started the sun was setting majestically on my right, behind an island which shelters us from the heavy splash of the Pacific. Before me was the rising and irregular ground of this narrow peninsula, which, for some distance, presents nothing but grey stumps of trees, a few bushes, dead grass, and a thin scattering of snow over all. On my left was the channel which makes this piece of land a peninsula, and over that a chain of snow-covered mountains towering far

away, their lofty white peaks, blending with the clear dark-blue sky around, presenting a lively picture of purity, severity, and grandeur in one view.

"Having walked about half a mile, all the while gently rising, I found myself at a considerable height above the Fort and camp; and turning my face westward, my eye rested on several spots suitable for building. The partly-cleared land stretches a little further than where I stood, on the west side of the peninsula; but on the other side, close to me, began an almost impenetrable forest. Turning to go back, my eyes rested upon the rugged and mountainous west coast of America, proceeding northward, and numbers of small islands looking lovely enough. 'Every prospect pleases, and only man is vile.' Oh when shall there be a temple raised to our God amid this glorious temple of nature? My eyes long to see these long-lost tribes winding their way to a Bethel, to meet the God whom they have long forgotten, and find Him a reconciled Father in Christ. Why did not Christians, long before this, come out to lead these wanderers back? Oh may the Lord maintain his own cause! for this people shall yet praise Him; this uttermost part of the earth shall be his possession. Then may we call upon the mountains, hills, and forests to bless the Lord, and the winds to waft his praise abroad; but not till then.

"I am not able to give so accurate an account of this climate as I had intended, for the small thermometer which I brought out with me was broken shortly after my arrival. I may say, however, that rain is the chief feature of the weather here. Out of 125 days which I have spent here, only forty-nine have been fair, or entirely free from rain; and I may add, that by far the greatest number of those days on which it rains at all, it rains nearly the whole day. We had no snow here till the beginning of January, and since then about fifty inches have fallen.

"The weather has been, on the whole, remarkably mild. It is now the last week in February, and we have not had over twenty cold days during the winter. All this is accounted for by the fact that the prevailing wind here is from the south-east, which is the return current of the north-east trade wind, falling in this latitude, and coming loaded with moisture and warmth from the tropics. Our being also just to the west of a high range of mountains has naturally to do with our having so much rain during the year.

## THE NEW-ZEALAND MISSION.

WE are under an engagement to recur to this Mission work, and we now address ourselves to the task of redeeming our pledge, so far at least as the limits of the present Number, pre-occupied to a great extent by other subjects, will permit us to do. The Mission field of New Zealand abounds with interest, and the experiences of such a work must always be valuable, because they furnish data of first importance in new Missionary enterprises. The indisputable fact, that, in the aborigines of New Zealand, we have before us a race of people changed from a condition of dire heathenism, with all its worst concomitants of war and cannibalism, to one of Christian profession, with its renewing influences, so that the ferocity of the savage has been subdued to peace, and the insatiable cannibal has exchanged the tomahawk and rifle for the plough and spade, and sows the precious grain, and reaps the rich harvests on the fields which had been saturated with human blood, and that within a period so short as to be included within the adult recollections of many living persons,—this is a phenomenon which of itself, and from the peculiar interest which attaches to it, must always command attention.

Special circumstances, however, constrained us, in previous Numbers, to take up the New-Zealand Mission, and investigate some points connected with its past history. An article appeared in the pages of a contemporary, which, as it appeared to us, placed the labours of the early Missionaries—those devoted men who went forward so fearlessly on a service of great danger—as well as the principles and procedure of the Society which sent them forth, in an unfavourable point of view. The deficiencies of that portion of the Mission work which preceded the episcopate—and where are the labours in which none are to be found?—seemed to be exaggerated, and the whole structure of the article such, that, in answering it—and we did so in entire ignorance as to who the writer might be—we dealt with it as having been penned by some unfriendly individual, who, from prejudice against the Society, was thus led to express himself disparagingly of its work. The subsequent avowal of authorship, which appeared in the pages of the “Colonial Church Chronicle,” and an explanatory correspondence which ensued, have served to convince us that we misjudged as to the *animus* by which the article was dictated, although, with reference to the points at issue,

we adhere to the convictions which we have expressed. The Bishop of Wellington has long been on terms of kindly co-operation with the Society’s Missionaries in New Zealand, and we are well persuaded that it never could have been his intention to depreciate in the estimation of their brethren at home, those earnest, and now many of them aged men, with whom he has wrought side by side abroad. We cannot regret that we replied to the article in question: had we not done so, we should have been guilty of a dereliction of duty. Our bow was drawn at a venture, but we are at liberty to express our regret that the arrow should have fallen on the shield of the Bishop of Wellington; and we now desire to close this controversy—a character of writing which we never enter upon, except when constrained thereto by a sense of duty.

With respect to the New-Zealand Mission, the Church Missionary Society can now have no other object in view than to expedite the moment when the native church, provided with its own native pastorate, shall be enabled to withdraw itself from that dependence on extraneous aid which is inseparable from churches in their infantile state, and rise into that independence of action, and directness of reference to Him who is the Head, which becomes adult age. The Bishop of Wellington, and his brethren in the episcopate, may reckon on all such assistance from the Church Missionary Society as may conduce to this euthanasia of the Mission; and from no Church Society in this land does his Lordship carry with him more hearty good wishes and prayers for the usefulness and prosperity of his episcopate, than from the Committee and friends of the Church Missionary Society.

But it does seem suitable, that although we close the controversy, we should not abruptly terminate our review of the New-Zealand Mission. There are not only points of deep interest as regards the past, but points of difficulty as to the the future, which our readers need to be made aware of; uncertainties of such a nature, that it will require the hearty co-operation of all who are solicitous for the welfare of that rising country, to ensure this, that there be no collision of interests, but that, while the colonist has all opportunity of making full progress, the native race, at the same time, shall be protected and preserved to share in the prosperity of their own native land. There is, therefore, a series of points on which we desire to

touch, but we shall endeavour to do so with as much brevity as is consistent with clearness.

The strength of a principle can be correctly estimated only by a knowledge of the difficulties with which it has had to contend in working out its legitimate results. The river, whose course lies through a labyrinth of rocky chasms, and whose channel is blocked up by hindrances of various kinds, is tardy in the progress which it makes, when compared with the swiftness of its transit further down, where the champaign country has been reached. As the vessel stems the tide, you must know the strength of the current in order to be enabled to calculate the force of the momentum. And so it is with Christianity, as well in its influence on nations as on individuals: you must know the peculiar experiences to which it has been subjected, the defects of native character, the weaknesses and temptations which required to be controlled, and the prejudices which had to be overcome, before you can conclude as to the comparative strength which it has put forth in that particular instance.

It is thus that, in estimating what the Gospel has done for New Zealand, we must take into consideration the difficulties in the midst of which its growth has progressed; and we are disposed to think, that in no existing field of evangelical labour, whether considered in its incipient action on a savage race, or in its subsequent efforts to mould and train infant churches, has Christianity had more dangerous influences to contend with than those which have had place in the New-Zealand Mission. The first Missionaries reached those islands at a time when the natives were but little known, and when that little was of the most unfavourable character. None but Europeans of a rough and desperate stamp frequented those shores—men engaged in the rude but lucrative occupation of shore-whaling, or runaway sailors and escaped convicts, who, by marriage, connected themselves with the half-warriors, half-fishermen of the coast, and too frequently shared in their wars and consequent enormities. No respectable European ever thought of selecting New Zealand as a home, to which he might transfer his wife and children: the Maori was a cannibal, and that sufficed. Nor was the first Missionary settlement regarded by the settlers of Australia in any other light than that of a fool-hardy proceeding, prompted by a wild fanaticism. Thus, so far as human aid was concerned, the Missionary was alone. On one side were fierce warriors and insatiable cannibals, men of demoniac

temper; on the other, reckless, dissolute characters, too bad for the civilization of home, and swept out of the portals of the mother country as vile refuse. God alone was the Protector of the Missionaries. To Him they looked, and by Him they were enabled to endure. Undeterred by the repulsive sights which met their eyes in every direction, they brought the humanizing influences of Christian truth to bear on these degraded tribes: with what results let the records of the past testify. Step by step, through the history of the Mission, we can trace the wondrous procedure, the discouragement, apparent inefficacy, and almost hopelessness of the first efforts, the gigantic difficulties, human passions that had never been controlled, a new tongue to be acquired; and yet, amidst all this, the leaven of truth patiently introduced, and, small and utterly contemptible as the effort appeared to be, by a select and imperceptible process affecting the native mind, until the peculiar influences which had been fermenting the mass could no longer be concealed, but manifested themselves in important and widely-extended changes. The work commenced amidst impenetrable darkness; the Missionaries were distrusted; their message was unwelcome: eager for war, the natives valued only such Europeans as supplied them with the means of mutual destruction. Gradually, however, under the influence of kindness, the heart of the Maori opened to his Christian teacher and friend. The natives on the shores of the Bay of Islands, who were more immediately under the influence of the Missionaries, were the first to exhibit indications of improvement; they became teachable and industrious. Others, more remote, became affected by their example: they who had distasted the word and repelled the messenger, expressed their desire to be visited; and the Missionary, as he bade adieu to the inhabitants of some native pa, where he had gone to speak of Jesus, was cheered by the pressing invitation, "Come to us oftener. Our hearts are dark, and we forget what you have said to us before you return." The first interior settlement, the Waimate, was formed, a sure evidence of the favourable change which had taken place in the dispositions of the people; and as the Missionaries became more assured that they had acquired the confidence of the natives, they not only itinerated in search of new spheres of usefulness, but commenced the arduous work of allaying the war spirit, and by their intervention, averting sanguinary conflicts. These efforts were made with varying result, sometimes successfully, at

other times they were compelled to retire and leave the wild impules of the natives to take its course. But it is impossible to glance over these details without admiring the bold action of these faithful men, and the wondrous way in which they were preserved from injury.

As, under humanizing influences such as these, the rugged character of the native began to be subdued and softened down, New Zealand became more and more frequented for the purposes of trade: an irregular colonization had long before commenced, the chief seat of which was at Kororarika, a fine harbour in the Bay of Islands; and as traders and settlers increased, and the necessity of some controlling influence, to keep the white population within bounds, became increasingly evident, a consular agent, Mr. James Busby, was appointed by the British Government, whose arrival at the Bay of Islands dates in May 1833.

It had not been the intention of the British Government, at the time of Mr. Busby's appointment, to annex New Zealand to the British Crown. The idea was entertained that it might grow up into an independent state, in friendly relationship with England, but not under her sovereignty; and it was thought by many well-wishers to the Maori people, that this would best facilitate the progress of Christianity amongst them. Events, however, as they transpired, necessitated a more decisive course of action. It soon became evident that these magnificent islands, if not brought into immediate relationship with England, would be appropriated by France. So far back, indeed, as 1831, thirteen chiefs of the Bay of Islands, under the apprehension of a French annexation, had memorialized William IV., praying him to become the guardian of the islands; and now it appeared for the moment doubtful whether France might not anticipate the intentions of the English Government, the precursors of a French penal settlement having actually sailed from Europe in November 1839. This, however, was happily prevented. Captain Hobson, R. N., prepared to act as consul and governor, as circumstances might direct, reached the Bay of Islands about the end of January 1840, and immediately hoisted the Union flag, in token that New Zealand was annexed to the British Crown. He then proceeded to obtain from the native chiefs a formal cession of the sovereignty of the islands to the British Crown, and in February 1840, a meeting of chiefs was held at Waitangi, in the Bay of Islands, followed by one of a similar nature at

Hokianga. One writer on New Zealand, who was present on that occasion, bears testimony to the order and decorum which prevailed in the meeting at Waitangi, and the deep attention which was paid by the chiefs to the matter before them. The treaty was read, which stipulated that "all their lands, estates, forests, fisheries, being secured to them," the chiefs should cede to Queen Victoria the sovereignty of the islands, receiving in return British protection. It was listened to with the greatest interest, the earnest countenances of the natives amply testifying the importance which they attached to the proceedings. On the treaty being read over and explained, they were invited to express their opinions on the subject, which many of them did with great eloquence, some approving and others disapproving of the governor's arrival and proposals to them. The influence of the Missionaries, however, secured a favourable result: the chiefs consented to the treaty, although, with their usual caution and acuteness of perception, many of them refused to accept of the presents usually given on such occasions, fearing lest they might be construed into payment for the land. Agents were then despatched to different parts of the island to procure the adhesion of all the tribes, and the treaty of Waitangi was eventually ratified by the signatures of no less than 572 chieftains. The result of these negotiations appeared in the issuing of two proclamations, the first relating to the Northern Island, the second to the Middle and Southern Islands, by which their full sovereignty was declared to be vested in Her Majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors for ever. To the stipulations of the treaty of Waitangi, as the basis of the tenure by which we hold this dependency, and to the faithful observance of which this country is pledged by every honourable obligation, we shall have occasion to recur; but it will be needful first to revert to the commencement and progress of colonization in New Zealand.

Christian truth having begun to exercise a decided influence for good on the fierce inhabitants of New Zealand, it became sufficiently clear that Europeans, if only exercising proper self-control, and duly mindful of native rights, might live uninjured in the midst of them. The temperate climate, so nearly analogous to our own, although of superior character—bracing, and fitted to preserve the tension and energy of the European constitution—indicated these islands as a suitable field for colonization. In 1836 a Committee of the House of Commons "on the disposal of waste lands with a view to colonization" referred to

New Zealand as, under proper regulations, a field of peculiar eligibility. In 1837 an association was formed in London for the purpose of furthering such objects, which, after many negotiations, finally embodied itself in the New-Zealand Company of 1839.

The friends of Missions at that time were averse to the colonization of New Zealand. It was in their anxiety for the welfare of the native race that they were so. Nor can we be surprised at this; for up to the period that we speak of, colonization, as it had been carried on, was only another name for the oppression and extermination of native races. It was considered, also, that the evangelization of the Maories, so happily progressing, would be injuriously affected by the process of colonization; and the idea was entertained, that, if Christian Missions were permitted, without interference, to carry forward the conversion of the natives, the happiest results would, ere long, be elicited. Whatever might be the value of such expectations, their reduction to practice was an impossibility. From the various causes already mentioned, the annexation of the islands to Great Britain became unavoidable, and colonization in a country offering so many advantages to the European was sure to follow. Moreover, where a tract of fertile country is found to be, in extent and capabilities, far beyond the requirements of the aboriginal inhabitants, we cannot at all admit that their right of tenure is of an exclusive character. The country, we conceive, is fairly open to colonization, if only, indeed, the colonization be conducted on proper principles: neither do we consider that the colonization of a country by white men must of necessity carry with it disastrous and destructive consequences to the native population. We believe that there are influences, which, if only brought into action, are capable of securing a different result. We believe that the Gospel of Christ, if prominently and decidedly used, and brought to bear by well-directed effort upon colonist and native, is capable of accomplishing the peaceable fusion of diverse races; that its influence will be found to be alike restraining and protective, and that to both parties, the colonist and the native; and we are persuaded that it has been the absence of this great element of fusion that has rendered the history of colonization in most countries so disfigured with calamitous incidents. It is this which makes the colonization of New Zealand so full of interest, that Christianity was in a position to make itself felt and heard, and that it has actually done that which no police force nor military intimidation could have done—

protected alike both settler and native; so that we have had many thousands of colonists introduced into the presence of the aboriginal occupant with a quietness of character of the marvellous when the fierce procedure quite Maori be taken into consideration.

We shall refer to some of the points in which the peaceable and just influence of Christian principle may be discerned.

Usually, in proceeding to colonize, the European recognised no right of proprietorship whatever in the aboriginal inhabitant, but proceeded, in the exercise of superior force, to appropriate whatever lands appeared to be most suitable for his purpose, and thus, *ab initio*, the native was put in the position of one who had suffered wrong, and who, according to his heathen notions, was free to put in force the law of retaliation. On the annexation of New Zealand, the rights of the native, instead of being ignored, were recognised. He was dealt with as the original proprietor, but yet as one who, being insufficient to occupy the territory himself, was under an obligation to alienate a portion for the benefit of his fellow-man. On the very day when the Union flag was hoisted, and British sovereignty proclaimed, Governor Hobson assured the chiefs who were present that nothing was further from the intentions of his Government than to wrest their land from them, but to treat with them for it, and upon this principle the treaty of Waitangi was based. There was no clause inserted compelling them to the sale of their lands. That would have been not only unjust and impolitic, as having a direct tendency to provoke hostility on the part of the natives, but unnecessary. They had already disposed of portions of their land, on very unequal terms, to various descriptions of land-sharks, and, under the equitable arrangements of the Government, would not be slow to effect sales at a fair value. But in order to prevent contention between the colonist and the native, the right of pre-emption was lodged with the Crown, the native being thus compelled to make the Government his sole customer in land. This, for a period at least, until the natives and settlers had become more familiarized with each other, and an increasing confidence diminished the danger of collision, appeared to be a necessary enactment. Thus the rights of colonist and native were alike provided for. It may be well to mention that arrangements of a retrospective character were subsequently appended to this treaty, available for the settlement of all claims to the possession of land acquired by early purchasers from the natives, upon an adjusting

principle of 400 acres for every 100*l.* expended in the purchase.

It may suit the purposes of some parties to sneer at the treaty of Waitangi, and designate it as one drawn up by the Missionary brotherhood. It is so dealt with in a recent publication.\* But it can never be divested of its character of a solemn national compact, to which we are bound to adhere at whatever cost. The stipulations of that treaty alone secured the peaceable annexation of New Zealand. Had the rights of native ownership been less clearly recognised, and the chiefs been left in uncertainty as to the intentions of the Government, antagonism on a far more extensive scale than the insurrection of Honi Heke would eventually have shown itself, nor, until subdued by superior force would the tribes have permitted the alienation of their lands. It was an idea that the British Government intended to make slaves of the Maoris—one infused into the mind by designing foreigners, a class of men which has never been wanting in New Zealand to incite to mischief as opportunity presented itself—which led that chief to cut down the British flag-staff at Kororarika, and raise the standard of rebellion. Had the natives at that time risen *en masse*, they might have cut off the colonists in detail. The embryo settlements were dispersed around the shores, widely separated from each other, and incapable of yielding help to one another in a movement of emergency. The Maoris, accustomed to war, and well armed, occupied the central fastnesses, from whence they might have rushed down with an unexpected stroke on whatever settlement they first decided to surprise. But they were stayed. The Gospel had prepared the way for colonization: Christianity, by the beneficent influence which it exercised on men's minds, and the considerations of right and justice which it put so prominently forward, suggested the treaty of Waitangi, and introduced into it provisions of equitable adjustment to both parties; and when some disorderly spirits broke out into open war, and threatened to involve the whole of the tribes, Christianity again interposed and stayed the rising tumult. The Missionaries in the north and west unceasingly exerted themselves. It was full time to do so, for the national sympathy with Heke was strong. Long before the news of the repulse of our troops before Ohaiawai, Heke's pa (June 30th, 1845), had reached the settlers in the south, the Rev. R. Taylor, our Missionary at Wanganui, on the south-western coast, had seen in the interior

several neatly-constructed models of the pa and its defences, made with fern-stalks, to explain how the victory had been gained. At such a time the Waitangi treaty and its stipulations were invaluable, the Missionaries, in their interviews with influential chiefs, referring to the manner in which it guaranteed the rights of proprietorship to the native, so that, unless it was his own wish to part with his lands, they were his inalienably. But they were also enabled to bring in the obligations of Christianity to their aid. In very many minds its truths had obtained such influence as to render an appeal to them not in vain. But for the moral restraint thus placed upon them, numbers would have precipitated themselves into the conflict, and fearful scenes would have ensued. But they moved not, and Heke's effort in the north, and that of Rangihaeata and Mamaku in the south and west being left unsupported, were suppressed after a season, though not without difficulty.

The colonists in New Zealand have now attained a settled and consolidated aspect. Their number, probably, at the present moment, 60,000, the native population amounting, so far as it can be ascertained, to not more than 70,000. On this mixed population, representative institutions, and ample powers of self-government, have been conferred by the mother country, the Bill creating the New-Zealand constitution having been carried through the British Parliament by Sir John Pakington, the Colonial Secretary of Lord Derby's administration, in 1853. The general government of the country vests by the Act of Constitution, in a tripartite body, composed of a Governor appointed by the Queen; an Upper House, (the Legislative Council), consisting of fifteen members chosen and created for life by the Governor; a Lower House (House of Representatives), consisting at present of thirty-six members, who are elected every five years. In the exercise of the elective franchise there is no distinction instituted between Europeans and natives, the qualification being exclusively a property one, every adult colonist or native, owner of a freehold estate worth 50*l.*, or leaseholder of any estate at 10*l.* per year, or town-tenant householder at 10*l.* a year, or country-tenant householder at 5*l.* a year, being qualified both to vote for, and to be a member of, the House of Representatives.

But although the Act of Constitution provides for the fair representation of natives as well as Europeans, and deals with the entire population of New Zealand as an

\* "Hursthouse's New Zealand," vol. i. p. 41.

amalgamated race, in its working it has been hitherto entirely colonistic. The right of the native to the elective franchise has not been exercised. "Many of the natives have property sufficient to entitle them to the suffrage. They are excellent public speakers; and some of the leading chiefs might be stimulated to take a useful part in public affairs. Hitherto, however, they have been entirely regardless of provincial politics, and have been known to sit and smoke unmoved, under the most rousing orations of the provincial hustings."\* But whether is it that the native is thus indifferent to the exercise of political power, or that he has been led to consider it beyond his reach? Have due pains been taken to make him acquainted with the provisions of the Act of Constitution? and have the authorities invited him to the exercise of his rights? or has he reason to apprehend, that if he came forward he would be regarded as an intruder? Has not his right to exercise the elective franchise been questioned? and have not doubts been suggested as to whether lands held under a native title confer the necessary qualifications, so that, if an aboriginal proprietor desires to vote, he cannot do so, unless he be willing to hold a portion of his property under Crown grants, thus compelling him either to remain excluded from the franchise, or else do that which involves an admission upon his part of the inferiority of his native title?†

From whatever cause it may have arisen, the practical result is this, that the right which the Constitution Act has conferred on the native, being in abeyance, the legislature

\* Hurthouse, vol. i. p. 108.

† *Thursday August 19*—"Mr. Carleton moved, That, in the opinion of this house, the New-Zealand Government ought to endeavour to obtain an opinion from the Law Officers of the Imperial Government, on the subject of claims to vote preferred by aboriginal natives under the seventh and forty-second sections of the Constitution Act, whether natives can have such possession of any land that is used or occupied by them, in common, as tribes or communities, and not held under title derived from the Crown, as would qualify them to become voters under the provisions of the forecited sections: this, with a view to petitioning the Imperial Parliament, or taking either the proper measures to be relieved from the grave inconveniences and probable dangers to the Government of this country which are apprehended, should it be found that a large body of men, who are destitute of political knowledge, who are mainly ignorant of the language in which our laws are written, and among whom respect for the law cannot be as yet enforced, have been allowed the right of interference with the enactment of law."

has been hitherto exclusively colonistic. The greater caution needs to be exercised, that no one-sided legislation be permitted; that no jealousy of race, or narrow views of colonial interests, be suffered to interfere with the generous provision which the mother country has made for the amalgamation of the races, and the well-being as well of native as of settler. Confidence has been placed in the colonial legislature. To that body, as yet exclusively European, has been entrusted the well-being of the New-Zealand population generally. Shall that confidence be honourably met and generously responded to, the colonist taking no advantage of his superiority of position, but acting impartially in all matters, whether affecting the interests of the settlers or the rights of the natives?

We confess that already some changes have been made, which lead us to view the state of things with some measure of apprehensiveness. Hitherto native affairs have been vested exclusively in the Governor, as appointed by the Crown. But since the inauguration of a free constitution, the Governor's position has become one of difficulty, and a pressure has been brought to bear upon him, the object of which has been the surrender of his exclusive power in native affairs, and the transfer of that department to the responsible ministry of the day, so as to bring native affairs under the control of the Representative Government. That considerable concessions in this direction have been made, appears from the fact, that financial arrangements respecting native affairs, hitherto retained on the civil list, have come under the consideration and review of the General Assembly.

A few words in explanation of this. The Maori is a contributor to the annual revenue of the colony, and that to a very considerable extent: we are not prepared to state in what proportion. We have seen one writer who is of opinion that five-twelfths of the customs accrue from the Maoris. That they must contribute so in some large measure, is evident from the amount of trade which they carry on. "In three months, in 1853, there visited Auckland, the chief seat of native trade, 442 canoes, navigated by 1592 men and 500 women, bringing produce to the value of nearly 4000*l*. The average annual value of these canoe-borne imports into Auckland is about 10,000*l*." Mr. Hurthouse estimates the Maoris' contribution to the revenue at one-tenth, while, at the same time, he produces one-tenth of the colony's annual exports.

As he is to such an extent a contributor, it is only fair and just that he should be



considered in the dispensing of the proceeds, and that a portion should be assigned for native purposes. Under Sir George Grey's governorship, various establishments were originated, calculated to benefit the native, principally of an educational character; and in order to avoid future difficulties in providing for their efficient maintenance, until the large land endowments which native proprietors have bestowed on them became productive, it was thought better to reserve a sum on the civil list, which the Executive Government might apply for the benefit of such institutions, and for such purposes connected with the native race, as might be thought desirable, Sir George Grey, in his despatches home, justifying this arrangement on this ground, that the natives contributed so largely to the revenue.\*

The sum set apart on the civil list for native purposes has been, we believe, 10,000*l.*, of which 7000*l.* has been specially apportioned to the educational department, divided between three religious bodies, the Church of England, the Wesleyans, and the Roman Catholics, the Church of England receiving one half. This assuredly cannot be regarded as an excessive apportionment, yet if we be informed rightly, it has been continually made the subject of very severe remarks; and recently, in regard to this payment, an alteration of a significant character has taken place; for instead of being retained as a fixed and permanent sum on the civil list, it has been submitted to the consideration and revision of the General Assembly. It is true that the sum for educational purposes has been voted for seven years, but this compromise must not be permitted to conceal the fact, that the basis on which this payment rests has been changed, and the provisions of the Constitution Act invaded by that alteration.

The native civil list, as an estimated portion of the public revenue, presumed to be contributed by the natives themselves, was never, so far as we understand the Constitution Act, intended to be placed at the discretion of the General Assembly, at least until the time should come when the natives, being fairly represented in that Assembly, should be in a position to attend to their own interests.

It is worthy of remark, that, with his usual discernment, Sir George Grey foresaw the probability of the present complications arising. That officer had been appointed to the administration of New Zealand at a time of special difficulty, when the aboriginal race,

then in a condition of comparative barbarism, and by far the most numerous of the two races, was "in a state of active, successful, and increasing rebellion against British authority."† On the happy termination of those disturbances, it became his duty to advise the Home Government as to the measures most desirable to be adopted, so that nothing might "be done which might either bring about renewed disturbances, or entail on Great Britain the odium of having only obtained possession of the country by the infliction of unnecessary wars upon its inhabitants." In a despatch, therefore, addressed to the Home Government, and bearing date March 23, 1849, Sir George Grey recommended that a delay of some four or five years should intervene before the privileges of self-government were conferred on the colonists. "Past events have shown the disasters and expenditure which may result from arousing the natives. The question, therefore, naturally arises, What advantage will be gained by immediately introducing representative institutions amongst so small a European population which would be commensurate to the risk incurred by such an undertaking?" Very severe exception was taken by the colonists to this despatch: meetings were held, and counter-memorials were addressed to the Home Government. So far were the parties who identified themselves with these movements carried away from a just and impartial consideration of the subject, that they hesitated not to assert that all, or nearly all, the civilization which the natives had attained was attributable, not to the Missionaries or the Government, but to intercourse with the colonists; and that "the intercourse between the races might be safely trusted to the good feelings of the colonists, and their manifest interest, without any such danger, as that apprehended by Sir George Grey, arising from the introduction of self-government."‡ Sir George, in a despatch dated December 24 1850, vindicates alike the Government and the Missionaries from the unjust aspersions of that letter; the Government, as having "constantly laboured for the incorporation of the two races, and for the instruction of the natives in the arts and habits of industry; the Missionaries, of whom he says, "I consider the enclosed strikes really at the root of all Missionary enterprise in New Zealand, and

† Despatch from Sir George Grey to Lord Grey, December 24, 1850.

‡ Letter from Dr. Dorset, Chairman of the Settlers' Constitutional Association, to Earl Grey, dated October 8, 1850. Blue Book.

\* See Dispatch, Blue Book, August 7, 1851, p.

gives a most unjust representation of what has been already achieved, and of the labour and intentions of, I really believe, as noble and devoted men as the world has ever seen."

At this season of excitement various points of detail were touched upon at the various meetings, which indicated very clearly the views entertained by some at least of the settlers as to the policy which ought to be pursued towards the aborigines; amongst others, that the right to exercise the elective franchise should be limited to those of European birth or descent only, and to the exclusion of the aborigines, as not yet sufficiently advanced in civilization;\* that, with the exception of the salaries of the Governor and Judges, the colonists, by their representatives, should have the power of appropriating the whole of the revenue raised in the colony; and that, with the exceptions already referred to, no portion of it should be withdrawn from the authority of the local legislature by the intervention of a civil list.† Other points, with which we have less to do, but still suggestive of much as to what was really contemplated, also meet the eye in looking over these documents: that the Governor should be removable on a vote for an address to the Crown praying for such removal being passed by two-thirds of the whole number of each House; that the powers of the New-Zealand Parliament should be absolute in all questions not affecting the prerogatives of the crown, or being imperial questions; and that no Act not affecting such prerogatives should be referred to the Home Government."‡ It is evident that such principles, if carried out, would reduce the possibility of salutary interference on the part of the Home Government, in any case of hasty and dangerous legislation, to the narrowest limits; a power of interference which needs to be retained, and to be exercised promptly and decidedly should occasion call for it, if indeed that mutual adjustment of the two races is to be secured which can alone render New Zealand powerful and prosperous. The necessity for retaining such power of interference is admirably put by Sir George Grey—"It is more than probable, that in a country with such a peculiar population as this has, and which must for some years be dependent upon assistance from Great Britain for the repression of internal outrage, that questions will arise in which the interests of

\* See letter addressed to Earl Grey, signed by E. W. Stafford and others, as published in Blue Book, August 7, 1851, p. 116.

† *Vide ditto*, p. 120.

‡ Blue Book, p. 112.

Great Britain will be opposed to the wishes of, perhaps, a temporary large majority in the Assemblies. Such questions will chiefly be connected with the native race, the mode of dealing with their lands, the reduction of the military serving in the country, the entering upon a war with the native race," &c. And then, with respect to the proposed absolutism of the Colonial Parliament in local matters, he adds, "In this country I do not think that Great Britain can, for some years to come, divest herself of certain duties. *She cannot, for example, allow a war of races (to end in the extermination of one race or the other) to arise.* If ever the British Government are led, by any undertaking on the part of the colonists to defend themselves, to withdraw the entire military force from this country, my opinion is, that, if this step is hurriedly and inconsiderately taken, such a war of races will arise; and Great Britain, from motives of humanity, and of duty to the people from whom she accepted the sovereignty of the country, must again interfere, and that at a greatly enhanced cost of men and money."§

Now all the points to which we have referred as contended for by the meeting at Nelson, because judged to be dangerous in their tendency, were carefully eliminated from the Act of Constitution. The independency of the governor was preserved; the power of veto is retained by the Crown; bills must be sent home, and may be disallowed by the Queen at any time within two years from the date of their receipt in England; a portion of the revenue available for native purposes was placed on the civil list; the native, duly qualified according to a property qualification, was admitted to the franchise; and, finally, with the view of precluding as much as possible any disturbance of the original settlement on which the Maoris ceded, and Great Britain accepted, the sovereignty, Provincial Councils were prohibited from affecting lands of the Crown, *or lands to which the title of the aboriginal native owners had never been extinguished*; while, consistently with this law, private individuals were interdicted from purchasing or leasing any of the wild lands of the colony from the natives, the right and power of purchasing such belonging strictly to the Queen.

It is surely of first importance that the New-Zealand Parliament, at present, in its constituent elements, exclusively colonistic, should adhere with fidelity to the provisions

§ Despatch, Jan. 9, 1851. Blue Book, August 7 1851, p. 107.

of the Act of Constitution. Already, as we have seen, changes have been effected, and by some, at least, others of a more serious nature are contemplated. Doubts have been cast on the right of the natives to exercise the elective franchise; nay, more, the right of veto by the Crown, has been questioned. One leading colonist, writing to his constituents, has expressly asserted that this power, reserved in other constitutions, has in the case of the New-Zealand constitution been abandoned. Finally, the Waitangi treaty, which recognised the native title, is ridiculed and held up to public contempt as a treaty drawn up by the Missionary brotherhood, and signed by various chiefs in consideration of a blanket; "and it was not every day that a native could get a blanket for making his  $\Delta$ ."\* Are there not many, who, like the writer from whom we have just quoted, considering the stipulations of the Waitangi treaty to be irrational, and adverse to the interests of the colonists, contend that it ought to be at once and unhesitatingly set aside? The second article of that treaty guaranteed to the natives the lands, estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they might possess. This word *possess* has been laid hold of to serve as the fulcrum on which objections may be raised, and it is urged that possession must be understood to mean some beneficial occupancy and enjoyment of the land. "Their 'possessions' should have been construed to mean all their village fortifications, fisheries, and cultivations, together with a block of land near every village, say 10,000 acres for every acre they had in crop, as a noble demesne for their possible posterity. And the remainder of the available country (some three-fourths) should have been deemed the estate of the Crown, partly as an equivalent for the law, and order, and security which the Crown would introduce, and partly as an equivalent for that lucrative trade which Crown colonization would create, and for the immense pecuniary value which Crown emigrants, arts, and civilization would in a few years confer on the native demesne."† Are there not those now who think that what ought to have been done might yet be done?

Now we shall deal very frankly with this point. We do not hesitate to state our conviction, that should the land question ever come to be dealt with on principles diverse from those which are laid down in the treaty of Waitangi, very disastrous consequences will be likely to ensue. Even at

this moment the collisions which occasionally take place between contiguous tribes show the tenacity with which they cling to rights connected with the land tenure; and it cannot be disguised, that an uneasy feeling has prevailed upon this subject amongst the natives. Movements have been made, with a view to the combination of the tribes under one chief, as king or governor. Meetings have been held of an influential character: one referred to in Mr. Taylor's work,‡ assembled in the largest building probably ever erected by Maoris, was attended by all the head chiefs from Wellington to the Waitara, a distance of nearly 300 miles. No less than 500 were present, and much irritation was displayed in connexion with the land question. The same Missionary, on his return to New Zealand, is soon made aware of the existence of the same feeling of dissatisfaction. "I cannot," he says, conclude my report without referring to the restless spirit which pervades many of the natives, especially those of the interior, which proves they are far from being satisfied with their political position. This is seen in the efforts they are making to obtain a Maori king, and to acquire arms and ammunition."

Meetings for a similar purpose have been held at Taupo, in the centre of the island, and at Waikato.§

The ostensible plea for the appointment of a head chief or king is, the necessity which they feel for some authority to which disputes may be referred. Certain it is that the beneficial influence of British Sovereignty has hitherto been but little felt amongst them. At the recent meeting held at Waikato the natives did not express themselves inimical to the government of the country, but they are conscious that they have little or nothing to do with that government, and hence probably has arisen the desire to legislate for themselves. They feel that their own laws no longer serve them; that many of ours are inapplicable to them in their transition state, and such as might be otherwise are not enforced. Mr. Hursthouse seems to think that the natives are left pretty much to themselves, and that the idea that they are under British law is a mere fiction.

"The town-resident natives are made amenable to British tribunals; but in the 'bush' many Maori laws and customs still prevail. If a dozen natives were shot in some native quarrel, Government would scarcely think of

† "New Zealand and its inhabitants," by the Rev. R. Taylor.

‡ In the "C. M. Record" for December 1858 is an account of a great "King Meeting" near Taupiri.

\* Hursthouse, vol. i. p. 41.

† Hursthouse, vol. i. p. 53, 54.

interfering, or would do no more than *think*. If a settler were robbed or maltreated by a bush-native, his chief would sometimes deliver him up to a native policeman, and sometimes not; in which latter case he might himself either inflict some pecuniary punishment on the culprit, or pass him over with only a reprimand. However, though there are some turbulent exceptions, the present Maoris, as a people, are orderly and well-behaved: they are every year becoming more so; and, glancing at burglar and garotte, life and property are probably safer in New Zealand than in England."

The above is a remarkable testimony to the generally good conduct of the Maori, and it is deeply interesting to find, that in the absence of government action, they have been devising means amongst themselves for the preservation of law and order. About the end of 1856, a meeting of the natives of Mangarei, Paketapapa, and Pukaki, in the Waimate district, was convened, to take into consideration the best means for preventing the continued introduction of ardent spirits, and other elements of vice among them. They framed a number of bye-laws, and appointed their own assessors to administer them. A similar movement took place at Taupo. The natives met and appointed magistrates from among themselves. Drunkenness, and other European vices, were increasing among them; and, whilst they saw these vices checked amongst the Europeans from the fear of fines and imprisonment, they had no means of punishing them in their own villages; but here a difficulty arose. These magistrates in the fulfilment of their duties, commenced to levy fines, but then how was this money to be disposed of? It would not answer that the native magistrate should appropriate it to his own purposes: it might warp his judgment. It was proposed that the amount should be placed in the hands of the visiting Missionary, to aid the subscription in progress for the erection of chapels. This, however, was not deemed advisable. It was finally resolved to tender the monies which had accrued to the Government, and accordingly one of the native magistrates came to Auckland, stated his case, and offered to hand over the fines. But to have accepted them would have been to sanction the authority by which they had been obtained, and this was not deemed advisable. The amount has since been added to a subscription the natives are making to purchase a printing-press, in order that, as they say, they may have a newspaper as well as the white men. Surely nothing can be more interesting than to mark

the efforts of this people to raise themselves in the scale of social life, and the Representative Government has now the opportunity of performing a noble act, by extending generously a helping hand to their Christian brethren of the Maori race. A judicious and timely expression of interest in the native race on the part of the General Assembly—a recognition of them as British subjects equally interested with the colonists in the welfare of New Zealand, and entitled to share in the administration of public affairs, in the ameliorating influence of British legislation—would at once stay any existing agitation, and bring out the loyal feeling of the tribes towards Queen Victoria. That such a feeling does exist will be evident from the following interesting passage: we find it in the report of Archdeacon H. Williams—"For the last three months much excitement of an improved character has existed among those tribes who had been opposed to Government in cutting down the flag-staff in 1845, which has ever since continued prostrate. On their hearing that the natives of Taupo and Waikato had proclaimed a Maori king for themselves, and for all others who would join them, the tribes in connexion with the Bay, in reply to a deputation from Waikato to solicit their support to their cause, determined to have no sovereign but Queen Victoria, and forthwith proceeded to form a Council for the restoration of the Government flag-staff at Kororarika. After much consultation, this was concluded to be carried out, and in November the various spars for that purpose were conveyed with much ceremony to Kororarika, the whole expense to be borne by themselves. In order to prevent any disturbance arising from the assembly of so large a body of natives, the chiefs had sentries placed before the public-houses, to prevent any of their people entering. After two or three days, the whole party dispersed without any unpleasant feeling. This last circumstance I mention, as exhibiting the view taken by the people generally of the introduction of spirits, and casts a severe reflection on all parties engaged in it.

Let it not be supposed that the conviction of the necessity that exists for a more decided recognition of the Maori race, in their relation as subjects to the British Crown, than has yet been vouchsafed, is confined to those who are the friends of Missionary action. It is not so. Individuals who have no such predilections have the same impression. We quote from one work of this character ("Hursthouse's New Zealand"). In one section of that book, which has special reference to further efforts

for the improvement of the natives, we find the following proposals—

“(g.) To appoint a leading native chief as magistrate and assessor\* to about every 2000 natives, allowing him 25*l.* a year, with a civil uniform; and to take stimulative measures to have one or two Maori members in every northern Provincial Council, and three or four principal chiefs in the General Assembly, giving the South Island one or two more white members in the House of Representatives as a counterpoise.

“(f.) And further, to petition the Crown to raise and pay (say from the Ngapuli and Waikato tribes) 300 picked natives as a sort of rifle-armed Irish constabulary force—one company for Auckland, one for New Plymouth, one for Wellington—inasmuch as it is believed by the humble author of this work that such a force would prove an admirable military police; one capable, too, of acting most efficiently with the Queen’s troops in the field; and that such a force would beneficially flatter the native race, and (indirectly) propagate, among the whole body of the aborigines, those personal habits of cleanliness, domestic economy, order, and self-respect, which would conduce to longevity and increase of population.

“To professional philanthropists, who give away no money, on principle, I would hint, that philanthropy which shuts the purse should shut the mouth; and to colonial economists, who do the state cheese-paring, that the whole expense of these measures (excluding f.) would not exceed some 4000*l.* a year; that 7000*l.* a year is set aside for ‘native purposes’ by the civil list; that the Maori already contributes probably a tenth of the colony’s annual revenue, and produces a tenth of the colony’s annual exports; and that the Maori is perhaps as profitable an article to invest a little money in as short-horn or merino.

“To those who say you cannot change the leopard’s spots, or wash the negro white, I reply that I am aware of the fact; but recollecting what the Maori *was* a few years since, and what by example he has *become*, I say, that if we could only *preserve* him a while longer, we might reasonably hope to give him a fresh lease of life, to increase his numbers, and to see him become a robust cottager and a hardy yeoman—the colony’s wealth in peace, the colony’s strength in war.”

\* A Bill first passed the Legislature, entitled “A Bill to make better provision for the administration of justice in native districts,” provides for the appointment and jurisdiction of native aggressors.

Thus far we had written, when despatches from New Zealand, just received, and of great importance as affecting all the questions which we have touched upon in this article, have been placed in our hands. The Session of the New-Zealand legislature, which closed in August last, has been mainly occupied by native affairs, native bills having been made the question of the Session. It was, indeed, impossible that the consideration of these points could be deferred any longer, legislation having become urgently necessary, in order to enable the Governor to meet the wishes of those tribes which had applied to him for help and direction. A system of native policy has therefore been adopted by the legislature, but the new powers conferred upon the Governor can only be exercised with the consent and by the advice of his Executive Council, that is, the responsible ministry. The representatives of the one race have now, therefore, virtually at their disposal the interests of both, and the permissive bills, just passed, are to receive action according to the judgment and decision of the responsible ministry of the day, a ministry whose retention of office depends on its being able to command a majority in the houses of legislature. Virtually, as we read the issue, native affairs have been transferred from the Governor, as the Queen’s representative, and therefore equally interested in the welfare of both races, to the representatives of the colonists, and the one race is placed in recognised authority over the other. This great change was not made without opposition, amongst others by Mr. Swanson, to whose work on New-Zealand we referred in previous articles. In a debate on the adoption of a report and address to the Governor, praying that there might be no reduction of the military force in the colony, upon this, amongst other grounds, that the islands “are inhabited by a warlike race of natives, considerably out-numbering the European colonists,” the hon. member urged—

“If it were intended to take from the Governor of the colony all power and control over the management of native affairs, and if it were intended to subject the native race to the uncontrolled dominion of a Government composed exclusively of the representatives of the European population, then he was not prepared to say what amount of force might be necessary for the due protection of the lives and properties of Her Majesty’s British-born subjects in New Zealand. But if it were intended that the Governor of the colony should continue to retain to himself the administration of native affairs, then,

seeing that the English population already amounted to 50,000 souls. . . . he believed that it would be a libel on the justice of the British Government—that it would be a libel on the ability, prudence, and discretion of Her Majesty's representative—a libel on the loyalty of the native inhabitants of the country—and a libel on the manhood of the colonists themselves—if the Council deliberately declared that a ship of war and a thousand men were insufficient to provide for the safety of the colony."

As to the desirableness of this alteration, there exists in New Zealand, amongst men of long experience, and heartfelt interest in the well-being of the natives, a great difference of opinion. Some approve of it, and think it sound legislation to unite the Executive Council with the Governor in the management of native affairs: others, on the contrary, view it with apprehension as a critical experiment. We shall not ourselves express any judgment on this point; but we desire to reiterate that which it has been the one object of this article to express—the great need which the ministry and the legislature of New Zealand have of wise caution and and undoubted impartiality in the delicate and highly-responsible position in which they have placed themselves. They have it in their power to enact a noble part, and fulfil all the expectations of their friends; but a rash and incautious procedure may be productive of results the most calamitous.

We cannot now review the provisions of the Maori Law Bill: we shall hope to do so in a future Number. But there is one point which we cannot view without disquietude—the Bill entitled the "Native Territorial Rights Act." This Act empowers the Governor, on being satisfied of the validity of a native title to land, to issue a certificate to that effect. Under its *prima facie* reading it appears intended to conform native titles; but in reality, as it appears to us, it affords opportunities of raising questions as to the validity of a title; and the 7th clause runs as follows: "Any question of, or affecting the native title to, or neglect of occupancy over, lands comprised in any such certificate, may be determined by the Governor in Council, or otherwise, as the Governor in Council shall appoint." The best friends of the Maori fear that this is the first attempt to bring the natives to prove their titles to their lands, with a view to the assumption by the Crown of such lands to which no valid native title can be substantiated. Now we consider that the treaty of Waitangi assumed the validity of native titles, and that, after so long a period, to institute inquiries such as are contemplated

by this Bill must lead to interminable confusion. This Bill, as one objected to by the Governor, has been, according to the Act of Constitution, reserved for Her Majesty's sanction.

"During a long and tedious struggle in turning the ferocious and cruel tribes of New Zealand from heathenism to the truth of the Gospel, the Missionaries laboured strenuously to make their converts loyal subjects of the Queen; the converts trusted their teachers; the Christian teachers confided in the integrity of Her Majesty's Government; and the British Government, with a wise and paternal policy, helped on the good work, and the fruit has been peace and quietness between the races." Shall this happy process of amalgamation be continued? Has not the treaty of Waitangi secured sufficient advantages to the European? Yes, it will be said; but the natives are becoming more sensible to the value of their land, and more indisposed to part with it. But that is precisely what might be expected, and constitutes the very self-adjusting principle which is requisite. They will, however, we doubt not, be found willing to sell, at a higher price it is too true, and that they have a right to expect, as much more of their land as it is desirable they should part with, if only they be kindly and judiciously dealt with. What is the great want of colonial New Zealand at this moment? Not more land, but more labour. The great question is, how to supply emigrant capital with emigrant labour? "It is now some fifteen years since New Zealand became a colony, and in this period more than 2,000,000 of people have emigrated from Great Britain to the United States, more than 500,000 to Canada, more than 500,000 to Australia, and fewer than 50,000 to New Zealand." What is wanting is an element that will be attractive of population. The Anglo-Maori war was not attractive; but what if, through some blundering policy, a war of races were re-kindled? would that help forward the prospects of New Zealand? Let there be peace and quietude, and the tide of emigration will not fail to visit those shores, and the wilderness be peopled, if once the emigrant be assured that in the Maori he shall find a friend, and not an enemy.

Let it only still continue to be with truth recorded that "no property has been wrested from the native owners, that no laws of humanity or justice have been trampled under foot," and we doubt not that, with God's blessing, the bright vision will be realized, and "New Zealand become the Britain of Australasia."

## RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

### MEMORIAL TO THE QUEEN ON THE INDIAN CRISIS.

THE following important Memorial is now in course of signature—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“We, the undersigned—Vice-Patron, President, Vice-Presidents, Friends and Supporters of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East—your Majesty’s most humble and devoted subjects, approach your Majesty with sentiments of profound grief at the late mutiny in British India, in which numbers of your Majesty’s Christian subjects have been treacherously massacred by infuriated Mohammedans and Hindús, and the national honour has been outraged and insulted by the barbarities inflicted on women and children.

“Recognising in these events the judgment of Almighty God, your Majesty lately appointed a day of public humiliation ‘to obtain His pardon for our sins, and to implore His blessing and assistance on our arms for the restoration of tranquillity.’

“Your Memorialists therefore humbly venture to bring under your Majesty’s consideration some things in the system of Government hitherto pursued in your Majesty’s territories in the East Indies, which, as they conceive, have been at variance with the duty of Christian rulers.

“The Government of India has professed to occupy a position of neutrality between the Christian and false religions. Such profession, as your Memorialists believe, dishonours the truth of God, practically discourages the progress of Christianity, and is inimical to the social welfare of the natives. Especially they conceive it to be inconsistent with a right discharge of the duties of Government in endeavouring to repress those anti-social evils which are mainly attributable to caste-distinctions, public indecency in idolatrous rites, and generally to a false standard of morality—evils which have been fearfully exhibited amidst the revolting cruelties of the present rebellion, and which can only be effectually counteracted by recognising the Christian religion as the basis of law and social order.

“Your Memorialists also humbly submit that neutrality has not been, and cannot be, practically maintained by a Christian Government in the midst of Hindú and Mohammedan institutions. The Government, for example, has been compelled to suppress by law, certain so-called religious practices, which violated the laws of humanity; and, while professing to respect false religions, has unavoidably undermined their foundations by educational and social improvements. Thus your Majesty’s Government has presented to the people of India a disingenuous aspect, and has exposed itself to the charge, falsely alleged against it by the mutineers, of designing to make them Christians by fraud or coercion.

“Your Memorialists would therefore humbly beseech your Majesty to have it declared to the Public Authorities in the East Indies—

“1. That the existing policy will be no longer professed or maintained; but that, as it is the belief of your Majesty and of this Christian nation  
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that the adoption of the Christian religion, upon an intelligent conviction of its truth, will be an incalculable benefit to the natives of India, the countenance and aid of Government will be given to any legitimate measures for bringing that religion under their notice and investigation.

"2. That since the Government, in addition to maintaining its own educational establishments, provides grants-in-aid to all other schools which provide a prescribed amount of secular knowledge, according to the principles laid down in its Educational Despatch of July 19, 1854; the Bible will be introduced into the system of education in all the Government schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude, and the source of those Christian principles upon which your Majesty's Government is to be conducted.

"3. That any connexion which may still subsist between the Indian Government, and the revenues or ceremonies of the Mohammedan, Hindú, or other false religions, shall at once cease and determine.

"Your Memorialists humbly suggest that it should at the same time be made known to your Majesty's Mohammedan and heathen subjects, that attendance at Government schools and colleges is, and will be, purely voluntary; that Christian principles forbid the employment of fraud, bribery, or coercion, of any kind whatever, as the means of inducing men to profess the Christian faith, and allow to every man the free exercise of his choice or conscience in religious matters; and that, in conformity with these principles, none of the rites or usages of the Hindú or Mohammedan religions will be interfered with, unless at variance with humanity or public decency.

"Finally, your Majesty's Memorialists humbly submit to your Majesty that there can be no fitter time for inaugurating these changes than when the armies of England have gained a signal triumph, through the blessing of Almighty God, and British authority in India appears again in its strength and confidence.

"And your Memorialists will ever pray, &c.

NORTH INDIA.

Our first extract is from a letter of the Rev. J. Long, dated Calcutta, Oct. 22, 1857—

"Matters here are returning to their usual course, and I trust that late events will teach us, in our Missions, the importance of attending more to the enlightenment of the masses. We are finding in Calcutta that very little is to be expected from the highly-educated *bábús*: they are intensely selfish. I find, wherever I go in the villages, they are indifferent, if not hostile, to the welfare of the common people, whom they despise, as much as ever one of the old French *noblesse* did any of the *canaille*. We do not need so much colleges here for a few, but we require a system of education which will enable the masses of the people to read God's word.

"I am pained beyond measure to see how our efforts at preaching and circulating the Bible are interfered with by the ignorance of the people. I go to a village, and find so few can read at all, and, of that few, very few can read intelligently: the Brahmins will afford no aid to educate the common people.

"We hear of new Missionaries being sent out to India: I wish we heard more of native agents raised up in the country. I have got a teacher from Mr. Bomwetsch's training-school, on twelve rupees a month. Six men like



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him would be far more useful in a rural district, than a young Missionary for his first seven years in India."

The following affecting passages are from a communication of the Rev. C. T. Hoernle, dated Landour, Himalaya Hills, Sept. 1857—

"My heart is bleeding when I think of the melancholy termination of this Mission, the scene of nineteen years' labour, of our prayers, our fears, and our hopes. The thought that the enemy should, after all, have the gratification of having succeeded in devastating this garden of the Lord, planted in the midst of heathen idolatry and Moslem infidelity, is peculiarly painful to my mind; yet our trust must be on the Lord, and His sure promises. He has permitted this calamity to befall us, and who dare say why? His wisdom is unsearchable, and His ways past finding out. His wrath endureth for a moment, but His lovingkindness for ever; and He is able to cause light to shine out of darkness, and life to come from death. I cannot make up my mind to think that this visitation, just as it is, is intended to result in the abolition of Christ's kingdom in India, or the termination of those Missions that have been trodden down by the enemies, but rather that it is a process '*per crucem ad lucem*,' or, as our blessed Saviour Himself expressed it in John xii. 24, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

"It is a matter of sincere gratitude to the Lord that our native Christians have managed, though with difficulty, to escape into the fort (at Agra), and thus to save their lives; but many of them are in great distress. They have not only lost all their earthly property, but the majority also the means of subsistence, at least for the present. For them this crisis is a severe trial of faith, the first of the kind which they have had to undergo; and oh, may their faith come out of the fire as gold tried and purified by fire! I am thankful to add, that, with the exception of two men who are said to have denied Christ, all have stood fast in the midst of their danger by the enemies. They were entirely on our side, ready to live with us and to die with us. This will appear from the following copy of a letter which I received from one of those Christians after the first alarm at Agra. I am glad of this opportunity of communicating its contents, as I am sure the spirit of faithful reliance on the Lord and His word under their trial, which the writer shows, will rejoice the Committee, as it did me—

"The Lord, in His great mercy, has saved us all until now, but the Mussulmans are only waiting for an opportunity to cut us up. Last Sunday we had no divine service: we were anxiously waiting for Mr. F., who was to administer the Lord's supper to us; but instead of him, news came, 'No service: fly for your lives: guard and save yourselves.' We then took refuge in the Press. For three days we had no work. During the day we went to our houses, but at night we stayed with our families at the Press. Mr. Longden having procured arms for us from the magazine, we have armed ourselves, and keep a regular guard over the place. Horrible rumours sometimes quite discourage us, but our hope is in the Lord; and when we take up our Bibles, and read in them, especially in the Psalms, we find great consolation and rest for our alarmed minds. The Mussulmans tell us, the *jihad* (religious war) is now commenced: they are gnashing their teeth at the Christians, wishing to abolish Christianity from the face of India. Some of them said, in our presence, 'We shall hang your Padres first, and then kill you all.' But they

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cannot do this. The Roman emperors wished the same, and they persecuted the Christians of the first centuries very much; but they never gained their object, much less will the Mohammedans now. Christianity, being the only true religion, has its roots firm, and the enemies dare not pluck them up. Kind Father, do not forget your flock before the throne of grace. Never take rest until the enemies are put to shame and confusion. Do what Moses did when the Israelites were fighting with the Amalekites—lift up your hands for us.

“Two persons who have escaped from Delhi—Rustam’s son-in-law and an East-Indian Christian—are now with us, but the latter only came away on the denial of his faith. Oh, unhappy man! He has saved his body but destroyed his soul. Christ says, “Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father and the holy angels.” The present trial has, if I am not mistaken, proved the faith of your flock. We are ready, if necessary, to give up our souls for our Lord. Oh, may He grant us mercy that we may live for Him and die for Him!”

“This letter shows that there was not only nothing to fear from these poor Christians; but that, on the contrary, had the Gospel had a free access to the natives—had its spread and knowledge among them been more favoured by the Government—the present crisis might have been avoided. It is a remarkable fact, that our two catechists have been able to hold out at their out-post, Runcotta, amidst all the dangers that surrounded them, being nobly treated and protected by the Hindú zemindars. This shows that their work of faith and love among those villagers was not in vain, but that it will bear its fruits after the subjugation of the Mohammedans, who have been all along their great and constant opponents.

“In the midst of these present disturbances, when our prospect for the future is beset with dark clouds, it is refreshing to see a ray of light, if ever so small. Thus I had the pleasure to instruct and prepare two persons for holy baptism, a Hindú man and a Mohammedan woman. The latter was baptized on the 12th of August. She has been acquainted with the way of salvation and Christian people for some time, and quite evinced in her mind that she can only be saved by faith in Him who came into this world to save sinners; but for some cause she had deferred to make a confession, and to receive baptism. The present calamities, however, in the country, showing her the uncertainty of human life, and all the things of this world, roused her to a sense of her duty with regard to her immortal soul, and she at once made up her mind to enter into the sheepfold of Christ ere it be too late. She appears to be quite sincere, and I trust will conduct herself worthy her calling. Her Christian name is Maria.

“The man is a young Brahmin, of about twenty-four years old. He became acquainted with Christianity a year or two ago, when at Jullandhur, in the service of a Christian officer. He had read a good deal of the New Testament before he came to me, and has now gone through a regular course of instruction in the chief truths of our holy religion. As he appeared sincere, and anxious to make a confession of his faith in Christ his Saviour, I baptized him on the 6th instant. May the Lord give him strength and grace to walk as a faithful disciple and soldier of Christ, fighting manfully under the banner of the cross against Satan, the world, and the flesh; and may, ere long, many more of his benighted countrymen imitate his example! And I con-

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fidently hope the present crisis will tend towards breaking down the bulwarks of the prince of darkness, and building up the temple of Christ."

An extract from the journal of a native catechist in the itinerating district of North Tinnevely is highly instructive at the present crisis. It is dated April 1, 1857, about six weeks before the first outbreak at Mírut, and while the uneasiness about the cartridges was already developing itself.

"During the day I spoke to several people who came to my tent. One of the people asked me what would we do if we could not succeed in getting any converts for ten years. I told him we could do nothing but go on preaching, leaving the issue in the hands of God. He asked me again, 'Would not the Government send their army and destroy us for not having listened to the Missionaries, and embraced the Vetham (Christianity). I told him they would do no such thing; adding, 'There is One whom we preach to them, who would, at the last day, summon them all to His tribunal, and ask them to account for their neglect of His invitation, through His word and servants, and inflict on them eternal punishment.'"

The Rev. C. B. Leupolt, in a letter to a private friend, writes from Benares, Sept. 17, 1857—

"Our Missionary prospects appear at present gloomy. I thought that now was the time that native Christians would be appreciated. They have suffered with us. At Futtegurh nineteen were killed for refusing to turn Mussulmans, and join the enemy at Bareilly and Shahjahanabad: a large number were murdered in the churches for the same cause. They were forming a company of native Christians, but the order was issued to disband them; and I was told to tell our people to mix with the Hindús and Mussulmans, and be very quiet, else there would be danger of their being dismissed from the new police corps. I told you that Solomon had become a Jemadar (sergeant of police): some thirty-five native Christians have all joined. They are very much liked by their officers for their spirit, obedience, and good conduct. But they are in danger of being dismissed even from the police corps, *because they are Christians*. As the army, the courts, and police will be thrown open to them, one of our cares—and a great one—will be removed; *i.e.* of providing for them such places where they can earn a livelihood. The general feeling towards our Christians, thank God! is in our favour, and the people have rejoiced at seeing a company raised of native-Christian officials; and others would rejoice in seeing a large party of the police composed of them. The time will come when all this will be accomplished. Let us wait patiently.

"Oct. 21—We are all quiet here. The whole of North India is disorganized. The natives all believed our raj (rule) was gone. I say all, even those who wished the contrary. We have nearly a famine. I am still helping in the Commissariat department, and have just sent off a thousand blankets."

We take from the December Number of the London Missionary Society's Magazine an important extract from a letter of the Rev. James Kennedy of Benares, September 22.

"Whenever it has been practicable I have gone to the Central School, which is not far from the heart of the city. There were successive days when the school was shut up, and there were other days when I thought it prudent to remain at home; but for some time now, the work in the school has been carried on with little interruption. We Missionaries are the only Europeans who

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have ventured into the city unarmed for the past four months. Officials have gone generally with loaded revolvers, and escorted, while Missionaries have gone often to their schools without a weapon of any description. We have been sometimes strongly counselled either to go armed or not go at all; but I believe we all had an insuperable aversion to appearing in so new a character, and our confidence so far has been well judged. Not a finger has been raised to touch us, though the people have now and then stared at us with astonishment, as wondering at our temerity. At all times many natives go about armed, and during the late alarms the number has been greatly increased; so that if they had any peculiar hatred of us, they had us entirely in their power."

The following extract is from a letter of the Rev. A. Medland, dated Oct. 30.

"I enclose a verbatim copy of a letter I received, a few days after the outbreak, from Joseph, my catechist, whilst in concealment.\* He accompanied me when we fled from the Mission Church. Discovering that he was unable to keep pace with my horse, I directed him to follow as he best could in an opposite direction to the scene of disturbance. Mistaking my direction, I suppose, he shortly after endeavoured to return to the city, and unfortunately met with the sad treatment he has himself described. His exclamation, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away,' was made under very peculiar and trying circumstances. He then discovered for the first time that the whole of his little property, amounting to between 400 and 500 rs., had been destroyed, and was in ignorance of the fate of his wife and father. The young man who sheltered him so nobly was a Brahmin youth of our first class. I had always considered Joseph as a promising young man, and a sincere and consistent Christian. This trial of his faith has greatly confirmed my former opinion of him.

"REVEREND SIR—It had been much better if I went with you, because as I was going through the Lal Kútu Bazaar, I saw that the Sepoys were firing at the Begum's bridge, therefore I turned to the left and ran away very fast. In the way I met with two villagers, who were coming from a certain village. They said, "Don't go to the city, but let us go to Abdullepur." I said, "No, I will go to the city." When I came to the little village which is near the Shahpeer Darwázá (gate), although I had disguised myself, yet people recognised me, and one of them said, "Oh! he is a Christian: kill him." I could not deny the Lord Jesus Christ, although it was the very moment of my death. I said, "I am a Christian, but don't beat me or kill me." One of them gave me a very severe blow with his láthee (a thick stick or kind of club). After this they ran towards me, and began to beat me. I don't know how many there were who beat me, and when they perfectly killed me, as they thought, they went away. When I received the last and severe blow, which I thought would be fatal, I fell upon my knees and prayed, "O Lord Jesus Christ, receive my spirit: I commit it into thy hands." For some time I remained half dead, and, after a little while, I heard a voice of a man, who said, "Throw the dead man away," but no person came to me. When I came to myself, I got up and ran away. They ran after me, again saying, "He is still living: kill him!" They could not catch me. I did not know what to do, and where to go. At last I went to Deghee village. When I

\* Vide "Recent Intelligence," vol. xviii. p. 205.

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reached there, people recognised me (we had preached there a week or ten days previously), and ran after me, but I went out of their reach. After this I went to the jungle, and concealed myself under bushes, where I remained all the night. Very early in the morning I got up, and came in the city where I saw that the kathee (my house) and bungalow were burnt to ashes. I said, "It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: His name be blessed."

"I did not find any of the servants there save Kullu Sing (a teacher in the school). He took me to his house, but his father did not like to let me stay there; therefore I sent for Mahespershad (a schoolboy); as soon as he heard of me he came and took me to his house, and gave me every satisfaction. Please tell Mariann (his wife) that now I am better she should not be troubled, but rather pray.

"I remain, Sir, your's most obediently,

"JOSEPH.

"P.S.—Mahespershad sends his salaam to you.'

"In reply to the foregoing, I sent word to Joseph to remain where he was until he was strong enough, and he considered that he could safely attempt to return to me. A few days after, he made his appearance, disguised in such a manner that at first I could not recognise him."

NEW KINGS.

The following extracts from the "*North-China Herald*," Oct. 10, 1857, will be read with much interest.

"It is almost a twelvemonth since authentic news from Nanking reached Shanghai, of the death of the eastern and northern kings, and of the destruction of the porcelain tower. The convulsions that issued in those events it was expected by some would lead to the downfall of Hung Siutsiuen, and the so-called Tae-Ping dynasty. At present such expectations do not seem likely to be realized.

"Three facts may be stated which go to show that the revolutionists are strong, and that their power and dominion are on the increase.

"In the first place, two new kings have been inaugurated by Hung Siutsiuen. In the original organization, as it burst forth complete in Kwángsi more than seven years ago, there were, it will be recollected, six kings. Besides the chief, styled the Celestial King, there were the eastern, the western, the southern, the northern, and the assistant kings. Two of these—the western and southern—fell in battle before the insurgents reached Nanking: other two, the impious Yáng Siutsing, the eastern king, and the northern king, both perished last year; leaving only the first and the last. And it has been supposed that this last was greatly dissatisfied, and there have been many reports of his alienation from the insurgent body. All these reports are of doubtful authority, and are most likely false.

"For, in the second place, it is now quite certain that the assistant king, Shih Tah-kái, is in the field, and carrying on the war with a high hand. He is, it appears, generalissimo, and has it in charge to subdue the whole empire, and has orders from Hung Siutsiuen to keep the field till this entire work shall have been achieved.

"A third fact is, that, while the imperialists are short of provisions, the insurgents have grain in large supplies. When the city of Kúyung was evacuated by the insurgents, some three months ago, large stores of grain were

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left behind, and also a considerable amount of silver. It is known, also, that during the last year, immense quantities of rice have been brought to the insurgents, at Nanking and elsewhere, from the two provinces of Húpeh and Húnán.

"These, and other facts of like tenor, augur but ill success to the emperor's forces, as also to his throne.

"The new kings are both Kwángsi men, of tried character and of high repute. They are chief ministers of state. One is styled Ngán wáng, 'King of tranquillity,' or the tranquillizing prince; the other is Fuh wáng, 'King of felicity,' or the felicitating prince. These two, it would seem, are to be Hung Siutsiuén's right and left-hand men—the one to aid him in giving tranquillity to all people, and the other in the no less noble work of securing to them felicity.

"'Bright prospects!' some gentle reader may exclaim, and quietly ask for the authority on which all this is narrated. In answer, it is to be stated, our information rests on the authority of 'popular reports,' oozing out from official quarters, and hence may be accepted as most worthy of confidence."

ORDINATION OF MISSIONARIES.

On Sunday, December 29, Messrs. Elias Champion, Ludwig Hofer, Charles C. M'Arthur, George Smith, and John H. Wilkinson, were admitted to Deacons' Orders, by the Bishop of London, in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall.

EMBARKATION OF MISSIONARIES.

*China Mission.*

The Rev. W. H. and Mrs. Collins embarked at Portsmouth, November 6, 1857, on board the "Excelsior," for Shanghai.

The Rev. George E. Moule embarked at Southampton, December 20, 1857, on board the steamer "Pera," for Hong-Kong.

*West-Africa Mission.*

The Rev. J. S. and Mrs. Wiltshire, the Rev. G. R. Caiger, and Messrs. Hamilton, Gittens, and Oberley, embarked at Plymouth, October 24, 1857, for Sierra Leone, where they arrived on the 10th of November.

The Rev. C. F. and Mrs. Ehemann, and Messrs. Black, Knödler, Bockstatt, and Miss Hehlen, embarked at Plymouth, November 26, on board the "Ethiophe," for Sierra Leone.

*Yoruba Mission.*

The Rev. D. and Mrs. Hinderer embarked at Plymouth, October 24, 1857, on board the "Candace," for Lagos.

The Rev. J. A. and Mrs. Maser, and Messrs. W. Green and Abbega, embarked at Plymouth, Nov. 26, on board the "Ethiophe," for Lagos.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

The Rev. C. and Mrs. Reuther, after their providential escapes from the hands of the Indian mutineers (*vide* "Church Missionary Record," Recent Intelligence, vol. xxviii. pp. 241, 242, 277), arrived safely at Calcutta, where they embarked in August last, and arrived in London on December 12.

Mr. W. Kirkham left Lagos in October last, and arrived at Plymouth on November 11.

The Rev. G. English left Madras in September last, and arrived at Portsmouth on December 9.

The Rev. E. T. Higgins embarked at Galle, Ceylon, in the monthly steamer of November, and arrived at Southampton on December 9.

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### SPECIAL MEETING ON THE INDIAN CRISIS.

A SPECIAL MEETING of the Church Missionary Society on the Indian Crisis was held in the large room, Exeter Hall, on Tuesday, January 12th; the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Vice-Patron, in the Chair.

Prayer having been offered, and Isaiah xxvi. read by the Rev. W. Knight, the Meeting was addressed by the Chairman. The Rev. H. Venn then read the following statement :—

“ The Committee lay before this Special Meeting, a brief statement of the measures which they have already adopted in reference to the Crisis in India, as well as of those which they propose to adopt, when that land, through the mercy of God, shall have been restored to tranquillity.

“ When tidings of the revolt first reached England, a few voices denounced Missions as one of its causes. But these voices have been silenced by the unanimous verdict of acquittal, pronounced by statesmen, by public journals, and by the best-informed classes of society. As each successive mail brought its direful accounts of the extent and depth of the calamity, a solemn impression pervaded the national mind of England that the hand of God was in the visitation, and that His voice called us to consider our ways in respect of our Christian responsibilities towards that benighted land. On the approach, therefore, of the day of public humiliation appointed by Her Most Gracious Majesty [October 7, 1857], the Committee ventured to put forth an address on the Christian aspect of the Indian crisis. Having had the largest share in the efforts hitherto made for evangelizing India, they are acquainted with the obstructions which impede the attainment of their object. These obstructions have partly arisen from the course of Government, partly from the apathy of the church. An overwhelming national calamity has now awakened the church, and has made ‘India’ a great national question, not a mere problem for statesmen or military commanders; and Christian men must not shrink from sharing the responsibility imposed by the British Constitution upon all good citizens, of the faults or shortcomings of the Government.

“ The views of the Committee on the Christian duty of the Government of India have been embodied in a Memorial to the Queen,\* and in an accompanying explanatory statement. They do not propose that Memorial for adoption to the present Meeting; for they conceive that its weight will depend upon the well-considered judgment of each person who signs it. They trust, also, that the friends and supporters of Missions throughout the country will study this great question, and by petitions to Parliament, and by communications with their representatives, help to secure a more Christian policy in the future government of British India.

“ The Committee, having thus dealt with the more general question connected with the progress of Christianity in India, address themselves to the duties belonging to their more special province of Missionary agency.

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\* *Vide* p. 1.

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“They entertain, in common with the conductors of all other Missionary Societies, the solemn conviction that God has called the Christian church, by His late dispensations, to new and greatly-enlarged efforts for the conversion of India, and has opened a wider door than ever for its accomplishment.

“Yet here the Committee feel bound to notice an inquiry, which has been sometimes made with no friendly intentions, What success have Indian Missions as yet achieved? Under ordinary circumstances it would be superfluous to notice this inquiry. But every question connected with India must now be sifted to the bottom; and therefore those who desire to be fully informed upon this point are referred to two pamphlets, entitled, ‘The Results of Missionary Labours in India,’ and ‘The Statistics of Missions in India,’ compiled in 1852 by Mr. Mullens,\* an experienced and able Missionary in Calcutta, published on the spot, and subjected to the careful revision of a Missionary Conference.

“The Committee will quote but one sentence of these documents: ‘A complete inquiry into the statistics of Christian Missions in Hindústan exhibits those Missions as occupying a higher position, and as being blessed with larger fruits, than previous researches had ever before shown, or their warmest friends had ever anticipated.’†

“The Annual Reports of this Society have borne frequent testimony to the genuine Christian character of the native converts. But the present crisis has not only brought out their character, and tested their fidelity, but it has also exhibited the estimation in which they are held, even by their unconverted countrymen. The largest body of native converts are in South India, and they, upon the breaking out of the mutiny, nobly professed their loyalty, and offered their aid to the Governor of Madras in any way in which their agency could be employed at this crisis. The native Christians of Kishnagurh, in Bengal, exhibited the same spirit. In the North-west Provinces there were, at the time of the outbreak, between 2000 and 3000 native Christians, connected with different Missionary Societies, scattered in various stations; and, to the praise of God’s grace, it is reported that, as a body, they have stood firm to their God, and to their allegiance to the Queen. They have shared, everywhere, the same losses and the same sufferings, even to martyrdom, with European Christians. It has not yet been ascertained that more than a few individuals amongst them have been induced by fear to renounce their Christian religion; while at Bareilly and Futteghur 100 are said to have perished with the Europeans. At Delhi, a native preacher, Waylayat Ali, a Mohammedan convert, suffered nobly for Christ under a cruel death. At Amritsar a native pastor, Daoud, a converted Sikh, was living in the midst of an excited population, who abused the native Christians, and warned them that their days were numbered. Upon his being invited to remove to a place of safety, he magnanimously replied that he would rather die in his house than flee, as he daily exhorted the people not to fear them who can kill the body, but to fear God. At Allahabad a native preacher, Gopenath Nundy, the companion of Ensign Cheek, endured cruel torments with unshaken fidelity, sustaining himself by repeating the verses, ‘Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you

\* Published also in London by W. H. Dalton, Cockspur Street. *One Shilling each.*

† Statistics, p. 6.



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falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad : for great is your reward in heaven : for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.' (Matt. v. 11, 12.) In other districts, where the converts were not exposed to the rage of mutineers, they found protection with their heathen countrymen. Two catechists of this Society were located in a village twelve miles from Benares, in the midst of a heathen population. When the whole surrounding country was scoured by plunderers and murderers, the Missionaries at Benares invited those two catechists to come to them for safety. But the villagers remonstrated against their leaving, and pledged themselves to their defence ; and they have continued their peaceful labours throughout the revolt. At Gorruckpur this Society has a Christian village comprising 200 native Christians with a church and schools. The Government thought it right, from its proximity to Oude, to remove all the Europeans and the treasure to other stations. A Hindú rajah came forward and guaranteed the protection and safe custody of the Christian village, and of all the Mission property : a written list was signed by himself, and given to the Missionary upon his departure, that all might be delivered up again safely when all the troubles should be over. The station at Gorruckpur was immediately occupied by Oude mutineers, and the green flag unfurled upon the Residency, but all has been peace in the Christian village, by the latest accounts.

"The fidelity of the native Christians has given them a new position also in the sight of Europeans in India. Their help has been earnestly sought by those who had been deserted by their heathen attendants in their hour of need. The local authorities at Benares and Agra have invited them to enlist as policemen, and as gunners ; and in the Punjab a Commissioner has thrown open the public service in his department to any who may be qualified for admission.

"Such proofs of the genuineness of native Christianity are encouraging, if viewed only as the results of past Missionary labour. That a large proportion of the converts are infirm and immature Christians is confessed by all. But many bright exceptions there are ; and these are the staple from which native teachers may be obtained. The hopes of Missions centre in native agency, under European superintendence ; and now the quality of such an agency may be known and read of all men.

"The Committee have reason to thank God that, though much of the property of the Society has been destroyed, not one of their Missionaries has perished. They sympathize with their elder sister, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in the loss of her valued sons ; and with other Societies so afflicted. They admire the faith in which those bereaved Societies have appealed for fresh candidates to be baptized for the dead ; but in their own case they trust that motives of gratitude to the God who has preserved the lives of their brethren, may also prevail for the increase of their ranks.

"When to the prospects abroad is added the consideration of the present awakened zeal of the Church at home in favour of Indian Missions, a ground is laid for bright anticipations of future results, if only the adequate means be supplied for enlarged Missionary operations. The Committee have ventured, therefore, to put forth an appeal for increased contributions, and to summon this Special Meeting. And now, on the present solemn and important occasion, in humble dependence upon the presence of Christ, promised specially to the Missionary exertions of His Church, they state their belief that

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the time is come when the evangelization of the whole of India may be proposed to the Christians of Europe and America as an object to be aimed at, or at least to be kept in view, in laying out all future plans of operation.

“Hitherto the efforts of Christendon on behalf of India have been few and feeble. There is not more than one European Missionary to half a million of its inhabitants, and vast tracts of country, comprising many millions of souls, have never heard the sound of the gospel; and not one in a thousand of India's sons and daughters has embraced the faith of Christ.

“The Committee rejoice in the fact that more than twenty Protestant Missionary Societies of Europe and America have directed their efforts to India. The Lord has given spiritual blessings to all; thus owning their labourers as sent forth by Himself. Though each Society may follow its own form of discipline, each presents to the natives, as the pearl of great price, one common salvation. There is no difficulty in the native mind in recognising the essential unity of the church of Christ, under the strong contrast and the essential difference between the true and false religions. The future of the native church may well be left in the hands of the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls. Let the preaching of the faith of Christ throughout all India be but the first great object. Let it be entered upon with renewed vigour in the name of the Lord, and in the spirit of harmony and Christian sympathy, by all Protestant and Evangelical Christians, as the special work of this day and generation.

“With this end in view, the Committee will anxiously consider how they may best dispense the additional means which may be placed at their disposal. They will review the map of Indian Missions, both in reference to the labours of other Societies, and also in reference to the most influential races, and the most commanding situations of India. All will, however, depend, under God, upon the response which the friends of the Society will make to this appeal towards the realization of these blessed prospects.

“On the present occasion, the Committee will refer only to the North-west Provinces as the disturbed districts of India. Many stations in these districts need immediate help. Gorruckpur, on the confines of Oude; Bhagulpur, with its Santal tribes; Jubbulpur, for Central India. In the Punjab, Amritsar, Peshawur, and Múltan, require additional labourers; and the claims of the Punjab upon England's gratitude will be allowed by acclamation. The Society also stands pledged to Oude, in some degree by the acceptance of an offer of 1000*l.* for the first Missionary sent there; but in a far higher degree by the earnest invitation of one of India's noblest statesmen and heroes, the late Sir Henry Lawrence. It was he who prompted the Society to send its Missionaries into the Punjab upon his first settlement of the country: he generously contributed to their support; and he desired that the Society's Missionaries might enter Oude concurrently with the establishment of his own Civil Government. The Missionary occupation of Oude is now become doubly incumbent upon this Society, when it shall be given back to British authority.

“Such is the ground on which the Society pleads for a *Special Indian Fund*. If the enterprise is to be taken up on the principles already suggested, a large annual increase of funds will be required. The Committee thankfully acknowledge many encouraging promises of support which they have already received. They will need, however, the continuance of such support from

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year to year. They will need contributions from the wealthier classes, as they have long received them from the poorer classes—weekly, monthly, quarterly contributions, as the Lord prospers them.

“The Committee humbly trust that men will not be wanting for the work. They have lately received an increase of Missionary candidates. They believe that this supply has been granted in answer to prayer, and they would earnestly repeat the appeal, often addressed to their friends and supporters on such occasions as the present, to bear continually their need of additional labourers on their hearts before the Lord of the harvest.

“Let the words of the prophet of old be our encouragement—‘Thus saith the Lord, the maker thereof, the Lord that formed it to establish it, the Lord is His name: Call unto me, and I will answer thee, and show thee great and mighty things, which thou knowest not.’”—Jer. xxiii. 2, 3.

The Resolutions were as follows—

Moved by the Right Hon. the President; and seconded by the Lord Bishop of London, V.P.: supported by Hon. A. Kinnaird, V.P., and by the Rev. C. Reuther, Missionary from Jaunpur, Benares:

I. That this Meeting recognises with deep reverence, the visitation of God in the recent calamities of India, as calling them to self-abasement under His mighty hand for past national sins, and to the more faithful discharge in time to come of all national duties, especially in respect of the many millions of our native unevangelized fellow-subjects in British India.

Moved by J. C. Colquhoun, Esq.; seconded by John F. Thomas, Esq., late Member of Council at Madras:

II. That a Christian nation entrusted with the government of a people ignorant of the true God, and suffering under the social and moral evils inseparable from false religions, is bound to commend the true religion to the acceptance of its subjects, by such measures as consist with liberty of conscience, and with the principles of a just toleration.

Moved by the Bishop of Winchester, V.P.; seconded by the Rev. Henry Venn Elliott, Perpetual Curate of St. Mary's, Brighton:

III. That the past success of Indian Missions; the recent proofs given by native Christians of fidelity to their Saviour, and of loyalty to the British Crown; the preservation of the lives of the Society's Missionaries; and the awakened sense of national responsibilities in the church at home; all combine to excite to praise and thanksgiving towards God, and call upon the friends of the Society for a special effort to enlarge and strengthen the Indian Missions, and for their continued prayers that God may bless the work, and ‘send forth labourers into His harvest.’

Moved by the Rev. John Hobson, Chaplain at Shanghae, China; seconded by the Rev. Dr. Miller, Rector of St. Martin's, Birmingham:

IV. That this Meeting desires on the present occasion to record its earnest expectation of the speedy removal of obstacles of all kinds to the success of Christian Missions, and its solemn pledge of renewed zeal in the work, and of its cordial sympathy with all other Protestant Societies engaged in advancing the Kingdom of Christ throughout the whole world.

The Benediction having been pronounced by the Chairman, the Meeting separated. Collection, 98*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.*

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NORTH INDIA.

The extracts which follow are from various sources, beside the letters of our own Missionaries. They have been selected chiefly with a view to illustrate the above statement, and they tend especially to throw light upon the character, conduct, and future prospects of the native Christians, as well as upon the beneficial influences exercised by the Missionaries upon those with whom they have been brought fairly in contact.

We begin with an important document drawn up by the Missionaries of the Bengal Conference in October last.

“The brethren of the Bengal Conference, upon re-assembling at this time in comparative quietness and safety, feel called upon, ere they proceed to the more regular and usual objects of their meeting, to take some notice of that fearful judgment of God’s providence which has visited an extensive district in this land ; and desire to express their prayerful sympathy with the Missionaries of other Societies in the North-West, in the extensive loss of Mission property, and, above all, in the sacrifice of life : and they wish to record it as a reason for humbling themselves before Almighty God, that He has been pleased to place this temporary check upon Mission work ; yet they see cause for thankfulness also in the fact, that the Church Missionary Society, amidst immense destruction of Mission property, has suffered no loss of life ; while in this part of Bengal, though at one time there were grounds for the gravest apprehensions, there has been no outbreak, the Missionaries’ lives have been spared, and their labours not materially interrupted.

“It has been insinuated that Missionary operations, either directly or indirectly, have helped to produce this extensive mutiny : they however state as their opinion, that Mission labours have had no connexion with the rebellion. They are rather inclined to think that the causes of the mutiny were deeply seated, and of an entirely different character, and had been long slumbering, and only wanted occasion to burst forth into a flame. It has not been evident in any place that Missionaries have been marked out distinctly from the Europeans as being more peculiarly the objects of hatred and vengeance ; that, on the contrary, the experience of the brethren is very uniform in showing that, as Missionaries, they were so far from being regarded with distrust and embittered feelings by the natives, that the instances were rare in which they were not looked upon with marked confidence and trust ; and, in corroboration of this, they desire further to state, that in those places which they have most frequented, and in proportion as their labours were known, invariably a more friendly feeling has been manifested. But as regards the Sepoys, who, of all classes involved in the late rebellion have been least under Missionary influence, it is obvious that the notion of Christianity and conversion which they entertained was most erroneous, and altogether alien from that which Missionary teaching would have produced. While, therefore, the brethren feel that the consideration of the political causes of this wide-spread mutiny is not within their province, they do feel very strongly that these unparalleled massacres are but the legitimate fruits of the dark and cruel creed of Hindúism, and the bigoted and exclusive faith of Mohammedanism ; and though they would be most unwilling to mitigate the feelings of horror and indignation which must animate the heart of every one upon reading the accounts of the fearful atrocities committed by the rebels, yet they would deprecate that spirit of indis-

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criminate revenge, which they are pained to see is being manifested by many persons, both here and in England.

“On reviewing the whole circumstances of this awful visitation of God’s wrath, which they are constrained to confess the sins of Europeans in this country may have helped to provoke, the brethren do not give way to any feelings of despondency in looking forward to the future and ultimate success of their labours. On the contrary, they perceive many reasons for hopeful encouragement, and many inducements to press forward in faith and hope. They feel more urgently than ever the need of redoubled efforts on the part of God’s people, both here and in England, to diffuse the knowledge of the gospel through this land. The relaxation, therefore, of efforts for the enlightenment of the Hindús—the withdrawal of co-operation in the cause of Missions in India, which the brethren regret to see as one of the results of this mutiny—is not warranted by the circumstances of the case, and is inconsistent with the sentiments which a broader and more enlightened view of Christian Missions would suggest; and especially when it is considered that this rebellion, unspeakably disastrous as it is, is likely to break down some of the most formidable barriers to the free course of the gospel: not the least of these is the system of caste. It may be hoped that the employment of high-caste men, almost exclusively, for both the civil and military services, will be discontinued, and that, in future, less regard will be paid by Europeans to all such distinctions. The brethren also trust, that eventually this outbreak, which has detracted much from the influence of Mohammedans in India, will be overruled by God, so as to open out more extensive fields of usefulness among that section of the native population.

“The prejudices against the native Christians, which hitherto, the brethren lament to say, have been strong, are likely to be weakened, and in future they hope to see more native Christians employed in offices of trust and responsibility.

“The history of this mutiny has furnished full and deplorable proof of that which the brethren were well assured of before, viz. how ineffectual are any means of enlightenment and civilization which stop short of a cordial reception of the Gospel of Christ. The foulest and most horrible cruelties which have, more than any thing else, disgraced this rebellion, were perpetrated at the instigation of one who had enjoyed the benefits of a liberal English education. While the brethren feel that education imparted under the auspices of the gospel, may, by the blessing of God, be most wholesome and blessed in its results, the mere quickening and training of the intellect is wholly unable to repress evil dispositions, and renovate the character. They therefore, more earnestly than ever, would urge upon those who love the Lord Jesus not to slacken their endeavours in disseminating the seed of Christ’s gospel; but, meditating afresh upon the love of our Saviour to our sin-stricken, rebellious world, to go on boldly in faith and hope; for assuredly at no preceding time in the history of India has her need of the saving and regenerating knowledge of Christ been more clearly shown.”

Extract from a letter of the Rev. Dr. Duff, dated Calcutta, November 20—

“As to lovers of us or our rule, in any sense of the term, probably there are none among any class, except the comparatively small body of professing native Christians. In them, participation in the transcendent benefits of a

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common and glorious faith has overcome the antipathies generated by foreignness of race. The reality of their goodwill and affection towards us—and to their credit it ought to be specially noted—has in various ways been made manifest throughout the progress of the recent awful rebellion. No sooner did the intelligence reach Calcutta of the massacres at Mirut and Delhi, than the educated native Christians of all denominations met in our Institution, and drew up a truly loyal and admirable address to the Governor-General. A similar address was also forwarded from the large body of native Christians in the district of Kishnagurh, offering at the same time any assistance in their power with their carts and bullocks, &c.\* The native Christians at Chota Nagpore, a hilly district, offered their personal services as police guards, or in any other capacity. The native Christians in the district of Burrisal, East Bengal, were ready, if called on or accepted, to form a local military corps. The magistrate of Tipperah—a zillah still further to the east, and still in a state of great insecurity—sent the other day, to one of the Dacca Missionaries, an earnest requisition for 150 native Christians for defensive purposes, as the only class of natives in whose loyalty and attachment to us any real confidence could be placed. The individual who gave information to the authorities at Patna, which led to the discovery and defeat of a desperate Mohammedan plot to massacre all the Europeans at that station, was a native Christian. But enough. Theory and practice alike concur in proving, that to increase and multiply the number of native Christians is to increase and multiply the only class of truly staunch and loyal native subjects of the British Crown among the teeming millions of India."

Extract from the *Bombay Guardian*—

"Is it not a fact that we are indebted to native Christians for the discovery of several deep-laid plots in different parts of India, since June last? The Mohammedan plot, organized on Monghyr and Patne, and extending to we know not what places beside, which was to have been carried out on Buckree Eed, was brought to light through the agency of a native Christian. The Belgaum and Dharwar conspiracy, connecting itself with Poonah, and possibly with other places, the carrying out of which might have imperilled the entire Presidency, was brought to the knowledge of the authorities by a native Christian. Other facts of a similar kind may be added, if we mistake not, to this list. We are not aware that there has been a single instance of a native convert joining the mutineers, even to save his life. Should such instances come to light, we could not greatly wonder, seeing that an Englishman, once a non-commissioned officer in the Company's army, was conspicuous among the defenders of Delhi, and was killed in the ranks of the mutineers. But as we said, no such fact is reported of any native Christian, though it may be that nearly a thousand† of them have been put to death for their religion since the commencement of the mutinies."

The following is an extract from the Special Correspondent of the "Times," dated Calcutta, Nov. 23—

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\* *Vide* this Address in the "Church Missionary Record," vol. ii. New Series, p. 364.

† This number have given is higher than any computation we have seen elsewhere.

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“ On the termination of the Santhal campaign, the Lieutenant-Governor, finding that the complete barbarism of the Santhals had become dangerous, propose to civilize them. He handed them over to the Church Missionary Society for education, selecting that body because two of its agents had won the confidence of the Santhals. The tribe liked the arrangement, and began to fill the schools. The surrounding classes did not care, regarding Santhals in about the light in which we regard centipedes, or other dangerous vermin. There was no doubt of success, when out comes an order\* from the Court disallowing the whole arrangement, as the development of Christianity was ‘contrary to their policy.’ Well, the Santhals have a Commissioner, a man known as no saint, a desperate hunter, always either in the saddle or inquiring into the complaints of his subjects. He was ordered to produce a new scheme. He quietly replied that he could not and would not, and that he hoped soon to see the end of ‘a policy which made us cowards in the eyes of men, and traitors in the eyes of God.’ Similar ideas are coming up from every corner of India.

“ I add a proof stronger than an assertion.

“ ‘Memorandum by Mr. Montgomery,† Political Commissioner in the Punjab.

“ ‘The sufferings and trials which the Almighty has permitted to come upon His people in this land during the past few months, though dark and mysterious to us, will assuredly end in His glory. The followers of Christ will now, I believe, be induced to come forward and advance the interests of His kingdom, and those of His servants.

“ ‘The system of caste can no longer be permitted to rule in our services. Soldiers, and Government soldiers of every class, must be entertained for their merits, irrespective of creed, class, or caste.

“ ‘The native Christians as a body have, with some exceptions, been set aside. I know not one in the Punjab (to our disgrace be it said) in any employment under Government. A proposition to employ them in the public service six months ago would assuredly have been received with coldness, and would not have been complied with. But a change has come, and I believe there are few who will not eagerly employ those native Christians competent to fill appointments.

“ ‘I understand that, in the ranks of the army at Madras, there are native Christians, and I have heard that some of the guns at Agra are at this time manned by native Christians.

“ ‘I consider I should be wanting in my duty at this crisis if I did not endeavour to secure a portion of the numerous appointments in the judicial department for native Christians; and I shall be happy (as I can) to advance their interests equally with that of Mohammedan and Hindú candidates. Their future promotion must depend on their own merits.

“ ‘I shall therefore feel obliged by each Missionary favouring me with a list of any native Christians belonging to them, who, in their opinion, are fit for the public service.

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\* *Vide* vol. ii. New Series, pp. 365, 366.

† A copy of this important paper has also been transmitted to us by the Missionaries labouring in the Punjab.

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“The following suggestions will aid the Missionaries in classifying their men :

“For Burkandazes (policemen in the ranks), able-bodied men are required. If the candidate can read and write, and is generally intelligent, he is pretty sure to rise rapidly to the higher ranks.

“For assistants in public offices, and for higher appointments in the judicial and police departments generally, it is imperative that candidates should read and write Urdu, in the Shikarba hand, fluently, and be intelligent, ready, and trustworthy.

“Candidates must be prepared, at first, to accept the lower grade of appointments, in order that they may learn their duties, and qualify themselves for the higher posts.

“Arrangements can sometimes be made to apprentice a candidate for a few months, with a view of teaching him his work ; but during this period the candidate must support himself.

“It is suggested that no person be nominated whom the Missionaries do not consider, by their character and attainments, to have a good prospect of success. Better wait till a candidate qualifies himself fully, than recommend an inferior man. (Signed) R. MONTGOMERY.

“The order was issued three months ago. It was received without the slightest animosity, and is being carried into effect ; that is to say, Sir John Lawrence, the one successful pro-consul in India, has, in his own province, decreed that caste shall cease.”—*Times*, January 1.

BENARES.

The Rev. C. F. Cobb writes from Benares, November 16, 1857—

“I must just mention to you a circumstance which much interested and encouraged me the other day. Mr. Edwards, late judge of Futtehgurh, called here. I believe he is one of five only who escaped from Futtehgurh. He and Mr. and Mrs. Probyn (magistrate), and their four children, were saved by a native in his fort. For two months of the severest weather (heat), they were in a little shed, and two of the poor children died. He himself was so altered by suffering and anxiety, that his friends here scarcely knew him : his black hair turned grey, his face became haggard, and his whole system so shaken as to oblige him to go down to Calcutta for rest. He asked me about our work and friends here ; and hearing that we had had poor refugees (native Christians) from other stations, and a large falling-off in our funds, he at once gave a donation of fifty rupees, and said he wished he could afford more. I said, how cheering it was, when many are saying they would do nothing any further for the natives, to receive aid from one who had been such a sufferer through their wickedness. He replied, that surely the native Christians ought not to suffer from the wickedness of the heathen and Mohammedans. He had had a servant, a Sikh, converted to Christianity, and baptized by Mr. Ullman, of the American Mission, at Futtehgurh ; that he was the only one who had stuck faithfully to him through all the troubles, and he had never concealed his profession. Mr. Edwards further said, that he and others in the Civil Service were resolved henceforth to employ only Christian servants, if they could get them. He said he had done this at Budaon, where he found a little Christian colony, and had found his Christian servants worthy of perfect confidence. He alluded to the horrible massacres of native Christians, both at Futtehgurh and



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Bareilly, and said he felt how convincing a proof their suffering had been of their sincerity."

The annexed extract has reference to the Missionary exertions of a well-known civilian, the circumstances of whose death at Futteypur have excited much attention—Mr. Robert Tucker. The tablets erected by him suggest a mode of preaching worthy of extended imitation.

"I believe that there was no European clergyman or Missionary at Futteypur, but the native Gopinath Nundy—so nearly martyred with his wife at Allahabad—

"Mr. Tucker was in the habit of reading the Bible in their native tongue to upwards of 200 poor—the lame, the leper, and the blind—on every Sabbath day. Seed has therefore been sown at Futteypur, and, though I know not what has become, during these fearful troubles of the children of the school, or any native Christians of the place—except Gopinath, his family, and a man called Joseph, who escaped—surely we may venture to hope that it will spring up into a harvest of light!

"It is remarkable that two tablets of stone, which Mr. Tucker, years ago, set up by the high road, containing the Ten Commandments in the native character, and John iii. 14—18, in both Persian and Hindú, were both standing by last accounts, one in good repair, the other only a little injured. They have been spared, when he who raised them was cruelly slain; they have been silently bearing witness to the truth, and preaching to the heathen, when Robert Tucker's voice was silenced in death!

AGRA.

The Rev. T. V. French (December 2d), is already occupied in endeavours to repair our ruined establishments at Agra, both materially and morally—

"We are trying hard to rally our students, but without adequate success. My own first class is the only one which remains entire, and in proportion to the influence our teaching, as a whole, had gained over the minds of the youths instructed, was a better spirit exhibited towards Government, and more sympathy exhibited with our cause."

Mr. W. Wright, in a letter, dated Agra, November 19, after alluding to the employment of the native Christians as gunners, on the Commissariat, and as servants, remarks in reference to the natives generally—

"Painful indeed as it is to reflect that many have dyed their murderous hands in the blood of our countrymen, yet not even so have they forfeited all claims to the Missionary's love. 'While we were yet sinners, Christ died for us;' and God, perfecting His strength in my weakness, my single desire is to spend and be spent in labours among them."

AMRITSAR.

Rev. H. Strawbridge, October 16, says—

"Speaking of the villages, I am reminded of a very interesting fact connected with the Sealkote mutiny. After the outbreak, the people of the city turned out and damaged every house in the station, excepting three or four, and these were the residences of the Missionaries. Neither was this accidental; for it appears, that when certain of the Badmashes of the city were

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about to do their work of destruction, they found the houses defended by men from neighbouring villages—men who are still heathen, but who had been visited from time to time by the Missionaries. These men, upon hearing of the intention of the Missionaries to leave Sealkote for Lahore, begged them not to go, and promised to come and defend them in case of an outbreak. However, they went; but the men kept their word, and came and acted as above stated. So true is the promise, ‘When a man’s ways please the Lord, He maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.’”

MULTAN.

Extracts from private letters of Rev. T. H. Fitzpatrick, dated Multan, Punjab, November 2d, 1857.

“There is now no hindrance to my work of any kind. I have no more to fear in preaching in the town than I would in London; and I have commenced an Urdu, Sikh, and Persian school, under a Mussulman teacher, with five boys. The continued success of our arms in all parts of Hindústan enabled our Government to recover lost ground very rapidly. The rapidity of our successes is remarkable. I take it as an evident and most striking answer to the prayers of God’s people in England and India.

“I scarcely wonder at your thinking me too sanguine in my views of the mutiny and rebellion, for the facts were undoubtedly most appalling, and the accounts—not at all exaggerated—very alarming; but yet I was not singular: on the contrary, I believe the general feeling of all praying Christians in India, or at least in the Punjab, was much the same. The promises of God have been strikingly fulfilled, and His people have been kept in peace; and not only so—they have been drawn into very sweet fellowship one with another, and the trials of the last five months have been working in them a spiritual-mindedness more clear and decided than commonly seen in less trying times.

“A fact of Missionary interest has occurred since my last letter, in the baptism of Daoud’s father, an aged Sikh. Mr. Strawbridge wrote to me in great delight about it, and the same mail brought a letter from Daoud, of which I give you a translation, as literal as possible, except in some of the honorific names, which I prefer to construe in a manner less liable to be mistaken by English minds. It runs thus—

“‘Padre Fitzpatrick, Sahib, in the order of the priesthood, a teacher of the true knowledge, may God’s grace rest upon you, &c. ! Polite compliments and humble salutations, &c. Your humble servant Daoud begs to state, that his family, by God’s grace are all quite well, except his aged father, who is very ill; indeed, it is not unlikely that God may by this illness call him away,\* for He has opened his heart, and he has, in this his time of sickness, of his own free will, and with happiness, received baptism.

“‘This seems to be of God; for before his sickness your servant sought to give him much instruction, through the medium of the Bengali language, and often said to him, ‘Father, you have heard that he who believeth and is baptized shall obtain salvation, and whosoever will not do so, upon him there is already condemnation. Now, father, if you wish salvation, become a Christian;’ but then he used to reply, ‘What remains to my becoming a

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\* The old man is since dead.

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Christian? I eat, and drink, and live with you, and I hear your words (instruction), and now I am no longer a Hindú, nor can I become one again." From this your servant clearly perceived that his father did not yet understand the excellence and beauty of the gospel, nor had he any clear perception of the power of God's salvation; and therefore your servant began again, and instructed his father in St. Luke's Gospel, from the beginning to the end, and with this entreated God to draw him to His Son; and so it pleased God of His abundant grace to make him a member of His church. Glory be to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, on earth and in heaven, to all eternity!

"And your humble servant is most grateful to you for having called him here from Hindústan, and that by coming he has thus been privileged to meet his father, and in this way he has obtained baptism; and now his hope is that his mother also will in like manner become a Christian.

"And now your humble servant respectfully urges that you have quite put him away, and remembered his unworthiness, for you have not written to him for a long time; and he, like an unworthy thing, is not kept in mind: but this is far from kindness, for mercy triumphs over justice (in Scripture "rejoiceth against judgment.") Therefore, in mercy favour your servants, Daoud and Alice, with a letter stating how you are. Alice and Daoud (*i. e.* himself and wife) George, Mary, Hannab, and Sarah (children), send polite and humble salutations to the Mem Sahib and your honour, and Jesse also, your servant's aged father, sends his salaam to your honour, and the whole congregation offer their best wishes.'

"Daoud's father and mother are a fine, intelligent, respectable, old couple. I trust his mother will at length repent and believe. She stayed some months with Daoud before I left, and used then to come to church; but Daoud was sorely troubled that she seemed so little awakened."

"Nov. 19—We are very quiet and peaceable here, but rather concerned lest our Government (not the Punjabi, but the Calcutta Government) should follow the old system of misrule, and in their efforts to build up a false and infidel system, continue to dishonour God, and perpetuate the wretchedness of India.

"We hold India in spite of the jealousies, fears, and hatred of all classes, simply because God has given it to us: but we have failed, utterly failed. There is no way to gain the respect, much less the affections, of the people, but by truth and uprightness. We who are trying to serve the Lord feel this strongly, and several of us have joined in an union for prayer. We each one in private plead with God, about midday every Monday, for an abundant pouring out of the Holy Spirit—

"1. Upon the Church in India, for its edification in Christian doctrine and holiness of character; and upon the people of India, that they may be led to consider and receive the gospel.

"2 Upon all Christian ministers in India, that they may be guided into all truth, and become patterns of holiness; so devoted to the ministry that they may seek nothing else but the salvation of souls.

"3. Upon the rulers, magistrates, and legislators of India, that it may please God to put into their hearts such faith and fear towards Him, that they may, in all their public acts, as well as private conversation, seek His glory, and the salvation of India; and, in particular, may be led to establish a sound system of Christian education for all classes.

"A good many have united; and now, on every Monday, these prayers

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ascend to God from individuals here, and at Peshawur, Amritsar, Simla, Kotgurh, Kangra, Dera Ghaji Khan, Muzaffargurh, &c. Some are sanguine that the days of India's regeneration are drawing nigh."

PESHAWUR.

The following extracts are from private letters, dated Peshawur.

"August 3—An interval of a month has occurred since I commenced this letter. The disturbing nature of the events happening around us renders communication quite uncertain, not to speak of its absorbing much of one's thoughts. Even while I write, the rumour is abroad, that, at the conclusion of the feast now being celebrated by the Mussulmans—the Belram—the fanatical hill-tribes around us are to surround and destroy us. I am kept, however, by God's goodness, in great peace of mind, and have not had one uneasy night, except from dyspepsia, since the beginning of the mutiny.

"A few months ago, Peshawur was looked upon as a place to be shunned and dreaded, not only as one of the most unhealthy, but also as one of the most dangerous stations in this country. Now it has turned out to be one of the safest. Through the admirable management of Colonel Edwardes, every plot has been discovered and thwarted. Time after time we have been devoted to the sword: letter after letter has been intercepted, and from great men among the Mohammedans to our Sepoys, counselling indiscriminate murder of men, women, and children. Colonel Edwardes has himself been prepared to fly at a moment's warning, so imminent has been the danger. Twice, within the last three days, the Artillery have limbered up, on some false alarm; and only yesterday a letter was intercepted, inculcating the only Sepoy regiment in Peshawur which was thought trustworthy. In common with others, I have a few shirts, &c., papers, and money, made up, ready at any alarm to betake myself to the Residency, which is the appointed rendezvous in case of an emergency.

"August 23—The Sepoy mutiny is an event of such unparalleled magnitude, that people in India find their thoughts and pens almost exclusively occupied by it. The horrors and dangers of that movement have been brought to our very doors, and we feel as if there was nothing else going on throughout the whole world. Here, in Peshawur, though surrounded with dangers, we have hitherto been wonderfully preserved. It seems as if God had put the fear of us in the hearts of the ferocious people around us. 'Surely they had swallowed us up quick,' if they had risen up against us. And that they were fully disposed to do this, they have themselves candidly avowed. It was passed from mouth to mouth in the city of Peshawur, that when our Sepoys should mutiny, all the people of the city would join them in exterminating the Sahibs. A letter was intercepted purporting to be from the King of Delhi; and in reply to a question asked him by the Peshawur Sepoys, 'what they should do with the women and children of the English,' the answer was to the point, 'Kill every one.' Colonel Edwardes has intercepted numbers of letters of a similar kind, in which a tiger-like thirsting for the blood of the Christians was manifested. The impression among thoughtful men relative to this movement is, that it is the death-throe of Mohammedanism. The Hindú soldiers have been nothing more than tools in the hands of the more energetic Mussulmans. This is Dr. Pfander's opi-

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nion and Colonel Edwardes'. The latter sees God's hand in it all, and looks to great and blessed results to the church from it."

## SOUTH INDIA.

The following just and important remarks of the Rev. J. Richards, the Government Inspector of Schools, have reference to the conversions at Mr. Cruickshank's school related in the *Intelligencer* for August 1857.

"On my way to Palamcotta, I received intelligence that much excitement prevailed at that station, in consequence of the recent conversions to Christianity of two of the pupils of the Church Missionary Society Native-English school, now aided by the Government; and on my arrival there I found a deputation of the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Tinnevely waiting to address me on the subject. After a full investigation of the merits of the case, I arrived at the conclusion, that no undue influence whatever had been used by any persons connected with the school, to induce these youths to embrace Christianity; that they were quite competent to form their own opinions on the subject of religion; and that their act was the result of conviction, fostered as much by their own private studies, as by the instructions which they had received in the school. It cannot, however, be dissembled, that the aim of the Church Missionary Society in establishing this school was ultimately to bring about some such a result as this; nor that the direct tendency of a portion of the instruction therein given is to commend the evidences of Christianity to the minds of those who are placed under their charge. But the nature of the design has not been concealed, and it cannot be doubted that the inhabitants of Tinnevely were fully cognizant of it: they knew the character of the institution to which they were sending their sons. The nature of the instruction there imparted was patent to them: they permitted Christian books to be purchased, to be brought to their homes, and to be studied there. The benefit of a sound English education was offered to them for their children, at the risk of the minds of the latter being imbued with Christian knowledge. They accepted the benefit with the risk: they have no right, therefore, I conceive, to express surprise or resentment at a result, the possibility of which they might have foreseen and avoided. I may, however, be permitted to state the conviction to which other experiences have led me, but which has been most strongly confirmed by my observations in this case, that it is not so much attachment to their own religious systems, or repugnance to Christianity as a system of a different character, as the *loss of caste*, which appears to be the necessary result of adopting the latter, that powerfully excites the feelings of the natives. But without further entering into this question, I venture to express my opinion, that nothing has occurred which need prevent the measures sanctioned by the Government from taking effect. The proposition to transfer the school to a spot convenient to the inhabitants of Tinnevely, originally suggested by themselves, has been, to some extent, carried out. A site was selected, and, in the early part of the present year, the foundation of a new building was laid by the Collector, in the presence, and therefore it may be inferred, with the concurrence of the principal inhabitants. I see no reason why the work should not be permitted to proceed."

CHURCH MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCER. [FEBRUARY 1, 1858.

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DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

*West-Africa and Yoruba Missions.*

On December 22, 1857, the instructions of the Committee were delivered to Mr. Lancelot Nicholson, by the Rev. Henry Venn. He was afterwards addressed by the Rev. C. R. Alford, Principal of the Highbury Training College,\* and commended in prayer to the protection of Almighty God, by the Rev. J. S. Jenkinson, Vicar of Battersea. Mr. Nicholson embarked at Plymouth, December 24, on board the steamer "Gambia," for Sierra Leone.

The Committee also took leave of the Rev. A. Mann and Mrs. Mann, January 19th, on their return to the Yoruba Mission. Mr. and Mrs. Mann sailed from Plymouth on the 24th ultimo.

*North-India Mission.*

The Rev. D. Fynes-Clinton embarked at Southampton, January 4, on board the steamer "Colombo," for Calcutta.

ARRIVALS OF MISSIONARIES.

The Rev. Messrs. Dœuble, Gaster, and Tuting, with their wives, arrived safely in Calcutta on the 11th of November last.

RETURN HOME OF A MISSIONARY.

Mr. J. G. Seymer arrived in London, from Madras, on January 8.

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\* This address is printed in the "Church Missionary Gleaner," for February 1858.

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### NORTH INDIA.

It is our painful duty to announce the death of the beloved and venerable Bishop of Calcutta. He expired without pain, and in perfect peace, on the morning of January 2, in the 80th year of his age, "in a profoundly humble view of himself," writes Archdeacon Pratt, "and in full reliance on the mercy of God, in Christ his Saviour."

The Committee of the Church Missionary Society at their first meeting after receiving intelligence of the departure of this distinguished servant of Christ, adopted the following Minute:—

"The Committee record the death of the Bishop of Calcutta, with mingled feelings of deep sorrow at the loss of one of their oldest and most valued friends and patrons, and of praise and thanksgiving to God, that the benefit of his able, zealous, and most effective aid had been continued to the Society for more than fifty-four years; and that he has entered his rest in the fulness of years, and of the grace which is Christ Jesus.

"Mr. Wilson's name appears in 1803 as a member of the Society, soon after his ordination. In 1809, upon his removal to London, he was elected as one of the twelve clergymen who, with twelve laymen, then composed the Committee.

"In 1814 his name is mentioned as one of six clergymen, who, at the request of the Committee, commenced to visit, as a deputation, the Country Associations of the Society. These honoured names deserve to be recorded as the earliest voluntary travelling advocates of our cause—Basil Woodd, William Goode, Edward Burne, Melville Horne, Daniel Wilson, and James Haldane Stewart.

"In 1815 Mr. Wilson was appointed Honorary Governor for life, as one who had rendered very essential service to the Society. In 1817 he preached the Anniversary Sermon, characterized by great power, eloquence, evangelical truth, a comprehensive view of the evangelization of the whole world, as well as by a large and catholic spirit towards all other Protestant Societies.

"At the close of the same year, 1817, the Society had to suffer the first serious opposition from ecclesiastical authorities, by an attempt of the Archdeacon of Bath to prevent a meeting being held in that city, and by his protest against the Society. Pamphlets on both sides, to the number of five or ten, were published; but that which was written by Mr. Wilson vindicated the constitution of the Society with so much Christian temper and spirit, and passed through fourteen editions within two months, and rendered such aid to the cause, that the hostile attack was turned into an important benefit.

"Mr. Wilson continued the zealous advocate of the Society in the pulpit and on the platform, the wise counsellor in its Committee-room, and the most valued friend of the Secretaries in all cases of perplexity or special need, till when in the year 1832, he was called to the high post of Bishop of Calcutta.

"His views of Divine truth having been the result of deep study and

## RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

experience, by a powerful and independent mind, he was far removed from all party feelings. His attachment to the Church of England was strong and fervent. His sympathy was not the less sincere with every section of the 'spiritual Church,' which comprises, to use his own terms in his Anniversary Sermon, 'the invisible and mystical body of true Christians, who hold Christ as the head, are vitally united to him by His spirit, and obey His laws, though they may differ in minor points of doctrine and discipline.'

"The appointment of such a man to the Chief Missionary Episcopate of the Church of Christ; was hailed by all the members of the Society as a signal blessing from the Lord; and a new era of Missionary prosperity was anticipated. Great and important benefits have been conferred by him upon the Missionary cause. With the aid of his candid and able management, the ecclesiastical relations of the Society have been happily settled in all their main particulars. His holy and paternal intercourse with the Missionaries has done much to encourage and infuse the right spirit in their labours. His bold and uncompromising statement of the truth of the Gospel, and his rebuke of false doctrine, has, under God, elevated the whole tone of Christianity in a Church planted in the midst of the heathen.

"The Committee do not indeed wish to pass an exaggerated encomium upon this eminent servant of Christ, as if there were no disappointments or trials mingled with so bright a career, or no occasions on which differences of judgment occurred. But such occurrences never interrupted the cordial interchange of affection and respect.

"During his visit to England, in 1846, for a second time, he preached the Anniversary Sermon of the Society; and, on many other occasions, he greatly encouraged its home operations. Upon his return to India, his renewed knowledge of the Society's principles, and his matured experience of the state of Missions, prompted him frequently to enjoin upon the Committee, with the authority of an aged and affectionate father in Christ, the maintenance of its distinctive principles, and of the functions of the Committee, especially in respect of the choice of Missionaries. As a final proof of his entire confidence in the Church Missionary Society, he lately made over to its management the main portion of the fund of the Cathedral Mission,\* sufficient for the support of at least three Missionaries, which had been chiefly contributed from his own private resources; having proved, as he himself stated, that Indian Missions can be more efficiently conducted by such a Society at home, than upon an independent footing, even though under episcopal management.

"In the review of such a lengthened blessing as the Society has enjoyed in the patronage of Bishop Wilson, the Committee would humbly ascribe all the glory to the Great Head of the Church, and earnestly supplicate the same grace to be given to the successor who may be appointed to so responsible a post of labour and authority."

We cannot doubt but that the annexed extracts from letters referring to the death of the Bishop, will be read with deep interest.

The Rev. G. G. Cuthbert (January 9) thus writes—

"I must now turn to a different subject—that of the decease of our venerable Bishop, on the 2d instant. You will doubtless hear all the particulars from

\* *Vide* Annual Report, 1856—57, p. 73.



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other hands than mine ; so I will only say that he departed at last peacefully, and almost unnoticed by any one, at about a quarter to seven on the morning of the 2d. He had returned from the Sandheads (whither his physician had sent him for a month), in a very poor state of health, a very few days before ; and two or three days previous to his decease he was aware of the greatly-increased uncertainty of his life : its very great uncertainty at all times, even for years past, was a constant subject of remark to him. He had asked Dr. Webb, two or three days before his end, whether he might not probably go off at any moment ; and receiving an affirmative reply, he mused upon it in tranquil silence. He finished the last chapters of the Bible, for his private reading (as was usual with him to do), on the last day of the year, commenting on them, in a self-applicatory way, with his customary clearness and spirituality, to his chaplain ; and, on the 1st of January, began the word of God again, having the first three chapters of Genesis read to him, and commenting on them as before.

“ On the night of the 1st, Archdeacon Pratt, who was living in the house, was with the Bishop in his room, conversing till past eleven o’clock. Next morning, between five and six, he took some tea in the usual way, and his servant left him for a little, but, returning, found the good old man actually expiring. The Archdeacon was immediately summoned, but is not sure that the Bishop was still living when he got to his room, and offered up a prayer by his bedside.

“ Thus departed he in peace, before the wreck of his fine powers and noble gifts of both nature and grace had become painfully apparent ; and whilst we all mourn for his loss, we thank God for his peaceful end, and his deliverance from much painful and humiliating suffering. He was in his eightieth year, and the twenty-sixth of his Episcopate.”

The next extract is from a letter of M<sup>r</sup> Leod Wylie, Esq., Jan. 4, 1858—

“ I have come from the funeral of that dear and beloved servant of Christ, Daniel Wilson, the noble and faithful Bishop. I knew him before I went to England in 1854, and received from him many tokens of affectionate regard ; but since my return I have had the happiness to know him intimately, and to enjoy much delightful, and, I do trust, profitable intercourse with him. In 1856, while the Archdeacon was still in England, and he had no domestic chaplain, my wife and I stayed some time with him, and afterwards I used frequently to visit him. I cherish now the remembrance of those hours, and of the truths I learned from him. He had peculiarities, but he had a lofty mind—sanctified, contented, and directed by Divine grace, working effectually. I knew his real humility ; I saw his ready and quick spiritual exertions ; and I revered his immovable stedfastness in the maintenance and love of the first great truths of the gospel. He died, without suffering, rather suddenly, but not unexpectedly. My wife went over soon after, and saw him lying on his couch, by the side of his writing-table, with desk open, his Bible, his watch, and every thing as we were in the habit of seeing them, ready for use, and in use. I did not see him till he was laid out, and somewhat changed ; but she described his majestic brow, his fine countenance, and the sweet expression of peace, as inexpressibly affecting. He had been ailing the day before, and his state occasioned some anxiety. At night he sent for the Archdeacon, and, after expressing his sense of unworthiness in terms of the deepest abasement, he was reminded that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth

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from all sin. 'Ah! but, my dear friend,' he said, 'that is for those who are walking in the light. We have talked of that text before.' The Archdeacon said, that he doubted not that he had so striven to walk.

"I remember being with him in one of his alarming attacks, in 1856, and finding him in a similar state of self-abasement. He described to me his dangerous disorder, and then said, 'But why should I murmur? Others have been taken away by this disease. Frederick the Wise died of it. Bishop Ryder died of it. Zachary Macaulay died of it. And what am I?' Afterwards, I saw him again that day, when he was relieved from suffering, and again witnessed a scene I shall never forget: there was, at such times, such profound feeling, and such a noble manner.

"The funeral to-day bore witness to the general reverence of the Christian community. It was attended by very great numbers, from the Governor-general downwards.

"You are aware that Mrs. Ellerton (Bishop Corrie's mother-in-law, now eighty-six) has found a home of late years at the Bishop's. His tenderness for her, his remarkable thoughtfulness for her, were very touching; and not less was it to see them together, as I have done, speaking of the blessed hope, and of the foundation-truths of the gospel. Her papers and his—what a rich treasury of information they will afford concerning the contemporaneous progress of truth in India and England in the end of the last century and the beginning of this, and of the progress here in these last twenty-five years!

"The Bishop's mind was undecayed to the last; and, as his sermons and letters would show, his perceptions of our condition, and prospects, and duties, were at least as vivid and clear as those of the wisest amongst our worldly statesmen."

BENARES.

The following extracts from the Rev. F. W. Cobb's report of Jay-Narain's Institution, for the year ending September 30th, 1857, are very noteworthy, as illustrating the position of affairs in respect to the Missionary and native Christians of that important city.

"Our numbers have been affected to a certain extent, partly owing, probably, to the unsettlement of the native mind, and partly to the present scarcity and distress, which makes it difficult for the poor to pay the school fees, and has created a general rush after government employ among the elder boys. The average attendance steadily increased up to May. At the latter end of this month the usual recess, during the severest heat, commenced. During this recess the revolt took place at Benares. After this occurrence, the average attendance fell about fifty, and continued to suffer a slight depression. At the same time the Chowkamba Branch School was suspended, as it had not altogether worked satisfactorily; and the complete suspension of our communications with Government, and consequently of our receipts of the Government grants-in-aid, rendered prudence in our economy necessary. It has not been taken up again; but another branch school, with about half the number of the Chowkamba, has been carried on during the year at Bisseshar Gunge. The numbers in attendance, thus reduced, have gradually improved of late, and the tide appears to have turned. Seventy-four new boys have brought their admittance fees during the last six months of the year—a most encouraging proof of continued confidence—so is the fact

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that the average attendance at the college on the whole year is even greater than that of the previous year. While the heathen have raged, and the followers of the false prophet have vainly imagined, that, by foul and treacherous murder, they would extirpate from this land alike the servants and the religion of Jesus Christ, it has been permitted to us to continue daily training up more than 300 boys and youths in the knowledge of His gospel of truth, peace, love, and holiness. May His own blessed Spirit make this knowledge effectual!!

“Before closing this report, I have to add two most encouraging testimonies, both to the present circumstances of this Institution, and to its prospects of future usefulness. On the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor to the Central Provinces the Committee applied to his Honour for the sanction of monthly grants-in-aid, which the suspension of communication made it impossible to obtain from the Government of the North-West Provinces.

“The Commissioner, in his report on this application, Sept. 8, 1857, writes—

“To satisfy his Honour that the school is going on properly, and continues to deserve Government patronage, I visited it this morning. The attendance during the first week of September last year was about 377 on the books, and 302 in attendance. At present there are 344 on the books, and 274 in attendance. This, considering the state of the country, is very good.’

“After mentioning the amount of assistance received by this Institution from Government since its origin in 1818, the Commissioner continues—

“Notwithstanding all this direct aid to a proselyting Institution, not a word has been heard against it to the present day; and the Missionaries continued to reside and teach, at a distance of three miles from the station, without fear of insult or injury, during the troubles. This proves that they must be liked and respected, and that there is no native feeling against Government support to a Christian school.’

“It is just necessary to observe, that, at the very time of the revolt, the Missionaries were obliged to fly for safety from their houses, and to remain away for some days. This happened during the college recess; but since that time, notwithstanding the troubles without and plots within the city, they have been able to reside in the Mission, and carry on the work without sustaining insult or injury.

“The other communication referred to expresses an inclination, which late circumstances are calculated to make general among the Company’s servants, of encouraging and employing the class which it is the great object of this college to create, viz. Christian scholars. It consists in an application to myself for the services of a native Christian in a responsible post, by a civil officer, and the first paragraph is as follows—

“I am very anxious that the present subversion of affairs may lead to their being placed on a firmer basis; and one of the first things that occurs to me is, in every case, where it is possible, to employ Christian instead of heathen agency in all offices.’ Should such sentiments prevail generally among the servants of Government, we may have danger of hypocritical professions for the sake of worldly advantage. Still we cannot but rejoice if native Christians shall thus be relieved of the disadvantages under which they have hitherto laboured, and hope that God’s Holy Spirit may give us such true converts as may adorn their profession in a consistent and effective discharge of the trusts that may be reposed in them.

“That we may be enabled, in gratitude for the peculiar mercies of the past

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year, to abound more in prayerful labour with this hope, and that we may have strength, wisdom, and success vouchsafed to us in our labours, we ask the earnest and effectual prayers of all who desire the extension of the kingdom of Christ."

GORRUCKPUR.

The Gorruckpur Christians, after encountering very severe sufferings at the hands of the Mohammedans, have been obliged to abandon that place, and take refuge at Aligung, in the Chupra district of Kishnagurh. Their history is contained in a letter from the Rev. H. Stern, Nov. 28, 1857—

"I arrived here (Aligung) safely on Thursday last, and found all the native Christians from Gorruckpur well, with the exception of several fever cases. The native Christians, no less than myself, were very happy to see each other again, after a separation of upwards of three months. Before I came up to them, where they were encamped in a large mango grove, the children came out running to meet me, and to conduct me into the midst of their parents, who surrounded me. Every one now commenced to tell his tale of the late trials and privations, in which all took an equal share. We all then had prayers, to thank the good Lord and Shepherd of our souls for thus having preserved us from many dangers, and for having given us this first token of mercy in permitting us to meet again. To Him be all praise and glory!

"The Christians left Basharatpur on the 20th of October. For upwards of two months (the station of Gorruckpur was abandoned on the 13th of August\*) they lived in continual fear and anxiety, being exposed to the spoliation of their goods and to personal ill treatment. During one dacoity, one of the Christians received a deep swordcut in his back; others were beaten; the women, who usually run into the jungle, were ill treated; and the catechist in charge, Raphael, seems to have been particularly exposed to the fury of the enemy. The maltreatment which he received very much hastened his death, which happened on the 12th of October. A few days after this, their best bullocks were seized, and seven of the men carried before the *chakladar*, who kept them prisoners for two days. On learning that they were Christians, he ordered them to deny their faith and become Mussulmans. One of the *chakladar's* men then interfered, and said that these Christians had been neither Hindús nor Mussulmans, but were brought up as orphans in the Christian religion, and therefore would not be received by either of these persuasions.

"Nevertheless the *chakladar* insisted on their becoming Mohammedans, and requested them to look out for a *molwi*. The seven Christians, as they tell me, appeared to consent to this arrangement. Upon this they were allowed to go to their homes. They therefore left Basharatpur in small parties by stealth, at night, during several successive days, the first party leaving on the 20th of October. After they had agreed to meet at a place called Shahpur, to the east of Gorruckpur, and beyond the boundary of their district they all took the road through the jungle, and, after three days' travelling, they all reached Shahpur in safety, only one party having been robbed on the road. The Christians will remain here for the present. The children

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\* Vide Recent Intelligence, vol. ii., N. S., pp. 316, 317.

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have commenced to read again regularly with Patras and Edward ; but I am sorry to say the Christians have brought no books, except three or four copies of the Gospel and Prayer-book.

“ I intend to remain with the Christians for the present, but shall return to Chupra to-morrow, in order to buy blankets and some necessary clothes for the people. The expenses are very great, and will be so for some time to come. The widow of Raphael has two little children, who are too young to be admitted among the orphans: May the Lord provide !”

We are thankful to add that the Relief-Fund Committee most promptly and liberally arranged to supply all the wants of these poor native Christians. Gorruckpur has since been recovered by the Goorkas, and we hope the Christians, ere this, re-established in their homes.

AGRA.

We beg to call the special attention of our readers to the following weighty extracts from a letter of the Rev. T. V. French, Dec. 16, 1857.

“ As far as my own private feelings go, indeed, I am full of hope and confidence for the future ; but I feel that, outwardly, the aspect of things might, with some show of reason, suggest ground of serious doubt and despondency to many, who, up to this time, have been our active supporters. I can scarcely tell you the deep joy and comfort I felt on hearing of your determination to go on building the wall in these troublous times. The college had been steadily advancing before the outbreak, till we had reached the number of 330 students, and we had enlarged our staff of masters, as far as possible, proportionally. After the Midsummer holidays (on the very first day of which the battle of Agra took place), a fortnight's additional vacation seemed desirable, in consequence of the extremely disturbed state of things. With this exception, there has not been a day's interruption of our work in the college. We occupied for a couple of months an old ruined school-house in the immediate vicinity of the fort ; and for the last two months have returned to our college buildings in the city. We were the last to cease operations, and the first to recommence them, of the various Institutions in the city and station. Though all portable property of every description, even to doors and windows, were carried off or broken to pieces, yet less deliberate malice was shown in the treatment of our Mission-buildings than was exhibited towards the Government college and many other edifices belonging to Government ; which was pleasing, in so far as it led us to hope that our motives and intentions were, to some extent, appreciated. At present we have not collected much more than one-third of our former numbers. It seems probable, however, that by slow degrees we shall recover confidence, and rally our fugitives. The upper classes in the college, which had been most under our direct influence and personal religious training, held by us most faithfully, and exhibited a loyalty and genuine good feeling strikingly in contrast with the general indifference, if not disaffection, which prevailed towards our rule. I have ten boys in my first English class, some of whom have made very considerable progress in literary acquirements, and, what is more, given me cause often to feel very thankful for the improvement of their tone of moral and religious feeling. In two, at least (young Brahmins), I see many of those elements of character and principle which would lead me, in more hopeful moments, to picture them to myself as enrolled, at some future time, among the native

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apostles, or, at least, the Tituses and Timothies of India. But how often it is proved that the instruments we would select as fitted for doing God's work are not those which He is pleased to employ! The raising up of one such I should feel an abundant recompense for the seven years' work which I have expended on the college."

THE NIGER EXPEDITION.

The position and prospects of the party forming the Niger Expedition will be seen from the following extracts from a letter of the Rev. S. Crowther, dated Niger Expedition Encampment near Jeba, about twelve miles from Rabba, Dec. 11, 1857—

"Having another opportunity to send despatches to the coast, I embrace it to inform you, in a few lines, that all is well in the expedition to this date.

"Mr. Clarke, of the Baptist Missionary Society, has found his way here from Illorin: he arrived at the camp this afternoon, about 4 P.M., and by him we shall send our mail to Abbeokuta. Mr. Clarke has been to Ijesha country, and to some neighbouring tribes east of Ibadan, by whom he was well received.

"The members of the expedition have been variously occupied since I last wrote: four Europeans have gone down to the Confluence to meet the schooner; Mr. May, to Abbeokuta and Lagos; Lieutenant Glover and Mr. Barter, botanist, have gone up the river in a boat since the last four weeks, but they could not proceed beyond Warù, about twenty-five or thirty miles above this. When the river became impassable even for the boat and native canoe, on account of rocks, they left the boat at Warù and travelled by land to Fukùn, on their way to Wawa, having the messengers from Wawa and Busa to escort them to their kings in the Borgu country; so there remain five Europeans in the camp, who are well.

"I am now preparing materials for Nufi translations, collecting copious phrases with this view, which I hope, in course of time, will be found most helpful in the translations of the Scriptures. Perhaps I shall be able to collect a tolerable vocabulary before leaving this for Sokoto: so, although we are detained here, yet the time is not lost.

"The expedition has been now over five months in the river, and, under our present situation in the camp, all are enjoying tolerable health, for which we thank the Giver of all good things; this will be a sufficient proof that Europeans can live in this country on the upper banks of the Niger."

ARRIVAL OF A MISSIONARY.

The Rev. J. P. and Mrs. Mengé arrived safely at Calcutta on the 4th of January last. (*Recent Intell.* Vol. ii. N. S., p. 288).

RETURN HOME OF A MISSIONARY.

The Rev. J. G. Deimler left Zanzibar, East Africa, early last year; and, after a residence of six months in Germany, arrived in London on the 28th of January last. He again took leave of the Committee on the 16th ult., being about to proceed with Mrs. Deimler, *viâ* France, to Bombay, to which Mission he has been appointed.

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### FIFTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY.

On occasion of the ensuing Anniversary of the Society—

The Annual Sermon will be preached on Monday evening, the 3d of May, in the parish church of St. Bride, Fleet Street, by the Rev. J. C. Miller, D.D. Divine Service will commence at half-past six o'clock.

The Annual Meeting will be held on the next day, at Exeter Hall, 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, at half-past six o'clock precisely.

Further particulars are printed on the wrapper of the present Number.

### NORTH INDIA.

The position occupied by the educated classes in Northern India is, at this moment, one of great importance. The annexed report, therefore, from the Rev. R. P. Greaves, who, it will be recollected, went out to meet the case of these classes,\* will be read with great interest.

"The educated native men of Calcutta may, with reference to Christianity, be divided into three classes. The first comprises those who, having received their education in Mission schools, or having been for some length of time brought into contact with Christian teaching, may be said to be favourably disposed towards Christianity. They are familiar with the facts and truths of the Bible, see clearly the folly of the popular systems of belief, and will sometimes even express themselves as interested in the progress of the religion of Christ in India. By young men of this sort, remarks such as the following have been frequently made to me—'There can be no doubt that the Bible is the book, and Christianity the religion.' 'When a generation or two shall have passed away, and the education which is now being given shall have begun to exert a general influence, Christianity will rapidly spread.' 'Christian Missionaries have been the best and most disinterested friends of the people of India.' 'Christian instruction has exerted a beneficial influence on many who have not the courage to come forward as candidates for baptism.' Such observations are, I believe, not unmeaning words, but express a felt conviction that there is something in the gospel of Christ which is not to be found elsewhere. The pity is, that with the great majority of this class matters rest here. They do not, or will not, see the urgent and personal character of the question. The individual conscience remains untouched; and hence, however favourable the opinions they may have formed of Christianity, or its effects, their own course remains unchanged. They are unawakened to any sense of sin, feel not their need of a Saviour, and consequently have no motive within them strong enough to lead them to take up the cross and follow Christ. We may, however, derive some encouragement from the thought, that inasmuch as we are unable to read what passes in their minds, there may possibly be present there the seed of convictions which shall in due time, by God's grace, bring forth a happy practical result.

"The second of the classes I have named, comprises men of a somewhat different and even less hopeful stamp. They have received their English

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\* Vol. ii. N.S., p. 29.

## RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

education in government or other schools, in which no Christian influence has been brought to bear upon them. Although, therefore, they have been, equally, perhaps, with those before mentioned, disabused of the popular superstitions of their countrymen, they have imbibed no favourable feelings towards the religion of Jesus; nor, indeed, except so far as their curiosity may have led them to read on the subject in private, have they any clear idea of what that religion teaches. A self-opinionated indifference is the prominent characteristic of men of this description. Their creed, if they can be said to have any, seems to consist in the acknowledgment of a God, and of the duty of living according to the light of natural reason which that God has given. Uninfluenced, however, by any sincere desire to discover the truth, they love to indulge a sceptical spirit in regard to all religion, and, in expressing their doubts, to make a display of their fancied attainments. Such men will frequently apply to the Missionary for assistance in the study of English poets and authors, and, in order to gain their end, make a profession of desire for instruction in the Scriptures. A persuasive frequently used is, 'Milton's poems are based upon the facts and doctrines of the Bible: in reading Milton with us, therefore, you will be imparting to us a knowledge of Christianity.' In all such applications the real motive is too obvious to escape detection. Improvement in English is the object aimed at; the Bible is merely used as a stalking-horse. Indeed, this has not unfrequently been confessed to me when I have put the question pointedly. To yield compliance to overtures of this kind would be, I have always felt, to make a most unworthy compromise. Our blessed Lord, while He repelled not the humblest candid inquirer, invariably unmasked hypocrisy in whomsoever it presented itself. I feel sure, that to be faithful with these young men, we must at once bring them to the point. Nothing will be gained by concessions to their worldly views, even though the object may be their ultimate spiritual good. The Missionary lowers himself by consenting to make the 'Paradise Lost,' or any other such book, the medium of his spiritual instructions; while the Hindú knows but too well how to feign an attention to the religious teaching, in order to secure the secular knowledge which he covets. If, as is of course frequently the case, such persons are repelled by the plain and pointed statement of the truth, the responsibility is their own, and we cannot help it; but by such a statement of the truth we not only 'deliver our own souls,' but also use that means which, being of God's own appointment, He is most likely to bless to the conviction and conversion of sinners.

"The third class mentioned consists of those who use their knowledge of Christianity in order to oppose it. They make no secret of their enmity, but with arguments, culled principally from European infidel works, both fortify themselves against conviction, and use what influence they may possess to the hindrance of the gospel. Of these, however, I cannot speak from personal observation, having been brought but little into contact with them.

"Hitherto, most of my intercourse with the native young men has been at my own house, where many have called from time to time, and some have come regularly for reading and conversation. When I shall be able to find time for the purpose, I hope to do more in the way of calling upon them. At present the study of Bengali, which I feel to be of urgent importance, occupies much of my time: to acquire a measure of facility in the use of it, as early as possible, is my great desire. To all intercourse with the lower orders of natives, it is of course absolutely essential, nor is it by any means unimportant in dealing with those who have received a so-called English education. The



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English which many of these have acquired, and of which they are not a little proud, is the most unreal and superficial thing imaginable. Only by the vernacular can their minds and hearts be reached."

SOUTH INDIA.

The following extract from a letter of the Rev. J. E. Sharkey, dated Masulipatam, Dec. 21, 1857, though recording much of trial, is very encouraging—

"It has pleased God to lay His hand on us again, for, within three weeks, three dear children have been removed from us by death. The last one who died was brought to us when she was about six years old, and she was more than ten years with us. We brought the poor child into our house, and we sat by her bed-side the whole night. A four o'clock A.M. she wished to see me. On my approaching her, she said, 'Sir, I am going away; I am going away.' I asked, 'Whither?' She said, 'To my Father.' She meant that she was going to her heavenly Father. Her sufferings were very intense, and her breathing very hard. I said to her, 'You will be very happy soon. Take courage: Jesus loves you: He died for you, and will never leave you.' 'Yes,' she replied, 'I shall be happy. But,' she continued, after a pause, 'do not, Sir, let my sister go home to my heathen parents, to learn their heathen ways. Keep her with you, and teach her as you have taught me. Do, Sir, tell my father and mother about Jesus; and I should like *them* to be happy also.' The sister she alluded to is younger than herself, and is reading in our school. Her mother was standing by when her dying daughter spoke so earnestly about her parents' eternal interests. After a little while I went to her, and touched her, and found that the cold hand of death was upon her. I said, 'Come unto me;' and before I could finish the verse, she took up the words and completed the precious promise. The word for *rest*, in Telugu, is a difficult Sanskrit word (*vishranti*). I asked her what it meant. She replied instantly, '*happiness*.' She wished me to pray for her, and so we knelt down and prayed to Him who knows what it is to die. She was perfectly still during the prayer, and when it was over she said, 'That will do.' But her pains increased, and she cried aloud for help. I said to her, 'Him that cometh—' and she completed the verse. Some time after, I remarked, 'The blood of Jesus,' and she interrupted me and added, 'cleanseth from all sin.' I asked her on whom she rested. She told me, 'Jesus, Jesus.' One of our elder girls by her side repeated, 'Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me.' The dear child was sinking very fast: her last words were, 'The narrow road, the narrow road!' She then slept in Jesus. She knew and felt her lost condition by nature: she knew what sin was, and what grace meant. She had a clear and a saving sense of the justifying righteousness of the Lord Jesus. Her hopes of a joyful resurrection and heavenly inheritance were equally clear and cheering. While we feel that we, for our many sins, are thus visited, year after year, we are confident that the dying testimony of our children bids us go on with our work cheerfully and patiently. What are all our schools but just so many means of preparation for heaven? What if it please God to blow upon the tender grass, or the opening flower, and wither and blast it? all is nevertheless well. Blessed and praised be His Holy Name!

NEW ZEALAND.

A few extracts from letters received within the last few days will give the most recent intelligence from the New-Zealand Mission.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

The Ven. Archdeacon Hadfield, Dec. 5, 1857, writes from Wellington—

“It has been a ground of much thankfulness, that, during my recent illness, my friend and assistant, the Rev. Riwai Te Ahu, a most excellent man, full of love and holy zeal, has been diligent and active in his ministrations to the people of my district. I am happy to say that the Christian natives under my charge are going on well; that, although a more rapid improvement might be wished for, they are certainly making progress in the right direction. There is much to disturb their thoughts: changes in property, considerable excitement in reference to political changes, and a fear lest the white men, whose schemes they suspect, may be designing something for their injury. These, and other things of the kind, tend a good deal to distract their thoughts. Still there are others who do not allow these subjects to disturb their thoughts, or interfere with their higher duties, or their hope as a heavenly and eternal home.”

The Rev. R. Maunsell, writing from Waikato, Dec. 4, 1857, says—

“We are now engaged in building a very commodious and handsome church, the money being collected entirely in this country. It will be, when finished, the prettiest wooden church in this part of the island. Our people take great interest in the work; and besides having contributed their money, roll the logs and fetch the timber from a considerable distance. The time of the year has now arrived for my paying my half-yearly rounds to my district. I began last Sunday, and was gratified to find, in a distant church, a good congregation and a hearty welcome. I was happy to be able to administer the Lord’s supper to three young men, who were once a nuisance by their constant drunkenness, at a neighbouring European village, and to others who for some years had declined attending that service. In my district I am happy to report that the sin of drunkenness has abated among the native population. A respectable settler at that same village remarked to me last Sunday, that he had not seen a case of the kind for the last three months. In these matters, however, we must rejoice with trembling. The more we see of the native mind, the more necessity we feel of caution in our opinions concerning their religious stability.”

The Rev. T. Chapman, Maketu, Sept. 28, 1857, says—

“What a warfare one has to maintain! In earlier days how one panted after the establishment of infant churches! These are now established in every direction, and now, again, one pants after a more decided ‘power,’ a brighter evidence of ‘death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness;’ a finding of Christ to be ‘wisdom, righteousness, and sanctification.’ Seeing what I have seen, and knowing what I now know, I marvel not to find ‘patience’ commended among the Christian virtues.

“We must appear a very ‘little one’ in the midst of the vaster interests opening out to you in other parts of the world; and I sometimes wonder how, speaking after the manner of men, so great an interest has been kept up for this far-distant island; and I do trust, that, amid all our ‘hay and stubble,’ God has a praying people for whom Christ has not died in vain.”

DEATH OF A MISSIONARY.

The Rev. W. Welton, lately a Missionary at Fuh-chau, China, expired in London on the 3d March, after a very short illness.

DEPARTURE OF A MISSIONARY.

The Rev. G. and Mrs. Deimler left London for Bombay, *via* France, on the 27th February (p. 80).

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NORTH INDIA.

THE extracts which we are enabled this month to lay before our readers present the progress of feeling on the part of those in authority in India in a very satisfactory point of view. We have already given publication to the Memorandum of Mr. Montgomery, inviting native Christians to come forward as candidates for Government employment (p. 41). We now insert a second official letter enunciating similar principles, sent to our Secretary at Calcutta. The only matters of regret respecting this forward movement are, first, that it has come so late; and, secondly, that it is not more universal. But we entertain a good hope that the day is fast approaching when the Christians of India will more uniformly meet with the favour and confidence they deserve; and when those otherwise well qualified for office will find their faith to be rather a passport than a disqualification for positions of trust and responsibility. The following is the letter referred to—

“MY DEAR SIR—You have, perhaps, heard that the Government wishes to raise a semi-military police battalion at the head-quarters of every district; the duties of which will be to guard the treasures, gaols, and public offices, and to suppress affrays and public disturbances in the district. They will not be soldiers in the ordinary sense, for they will not be obliged to leave the district to which the battalion belongs; and will, I trust, never find it necessary to engage in any fighting in this part of India. They will, however, be drilled regularly. The pay will be six rupees a month.

“I have orders to raise a battalion for Hooghly, and it occurs to me that on many grounds it would be very desirable to enlist as many native Christians as possible. Those who were originally Mussulmans, like the native Christians of the Nuddea district, possess, I believe, a greater degree of physical strength than the Bengali population generally; but I have other grounds.

“I want to increase in every possible way the links of attachment between ourselves and the native Christians—to raise their social and political condition in the eyes of the population generally. To do that would, I am sure, strengthen Missionary work, and is but common justice to the native Christians. In a political point of view, too, I believe it would be well to show the Hindús and Mohammedans that we have, even among the native population of India, men with whom our interests and their's are identical, men upon whom we can implicitly rely. On the other hand it will show the Hindú and Mohammedan population in a very practical and striking manner; that when Christianity comes in, even races—differing so much as we do from the people of India—have a common bond of action and feeling—that religion makes black and white skins *one*. It will do us good as well as the native Christians, for it will increase the feeling of true brotherhood, and it will tend to give the native Christians more self-confidence, and a right sort of self-respect, when they see that the British Government places special con-

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fidence in them. Are these views such as would be assented to by the Church Missionary Society? Will you kindly send on this letter for circulation to the Mission stations of the Nuddea district, in order that its contents may be made known to the Missionaries and their flocks? I should be glad to have any number, from a few dozens to two or three hundred probably; but of course they would not be sent without first communicating with me further. As there would be a considerable body together, some place for combined lodging and messing might be arranged, so that they would be able to save about half their pay for remittance to their families; and due care for their spiritual welfare might be provided by stationing a Missionary at Hooghly, and the whole corps might meet for morning and evening prayer, with the assistance of a catechist.

"If you cannot get the men at six rupees, perhaps Government might give seven rupees; but please try the smaller sum first.

"(Signed) "HODGSON PRATT."

A communication has also been received by our Committee at Calcutta, from H. Woodrow, Esq., Inspector of Government Schools, stating that the mutinies had caused a diminution in the number of Hindústani medical students (many of whom have been sons of Sepoys), and that a good opening is offered for Hindústani native Christians desirous of entering the medical profession.

The general tone of feeling among the villagers, to whom our Missionaries have had access during and immediately after the outbreak, will be gathered from the annexed extracts. It is gratifying to find that so little of interruption has taken place to our work, that the Missionaries have so thoroughly and permanently won the goodwill of the people. Nothing could give greater encouragement as to the future. It will also be seen how completely the mistaken policy of the Government has failed in its object. "They have made themselves crooked paths: whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace."

Extract from a letter from the Rev. A. P. Neele, Burdwan, Feb. 19, 1858—

"The notice taken of the rebellion by the people of Bengal in general has, so far as my own observation goes, been very small. The more educated and intelligent did, indeed, eagerly search the newspapers for information, but these persons were the minority; amongst other classes a general persuasion prevailed that it was forbidden even to talk about the mutiny, and that any guilty of the offence would be imprisoned. On one occasion the Government forced the subject upon the attention of the people at large, by posting in every village a notification to the effect that it would not interfere with the religion of the people, and that the suspicions entertained on this point were therefore groundless. This, however, instead of having the intended effect, of creating confidence in the rulers, was very naturally construed into a sign of weakness on their part. The usual course of our work has been but slightly interrupted. Large numbers of disbanded or deserted Sepoys were at one time prowling about the country in all directions; during this period it was unsafe, or would at least have been imprudent, to go to outlying villages; with this exception, our work, both in schools and preaching, has been uninterrupted. This temporary hindrance is, however, now entirely done away. I have myself, during the present cold weather, been out upon a preaching tour; and others of our Missionary brethren, in Bengal, have done the same. Truly then we here have much cause for praise, and we would desire to regard his mercies as special incentives to greater zeal and diligence for the future."

Extract from a letter of the Rev. J. Vaughan, dated Calcutta, Feb. 9, 1858—

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"I have just returned from a little Missionary excursion in company with the Rev. A. Stern. We sailed about fifty miles up the river, visiting and preaching in all the principal towns and villages on the banks. It was throughout a very interesting tour, and it is no small cause of gratitude that we were enabled at all to itinerate after a period of such fearful excitement. But so it is, we were permitted to go from village to village preaching the glad tidings of salvation without any interruption, without a word of abuse or complaint (except on one occasion, from an old Brahmin, who trembled for his craft). The people, in almost every instance, not only permitted us to preach to them, but declared a readiness to listen; for we generally began by the remark, 'We are Padris—we have come to speak with you about the religion of Jesus Christ.' Instantly the reply was given, 'Very good, Sahib, sit down and deliver your message.' Some one would then bring us the best seat at hand, and thus we began to preach to the people seated or standing around us.

"A greater misrepresentation could not be given than to say that the people are offended by the visits of a Missionary: I believe the reverse is nearer the truth. They have no objection to any man who comes to them openly declaring himself a messenger of Christ. We had no difficulty in getting congregations, wherever we went the people always listened with attention."

The Report of the Bombay Bible Society also bears testimony to the fact, that no unusual opposition was experienced by its agents during any part of the year just closed.—The "Bombay Guardian" has an extract from a letter of the Rev. W. Beynon, of the London Missionary Society, at Belgaum—

"I lately made a short tour to the East. The country, I found all tranquil. At our out-station—Beil Hongal—things are in a very encouraging state: there are a number of people who have attached themselves to the Mission as inquirers: they are heads of families, of different castes, and almost all in good circumstances as regards their worldly affairs."

That our Missionaries and the friends of Missions in India are in good heart will be seen from the following Resolutions of a Meeting of the Agra Bible, Church Missionary, and Christian Tract and Book Societies, February 11, 1853—

"That this Meeting is deeply impressed with the importance and need of the Religious Associations met together to-day, and thanks God for the measures in which their operations have hitherto been carried on; and while they deplore the sinful and guilty excesses committed during the late outbreak, they would yet regard them as indicating a depth of moral iniquity which can only be reached and changed by the truths of God's word, brought home by the Holy Spirit accompanying that word, whether read alone or enforced by His ministers, or explained and illustrated by a religious literature."

The Rev. J. Leighton, in communicating the above, writes, February 5—

"We are about reprinting our publications, but it must be some time before we are well supplied again. We had got new editions of some very valuable works, which are, alas! all destroyed. The spirit of our Committee is not at all damped by the disaster. Even in the midst of trouble, remarkable instances of good done by tracts dropped by fugitive Christians loudly call us forward. I allude to some inquirers at Mutyana, a village near Mrut, whom I had the happiness of preaching to on my late visit to Mr. Medland. will not forestall the happiness you will have from his own account."

The real state of the difficulty arising out of Bible education in the Vernacular Schools is exemplified in the following statements. They further illustrate and confirm all that has been said—that it needs but a little firmness and

## RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

faithfulness to introduce the word of God, and it will command for itself the respect of those who read it. Archdeacon Pratt writes, March 9—

“In that bigotted Mussulman city, Juanpur, there was a good school got up by the residents, and some of the influential natives on the Committee of subscribers. The fourth rule was, that religion should form no part of the instruction. In 1841, when the residents asked the Church Missionary Society to send a schoolmaster, I got that rule rescinded, when on a visit there. The Bible was introduced. Half the boys left; but before many weeks they all returned, and the school rose higher than ever in numbers and in character, and maintained that elevation till this dreadful besom swept it away.”

Extract from a letter of Rev. John M'Carthy, Peshawur, February 18—

“The school, my own proper sphere of labour at present, is in a decidedly encouraging position. During the gloomy months of the mutiny our numbers became very low, and the expression of one delinquent pupil will suffice to indicate the cause of the decrease—‘That there was no further use in learning English, since the reign of the Sahibs was over.’ We kept the school open however, all through the ‘reign of terror;’ and I have a vivid recollection of the morning of the intended mutiny at Peshawur, when, on my return from the city, I met a great cart full of muskets, which had just been taken from our intended murderers, and which, if they had not been taken from them, would have dealt death to us that very day. We have at present about eighty names on the school-roll, and the most of these are *bonâ-fide* scholars, regular in their attendance, and all, whether students of English, or Arabic, or Persian, recipients of scriptural instruction. This last strong point in our position has not been gained without trouble. One Arabic moulwi threw up his situation—for him a lucrative one—rather than teach the Scriptures; and the pupils constantly complain that the city people abuse them for coming to the school. As, however, the impartation of the word of life must be the prime aim of the Missionary, we have been firm on this point, and we have the satisfaction of seeing our number steadily on the increase notwithstanding.

“We are greatly cheered by the view of love and sympathy which is wafted to us from beloved England. We see, in the increased zeal of the church on behalf of Missions, the first instalment of those blessings which are to shower upon us from the dark cloud which hung over our heads. It will probably be told, in times to come, in the villages of India, as a sequel to the story of the great mutiny, how the Christians of England revenged themselves for that enormous crime by increased efforts for the salvation of its perpetrators.”

## SOUTH INDIA.

Mr. Cruickshank writes from Tinnevely, February 13, respecting a school set up in opposition to his own—

“There was a good deal of discussion afterward, among the Hindús, respecting the proposed introduction of the Bible into their school. One at length said that he saw no very great objection to it. Another Hindú replied, that in this case they might as well send their children to the Missionary school. The second master, who was educated in our school, insisted that, read the Bible as they might, with or without a commentary, it will always be found a dangerous book. ‘For instance,’ added he, ‘who can read the third chapter of Daniel, and similar portions of Scripture, without feeling an involuntary contempt for idols, and seeing his faith in Hindúism undermined?’ ”

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FIFTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY.

The Annual Sermon was preached before the Society on Monday evening, the 3d of May, at the parish church of St. Bride, Fleet Street, by the Rev. John C. Miller, D.D., Honorary Canon of Worcester, and Rector of St. Martin's, Birmingham, from Ephesians iii. 8. Collection, 189*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*

The Annual Meeting was held at Exeter Hall, Strand, on Tuesday, the 4th of May. The Right Hon. the President took the Chair at ten o'clock. Prayer having been offered, and a portion of Scripture read, the Meeting was addressed by the Chairman. An abstract of the Report was then read by the Rev. John Venn, M.A. Resolutions were adopted as follows—

*Movers and Seconders.*

The Lord Bishop of London, and the Right Hon. Viscount Midleton—the Rev. Dr. Marsh, and the Rev. Hugh Stowell, M.A.—the Rev. Dr. Cotton, Bishop Designate of Calcutta, and the Rev. George Knox, late Chaplain to the East-India Company, South India—the Rev. Dr. M'Neile, and the Rev. George Scott, of Feeny, Ireland.

*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 Rev. Dr. Miller, 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.	Lt.-Col. Hughes.	Moseley Smith, Esq.
George Arbuthnot, Esq.	Arthur Lang, Esq.	Abel Smith, Jun., Esq.
John Ballance, Esq.	William Lavie, Esq.	John Sperling, Esq.
John Bridges, Esq.	H. Seymour Montagu, Esq.	H. Stokes, Esq.
Lt.-Col. Caldwell.	P. F. O'Malley, Esq., Q.C.	J. M. Strachan, Esq.
Major-General Clarke.	Robert Prance, Esq.	John F. Thomas, Esq.
William Dugmore, Esq.	Colonel Smith.	Robert Trotter, Esq.
James Farish, Esq.	Henry Smith, Esq.	H. Carre Tucker, Esq.

—That this Society, while it desires humbly to praise God for the "spirit of prayer and supplications" vouchsafed to the Church of Christ during the Indian mutiny, earnestly looks for the continuance of the same grace to revive the work of God at home, in order that the church may be prepared for receiving the blessing of enlarged success for more abundant labours in the establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom in every land.

—That while this Society recognises its sacred obligations towards its Missions in Africa, China, and other lands, where the Lord has signally owned and blessed its labours; yet it regards India, under the restored supremacy of British rule, as possessing a special claim upon its enlarged exertions and expenditure for the conversion of its various tribes to the faith of Christ.

—That the present state of the world demands of the church at home far larger sacrifices for the cause of Christ than it has hitherto made, especially in the sending forth

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of men of all ranks of society, whose gifts and graces qualify them to aid the work of Missions.

The financial statement presented to the Meeting was as follows—

<i>Income.</i>	
General Fund—Associations, Benefactions, Legacies, &c. . . . .	128,865 3 4
Fund for Disabled Missionaries, &c. . . . .	1901 15 0
Total Ordinary Income . . . . .	130,766 18 4
Special Fund for India to March 31, 1858 . . . . .	24,717 16 11
Total received in the United Kingdom . . . . .	£155,484 15 3
<i>Expenditure.</i>	
On account of the General Expenses of the Society at home and abroad,	123,469 0 10
On account of Disabled Missionaries, &c. . . . .	3876 9 1
Total Expenditure . . . . .	£127,345 9 11
Expenditure as above . . . . .	127,345 9 11
Add Balance of last year . . . . .	1976 9 6
	129,321 19 5
Income as above . . . . .	130,766 18 4
Balance in hand . . . . .	£1444 18 11

The Local Funds raised in the Missions, and expended there upon the operations of the Society, but independently of the General Fund, are not included in the foregoing Statement. They are estimated at 9000*l.*

The Report concluded with the following remarks—

The Committee, in conclusion, revert to the subject of the Indian Crisis, and to the measures which they have already taken in connexion with this great event;—an event, the consequences of which they regard as equally momentous to the best interests of British India, and of the whole British empire. They conceive that the obligation of England towards India is to be regarded in a threefold light.

In the *first* place, England stands related to India as exercising sovereignty over the people. Under the British constitution every man has a share of responsibility in the principles of Government. Details of administration belong to statesmen; but every British subject is bound by a solemn obligation to use his influence that the great principles of religion and morality may be the basis of the British throne. The Committee have regarded it, therefore, as a part of their duty to declare explicitly their views upon the future Government of India, in relation to the moral and religious welfare of the natives; and they have humbly presented these views in a Memorial to the Queen. They trust that the Christian community, of which the Church Missionary Society is a representative, will not cease to urge the Government of India to avow its Christianity, to admit the Bible into the system of Government education, and to decree that all connexion with Hindú or Moham-medan superstition shall at once and for ever cease and determine.

The *second* relation in which England stands towards India is that of a parent to uneducated children. We are bound to provide education for the masses of its population. Too long have we neglected this duty. Knowing the people to be sunk in a debasing ignorance, without the possibility of extricating themselves, we have “passed by on the other side.” The Government has very lately taken measures to promote vernacular education, and it is for Missionary Societies to provide for the religious element in such education.



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This is a work in which all denominations of Christians must unite for its effectual accomplishment. The Christian education of a heathen population precedes all questions of ecclesiastical polity. The Committee are thankful to announce the formation of a Society for this object upon the principle laid down by the Bishop of Calcutta in these memorable words—"Unity and love prevail amongst the different divisions of the Protestant family. We no longer maintain the old and fatal mistake, that Christian men are not to co-operate for *any thing* till they agree in *every thing*. We now hold the antagonistic and true maxim that Christian men should act together, so far as they are agreed."

The *third* relation in which England stands to India is that of a Christian towards a heathen country. Hence the obligation on England to impart to India the inestimable benefits of the ministry of the word of Christ: first, through European agency, and then, as soon as possible, through a native pastorate. Here each Missionary Society must carry on its own work. And, blessed be God, each Missionary Society has arisen to new and enlarged efforts for its performance. The Committee called together a Special Meeting of this Society on the 12th of January last, to inaugurate these measures. They appealed for a Special Fund for the Indian Missions. That appeal has been liberally answered. In four months, as already announced, more than 24,000*l.* had been paid to the fund. It now amounts to 29,658*l.*

This Special Fund for India will, the Committee trust, be faithfully devoted to the enlargements of the Indian Missions. To secure this, they propose that the General Fund shall still be distributed in the usual proportion amongst the Indian and other Missions of the Society. The Special Fund will be added to India's proportion of the General Fund. By this arrangement the Indian Missions will be greatly enriched, while those of Africa and China, and other parts, will not be impoverished. It is hoped, also, that only a small portion of the Special Fund need be applied to repairing the loss of Missionary buildings. The far larger part will be employed in sending out men; the Committee feeling assured that the liberality of the church in future years will provide for the support of as many as they can send out, if only they be men devoted to their Master's work.

In the location of Missionaries who may be assigned to India, the Committee do not propose, as their first object, to open new Missions; but rather to strengthen and complete those which promise well. One strong Mission, they are persuaded, is better than several weak ones. There should be at each central station a sufficient staff of men, first to maintain an effective pastoral superintendence over native converts; secondly, to carry on education to its crowning point, a Training Institution for native teachers; thirdly, to undertake a thorough district itinerant preaching to the heathen.

In respect of new stations in India, as soon as the Society is able to establish them, the Committee regard themselves as pledged in the first instance to the Kingdom of Oude.

Here the Committee must close. They have spread before this Meeting a large mass of Missionary enterprise in all parts of the world. They have pointed to the open doors—to the inviting fields of labour, not only white to the harvest, but where the harvest is now falling under the sickle of reapers already on the field. They have given abundant testimony that the Lord has gone out before the Missionary band to prepare their way, and to meet and bless them upon their arrival. They have appealed especially for India. The

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funds are being liberally supplied. They now appeal for men. Year by year have the Committee, at their Anniversary Meetings, made this appeal; and they thank God that there has been a gradual increase of Missionary candidates. But the Committee feel this day that the work has far outgrown this gradual supply, and that it needs at once a great company of preachers. They therefore invite to more general and fervent prayer, that the Lord may so revive His work at home, that His church may both furnish an adequate supply of men, able to endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, and willing to go forth for His Name's sake; and also an adequate supply of such as esteem it their great privilege to be fellow-helpers to the truth by contributing to the support of those who go forth to preach it.

Let England furnish such a supply, both of men and means, and she will be no loser by it. For, "Prove Me now herewith, saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it. . . . And all nations shall call you blessed, for ye shall be a delightsome land, saith the Lord of Hosts."—Mal. iii. 10. 12.

The Meeting was closed by singing a hymn. Collection, 21*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*

At half-past six o'clock in the evening a second Meeting of the Society was held in the Hall, the Most Noble Marquess of Cholmondeley, Vice-President, in the Chair. The Rev. W. Knight, M.A., Secretary, offered prayer; and, after a few remarks by the Chairman, the Meeting was addressed by the Rev. J. Ridgeway, M.A., Editorial Secretary: Subject, "The Indian Crisis"—the Lord Bishop of Ripon: Subject, "The Missionary Spirit an unfailing element of living Christianity"—the Rev. John C. Miller, D.D.: Subject, "The harvest is great, but the labourers are few;" and was closed with singing. Collection, 21*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*

DEPARTURE OF A MISSIONARY.

The Rev. A. Burn left London, April 3d, *en route* for Bombay, *via* Trieste, in order to rejoin the Sindh Mission.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

*Yoruba Mission.*—Mr. W. Buckley left Lagos February 8th last, and arrived in London on the 22d of April.

*Western-India Mission.*—The Rev. J. Sheldon left Bombay, by steamer, on the 20th of January, and arrived at Liverpool on the 10th of April (p. 95).

The Rev. C. C. Mengé arrived in London from Bombay on the 2d of May.

*North-India Mission.*—The Rev. J. and Mrs. Fuchs left Calcutta in December last, and arrived in London on the 31st of March.

The Rev. C. and Mrs. Krückeberg also left Calcutta in December, and arrived in London on the 5th of April.

DECEASE OF MISSIONARIES.

*West-Africa Mission.*—We regret to announce the decease of the Rev. W. Young, lately a Missionary at Sierra Leone, who died at Brixton April 7th.

Mr. Gittens, Catechist (p. 8), died at Magbeli on the 19th of January.

*Yoruba Mission.*—Mr. W. Green (p. 8) died at Abbeokuta, of fever, in February last.

*South-India Mission.*—The Rev. T. G. Barenbrück died suddenly of cholera in March last.

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A SPECIAL Meeting of the Committee was held at the Children's Home, Islington, on Thursday, June 8d, to take leave of a considerable body of Missionaries and their wives, proceeding to various portions of the Mission field. The instructions of the Committee having been delivered by the Rev. H. Venn, and acknowledged by the Missionaries, the latter were addressed by the Rev. H. Thomas, Chaplain to the Hon. E.-India Co., who has just returned from India, and then commended in prayer to Almighty God by the Rev. C. F. Childe. The Missionaries to whom the instructions were addressed (though a few were unavoidably prevented, from various causes, from being present) were—

(*W.-India Miss.*)—The Rev. Richard Galbraith and the Rev. Ludwig and Mrs. Hofer.

(*N.-India Miss.*)—The Rev. R. and Mrs. Clark, returning to Peshawar, and the Rev. Elias and Mrs. Champion.

(*S.-India Miss.*)—The Rev. T. and Mrs. Spratt, returning to Tinnevely, and the Rev. J. H. and Mrs. Wilkinson.

(*Ceylon Mission.*)—The Rev. C. C. and Mrs. M'Arthur, proceeding to Jaffna.

(*China Mission.*)—The Rev. George Smith, proceeding to Fuh-chau.

INDIA.

EDUCATION OF THE SANTHALS.

In December last we published in this periodical the despatch in which the Court of Directors interdicted the carrying out of the scheme for educating the Santhals.\* We have now before us the reply of G. U. Yule, Esq., the Commissioner for the Santhal Pergunnahs. After pointing out the costliness of the scheme "prepared for affording to the inhabitants of the Santhal districts the means of education through the agency of Government officers," which "nearly doubles the cost of each village school," while "Missionary superintendence adds a mere trifle," Mr. Yule proceeds—

"I have endeavoured to do what I am ordered; but I have had no experience in such matters, and I must confess my heart is not in this work. I look upon the education afforded by the generality of Mofussil Government schools with contempt, and I know no one who does not do the same. In my report of June 24, 1856, I stated that I thought we were wrong, both as to the classes we taught and the education we gave, and my opinion has certainly not changed since then. Government education must be a failure, I think, except in the instances where the schoolmaster loves his work for its own sake, and these instances are but few. How many schoolmasters are there who would not gladly quit their employment for any other with nearly equal pay? Even if capable of really instructing, they have no conscientious interest in the well-doing of their pupils; and the consequence is, they teach words, as many as possible, in order to acquire for themselves a good report at the examination, which again is conducted by men who look on the thing as a bore, and often with good reason, for they have their own hard work to do, and who besides, from sheer inexperience, are incapable of ascertaining

\* Vol. ii. New Series, p. 365.

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properly whether the schoolmaster has faithfully done his work or not. As to the parents and friends of the pupils, they afford neither incentive nor check to the schoolmaster; for, having had no education at all, or one of words only, like their children, they are unable to appreciate good teaching. I think, therefore, that until Government can be certain of the services of schoolmasters or superintendants possessing a strong conscientiousness, a deep interest in their work, and some practical knowledge of it, the Government education will be words, and nothing else. Men, possessing the qualifications I have mentioned, are to be had; but Government deliberately rejects their services, and prefers men who have often neither conscience nor capacity.

"The Honorable the Court of Directors are pleased to say in their despatch that the Santhals do not occupy separate regions or tracts of country, so as to form isolated communities. Locally separated, as well as socially distinct, from the Hindú and Mussulman population, and being often located in close vicinity to populous towns and villages, and mixing with the general population in the concerns of life, the Honorable Court do not feel, that in dealing with them they are exempt from the necessity of maintaining the caution necessary in Government educational establishments. Now, with the utmost respect, I beg to say, that this view of the Santhal population is not altogether correct. Socially, the Santhals are utterly distinct from the Hindú and Mohammedan population, and from the other wild tribes even. They neither eat, drink, nor intermarry with them: they won't even serve with them. They pay rent to the Zemindar; they borrow from, and sell their produce to, the Mahajuns. This is nearly the whole extent of their dealing with other races, except Europeans. Socially they are not so distinctly separate, except in one remarkable instance, to be hereafter mentioned; but still, in nine cases out of ten at least, a Santhal village is inhabited by Santhals alone: in the tenth there may be a few Pariahs, Moholis, Bhueyas, &c., but the Santhals are always by themselves in one hamlet of the village, the others in another. Sometimes, but rarely, a Santhal hamlet is found attached to a low Hindú village, or *vice versa*; and, more often, a Santhal village, for its own convenience, admits a Hindú oilman or spirit-seller.

"The exception alluded to in the preceding paragraph is the Damun-i-Koh. Within that tract I know of one Mohammedan village, and that is outside the hills, in the narrow belt of plain bordering the Ganges: possibly one or two more may exist. There are several Hindú villages peopled either by Mahajuns, who have been admitted on suffrance, and might be excluded to-morrow without the right to complain, or by a very low caste of Hindús, as ignorant as, and far more degraded in morality than, the Santhals. With the few exceptions, and a sprinkling of Bhueyas, Moholis, &c., who have come up with the Santhals from the jungles of the south-west, the population of the Damun is either Santhal or Pariah, and Government has no objection to the conversion of the latter; for here, in the midst of Hindús and Mohammedans, it supports an institution for Pariah orphans, whose education is entrusted to Missionaries, with the result that might be expected. If, then, the Honorable Court of Directors still think his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's scheme inapplicable to the Zemindari portion of the Santhal districts, why not let it be tried in the Damun, whose inhabitants, as I think I have shown, are separate and distinct from the Hindú and Mussulman population, and who are both subjects and ryots of Government. Surely there can be no objection to this. I would be ashamed to propose a contraction of the noblest scheme of education ever, to my knowledge, set on foot in India, were it not that I feel convinced the contraction would not last long. Among other changes which

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late events will produce, I earnestly hope, and firmly trust, to see swept away that mistaken policy which has hitherto made us appear traitors to our God, and cowards before men.

"There is a special argument, however, in the case of the Santhals. By the education given to Hindús and Mohammedans in Government schools, if we do not directly teach the true religion, we sap their faith in the false one they have; a procedure sneaking in itself, and not often attended with the hoped-for result: but the case is different with the Santhals. If we do not teach them Christianity, we shall most probably make them Hindús: it can scarcely be otherwise. We cannot get Christian teachers for the village-schools, though the Missionaries could; and even if we could, forbidden as they would be to introduce religious subjects in any form, what influence would they have over the religious feeling of the boys and their parents? The Santhals would subside into bastard Hindús, as some have already nearly done. I wished to set up schools in the Damun, under heathen, until the Missionaries could occupy all the ground with Christian teachers. This was opposed by the Missionaries, because it would tend to make the boys liars, and inimical to Christianity; and though I do not altogether concur in their views, I expressed a wish, if they still adhered to them, to give up my own opinion rather than do any thing to prevent their hearty co-operation in the scheme entrusted to them. I have frequently thought on the subject since; and though I should not object to press on with the mere elements of education through heathen teachers, knowing the Missionaries were behind with their Christian education, and soon to overtake me, I should consider it a very different thing to make over the Santhals for education either to Christian teachers, forbidden to speak of their religion (if men taking service on such terms could be Christians, except in name), or to heathen, with no prospect of any efficient counteraction to the all-prevailing heathen influence around.

"Assuredly we are not here merely to introduce steam-engines; and the sooner we set about our appointed work the better. The natives have no idea of conversion in general, except by means of force or fraud, greased cartridges, or acts giving patrimonial property to deserters from the ancestral faith. Government might have Christianity taught in all its schools. Once it was known we were in earnest, not a murmur would be raised. We have ourselves fostered and encouraged murmurers by giving way to them, even by anticipation; but murmurs or not, we have a right to teach what we believe to be true, and we are bound to teach the whole truth. I would not force schools on any place; but, if asked for, Christianity should be taught. If Hindús and Mussulmans set up schools themselves, good: let them have a grant-in-aid: they are entitled to that out of the general revenue of the country; but they are not entitled to any other help or encouragement from a Christian Government. I know not which have most pupils, Christian or unchristian schools. It is said the former owe their large attendance to being free schools, which the latter are not; but this only proves how little many heathen parents care about their children being taught the Bible.

"Whatever may be done elsewhere, I pray his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to support his own scheme for educating the whole of the Santhal districts with all the weight of his influence.

"No apology is required for speaking my opinion freely, if, as I trust, I have spoken it without disrespect for the opinions of others.

(Signed)

"G. U. YULE,

"Commissioner, Santhal Pergunnahs."

The Director of Public Instruction, W. G. Young, Esq., has arrived at

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the same conclusion, though "by quite different roads;" and though he dissents from some of the views put forward by Mr. Yule, he "entirely agrees" with him that any scheme of Government education "would be far less hopeful than the one it would supersede." "My heart," he adds, "would not be in the work to the extent that it would be desirable. Without admitting that the 'education afforded by the generality of Mofussil Government schools' is deserving of 'contempt,' I fully recognise the fact, that the teaching carried on in such schools is, generally speaking, not characterized by that earnest conscientious spirit and that character of practical utility which are usually seen in schools superintended by experienced Missionaries. And I concur, also, in the opinion, that if Government deliberately rejects the cheap and valuable service now offered, a great mistake will be committed."

In reference to the assertion of the Court that the Santhals are "less isolated and socially distinct from Hindús and Mussulmans than" other wild tribes, Mr. Young confirms Mr. Yule's denial of the fact, and thus disposes of the argument grounded upon it—

"Even, however, were the facts otherwise, I should be unable to see my way to the conclusion arrived at. The argument appears to be, that it is objectionable for the Government to appear to be doing any thing with the intention of converting any class of the people to Christianity, but that this objection is of little or no force when the class of people concerned is isolated or remote. I cannot understand this argument, unless it means that the Government will do in a corner what it is afraid to do in the face of day.

"No doubt the motives of the Government are ever liable to misconstruction. But if the thing to be done is good and right, I hope we shall not be restrained from doing it by such a fear as this."

Adverting to the provisions of the Education Despatch of 1854, as to grants-in-aid to all schools which impart a good secular education, he reasons—

"To say now that aid will not be given to such schools if they are under the supervision of Christian Missionaries, unless they happen to be in remote and isolated localities, and unless the proceeding is exempt from all risk of 'perverted misconstruction,' seems to me to introduce a new and most embarrassing element into the simple and statesman-like system propounded in the despatch of 1854."\*

## RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

*West-Africa Mission.*—The Rev. J. Millward left Sierra Leone in the "Candace" on the 24th of February, and, after suffering shipwreck near Madeira, and being detained at Cadiz, arrived in London on the 24th of May.

The Rev. J. C. Reichardt left Sierra Leone May 19th, by the "Ethiophe," and arrived at Plymouth on June 7th.

*Ceylon Mission.*—The Rev. R. and Mrs. Pargiter left Colombo on January 19th, and arrived in London on the 19th of May.

## DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES

The Rev. R. and Mrs. Clark, and the Rev. E. and Mrs. Champion, embarked on board the "Nile" at Portsmouth on June 15th; and the Rev. C. C. and Mrs. McArthur and the Rev. J. H. and Mrs. Wilkinson on board the "Clarence," on June 25th (p. 197).

*Yoruba Mission.*—We regret to announce the decease of Mr. J. Carter, Catechist, who expired at Abbeokuta on the 16th of April, after a short illness.

\* These extracts are reprinted from the "Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces, for the half-year ending October, 1857." Published at the Government Gazette Office, Calcutta.

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### ISLINGTON INSTITUTION.

THE Rev. C. F. Childe having been presented to the Rectory of Holbrook, Suffolk, has resigned the office of Principal of the Institution. The Committee have recorded their sense of his valuable services in the following terms—

“That this Committee receive with regret Mr. Childe’s resignation of the Principalship of the Islington Institution, which he has held for nineteen years, with great advantage to the cause of Christ and to this Society; and they deem it only an act of justice to record his unwearied zeal and self-sacrificing diligence in the important work of Missionary education and training, and especially his maintenance of those spiritual principles in the whole system and tone of the Institution, to which the Committee look as the only foundation of the future Missionary success of the pupils. While the Committee regret their loss of such services, they feel assured that in the new post of duty to which Mr. Childe has been called, the cause of the Society will still have his sympathy and zealous assistance.”

The Rev. Thomas Green, M.A., Incumbent of Friezland, near Manchester, has been appointed to the Principalship, and the Rev. J. G. Heisch, B.A., now Resident Tutor, to the Vice-Principalship of the Institution.

### NORTH INDIA.—OUDE.

R. Montgomery, Esq., late Political Commissioner for the Punjab, and well known by his recent Memorandum, inviting Missionaries to recommend native Christians for the public service,\* having been appointed Chief Commissioner of Oude, has addressed to the Committee the following letter, dated Lucknow, April 20th last—

“I learn that the late Sir Henry Lawrence, shortly after taking charge of this Government, addressed you with a view to Missionaries being sent to Oude; but the late fearful events in India, and our loss of Oude, prevented your Society from sending Missionaries. As Sir Henry Lawrence’s successor, I have the privilege of repeating his call; and it will afford me great pleasure to learn that the Society have determined to establish a Mission at Lucknow, where the field of labour is vast and extensive. The city is fourteen miles in circumference, and there are some 600,000 inhabitants.

“We have gone and still are passing through a frightful crisis. No one can doubt but that good will result from it. Already we see the result in the anxiety of all to employ and elevate native Christians. The change is most remarkable. Even amongst those who are Christians in little else than profession, all seek to employ them. But it is remarkable how low they are in attainments, and how few are fitted except for the lowest posts. I have no doubt but that a higher degree of education will be given them.

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\* “Church Missionary Record” for February last, pp. 41, 42.

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“An impression seems to have gone abroad, from a Memorandum that I wrote some months ago, that the Government were averse to the employment of native Christians. So far as I know, the Government never expressed any opinion in the matter; but Government servants were certainly averse to the employment, and in their hands rested the patronage. It is due to the Government that this erroneous impression should be removed.”

In conformity with this invitation, the Committee have designated two Missionaries to the North-West Provinces — the Rev. Elias Champion who sailed for Calcutta (with Mrs. Champion) on the 15th of June last, and the Rev. J. L. Knight, B.A., of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, Curate of Great Barr, near Birmingham, who will very shortly follow him. They will be employed to supply the places of two experienced Missionaries already on the spot, who will be drafted by the Calcutta Corresponding Committee, from stations already established, to commence without delay the Mission to Oude. The expenses of this new Mission will be charged to the *Special Fund for India*.

AGRA.

Extracts from a letter of Mr. W. Wright, dated Agra, May 17, 1858—

“Most of the senior boys of the school manifested an attachment to us throughout the mutiny. Some of them, not without risk to themselves, visited us in the fort. Others employed themselves in searching, on the sides of the roads, for books belonging to the college, or to our private libraries, and this when the danger was so great that no European was allowed to leave the fort. Mr. Wood, a teacher in the school, when ill, and no other servant could be procured, was attended to night and day, in and out the fort, by a lad of his own class.

“A boy, at present in the class under my charge, was chiefly instrumental in saving the lives of an Anglo-Indian lady and her children. His father, a *bajar* (clothman), got Hindústani dresses made up for them, hid them in his own house, and fed them gratuitously till they could go with safety to the fort. For this service the boy, Brij Ballab, has just obtained an appointment in the accountant's office, with a much higher salary than his present attainments might entitle him to receive (thirty rupees, to be raised to forty soon). Whenever, soon after the battle, I was able to visit the college, four or five of the senior boys were always straggling about round its ruins. A boy of the sixth class in our school, oftentimes before the mutiny, urged me to commit to his keeping my most valuable things. I shared, however, in the general infatuation of thinking nothing would happen. A friend of mine, more wise than myself, gave this lad the most valuable of his furniture, and it was all safely delivered him again when peace was restored. This lad, Ballab Ram, was often threatened by neighbours for protecting goods belonging to the Sahibs. These things should be a sufficient proof, that, at Agra at least, neither the Missionaries, nor the Missionaries' doctrine, produced the ill-will of the natives. The Government College roof was burnt; ours escaped: but the cause may have been that ours was too lofty for them.

“Alarms and reports are still propagated, and indeed the causes for them have not been removed yet. Only yesterday morning three guns were heard in church, which were afterwards ascertained from an ‘extra’ to have been



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fired over the corpse of a major who was murdered by a company of the enemy's sawars (cavalry) within ten cos of Agra, his companion, severely wounded, having had an almost miraculous escape to Agra. The native population have been disarmed. It was feared there would be some difficulty in doing it, but it passed off quietly. It is reported that the Nawab of Futtehghurh (Furruckabad ?) has been taken prisoner—he who blew English ladies and children from his guns. The European soldiers demand much of our pity, having to endure all the horrors of war, living in tents in this fearful heat, not a few of the numbers ill or dying with sun strokes. They and their devoted chaplains demand our most earnest sympathy and prayers.

“A few lads of the school seem willing to come to my house for instruction, but I cannot say whether a deeper anxiety than that of obtaining a knowledge of English actuates them. One is often deceived. It may lead to a purer desire. We must sow beside all waters. On several occasions when I accompanied Mr. Leighton to the bazaar, the people were, I thought, even more attentive than formerly. Most of the time I can spare, after the five hours' school, is given to private reading.

“Oh may the blood-stained triumphs of war be a prelude to the peaceful triumph of the cross! ‘The kingdom shall be the Lord’s.’”

CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY FOR INDIA.

This interesting Society, one of the most hopeful results of the mutiny, originated in a suggestion contained in a Minute of the Committee, issued on September 29, 1857, in connexion with the day of national humiliation. The following paragraph therein occurs—

“The Committee would venture further to suggest, that the present would be an appropriate occasion for a *great special effort to give Christian instruction in the vernacular languages of India to the masses of the population, and to provide them with a vernacular moral and Christian literature.*

“The question which now trembles on the balance is, whether the masses will rise with the mutineer Sepoys, or remain faithful, or at least passive. Yet few attempts have been made for the education of these masses. Missionary Societies need to be aided by some separate effort for this object. Might not all supporters of Protestant Missionary Societies unite together to accomplish this special work? The season is favourable to such an union; as a common calamity has tended to bring all parties together for united prayer. A limited effort, upon this principle, to supply vernacular school-books, is in operation for South India. Such a special work would supply an interesting memorial of a season of unprecedented peril to the honour and welfare of England, when the calamity shall be, through God's good providence, overpast. The Committee venture, therefore, to throw out the suggestion for further consideration.”\*

This proposition having been cordially welcomed by many influential friends of Christian education at home and abroad, and especially of Missionary enterprise in India, resulted in the formation of the *Christian Vernacular Education Society for India*, under the direction of a Committee, containing amongst its members representatives of most of the great Protestant Missionary Societies, and having for its objects the establishment in the great towns of India, under suitable Principals and Assistants, of *Christian Vernacular*

\* “Church Missionary Record,” Vol. ii. New Series, pp. 328, 329.

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Training Institutions, male and female, and the supply of Christian school-books in each of the *native languages* of India. The Committee of the Church Missionary Society, in order to show their cordial goodwill to the objects proposed, and in the hope that the two Societies will prove mutually beneficial, have made a grant to the Christian Vernacular Education Society of 250*l.*

NIGER MISSION.

Tidings have been received from the Rev. Samuel Crowther up to May 8th last. He states that the "Sunbeam" will not be able to ascend the Niger till the rise of the river in July, when the draft of water will be sufficient for the purpose. The encampment at Jeba is therefore still maintained there. All members of the expedition are in good health. The following extracts will be read with interest—

"At Rabba I had opportunity of conversation with some Arab merchants returning from Illorin: one of them was a native of Gadamis. He offered to take letters from me to forward to Tunis, which he said would go across the desert in two months. They have done some good by telling the people here that the English, the French, and the Americans are to be found mingling with the Mohammedans in Tunis, Tripoli, Morocco, and other countries in the north, and that we are harmless people.

"The chief of Zigoshi professes Mohammedanism, and is now fasting. During our stay at Rabba we received many visits from the people, and had some religious conversation with three intelligent men, the chief of Zigoshi being one of them. The first question they asked me was, 'Whom do you hold fast (believe), Mohammed or Arrabi Isa (the prophet Jesus)?' I replied, 'Arrabi Isa.' They said, 'We hold Mohammed fast.' They said, moreover, 'We understand that the Anasara (Nazarenes) do not like Mohammed's name to appear in their book as do the names of Abraham, Moses, David, &c.' I replied, 'That Mohammed not having been born till six hundred years after Christ, and after the close of the Anasara's Bible, his name could not be mentioned in that book any more than the name of a particular little boy (about two years old) could be mentioned at the time of the revolution when Rabba was destroyed, some sixteen years before.' They were quite satisfied with this explanation, and said that they had seen it so in their book that Mohammed came last of all. The next topic of conversation was about Christ's second coming to judgment, which they also believed, and talked with seriousness over the wonderful change which shall take place at that great day."

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

*West Africa Mission.*—The Rev. E. and Mrs. Jones, having left Sierra Leone on the 19th of June, arrived in London on the 13th of July.

*Sindh Mission.*—The Rev. Dr. Trumpp, having left Sindh (*vide* p. 28), and resided a short time in Germany, arrived in England on the 23d of June.

*North-India Mission.*—The Rev. Dr. Pfander has arrived in London from Germany, preparatory to joining the Turkish Mission in the ensuing autumn.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

*Western-India Mission.*—The Rev. R. Galbraith, and the Rev. L. and Mrs. Hofer, embarked at Gravesend in the "Windsor Castle" July 21st, for Bombay.

*South-India Mission.*—The Rev. T. Spratt and T. T. Ford, Esq., left Southampton by the steamer of the 4th of July, for Madras.

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### CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

#### *Important Deputation to Lord Stanley.*

A deputation of gentlemen connected with various Missionary Societies had an interview with Lord Stanley, President of the Board of Control, on Saturday, Aug. 7. In the course of the proceedings the following paper was delivered in—

“At a meeting of the officers and of gentlemen connected with various Societies carrying on Missionary operations in India, held at the London Mission House August 4, 1858, J. Farish, Esq., in the chair, the following memorandum was unanimously adopted—

“It was declared by Lord Stanley in the House of Commons, on the 30th ult., that the future policy of the Government of India is embodied in the following paragraph of a letter addressed to the Governor-General by the Court of Directors on the 13th of April last.

“‘The Government will adhere with good faith to its ancient policy of perfect neutrality in matters affecting the religion of the people of India, and we most earnestly caution all those in authority under it not to afford by their conduct the least colour to the suspicion that that policy has undergone, or will undergo, any change. It is perilous for men in authority to do as individuals that which they officially condemn. The real intention of the Government will be inferred from their acts, and they may unwittingly expose it to the greatest of all dangers, that of being regarded with general distrust by the people. We rely upon the honourable feelings which have ever distinguished our service for the furtherance of the views we express. When the Government of India makes a promise to the people, there must not be afforded to them grounds for a doubt as to its fidelity to its word.’

“In various proclamations issued by the Governor-General and subordinate authorities, both before and after the commencement of the mutiny, similar sentiments have been expressed. But these declarations of ‘perfect neutrality’ have failed to satisfy either the people of India, or others who are interested in their welfare.

“Neutrality, rightly understood, is the very object which we desire to obtain; but past experience demonstrates that to no class of Her Majesty’s subjects has the course of the Indian Government been satisfactory, and that because, owing to the necessary relations subsisting between the Government and the people of Hindústán, it has not been possible to preserve the neutrality promised.

“In the exercise of a wise discretion, the Indian Government has, from time to time, changed by law the institutions of Hindústán, and forbidden practices, which, although opposed to the common rights of humanity, were yet part and parcel of the religious institutions and usages of the people.

“The laws of the Hindús have ceased to be executed in criminal cases, and to a very considerable extent the civil proceedings and judgments of the Courts of Judicature have been modified by the Regulations.

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“The same remark is also true of the Mohammedan laws.

“Yet these laws have the sanction; and, in the case of the Mohammedan code particularly, claim to the prerogative of divine authority, and they are so held in the estimation of the respective adherents of these systems, while for ages these laws have constituted the codes of the country. Yet the English Government has not hesitated to change or annul them as the right administration of civil justice has demanded and justified.

“Slavery has been abolished, which has the sanction of the Korán and the code of Menu.

“Brahmins have been made amenable to the laws in common with the lowest Sudra.

“The rite of Suttee has been abolished by law.

“The marriage of Hindú widows has been rendered valid by law.

“The practice of Dherna has been made punishable by law.

“The rights of property and inheritance have been secured to every person who may change his religion.

“These instances, all of them more or less in direct contrariety to the institutions and religious usages of the people, will suffice to show that neutrality has not been maintained, and will go far to account for the well-known and prevalent distress with which the proceedings of the Indian Government have hitherto been regarded. It cannot be said with entire truth ‘the policy of perfect neutrality in matters affecting the religion of the people has been adhered to,’ or that ‘good faith’ or ‘fidelity to its word’ has characterized the past action of the Government of India.

“We do not charge these changes as a fault on the Government of India: on the contrary, we believe good government and the rights of humanity have demanded these innovations. But we do most earnestly deprecate the reiteration of promises which, as past experience shows, must inevitably be broken.

“Such a course would also seem to be in contradiction to the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. Thus in the Act of 53 Geo. III. cap. 155. sec. 33. it is declared to be ‘the duty of the country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and of religious and moral improvement.’

“Again, in Act 3 and 4 Geo. IV., cap. 85. sec. 87. it was enacted, ‘That no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place of office or appointment under the said Company.’

“These enactments involve certain innovations on the religious institutions and usages of the people of Hindústan.

“It might further be shown that the Government of India has not, in times past, exhibited the neutrality promised, in its treatment of Christianity and its professors. To this day no law exists adapted to the position of native Christians; and they are still subject, in certain civil contingencies, to the Shaster or the Korán. For many years the Government was an active supporter of mosques, temples, pilgrimages, and other rites, which connexion has only partially ceased in pursuance of the despatch of Lord Glenelg, dated 20th February 1833.

“Thus, towards none of the religions of India has the Indian Government yet placed itself in an impartial and neutral position.

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“It is, then, submitted, with all deference, that the Government of India, in the proclamations it is about to issue, should confine itself to the declaration, that in no case whatever, either on the part of the Government or other parties, shall force or fraud be resorted to, to spread Christianity in the country; that the conscientious opinions of all classes of Her Majesty’s subjects shall be respected; that liberty of conscience and worship shall be secured indifferently to all; and that just and equal laws shall afford ‘indiscriminate and impartial toleration’ to all in the observance of their respective beliefs, so far as these observances do not infringe the social and civil rights of others.’

The result of the interview, we regret to state, was unsatisfactory, and such as to render further and strenuous exertions necessary on the part of the friends of India.

EFFECT OF THE WAR IN INDIA ON THE EVANGELIZATION OF  
THE NATIVES.

(From the *Homeward Mail*.)

A passage in the book just published by Mr. C. Raikes, Judge of the Sudr Court at Agra, strikes us as worthy of note by all those who watch the progress of the Gospel in the East. He is describing the alarm at Agra when the tidings of the fall of Allygurh reached that city. Every European was, at that critical moment, handling sword or revolver. The road was covered with carriages hastening to the Candahuri Bagh. The people of the city were running as for their lives, and screaming that the mutineers from Allygurh were crossing the bridge. The badmashes were twisting their moustaches, and putting on their worst looks. In the midst of all this tumult and affright, observe the demeanour of the Missionary, Mr. French, which is thus depicted—

“Outside the college all was alarm, hurry, and confusion. Within, calmly sat the good Missionary, hundreds of young natives at his feet, hanging on the lips which taught them the simple lessons of the Bible. And so it was throughout the revolt. Native functionaries, highly salaried, largely trusted, deserted and joined our enemies; but the students at the Government, and still more at the Missionary schools, kept steadily to their classes; and, when others doubted or fled, they trusted implicitly to their teachers, and openly espoused the Christian cause.”

Such, indeed, has been the demeanour of the Missionaries throughout the terrible crisis of the Indian revolt, and such the constancy of many of their pupils, that we have every right to anticipate the happiest results from the practical lessons thus given. The Hindú polytheist, or sceptic, the Moslem fanatic, cannot but see something unapproachable by themselves in the calmness of the Christian during the fearful scenes enacted at Delhi, Agra, and other places, where the insurrection has been most formidable. In fact, till the late outbreak, there had been no trial of the Christians’ faith. The crowds who had beheld the constancy of the satí, and the endurance of suffering by Hindú ascetics, had never witnessed the far more sublime tranquillity and assured hope of a martyr for the true religion. The example was needed, and has shone the brighter in contrast with the demoniac fury and cruelties of the rebels. It has already borne fruit. In several places there are evident tokens of a movement favourable to Christianity amongst the natives.

Thus, at Húbly, where, up to the period of the revolt, there had never been

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a conversion, we rejoice to learn that five respectable Mahratta householders, with their families, have come over to the Missionaries, who are as much surprised as they are gladdened at the reception of these converts. Private letters also state that there is a strong feeling amongst the Mahratta middle classes generally in our favour; and that, while some of the old chiefs, such as the rajah of Nargund, have been, and are, intriguing against us, the popular voice is for the English Government. Thus good is produced out of evil; and the ultimate issue of this fearful struggle to annihilate the white man's rule, and for ever disgrace his creed, may be the consolidation of the one, and the wide propagation of the other. *Sic esto!*

## THE MARTYR SPIRIT AMONG INDIAN NATIVE CHRISTIANS.

Our readers will remember the case of Gopeenath Nundi, the companion in suffering of Ensign Cheek.\* The Church Missionary Society has recently received a letter from Gopeenath, dated March 2, 1858, in which he says—“The moulwi, when he failed in his endeavours by argument to bring us [himself and wife] to renounce the Christian faith, brought forward all the threats which a wicked heart could invent. He threatened to take off the different limbs of our body, and thus torture us to death; but when he saw that this had no effect, he then promised to give us riches, land free of rent, and other worldly grandeur; but, thanks be to God! he received a negative answer. His next attack was on my poor wife, who, although naturally timid, yet at that moment was astonishingly bold in declaring her faith. Well may I insert the sweet words of our blessed Lord, ‘And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what you shall speak. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.’ Surrounded as she was by no less than one hundred infuriated and savage-looking men, with drawn swords, ready to inflict torture, yet she defended her faith most gloriously. When the moulwi appealed to her, and inquired what she would do, thinking, no doubt, that her natural weakness would yield to his proposals, but not knowing that a greater Power than his was directing and supporting her, she humbly, and with a loud voice, declared that she was ready to undergo any punishment he would inflict, but would not deny her Master and Saviour. While the man was arguing with her, she felt certain that we should be called upon to seal our faith with our blood. She began to teach the little boys in the presence and hearing of all—‘You, my sweet children, will be taken and kept as slaves, when we shall be killed, but do not forget to say your prayers every day; and when the English power is re-established, fly over to them for refuge, and relate the circumstances of our end;’ and, while instructing them, she was kissing them all the time. This pitiful scene no doubt touched their hard and aching hearts. The moulwi ordered us to be taken into the prison, and kept for a further occasion. Thus came we out through our fiery trials, praising and glorifying Jesus for giving us grace and strength to confess Him before men.”

\* *Vide* “Church Missionary Gleaner, vol. iii. pp. 1—5.

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INDIA.

THE following extract from *Allen's India Mail*, though it falls far short of what the true friends of India would desire to see, is yet satisfactory as indicating a breaking down of prejudice, and a growing value for the useful in female education. The advance is small, but it is in the right direction.

"We understand that the girls of the Government Bethune Female School, besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, in both languages, English and Bengali, are taught ornamental needlework, such as carpeting, &c. A considerable number of native gentlemen, however, who send their children and wards to the school, and who can well appreciate the accomplishments mentioned above, think that some additional and more practical knowledge in that line ought to be imparted to the pupils. They are of opinion that the elder girls ought to be instructed in the art of cutting out and sewing up native wearing apparel. This will be of great use to them at home, and will prove beneficial, not only to their parents and other relatives domesticated with them, but to themselves when they are older, and have establishments of their own, and families to attend to. Accordingly, we hear that several of the native gentlemen mentioned above have come to the resolution of addressing a communication to the Secretary of the Institution, recommending that this additional instruction in the preparation of articles of native clothing form part of the system of education now pursued in the school."

(From the *Bombay Guardian*.)

We have much pleasure in inviting the attention of our readers to the subjoined extract from the "Punjaabee." They will see with no small satisfaction, that even in Mirut, the very place where the mutiny may be said to have taken its start to run its fearful race of bloodshed and desolation, the Lord has lately been pleased to make manifest his power in the conversion of men. In the very region that has been so thoroughly swept of Missionaries and Missionary agencies—where Bibles, religious tracts and books, and printing-presses, have been sought out and destroyed as though they contained within themselves the germs of moral miasmata—a copy of the Scriptures, escaping the search of its enemies, remained in a village, and was made the instrument of subduing to Christ the hearts of some of those very enemies. They had endeavoured to rid the country of every vestige of Christianity, and had rejoiced at the slaughter of Missionaries, their wives, children, and catechists; but they were really only affording the Prince of the kings of the earth an opportunity of showing the glorious sovereignty of his grace. When Christ had landed on the shores of the country of the Gadarenes, and given them evidence of his power and readiness to deliver those whom Satan had bound, they besought him to depart out of their coasts. He complied with their request. But though he withdrew, the man whom he had delivered remained, and went everywhere through the country making known the power and the grace of Christ. So when the Queen of Madagascar expelled the Missionaries, and persecuted to death the native converts, and when the church of Christ expected to hear of the complete overthrow of Christianity there, the Lord was pleased to give,

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even then, a new illustration of the truth that the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail against his church. And now the church is taught to say, with a new emphasis, "Where I am weak, there I am strong." In consequence of the destruction of Bibles and of printing-presses in Northern India, the Bible Society finds itself compelled to get Hindú Bibles printed in London, and a Missionary is there for the purpose of superintending the edition; but the Author of the Bible is showing us that He can make a single copy of the Scriptures the means of accomplishing what hundreds of copies accompanied by Missionary instructions have often failed to effect.

And this is not a solitary illustration of the fact that the heathen imagined a vain thing, when they set themselves against the Lord and his Christ. As we mentioned last month, more than 200 converts have lately come forward to receive baptism at the hands of the Missionaries, at Chota Nagpur. And to come nearer home, we understand, that in the Ahmednuggur field the Missionaries have been permitted to receive forty new converts to their churches during the first six months of this year.

Some six or eight months since we alluded to the bold declaration of a respected native member of the Amritsar Church-of-England Mission—that for every Christian whom the rebels or mutineers might massacre, in the hope of exterminating Christianity, ten converts would spring up to take the place of the martyred dead. Time is already verifying the correctness of the good man's foresight, and we learn with real gratification that many of the inhabitants of a large village near Murrul have become followers of Christ in truth and sincerity. During one of the raids frequently rendered necessary in the neighbourhood of that station, a vernacular Bible was left in the village we allude to, whether by design or accident we do not know. It fell into the hands of a man who could read, and he began to study its contents. One of his neighbours noticed his attention, and bade him throw the book away, as the Feringhi Raj was at an end, and he need not trouble himself about books. The reader replied that he found it written in the book that "heaven and earth shall pass away, but his (my) word shall not pass away," and persisted in his researches.

On the district settling down into a more peaceable condition, our friend had not only resolved on himself knowing some of the doctrines taught by his book, but induced others to follow him; and a number went into Mirut to beg for instruction at the hands of the Missionaries. It was of course most gladly afforded, and the pleasing result is, that there is, at the present moment, a promising congregation of some sixty Christians in the village, who have obtained the services of a native catechist, and have organized local institutions that promise the most cheering results.

A native of Delhi voluntarily sought baptism at the hands of the members of the Mission, after qualifying himself by a course of scripture reading, and has taken up his abode in Mirut, while two converts were recently baptized by the Rev. L. Janvier at Lúdíanah, in the case of one, after strenuous opposition from his friends and relatives, all of which he firmly disregarded.

NIGER MISSION.

The following extracts from letters received from the Niger bring down our information to the 5th of July. The "Sunbeam" sailed from Fernando Po for the river on the 25th of June.

Mr. Crowther says (May 28)—"I am now residing at the temporary huts I have made here, where I mean to stay till the steamer comes up, when I shall



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go up in her to the Confluence and Onitsha. The Ramadan fast was over at the appearance of the new moon, and the people were busy feasting and drumming incessantly, with some firing of musketry by those who were able to afford it. The holiday preventing the Hausa caravan from Kano being crossed on Saturday, many of these strangers spent most part of their time with me in the Mission premises, and the time was most agreeably spent in conversation on religious matters. I brought out my Arabic Bible, which they could not read, but took much delight in making out the words from Faris El Shidiac's Arabic Grammar, the meaning of which I was enabled to give them from the English translation column, both in Hausa and Nupe, as occasion required. I may sum up the whole in a few words. Rabba is admirably selected for the purposes intended, as a station for diffusing Christian knowledge by conversation with the people of the many tribes of the interior who cross from this to Illorin in the pursuit of their trade, as well as among the native population of the Nupe nation. What remains for the Society to do is to be able to station a person of the right sort in this central position, whose kind, intelligent, and Christian influence, will dispel the mist of misconception and prejudice against the Christian character, which has long been hanging over the minds of these poor secluded people, either by wilful misrepresentation, or prejudice imbibed through the doctrine of Mohammed. The heathen population will be able to judge for themselves: with them we shall have to do more directly.

"Captain M'Intosh and Mr. Barter, who went down the river, reached Onitsha, and brought me very cheering news of the progress of Mr. Taylor at that place. I shall give you some extracts from his letter. There is painful news from, and serious accidents at, the Confluence.

"I am glad to tell you," he says, "that I have now finished a Mission house in this spot of the Ibo district. The king had deceived me about the spot which we had selected; but Orikabue assisted me to get another place just opposite. A poor man, who is the owner of the ground, gave it to me to build on. It is in a much better situation for air, and commands a full view of the river.

"I am glad to tell you that the natives from the interior have paid me several visits; and I have travelled far into the interior, and got the names of places which have been hitherto unknown. I have had constant invitations from several chiefs to come and tell them God's word, &c. Some of these places are from 8, 20, 40, to 50 miles from Onitsha. I have seen people from the Isuama territory, &c. The smith who made my nails and hinges came from Oka, a place about two days' journey. I am glad to tell you that I have corrected your Primer, and am preparing another in a more copious form. I have finished Dr. Watts's first Catechism, with Prayers and Hymns, and now I am busily engaged in the Liturgy of the Church of England. I have reached the Te Deum. I was obliged to suspend the school since we commenced building. I have been hard at work: so much so, that I suffered very seriously last December; but the Lord assisted me, though I have not perfectly gained my strength. The people have great confidence in me, and in the work of the Lord. I have preached every Sabbath throughout the streets of Onitsha; and since I have built the dwelling-house, I have now a stated congregation of from 80 to 90 men, women, and children; but in the open air I generally have from 300 to 500. Already I have had an inquirer; but I give him opportunity to attend service, and to decide in his own mind. He

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has attended our morning and evening prayers regularly. I hope he will be one day a Dasalu of the Ibo district. I went to Abo last month, and returned on the 14th. I found that nothing had been done towards clearing the ground, nor even raw materials cut.

“And now, dear brother in Christ, pray for me, that the word of God may have free course and be glorified in this district; so may we send our mutual supplication to the throne of grace, that the work of the Lord might be prosperous at our hands.”

“Notwithstanding adverse circumstances by the wreck of the ‘Dayspring,’ and subsequent sufferings from sickness, privation, and disappointments, the burning of the town of Igbebe and the factory, with all the property therein, and consequent destitution, sickness, and death of some of the sufferers, on the one hand, is it not cheering on the other, that the natives have not molested us, and that the messengers of the good tidings of salvation are listened to and invited by the natives of the interior parts? Can calls be more loud, and invitation more urgent, from the Niger to the church, than these glaring facts? The two most important points of this noble stream, namely, the Ibo district, above the Delta, and Rabba of Nupe, below the rapids of Kowarra, are secured. Let constant communication be kept up between them, and the whole of the intermediate stations are made sure. Further exploration to the upper parts of the Kowarra is made easy, having Rabba as a starting-point. May the Lord incline the hearts of his servants to offer themselves for his service to reap the fields which are white already to harvest. To God be glory for what is already done!”

Our latest intelligence is dated July 5. An attempt had been artfully made by a jealous chief to interrupt the good feeling between the expedition and the king, by a report that the English were going to seize the country, and force their religion on all. But kind and conciliatory measures, and a strict watchfulness not to give any real cause of offence, have confirmed and strengthened the friendly relations before established. “Our advance,” says Dr. Baikie, “must be cautious, until time and experience convince people of the sincerity of our views. We are all well. I have just been visiting a large and important town to the north of this, named Loru, where I was most hospitably entertained by the governor of this province. The country round is very fertile, and abounds with corn, indigo, onions, yams, &c. If we continue to remain, Nupe must be the basis of operations for Central Africa.”

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

*South-India Mission*—The Rev. J. and Mrs. Bilderbeck arrived in London on the 9th of September, from Madras.

*Ceylon Mission*—The Rev. C. C. Fenn left Ceylon on the 9th of July, and arrived at Southampton on the 14th of August.

*New-Zealand Mission*—The Venerable Archdeacon Hadfield left Wellington on the 6th of April, and arrived at Ventnor on the 17th of July.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

*Ceylon Mission*—The Rev. E. T. and Mrs. Higgins embarked at Southampton on September 12th, for Point de Galle.

*China Mission*.—The Rev. G. and Mrs. Smith embarked at Gravesend on August 12th, for Hong Kong.

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WE give insertion, this month, to two stirring appeals, one from Africa, the other from North West-America; the one addressed to the Christian daughters of England, the other to her sons; or rather to her sons and daughters. Should they find a response in the bosom of any of our readers, let them lose no time in opening up a communication with the Committee, and thus putting matters in a train to ascertain what may be the will of God respecting them. It is only necessary to add, that, in publishing the letter of Archdeacon Hunter, we do not prejudge the question of the final occupation of the Makenzie-River district by the Society. The Archdeacon's recommendation may, or may not be carried out; for very many considerations affect so important a matter, which have yet to be reviewed. But whether in that district or elsewhere, there is abundant room for labourers in every portion of the world's harvest field, even if they multiply a hundred or a thousand fold. Lord, raise up labourers for thine harvest!

Mrs. Rhodes, in reference to the Sierra Leone Female Institution, writes, September 20th :

" I cannot forbear enclosing a few lines on the subject which so engrosses our thoughts, and fills us with anxiety, *i. e.* the unexpected failure, hitherto, of applications for assistance in the Female Institution. Shall we venture to doubt for a moment the zeal or earnestness of our sisters at home or their sympathy with us here? Surely that would be a too hasty, almost ungenerous conclusion. Yet we must naturally have some few misgivings from this long, disappointing delay.

" Perhaps the early death of our dear and justly valued-friend and helper, Mrs. Bowen, may have a startling, discouraging effect. But it was not attributable to climate, and might have occurred at home. We have had many proofs that, with due caution, females *may* enjoy a tolerable degree of good health in Sierra Leone—with a share of trial and suffering not unusual, (and where can we hope to be exempt?) I would here gratefully acknowledge the goodness of God to myself these many years past, his sparing mercies in permitting us to labour on for seventeen years, though in my dear husband's case under great weakness, whereas I am well. And with regard to the affecting and solemn consideration of death itself, I would affectionately inquire, ' Where would the faithful servant desire his Lord's summons to find him but at his allotted post of labour?'

" To keep up the standard of female education in the colony, and really and permanently benefit our girls, we must have a such a supply of teachers. that when one suffers, in the course of God's providence, the school shall not languish from want of a substitute.

" We never needed more than at present a steady, settled plan for working for our rising youth. The Romanists are at hand. We believe they will have little or no success with our older Christian people; but the young and unwary may be fascinated or wrought upon, and we may well feel anxious on this point. Earnestly and plainly would I urge upon any young friends, who may be *wavering* in this important matter, their duty and privilege to make it a subject of prayerful entreaty that the Lord would speedily

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open the way, and guide them by his Holy Spirit. Let them remember the lambs of *this fold*. They, as well as those 'other sheep,' are precious in the sight of Him who would have 'all to come to acknowledge of his truth.' We need not tell the believing Christian what blessings, individually and collectively, may accompany the sacrifice. Is the climate dreaded? Let such consider how many delicate women have lived and laboured in Sierra Leone with acceptance and comparative comfort, whose usefulness is still affectionately remembered by many. It would be unbecomingly rashly to set aside the wishes of an honoured parent, or a pious friend; but we believe that any perplexity of that kind will, by the same safe means, 'prayer and supplication,' become less formidable, or be removed, followed by a mutual blessing.

"Lastly, are the needful qualifications or tact wanting? A little experience here will give that which cannot exactly be gained amongst English children; but an affectionate heart, forbearing temper, patience under difficulties or discouragement of any kind, and discretion in common things, are as much needed here as elsewhere. Accomplishments may be considered as of secondary importance but would be useful: the former are almost indispensable, I think, to the success of any teacher anywhere; but we ask no more, save that deep and earnest love for souls, and implicit faith, which can alone animate, sustain, and guide her in the varied circumstances of her appointed sphere. I must not omit to mention here the comfort and advantage to a new comer of entering into the labours of others, and being associated with one of kindred spirit, and long tried experience in Africa.

"May it please God, in whose hands are all hearts, graciously to dispose some one of his faithful followers to 'come over and help us' speedily, that precious strength may not be overtaxed, nor time lost, for want of that aid we have so long and vainly solicited."

Archdeacon Hunter writes from Portage la Loche (lat. 56 N., long. 109 W.) July 31—

"I am writing to you now from the Long Portage, about 1500 miles on my way to the Mackenzie River. We arrived here on the 26th instant, making the journey about fifty days from Red River to this place. During the latter part of the journey we had very wet weather, almost constant rain daily, which, with mosquitoes and sand-flies, rendered travelling any thing but pleasant. We generally left our encampment about three o'clock in the morning, and continued journeying on till eight and nine o'clock at night: thus we sat sixteen and eighteen hours daily in an open boat, and sometimes in very heavy rain. The number of portages we have crossed is about forty-eight: in English River we made three and four daily. Sometimes half the cargo, at others the whole of the cargo, together with the boat, had to be taken across the portage.

"On leaving here we shall go down the current rapidly: five days will take us to Athabasca Lake, another five days to Great Slave Lake, and about five days more to Fort Simpson, on the banks of the mighty Mackenzie River. I shall, however, next spring, God willing, when the ice breaks up in the Mackenzie River, proceed down about 500 miles, visiting Fort Norman and Fort Good Hope, and return in time to Fort Simpson to proceed out to Portage la Loche with the Mackenzie-River brigades. After my arrival at Fort Simpson, I purpose this fall, to ascend the west branch, and visit Fort Liard, and perhaps go on to Fort Halkett, in the Rocky Mountains, returning late in the autumn to pass the winter at Fort Simpson.

"All the gentlemen in the district, with one exception, are Protestants,

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and the majority of the men; and they are all anxious, and even zealous, for the establishment of Protestant Missions throughout the district. They will subscribe largely, according to their means, towards this object, and will furnish wood and boards for the buildings.

"The gentlemen in the district recommend that two married Missionaries should be sent out; young men, with good health and active habits, and having an aptitude for acquiring languages. If they come, I promise them one of the most interesting and enterprising fields of labour in the whole country. With the love of Christ in their hearts, and an earnest desire for the salvation of souls, they may here have the high privilege of being instrumental in gathering an abundant harvest of souls into the granary of the Lord. I had previously recommended single men to be sent out, but, in consultation with the gentlemen here from the district, they say young married men would be the best, and, if possible, two to be sent out at once. I leave it now for our friends to say whether this effort shall be made in vain. Shall the church of Rome be allowed to enter and occupy one of the most promising fields of Missionary labour in the country? Shall the labours of your Missionary, after leaving wife and children and home for sixteen months, and travelling thousands of miles in the coldest region in the country, be in vain? After the principal posts have been visited, and suitable spots selected for stations, and the Indians encouraged to believe that a Protestant Missionary will be located amongst them, shall we withdraw, and allow thick darkness to enclose them in on every side? Impossible! It cannot be so! The stones, rather the ice, of Mackenzie River would call out against us.

"I never regret that I have offered myself for this work, and feel daily more and more thankful, as I penetrate into new regions never yet trodden by the foot of a Christian Missionary. Mackenzie River has never yet heard the Gospel from the lips of a minister of Christ. Oh that, when privileged to open its blessed truths to their ears, it may be accompanied with the life-giving power of God's Holy Spirit, and sink deeply and permanently into each one of their hearts!"

NIGER EXPEDITION.

Our latest intelligence from the Niger expedition is contained in a letter of the Rev. S. Crowther, dated Rabba, August 16, 1858—

"A circumstance occurred last week, which is working very much in our favour just at this time. Nine carriers, employed by Lieutenant Glover, with passports from the Consul, arrived from Lagos by land through Illorin to this place, with provisions for the expedition. On Monday, the 12th instant, Bube, a very respectable and sensible Felani, who commands all these parts of the country in the absence of the kings, arrived here on his way to them at Bida. The ears of Bube had been filled with all kinds of reports concerning us, and so he passed through Rabba to see for himself. He took a walk to the river-side, and saw some of these carriers, and inquired who they were; so they told him their history. Among them he recognised two of his own soldiers, who were captured during the Umora war about two years ago, and sold away; and learned that they had been protected through the influence of the British Government, and that many more were ready to follow their example, if the king would only listen to what the British Government said to them. Bube exclaimed 'Is it true that the English do this? I lost forty men in that war, and would gladly pay any amount to recover some of them. I want to see the mallam who received and lodged you here; and I

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shall repeat all this to the kings at Bida.' In the afternoon I paid him a visit at his lodging, accompanied by the carriers and other native members of the expedition who are living here with me. We withdrew into the back yard, where I told him who I was, and what was my work, as well as the benevolent proceedings of the British Government, who seek the welfare of every nation and people. The men who accompanied me, composed of Mohammedans as well as Christians, bore testimony to all my statements; and so delighted was the Governor, that he rose up, took a fowl, and presented it to me, pleading absence from home as a reason for the smallness of the gift. He promised to tell Sumo Zaki and Dasaba all he had seen and heard. I treated him also, according to his rank, from the limited means I then had. He left me early the next morning, and halted at a village, from which place he sent a message to me to send four men to fetch some rice for my use, and told me to pay no attention to what anybody might say to me, but to make myself easy: and so he went on to Bida.

"These carriers were slaves, who have escaped from their Portuguese owners at Porto Novo, &c., in the Bight of Beniu, and taken refuge at the British Consulate at Lagos, from whence they got passports to this place.

"I continue to keep service every Lord's-day, in the verandah of my hut, with the native members of the expedition, and some of the carriers who are living here with me. As the carriers do not understand English, I preach in English and Yoruba at the same time, that both parties may be benefitted. One of Mr. Glover's Felani interpreters, a very respectable Mohammedan, who speaks English, is an attentive listener: he now and then gives assent to the Gospel truths by audible exclamations in the course of my preaching.

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

A special meeting was held at the Missionaries' Children's Home, Islington, on the 1st of October, to take leave of Missionaries proceeding to their various stations as under—

*West Africa.*—Rev. John and Mrs. Millward, returning to Sierra Leone; and the Rev. Alfred Menzies, Mr. John Alcock, Mr. T. and Mrs. Harrison, and Miss Koenig.

*North India.*—The Rev. R. Bruce, the Rev. J. L. and Mrs. Knight, and the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Trumpp, who will now reside in Peshawur.

*South India.*—The Rev. T. and Mrs. Foulkes, and the Rev. John and Mrs. Hawkworth, returning to the Mission.

The instructions were delivered by the Rev. H. Venn; and, having been replied to, the Missionaries were addressed by the Rev. Dr. Pfander and the Rev. D. Wilson, and commended to God in prayer by the Rev. E. Auriol.

The African party mentioned above left by the steamer for Sierra Leone on October 24th; the Rev. R. Bruce embarked at Southampton by the steamer of October 4th, for Calcutta; the Rev. J. L. and Mrs. Knight embarked at Gravesend on October 14th, on board the *Augustus Wattenbach*, for the same place; the Rev. T. and Mrs. Foulkes have joined the steamer at Marseilles, for Madras; and the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Trumpp have left London for Germany, on their way to Peshawur *via* Bombay.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

The Rev. W. Mason left York Factory, Hudson's Bay, on the 13th of September, and arrived in London on the 6th of October; the Rev. E. Johnson arrived in London from Madras on the 18th of October, and the Rev. J. Zeller from Palestine on the 15th of October.

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### HOME INTELLIGENCE.

WE have to record, with deep sorrow, the sudden death of the Rev. George Hodgson, Association Secretary for North and East Yorkshire, which occurred at York on the 16th of November. A further notice of this event will appear in our next Number.

### EAST-AFRICA MISSION.

WE have recently received letters from the Rev. J. Rebmann, dated Zanzibar, Sept. 16, in which he writes in good spirits of the future prospects of the Mission, and says that his belief in its continuance has been perfectly re-established. He hoped to pay a visit to his old station on the continent at the end of September, and to return to it permanently in February next. The new Consul, Captain Rigby, has for many years taken an interest in East Africa, and has given much attention to some of its languages. He sees no obstacle in the way of a resumption of Mission work among the Wanika, and will give the Missionaries his ready protection. Two German Missionaries are also at Zanzibar, studying the language preparatory to a Mission in the Galla country. Mr. Rebmann is diligently engaged in translating, and proposes to print the Gospel of St. Luke in Kisuaheli at Bombay in the course of next year. This will enable Mr. Deimler (now at Bombay) to do something for the Africans at that seaport.

Respecting the feeling of the Wanika towards himself, Mr. Rebmann thus writes—"Since leaving our station my native teacher has spent much of his time in trading with the Wanika, and could therefore tell me several circumstances in proof of the greatly altered state of things, as also of the feelings of the people with regard to us. The poor people had been obliged to carry loads of provisions from the coast up the country, for the soldiers who were sent against the Masai when they overran Kiriama about the beginning of this year. This they had to do for a mere trifle, while formerly it was only a rare exception that any one could be induced to carry a load for us, not even for the good wages we used to give to the Mohammedans, so that we were always dependent on these alone. And our poor chief of Rabbai Mpia told him, *that if the 'Msungi' was a man who allowed people to fall on their knees before him, they would do so, if he would only come again.* Even of the people of Mombas he tells me that all who had become acquainted with us was now convinced that we could have no selfish object in view in staying so long in this country, and that it cannot but be true that we only wanted to teach the Wanika our 'book.'"

Captain Burton's expedition\* had safely arrived at the lake Uniamesi, and

\* *Vide* "C. M. Record for 1857, p. 81."

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were waiting for boats to cross over. Dr. Roscher, a German traveller, was at Zanzibar, on his way to the interior, intending first to go to Kilimanjaro—the snow mountain discovered by our Missionaries—to verify their statements respecting it.\*

NORTH INDIA.

WE are thankful to have it in our power to report that the Oude Mission has already been commenced. The Rev. C. B. Leupolt has visited Lucknow for this purpose, and the Rev. Messrs. Mengé and Stern have been appointed to the Mission, and, we trust, may by this time have arrived. Every facility has been offered them by the friends of Missions on the spot, and commodious premises have been secured as a Mission house. We append a few brief extracts from a letter of Mr. Leupolt's, dated Sept. 25. Further details must be reserved for a future occasion.

“As we crossed over into Oude, Columbus's first act as he landed in America came into my mind. My earnest prayer was, “Let this country be soon thine, oh Lord! let its inhabitants soon acknowledge Thee to be the Lord!”

“I have fixed upon houses and sites for chapels and schools, but have not yet taken them, nor will I do so till Mr. Mengé arrives, and we have preached all over the city. I must not forget to say that a new road divides the city into two parts, of which one is to be the sphere of labour of the American Missionaries, the other ours.

“On the 14th we commenced Mission operations in the city by way of preaching. We have since continued to go, and have large attentive and orderly congregations. Wherever we come to, seats are offered us. There is as yet no arguing. We declare boldly salvation through a crucified Saviour. I have also taken Mr. Perkins' little congregation of Christians, to which a few more members have been added.

“On the 24th we formed the Oude Church Missionary Association. Every one and every thing is in favour of us. What hath God wrought! Last year, about this time, Satan's servants reigned here: now, Christ's servants. Last year, it was death to any European who showed his face at Lucknow: this year, we are ‘preaching the kingdom of God,’ and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no one forbidding us. This is the Lord's doing.

“The rebels have just issued a circular reiterating the old lie, that Government wishes to make the people Christians by force. We want, therefore, to carry on things very quietly, so that the enemy may have no handle to say, ‘Here, behold!’ The Lord grant us much wisdom.”

The annexed extract is from a letter of Rev. G. G. Cuthbert, Calcutta, Oct. 9.

“I must mention two pleasing facts regarding native Christians. One belongs to the Christians of Tinnevely. Three different times have they made a collection among themselves, and sent it up here for the relief of their native-Christian brethren who suffered by the mutiny in North India. I received the third remittance of 30 rupees yesterday from Mr. Clark, of Nallur. The whole amounts to about 180 rupees (18l.).

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\* *Vide* “C. M. Intelligencer,” vol. i.



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"The other fact refers to the native Christians chiefly from the Kishnagurh districts, who were invited some months since to enter the government service as a sort of military police at Chinsura, or Húgly. Part of their duty is to guard the jail; and a few weeks ago the prisoners broke out into mutiny, attempted to overpower the guard and make their escape. But the Christian police guards stood firm, resisted, and crushed the attempt most completely. The Christians have since been rewarded for their courage and fidelity on this occasion by an increase of their pay; and the magistrate has sent to Kishnagurh to obtain seventy-five more Christians in addition to the hundred or so already employed.

The incident above adverted to is noticed in *Allen's Indian Mail*. We quote the paragraph, as showing how generally the conduct of the native Christians is observed, and how deservedly it is commended. At this crisis, in a very peculiar manner, are they as a city set on a hill. May they have grace to be faithful, and by adorning the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things, win for their faith the distinction it deserves! Let Christians in England bear them often before a throne of grace.

"The '*Englishman*' understands that on Sunday evening, the 12th September, there was an *emeute* in the Húgly jail. The whole of the prisoners rose and attacked the jail. The police burkundauzes, however, prevented their escape. The burkundauzes were compelled to use force, and about eight of the convicts were severely wounded . . . The men, we believe, are nearly all native Christians."

We append some further extracts, pointing to progress, social or religious, in India, though all do not directly belong to Missionary enterprise.

"We understand that a club has been formed by several Parsi gentlemen . . . with a view of affording their wives the privilege of mixing in the society of males. It is a *sine quâ non* for each member of the club to be present with his wife. Before their evening meals, the individuals composing the little interesting party, mixing promiscuously amongst themselves, take an airing along the garden walks. While at their meals no scrupulous restraint crosses the gentle flow of witticisms and harmless repartees; and the members separate after an evening's rational entertainment."

"The senior students of the Dacca College have applied to Mr. Brenand for the introduction of the Holy Bible as a branch of their college studies. They are now perfectly aware of the adaptability of the Bible, not only for its use in the higher branches of literature, but for the high and pure moral doctrines inculcated by it. The step they have taken will, no doubt, expose them to the hatred of their countrymen. They have, however, so much profited by the lectures they have received from their professors, that they are perfectly satisfied with their actions as long as they are in accordance with the dictates of conscience. Mr. Brenand has undertaken to instruct them in the New Testament every Sunday morning."

"The Meriah Agency, or rather the agency for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices and infanticide, works silently, but very successfully, and over a large extent of country. The result in twenty years has been the suppression of these fearful practices throughout the range of hills and valleys extending from the Cuttack Mehals to Jeypur inclusive: we will not say the entire suppression of Meriahs and infanticide, but virtually a termination of the practice of each. Whoever will read the yearly reports of the officers in

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charge with care and impartiality will rise from the perusal with the conviction that the Government and the people have been honestly and ably served by those officers. A despatch from the Court of Directors in 1856 expresses the entire satisfaction of the Home Government with the unwearied and judicious labours of the agency. There is no doubt that population and the cultivation of the land, and the security of property, have increased in a remarkable degree throughout the hills and valleys formerly demoralized by the customs alluded to. There is one exception, and the tract of country excepted is large—it is Jeypur. Though human sacrifices, infanticide, have there been greatly checked, the country itself is in a state of anarchy, and actually given over by its ruler to the mercies of proclaimed robbers, who pay him a little black mail for their shameless immunities. But it was the Agency which brought this state of things to light, and which has thus ensured a speedy determination of it.”

“A new native journal has been started at Bombay, called the ‘*Bamdad*’ or ‘*Dawn*.’ It is very worthy of support. Amongst other articles that appear in the paper, is one advising the natives, who have time, and three thousand rupees at their disposal, to visit England. The conclusion of the article is especially good. It is as follows:—‘Granted, say others of our readers; but we may endanger our religion, and lose it altogether, by travel. Pray, oh objectors, what kind of religion is that which you cannot carry with you to the ends of the earth, which you cannot carry with you even to the other world? We leave you to meditate for the present on this simple question.’”

“The Earl of Elgin has added another laurel to his coronet in a negotiation of a most excellent treaty with the Emperor of Japan.

“In our last summary we told of his Lordship having left Nagasaki for Jeddo on the 8th of August. There arrived, His Excellency and suite were invited to take quarters on shore, and, soon after, were waited on by six Imperial Commissioners, invested with full power to arrange what was necessary for the preservation of our friendship. Prior to his Lordship’s arrival, Mr. Townshead Harris, American Consul-General at Japan, by no means ‘a militiaman in eastern diplomacy,’ taking one or other of the Tien-tsin treaties as a model, succeeded in inducing the Emperor to grant his country all he asked. The Earl, on his arrival, therefore, had only to follow suit.

“The result, we are told, is, that all the advantages conferred in China by the treaty of Tien-tsin are similarly accorded by the treaty of Jeddo. This is indeed most pleasing; and if matters are rightly managed and followed up, there is an opportunity of working, by a species of moral influence, an immense effect on China and the Chinese. The Japanese Commissioners are said to have exhibited the highest goodwill, and speaking with evident pleasure of the early day when acquaintance would be renewed at the Court of St. James’s.”

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

THE Rev. Dr. Pfander left London, October 22d, for Constantinople, and the Rev. J. and Mrs. Hawkworth, and Mrs. Spratt embarked at Southampton on board the steamer “Niagara,” November 12th, for Madras.