

PRIZE ESSAY.



ESSAY ON HINDU CASTE.

BY

THE REV. H. BOWER,

MISSIONARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL, TANJAVUR.

REFERENCE

"God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean.

"Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

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ESSAY ON HINDU CASTE.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE ALLEGED ORIGIN, NATURE, AND CHARACTER OF CASTE.

THE term *Caste*, derived from the Portuguese *Casta*, expressive of the Indian word *Jāti*, has been adopted in general by Europeans to denote the different classes into which the Hindus are divided, and upon which their social and religious systems are founded.

Though it is by no means easy to trace the origin, or to unravel the mysteries, of this intricate and vexatious subject; yet we may be able to deduce its alleged and probable origin, and lay bare the system in its characteristics, by reference to the accredited writings of the Hindus.

I. The origin of the four castes is distinctly stated in the Institutes of Manu. In the first chapter, on the creation, verse 31, it is written: "That the human race might be multiplied, He (Brahmá) caused the *Bráhman*, the *Kshatriya*, the *Vaisya*, and the *Sudra*,* (so named from the *Scripture*, *protection*, *wealth*, and *labour*) to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot."

There is a work expressly written to elucidate this subject. It is called the *Játimálá*, or the garland of castes, and enters very particularly into their origin, division, and sub-divisions; from which it may suffice to quote the following:

"In the first creation, by Brahmá, *Bráhmanas* proceeded, with the *Veda*, from the mouth of Brahmá; from his arms *Kshatriyas* sprung; so from his thigh, *Vaisyas*; from his foot, *Sudras* were produced: all with their females."

* The orthography of Professor Wilson, with regard to many of the Indian names, has been adopted, and for the sake of uniformity, we have taken the liberty of altering the orthography of Sir William Jones and others.

"The Lord of creation, viewing them, said, 'What shall be your occupations?' They replied, 'We are not our own masters, O, God! command us what to undertake.'

"Viewing and comparing their labours, he made the first tribe superior over the rest. As the first had great inclination for the divine sciences, (*Brahma Veda*) therefore he was *Bráhmaṇa*. The protector from ill (*Kshati*) was *Kshatriya*. Him whose profession (*Vesa*) consists in commerce, (which promotes the success of wars for the protection of himself and of mankind) and in husbandry, and attendance on cattle, he called *Vaisya*. The other should voluntarily serve the three tribes, and therefore he became a *Sudra*: he should humble himself at their feet."*

The *Bhagavat Gítá*, a work of great celebrity, puts the following words in the mouth of Krishna: "Mankind was created by me of four kinds, distinct in their principles and in their duties."†

This theory of the origin of the four Castes is further exemplified in the *Vishnu Purána*. To the question of *Maitreya*, How *Brahmá* created the four different castes, and what duties he assigned to the *Bráhmans* and the rest? *Parasara* answers: "Formerly, O best of *Bráhmans*, when the truth-meditating *Brahmá* was desirous of creating the world, there sprang from his mouth beings especially endowed with the quality of goodness; others from his breast, pervaded by the quality of foulness; others from his thighs, in whom foulness and darkness prevailed; and others from his feet, in whom the quality of darkness predominated. These were, in succession, beings of the several castes, *Bráhmans*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaisyas*, and *Sudras*."‡

The same theory, it appears, according to Ward, is maintained in the *Sáma Veda*; but there are other learned writers who affirm that the theory of castes in *Manu* is different from that of the *Vedas*. Some *Puráṇas* maintain that *Brahmá* created both a male and a female. The *Sri Bhágavat* affirms that *Brahmá* divided himself into two parts, a male, *Swayambhu*, and a female, *Sati*; and that these persons divided their children into the four castes. For instance, Professor Wilson remarks, in a note in his elaborate work, that "the *Váyu* (*Purána*) states that the castes were now first divided according to their occupations, having, indeed, previously stated that there was no such distinction in the *Krita* age. *Brahmá* now appoint-

* Colebrooke's translation. *Essays*, Vol. ii. 178.

† Lecture iv. verse 13.

‡ Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. 44.

ed those who were robust and violent to be Kshatriyas, to protect the rest: those who were pure and pious, he made Bráhmans; those who were of less power, but industrious, and addicted to cultivate the ground, he made Vaisyas; whilst the feeble and poor of spirit were constituted Sudras: and he assigned them their several occupations, to prevent that interference with one another which had occurred as long as they recognized no duties peculiar to castes.”*

II. It is necessary to consider, in the second place, the *duties* incumbent upon the four castes.

In the first chapter of Manu the duties of the different castes are thus laid down:

87. “For the sake of preserving this universe, the Being supremely glorious allotted separate duties to those who sprang respectively from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot.”

88. “To Bráhmans he assigned the duties of reading the Veda, of teaching it, of sacrificing, of assisting others to sacrifice, of giving alms, *if they be rich*, and *if indigent*, of receiving gifts.”

89. “To defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read the Veda, to shun the allurements of sensual gratification, are, in a few words, the duties of a *Kshatriya*.”

90. “To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the scriptures, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, and to cultivate land, are *prescribed* or *permitted* to a *Vaisya*.”

91. “One principal duty the supreme ruler assigns to a *Sudra*; namely, to serve the before-mentioned classes, without depreciating their worth.”

A similar enumeration of duties is specified in the Bhagavat

* Page 406.

Again, in the Vishnú Purána, the distinction of castes is attributed to a king, named Saunaka, on which Professor Wilson remarks: “The expression is चतुर्वर्णप्रवर्तयिता, “The originator or causer of the distinctions (or duties) of the four castes.” The commentator, however, understands the expression to signify, that his descendants were of the four castes. So also the Wáyu:

‘The son of Shritsamada was Sunaka, whose son was Saunaka; Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras were born in his race; Bráhmans by distinguished deeds.’ The existence of but one caste in the age of purity, however incompatible with the legend which ascribes the origin of the four tribes to Brahmá, is everywhere admitted. Their séparation is assigned to different individuals; whether accurately to any one, may be doubted; but the notion indicates that the distinction was of a social or political character.”

Gitá, Lecture xviii. from the 41st to the 44th verse. A rather full description of duties is also given in the Vishnu Purána. Book iii. Chap. 8. I cannot refrain from quoting the last paragraph of that chapter, stating the duties of the various castes in time of distress.

“In times of distress the peculiar functions of the castes may be modified, as you shall hear. A Bráhmaṇ may follow the occupations of a Kshatriya or a Vaisya; the Kshatriya may adopt those of the Vaisya; and the Vaisya those of the Kshatriya: but these two last should never descend to the functions of the Sudra, if it be possible to avoid them; and if that be not possible, they must at least shun the functions of the mixed castes.”

1. Transcendently high are the prerogatives of a Bráhmaṇ. “Since the Bráhmaṇ,” says Manu, “sprang from the most excellent part, since he was the first-born, and since he possesses the Veda, he is by right the chief of this whole creation.”* He has therefore the most extraordinary respect and pre-eminence awarded to him; and is allowed equally extraordinary advantages. “Neither shall the king” it is said, “slay a Bráhmaṇ, though convicted of all possible crimes.”† “A king, even though dying with want, must not receive any tax from a Bráhmaṇ learned in the Vedas.”‡ “Whatever exists in the universe is all in effect, *though not in form*, the wealth of the Bráhmaṇ; since the Bráhmaṇ is entitled to it all by his primogeniture and eminence of birth.”§

There is one particular circumstance to be considered with reference to the Bráhmaṇ. While the other three classes are born in the condition in which they are to continue to live, the Bráhmaṇ alone has a supernatural as well as a natural birth. The son of a Bráhmaṇ is considered to be by birth a Sudra; the ceremony of *Upanayanam* or *Initiation*, performed at about six years old, confers the name of *Dwija*, or twice-born, because it is supposed that the rite of wearing the sacred thread is tantamount to *regeneration*. The following is a Sanscrit sloka commonly known.

जन्मना जायते शूद्रः कर्मणा जायते द्विजः ।

वेदाध्यायी तु विप्रः स्यात् ब्रह्मज्ञानी तु ब्राह्मणः ॥

By birth he is a Sudra,

By religious rites he becomes a Dwija,

By reading the Veda a Vipra, (perfect priest,)

By knowledge of Brahma, a Bráhmaṇ.

* Chap. i. 93.

† Manu, viii. 380.

‡ Manu, vii. 133.

§ Manu, i. 100.

Being once invested with the triple cord, the Bráhmaṇ is no more to be considered as a mere mortal; he is said to be an *incarnation of Dharma*,* god of justice, and to him therefore must be offered the salutation of the *Namaskára*, made by elevating the hands above the forehead or over the head: and also the *Shastánga*, a salutation of great reverence made by the prostration of the six members of the body touching the ground, is chiefly to be given to the Brahman priest, while he, in return, gives the Sudra his *Ásirváda* or Benediction. In giving or pronouncing the blessing, the Bráhmaṇ does not return the compliment, but stretches out his hand, generally the left, as if he wished to receive something from the person who pays him homage.

In bowing to a Bráhmaṇ, the sins of the Sudra enter the fire, which is supposed to lodge in the Bráhmaṇ's hand, and are consumed. If a Bráhmaṇ should stretch his hand before a Sudra bows to him, he will sink, it is said, into a state of misery. Such is the power and influence of the Bráhmaṇs, that they, as well as the Sudras, are conversant with the following most extravagant and blasphemous assertions, packed up in Sanskrit verse, and put forth in a syllogistic form :

देवाधीनं जगत् सर्वं मन्त्राधीनं तु दैवतं ।

तन्मन्त्रं ब्राह्मणाधीनं ब्राह्मणे नम देवता ॥

All the universe is under the power of the gods ;
The gods are subject to the power of the mantras ;
The mantras are under the power of the Brahman ;
The Brahman is therefore our gods.

2. The Kshatriyas belong to the second or military class. They are kings and soldiers; and from their valour and influence command the sycophancy of the Bráhmaṇs and the respect of the lower classes. It would be difficult to distinguish the Kshatriyas as a distinct body. The Rajpoots are supposed to be the remnants of this division. And the Rajahs of Burdwan, and even the Rajah of Tanjore, pride themselves in the title of *Kshatriyaputtra*.

3. The Vaisyas belong to the third or merchant class. In Southern India they are not to be distinguished from the Sudras. They as well as the Kshatriyas wear the *Paitá* or thread. It is affirmed that in the *Kali-yuga*, neither Kshatriyas nor Vaisyas exist as a distinct class, but have merged into the Sudras; and that now only two castes exist, namely, the Bráhmaṇ and the Sudra,—and it is even alleged that the pre-

sent race of Sudras have all arisen from improper marriages between the higher and lower castes. The wealthy Sudra or Vellalur cultivators of Southern India vaunt themselves in being Vaisyas; of whom there are three classes, *Bhu-Vaisya*, the cultivators or merasders; *Go-Vaisya*, cowherds who are also cultivators; and *Dhana-Vaisya*, respectable merchants.

4. The Sudras stand lowest in the scale of castes. According to the Shastras neither their persons nor their labours are free. "A man of the servile caste, whether bought or unbought, a Bráhmaṇ may compel to perform servile duty; because such a man was created by the self-existent for the purpose of serving Bráhmaṇs."* The law does not even permit them to have property; for "no collection of wealth must be made by a Sudra, even though he has power, since a servile man, who has amassed riches, gives pain to Bráhmaṇs."† And the poor Sudra is even doomed to perpetual ignorance, and not a ray of hope is to be held out to him, to cheer his path into a future world. It is declared, "Let not a Bráhmaṇ give advice to a Sudra; nor what remains from his table; nor clarified butter, of which part has been offered; nor let him give spiritual counsel to such a man, nor inform him of the legal expiation of his sin: surely he who declares the law to a servile man, and he who instructs him in the mode of expiating sin, sinks with that very man into the hell named Asamvrita."‡ "If a Sudra reads the Vedas or the Puráṇas, then the magistrate shall heat some bitter oil, and pour it into the Sudra's mouth; and if a Sudra listens to the Vedas, then boiling oil shall be poured into his ears. If a Sudra commits any parts of the Veda to memory, then the magistrate shall put him to death."§

In considering such inhuman laws, the solemn truth that

* Manu, viii. 413.

† Manu, x. 129.

‡ Manu, viii. 80, 81.

§ See Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws, xxi. 7.

"The respective duties of the four tribes of Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra, are also determined by the qualities which are in their constitutions." Gita, xviii. 41. See above, p. 2.

On this passage Baron Humboldt in his learned Essay remarks: "It is stated that the *qualities (guna)* are variously distributed among men. It is doubtful whether the difference of caste has any influence on the distribution of qualities. It is certainly said that the duties of caste are distributed according to the qualities arising from the peculiarity of each order, and *Sattva*, essence or truth, might be attributed to the Brahmins; *Rajas*, earthiness, to the Kshatriyas; but as there are four castes, it would be necessary to bring the two last under the one head of *Tamas*, darkness."

"the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty," and that "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel," are forcibly impressed upon the mind, and we cannot help exclaiming with one of old, "O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united:—cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel."*

How different all this from the laws of Him who declared, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls; for my yoke is easy, and my burden is light."†

III. The distinctions of caste and the social condition of the Hindus do not stop here, but go further; and the more we pursue this intricate subject, the more interminable we find it. There are yet many *sub-divisions* of caste to be considered. There are not only a variety of Bráhmans, but there are a vast variety of Sudras, who have no social intercourse with one another.

"The distribution of the whole people into four classes only," says Mill, "and the appropriation of them to four species of employment; an arrangement which, in the very simple state of society, in which it must have been introduced, was a great step in improvement, must have become productive of innumerable inconveniences, as the wants of society multiplied. The bare necessities of life, with a small number of its rudest accommodations, are all it prepares, to meet the desires of man. As those desires speedily extend beyond such narrow limits, a struggle must have early ensued between the first principles of human nature and those of the political establishment. The different castes were strictly commanded to marry with those only of their own class and profession; and the mixture of the classes from the union of the sexes was guarded against by the severest laws. This was an occurrence, however, which laws could not prevent. Irregularities took place; children were born, who belonged to no caste, and for whom there was no occupation. A wise king resolved to classify the mixed races, and to assign them occupations. This accordingly, was the commencement of arts and manufactures. The Varnasankars (i. e. mixed castes) became all manner of artizans and handicrafts.‡ Thirty-six branches of

* Gen. xlix. 6, 7.

† Matt. xi. 28—30.

‡ In the 25th No. of the Calcutta Review, for March, 1850; there are some remarks on caste and the number of mixed classes. See Article *Brahminism*.

the impure class are specified in the sacred books. The highest is that sprung from the conjunction of a Bráhmán with a woman of the Kshatriya class, whose duty is the teaching of military exercises. The lowest of all is the offspring of a Sudra with a woman of the sacred class. Such people are denominated *Chandálas*, and are regarded with great abhorrence. Their profession is to carry out corpses, to execute criminals, and perform other offices, reckoned to the last degree unclean and degrading. If, by the laws of Hindustan, the Sudras are placed in a low vile situation, the impure and mixed classes are placed in one still more odious and degrading. Nothing can equal the contempt and insolence to which it is the lot of the lowest among them to see themselves exposed. They are condemned to live in a sequestered spot by themselves, that they may not pollute the very town in which they reside. If they meet a man of the higher castes, they must turn out of the way, lest he should be contaminated by their presence.”*

The people called *Chandálas* in the north, are termed *Pariars*† in the south, upon whom is entailed, by birth, the utmost degradation. An equally degraded class are the *Pallars*, who, however, do not, like the *Pariars*, eat carrion; and though they are looked upon as equally degraded by the Bráhmans and Sudras, have no social intercourse with the *Pariars*. They will not eat with one another, nor with *Chucklers* (shoemakers), *Koravers*, and others who are considered still lower in the scale of castes.

The *Pariars* are considered by some learned men to be “the descendants of a simple homogeneous people, who were dispossessed of the proprietorship of the soil—multitudes being massacred—by colonies of Bráhmans and Sudras from distant places.”‡ They, as well as the *Pallars* and the Hill tribes, appear to be the remnants of a conquered people, and probably were an uncivilized and barbarous race, whose customs prevented their amalgamation with the conquerors, or the cruel persecution of their masters must have reduced them to their present state.

* Mill, Vol. i. 171, 172.

See Colebrooke on the Indian classes, in which it is written—“Avoid,” says the Tantra, “the touch of the Chandála, and other abject classes—whoever associates with them, undoubtedly falls from his class; whoever bathes or drinks in wells or pools which they have caused to be made, must be purified by the five productions of kine.”

† The term is derived from *Pari*, a tamil word for drum, which it is the duty of the *Pariar* to beat.

‡ A Memoir of the First Centenary of the earliest Protestant Mission at Madras, by the Rev. W. Taylor.

The Pariars have priests of their own, called *Valluvers*; and of them *Tiruvalluvar*, who has written perhaps one of the best books in the whole course of Indian literature on ethics and natural religion, may well be compared to Plato himself.*

IV. The Hindus, besides being divided into *castes* and *no-castes*, and also into a variety of *sects*,† are divided again into the *right-hand* and *left-hand* castes. This distinction appears of recent origin, and is confined to the south.‡

The following is a list, though perhaps an imperfect one, in which the castes are classed according as they belong to the right and left-hand divisions:—

Left-hand.

The Panchalar, Five Artizans :
viz.

Goldsmith.
Blacksmith.
Carpenter.
Stonemason.
Brazier.

Pallar.
Kikalar, Weavers.
Chucklers.
Palli.

Right-hand.

Vellalar, Landlords, Cultivators.

Kávárae.
Mutturájá.
Raja.
Komiti.
Pariar.
Kakan.
Dasiri.
Vannan (washerman.)
Pariari, Barbers.
Kosavan, Potters.
Shanar, Toddy-men.
Koravan.
Uppalian.
Karumban.
Kambalathan.
Ottan.
Kudimagar.

The Bráhmans and some other castes do not belong to these divisions, but are neutral.

* See translation of his *Cural* by the late Mr. Ellis, and also the Rev. W. H. Drew of Madras.

† See Professor Wilson's book on the Religious Sects of the Hindus.

‡ With regard to this, the Abbé Dubois, who is otherwise an admirer of the distinction of castes, and some of the customs of the Hindus, very justly observes:

“This particular distinction, however, which we have alluded to, by whomsoever invented, has turned out to be the most baneful that could have been imagined for the tranquillity of the state, and the most injurious to the peace of the citizens. It has proved the perpetual fountain of disturbance and insurrections amongst the people, and a continued principle of endless jealousy and animosity amongst all the members of the community.”—*Abbé Dubois' Description, &c. of India. Chap. I.*

The *right-hand* numbers the most distinguished of the *Sudras*. The *Vellalars* or cultivators take precedence amongst them, and look down with contempt on the tribes of tradesmen and labourers. The *Pariars* also belong to the right-hand, and boast of this privilege, which consists in the use of banners, &c. in marriages and funerals, and of being permitted to ride on horseback, or to be carried in a palanqueen. And all this the *Pariar* claims as the child of the *Vellalen*. However, they are under restrictions as to wearing slippers and a particular kind of upper garment.*

This distinction, it appears, first originated in the reign of a king named *Tarani*, in the South, and others again assert that it was instituted by Royer and his Prime Minister Appajee.† The latter supposition is asserted in a Tamil petition we have in our possession, sent in by the *Panchalars* or the Five Artizans of the Salem district, about ten years ago, to the Revenue Board at Madras, begging to be allowed to be relieved from having the *Bráhmans* minister to them in religious matters, alleging that they are usurpers; and entreating permission to allow them to perform the various ceremonies by priests chosen from amongst themselves. This curious document, which, however, was not taken notice of by government, will be inserted in the Appendix, in an English translation, from which it will be evident that the *Bráhmans* do not hold the highest rank in society undisputed. The *Panchalars* obstinately refuse to acknowledge their superiority.‡

Some of the sects of the *Hindus* hold diametrically opposite views regarding caste, to which we shall have occasion to allude in the sequel.

V. We now come to consider the *Spirit* of caste, in what it consists, how it may be lost, and how regained.

* This rule is now violated with impunity in European settlements. The *Pariars* are a thriving and improved race. This is the effect of the Christian religion, and the silent influence of an enlightened government.

† In 1791, the Rev. Mr. Gericke visited *Kansheburam*, in search of copper plates said to be concealed there in the great Pagoda, containing the engraved rights and privileges of castes. This mission was undertaken, it appears, at the request of government, who willing to settle the constant strifes and battles between the right and left hand castes, wished to gain possession of the original grants of an early native prince, with a view to an authoritative decision. But it is doubtful whether Mr. G. was successful. It is said that there is a cave beneath the said temple, and that the primitive idols and certain copper plate engravings are buried there.—*Taylor's Memoir of the First Centenary of the Earliest Protestant Mission at Madras*.

‡ A priest belonging to this people recently became a Christian, renounced his caste, and is zealously preaching down heathenism and caste in the Tanjore district. See Appendix, A.

1. Caste arrogates to itself the heritage of an *exclusive sanctity*, and dooms a portion of the human race to *pollution* and *uncleanness*. It is founded upon supposed birth-purity or impurity, and is considered of *divine appointment*. Caste is not, what many imagine it to be, the mere inheritance of a profession or trade from father to son, which, so far as it is entirely voluntary, is common to all nations, and does not involve *crime* in him who should embrace a new calling, nor crush him who ventures to attempt other trades. Caste is an involuntary, arbitrary thing. It does not simply prevent the Hindu from marrying out of certain lines, which in itself may be harmless; but prevents one man eating whatever, or with whomsoever, he pleases. The starving beggar would forfeit his caste, if he should dare to eat the food prepared by one of an inferior caste, or by a non-caste man. One perishing with thirst dare not receive even the sacred water of the Ganges, to save his life, from the hands of one of an inferior caste. This misanthropy in its vilest form, would lead the caste man to revere and adore the cow, eat her dung, drink her urine, and consider such deeds sacred, while he would despise his own image in his fellow-man.* Deprive him of his gods, he will tamely give them up; shew him the absurdity of his idolatrous worship and his unmeaning and ridiculous ceremonies, he will laugh and join you in despising them; but touch his caste, you touch the apple of his eye, the darling idol of his heart. Then he is, "fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell."

2. A caste man is at liberty to be an atheist or heretic, to commit any crime in direct violation of the moral law, to scorn and ridicule the gods, and still his caste is untouched. It is not inconsistent with any villany he may perpetrate. But

* "In fact, the inferiority of the Hindu Bráhmans to all other Pagan nations, with respect to religion, is the more striking, as they have not been able to distinguish what is a virtue, and what is not, since they in general suppose it much more meritorious to render service to beasts than to men. A pious Hindu Bráhmañ who will make it his imperative duty to share his frugal meal with fishes, snakes, monkeys, and birds of prey, will, on the other hand, behold with the coldest indifference a poor wretch starving at his door, without thinking of assisting him." "Instead of that great leading precept of christian charity, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' which is calculated to convert the whole of mankind into a community of brothers, it might be said that the leading precept of the Bráhmans is, 'Thou shalt love brutes like thyself.'" *Abbé Dubois' Letters on the State of Christianity in India*, pp. 112, 113. And yet this very man, in the same volume, has undertaken to vindicate the character of the Hindus. In his other work on India he writes a whole chapter showing the *advantages resulting from the division of castes*, and holds up many of their customs as worthy of imitation, and even defends the cruel law of not permitting widows to marry! Strange inconsistency indeed.

let him only drink a drop of water from the hands of a non-caste man, or let his vessel be touched by a Musalman or European, he must be immediately turned out of society; his wife and children and friends must consider the tie of relationship and bond of unity broken. The simple eating with a virtuous friend, the embracing the religion of his conscience, which are the honourable actions of a free moral agent, are branded with infamy. Infringement of the rules of caste is the *deadly sin* which a Hindu commits, and one which subjects the perpetrator to as dreadful a doom as can befall a mortal. No punishment is more severe than this excommunication; he is henceforth a marked man, a wretched and miserable outcast. If he is a Bráhmaṇ and has eaten with Sudras, they will not receive him, so as to acknowledge him as one amongst themselves, nor give him their daughter in marriage. Even the just and honourable act of marrying, or giving in marriage, a young widow, will subject the parties to loss of caste.

3. *Restoration* to caste, especially in former days, was as expensive and difficult, as *expulsion* from it was light and easy. Burning the tongue with a piece of gold made hot, or impressing some indelible mark on the body, by the application of hot iron, making the delinquent drink the *Panchakariam** or the five things proceeding from a cow, namely, milk, butter, curd, dung, and urine, with certain ceremonies; and making him pay heavy fines and offerings to the Bráhmaṇs, would restore one to his caste. But now, since Christian education has opened the eyes of many, and they are willing to throw off these distinctions as ridiculous, childish, and foolish, the Bráhmaṇs have invented a cheaper method of restoring persons to their religion and caste.†

It is well known that thousands violate the rules of caste, whilst its selfish tyranny presses heavily only on the ignorant and simple classes. It is not to be wondered at that laws so cruel should be often secretly violated. "It is well known that the Hindus have gone to the opposite extreme in certain cases. The Tantrikas worship demons, drink arrack and brandy, eat all kinds of meat, and practise all sorts of abominations. But

* Or *Panchagavya*.

† It is said that the temple at Canjeveram was built by a Bráhmaṇ as an atonement for connection with a Pariar woman, on which he was restored. "A very few years ago the illegitimate son of a Collector, by a Moor woman, was privately raised to the Bráhmaṇical order. The child's weight in gold, poured over its head, being the preliminary ceremony." *Taylor's First Centenary*, p. 363. In Bengal a most exorbitant fine is the principal condition on which caste can be regained.

these deeds of darkness are done by confederate clubs in the shades of midnight."

VI. From all that has been advanced on this peculiar distinction amongst the Hindus, the *probable Origin* of caste appears to be, either (1) the perpetuation and corruption of the institution of Mahabad, king of Persia, who divided the people subject to him into four orders, the religious, the military, the commercial, and the servile ;*—or (2) the Bráhmans, who are supposed to have come from Chaldea or Egypt, pretending to be the children of the divinity, and the gods of the earth, did not mix with the other Indians, in order not to defile themselves. The other Indians, from a disposition of imitation common to the unthinking part of mankind, have blindly and ignorantly imitated the practice of their earthly gods and teachers, to an unreasonable degree. This disposition of human nature has induced even the Mahomedans, who do not recognize caste, to imitate it, after they had conquered and settled in India. And (3) because caste was in progress of time more and more generally and strictly observed in India, and no Indian ever left the occupation of his father, and followed a higher one, it appears that they began to call caste *Jati*, as they conceived the idea, that the different divisions of people in India have, by creation, received talents and a nature only suitable to their occupations ; so that a shoe-maker has only the talents and the nature of a shoe-maker, and cannot mix with other ranks in society.

I may safely here quote the sentiments of one who writes very cautiously on this subject, and who even talks of it 'in a palliative way.' "Caste in the abstract I view as the development of pride. It first entered Paradise with the nascent desire to be as gods ; and, in that point of view, its origin may be ascribed to the devil :—

'Aspiring to be gods, our parents fell ;
Aspiring to be angels, men rebel.' "†

* See Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. No. 3, Sec. 2.

† Taylor's Centenary. See also, Appendix, B.

CHAPTER II.

IS CASTE CIVIL OR RELIGIOUS? IS THERE ANY THING SIMILAR TO IT IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD? DO ALL THE PEOPLE OF HINDUSTAN PROFESS AND MAINTAIN IT?

I. We have already ascertained what caste is, by reference to the accredited books of the Hindus. From them we have ascertained that it has its origin with their god Brahmá, and that the different orders or degrees are estimated according to their connection with and emanation from that deity. It is founded upon ceremonial purity and pollution, and is therefore an *essential* part of the idolatrous religion of India.

The Hindus do not distinguish between a *civil* and a *religious* element of caste. Even if it was originally a *political scheme*, the question is, did it ever exist separately from the religion of the Hindus? Their civil and religious polity seem to be inseparably connected. This is proved by the fact that when a Hindu embraces Christianity, he is considered by the heathen as having forfeited his caste, the change being considered a breach of moral and religious duty. Caste is not only guarded by the prescriptions of law, but fortified by the adamant and impregnable barriers of the divine decree. And to mingle or confound what was originally separated, is considered a deed of the most daring impiety.

"The distinction of caste," says one who appears to have studied the subject, "is expressed easily and readily enough; but I am not aware of any simple native word of any standing to express civil distinction in caste. It is my impression that the Native Christians adopted a compound term to express the idea conveyed to them by Bishop Heber (*viz. civil distinction*). This is *desáchára*, a Sanscrit compound, which by reference to its primitive sense is unfortunate; *desa*, means *a land*, and *áchára*, *a rite*, but purely with a sacerdotal reference. Its legitimate application is restricted to the tribe of Bráhmans. Though this term is used for *the civil custom of the country*, I am afraid it means *the religious usage of the land*; and in effect —idolatry.* I have lately found that another compound term, *desa-silakyam*, is used. It means *country privilege*, and may be nearly synonymous with *freemanship* or *birthright*; but it is a compound term of recent formation. The distinction of civil and religious does not appear to me to have been known

* In Bengal, *lokáchára* (which is the same as *desáchára*) means any popular or national custom. But of which custom of this kind can it be said that it has not a religious aspect?

in this country, at least subsequent to the ascendancy of the Bráhmans. I do not think that any code can be pointed to as a digest of civil law. Indeed I would suggest to the reader's attention, that the distinction of sacerdotal and civil originated with the ancient Romans, from whom we derive the terms: even if we use the word *religious*, the derivation is the same. The Egyptians and Hebrews had no purely civil polity. In the great early monarchies which took their archetype from the father of a family, every thing, to the best of my information, had a religious bearing; and the monarch was regarded with more than what we now mean by religious veneration; he was worshipped. It does not appear to me that the laws of Lycurgus and Solon were purely civil; nor do I think that the Greek language has simple and primitive words to express the distinction of *religious* and *civil*. The Romans were formed on a constitution different from that of other people. They were lawless at the outset; were reformed on a religious basis* by Numa,—but in consequence of agrarian strifes, the laws of the twelve tables established the rights of the Plebeians. *Civis* was a Plebeian, as distinguished from the patrician, equestrian, and sacerdotal classes. The *Jus Civilis* was a law establishing the Plebeian's rights; raising him above the level of later serfs or villains; and conveying the peculiar dignity of the Roman citizen. The Pandects of Justinian have been the means of incorporating the term civil law and rights in every European nation. We are now-a-days familiar with the distinction. But still I must submit that it was unknown in India prior to the advent of Europeans: and civil rights can only be traced to local municipal customs, not having the force of law, unless sanctioned by the tribunals of the country. But it has been the policy of the British rule, always to accept those customs, when made out, as having the force of common law, here termed *mamool*; and hence civil rights, in so far as they exist, have been conferred on the natives by foreigners. It is capable of proof that caste cannot stand *ab origine* as of a civil distinction; and must be traced up to a religious, that is an idolatrous, origin."†

To lay claim to civil distinctions would imply that the Hindus were also in the enjoyment of civil liberty. To see that such was not the case, it is only necessary to know what constitutes civil liberty. "That constitution or form of government, that system of laws, is alone calculated to maintain

* Hence we read, Rex Anius, rex hominum, Deorumque sacerdos.

† Memoir of the First Centenary of the Earliest Protestant Mission, p. 329—331.

civil liberty, which leaves the subject entire master of his own conduct, except in those points wherein the public requires some direction or restraint.”*

And even if *society* should be considered as distinct from *government*—for the one may possibly exist without the other—yet we know that the one is the *principal*, and the other is the *agent*. We must admit that *civil society is an institution of God*; or, in other words, it is the will of God that man should live in a state of society, which may be shown from the original impulses common to man, and from the necessities of his nature. And as God wills the existence of civil society, it is manifest that he must forbid whatever would be *inconsistent* with its existence. And since the consent of all men is the voice of nature, the constitution of Hindu society, based on caste, so different from the framework of society in other parts of the world, and from the revealed will of the Almighty, can only be accounted for by tracing its connection with a false religion.

Every Hindu distinction is connected with and sanctioned by, nay, owes its origin to, religion, and is so intimately connected with it, that he who gives up caste in one respect, loses it in all respects. As the Christian breaking one commandment is guilty of all, so the Hindu who violates one distinction of caste, violates all.

Frederick Von Schlegel, who is an admirer of the caste system, observes in his *Philosophy of History*,† “that the hereditary division of classes, and those hereditary rights belonging to each, which form a part of the Indian constitution, have deep root in the soil; and as they rest on *the immoveable basis of ancient faith*, have become, as it were, the second nature of the people.” In connection with this subject, the same Philosopher alludes to another fact which is more to our purpose here. He says, “Among the Indians this ruling principle of existence was the doctrine of transmigration of souls, which appears indeed to be the most characteristic of all their opinions, and was, by its influence on real life, by far the most important. *The doctrine of the transmigration of souls was not unconnected with the Indian system of castes*; for the most honourable appellation of a Bráhmaṇ is *Dwija*, that is to say, a second time born, or regenerated. On one hand this appellation refers to that spiritual renovation and second birth of a life of purity consecrated to God, as in this consists the true calling of a Bráhmaṇ, and the special purpose of his caste—on the other hand this term refers to the

* Blackstone.

† Translated by J. B. Robertson, Esq. Bohn's Edition, Sec. iv. p. 142.

belief that the soul, after many transmigrations through various forms of animals, and various stages of natural existence, is permitted, in certain cases, as a peculiar recompense, when it has gone through its prescribed cycle of migrations, to return to the world and be born in the class of Bráhmans." This passage, which is a just representation of the opinion of the Hindus, confirms the conclusion to which we have already come, that caste is more a religious than a civil distinction.

The sanctions of caste are not social only, but spiritual, extending beyond death. Manu says: "The Bráhmaṇ who has a Sudra female for his attendant and concubine or wife, shall be excluded from the society of his ancestors and the gods, and descend into the hell *Kaneva*." That caste is intimately connected with bráhmanical idolatry, and encourages *man-worship*, is apparent from the fact to which we have already alluded,—the salutation offered to a Bráhmaṇ by one of an inferior caste, and his mode of giving the blessing in return. In a memorial to the Supreme Government, presented by the Hindus of Madras in April, 1845, they declare, *that the loss of caste is connected with the vitality of the Hindu religion.*

The learned Hindus and other adherents and defenders of caste, in explaining it away as civil and harmless, resort to the only expedient left, and that is, to compare it with the distinctions of *rank* in European society. This specious argument deserves attention. Every reflecting mind will at once admit that the diversity of rank and condition is no evil, but an institution productive of much general benefit; as it is that state of society which is best calculated to stimulate the industry, and bring into action the various faculties of mankind.

The distinction of rank among Europeans is founded on birth, riches, power, learning, and merit, and answers important ends in the social union; but the distinction of caste is not formed by any reference to the actual possession of these qualities, but is confined to an imaginary celestial origin of a privileged class to the exclusion of all others, who are debarred for ever from all access to rising in the social scale, whatever may be their merits. The castes of India, therefore, cannot be compared with the classes in Europe. The caste of the Bráhmans and the Sudras is hereditary, which is not the case with the priesthood, professions, and trades of Europe. No man is by his birth excluded from any rank, except that of royalty, in England; but it is not so in India. Caste, therefore, is not, as it is by many supposed to be, synonymous with rank.

We admit that there were certain distinctions in ancient times amongst other nations, bearing only a semblance to the

distinctions of caste; but their origin, nature and spirit were very different. For instance,—

1. There were distinctions in ancient Persia. In the Zend-avesta is the following passage: "Ormusd said, there are three measures (literally weights, that is, tests, rules) of conduct, four states, and five places of dignity. The states are: that of the priest; that of the soldier; that of the husbandman, the source of riches; and that of the artizan or labourer."

2. In Greece, Solon divided the people into four classes, according to their property.

3. The Romans were divided into Patricians and Plebeians. The *Patricians* were of more noble birth, more rich and more eminent for virtue, than the Plebeians. All dignities, civil, military, and sacerdotal, were confined to the former. The Plebeians or common people were also slaves, taken prisoners in war. To prevent sedition, which such a distinction might produce, through the pride of the higher order, and the envy of the lower, they were engaged to one another by reciprocal ties and obligations, according to the laws of the land. And once a year the masters gave their slaves a feast and served them like servants, to remind themselves that all men are naturally equal.

Amongst the ancient and modern Germans, Spaniards, &c., there were and are certain necessary distinctions. The Germans descending from one ancestor divided themselves into several families or tribes. The eldest, and sometimes the most intelligent, of the respectable families were chosen *chiefs*, and all the German tribes chose one as their general chief, who was called *Emperor*. Those families who had always maintained their probity, talents, and valour, honor, and high employments, were called, *Noble families*, the others *Citizens* or *Commoners*. And those who had been subjugated in war by the two first ranks, were called *Slaves*; but since the time that the Europeans became Christians, slavery has been, by degrees, universally abolished, and the slaves have been made as free as the commoners. But the rich, and mighty, and noble, have never fancied that they cannot, on religious or physical grounds, eat or intermarry with others.*

From what has been stated, the Hindus cannot allege that their caste distinctions are similar to the civil and social distinctions of European and other nations. It might safely be advanced that no nation on earth has at present such distinctions as the Hindus have.

There exists everywhere one *natural* distinction, namely, that of *male and female*. Other distinctions are that of good

* See Robertson's Charles V. vol. i. note 20.

and bad, of high and low, of rich and poor, of learned and unlearned. These distinctions have been appointed by a wise Providence; and rank, especially where there is merit and virtue to uphold it, excites the natural and habitual veneration of all; but when tyranny or vice degrades it, or when it usurps undue authority over the rights and liberties of mankind, then outraged nature is called forth to a generous and wholesome reaction against the oppressors of their species. This is the revolt of one natural principle against the abuse of another. We are no advocates for weakening authority; or suspending the natural influences of rank and wealth. The wisdom and goodness of this appointment are apparent, wherever it is duly regarded; the different orders of society feel their mutual dependence, and learn to respect one another. In a community observing such wise and merciful regulations, superiority is maintained without arrogance, and service rendered without servility. The road to prosperity and distinction will be open to all, for all are free. Unless becoming respect for station and office be the operating principle in society, we know that nature would be seduced from her principles, society would be distempered and utterly disorganized. Wise and impartial legislators deliberate for the good order and welfare of the whole community, and frame a constitution not only for the *state*, but for *human nature*. But how far Hindu legislators have framed their laws and institutions on the broad basis of equity between man and man, let the palpable iniquity of their *shástras* declare. "The very highest behest of social morality, while at the same time the most comprehensive of its rules, is that we should love our neighbours as we do ourselves. Love to our neighbour is the thing which this rule measures off—and love to ourselves is the thing which it measures by."*

III. It is no wonder, then, that certain authors and sects among the Hindus have trampled upon the institution of caste, and have fearlessly exposed its iniquity and injustice.

Vemana, the most popular of the Telugu poets, boldly denounces it. Book I. verse 52, "Listen to the Scriptures, that declare ignorance to be the servile (*Sudra*) state, and wisdom to be (*Bráhmanship*) the priestly rank. Behold *Válmiki*, the bard, who was once a highwayman; when his ignorance ceased, he attained the *Bráhmanical* rank."

V. 171. "We are imprisoned in delusion; our inclinations

* See this principle beautifully developed by Dr. Chalmers in his *Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. i. ch. iv. "On those special affections which conduce to the civil and political well being of Society."

are as chains; empty distinctions are the shackles attached to us: when shall be the deliverance from this life of bondage?"

Book II. v. 128. "Which is the chief caste among all the sects? What is the use of going on without sense? He who has understanding, is of the noblest tribe."

Book III. v. 3. "They cry: Thou art defiled and unclean, touch me not. What limits are there to defilement? What is its source? All human bodies are equally unclean: defilement is born with ourselves in the body."

V. 190. "The daily prayers and the bráhmancial cord are wanting both at birth and at the time of death: his mother never enjoyed either of these: and if his mother be a Sudra, how can he be a Bráhman?"

V. 217. "If we carefully observe and examine the universe, we shall see that all castes equally originated therein: then all are equal: surely all men are brothers."

V. 225. "Disputations as to which caste is the best, are all fruitless: all the tribes originated in the same origin; who can decide as to the superiority or inferiority of any one?"

V. 227. "Why should we constantly revile the Pariar? Are not his flesh and blood the same as our own? And of what caste is he who pervades the Pariar as well as all other men?"

V. 231. "Though a man be by birth an outcast, if he orders his heart aright, he is no outcast: he who cannot govern his affections, is the vilest of the vile."

V. 234. "His mother was a prostitute, and his wife a Pariar; yet Vasistha* was tutor to the noble Ráma: by austerities he became a Bráhman; but if you look to his caste, what is it like?"

V. 237. "Place one dish before all men in the world and let them eat together, abolishing their castes: lay thy hands on their heads, and convince them *that their present distinctions are absurd.*"†

We can cite innumerable passages from *Tamil* authors on this subject, but let the following selections suffice:

In a prose work, entitled *Sapta-prakaranam*, i. e. the Seven Lectures, translated from the Sanskrit, and in the chapter headed *Sthula-prakaranam*, Lecture on the Body,—it is thus written:—

"The saying, I am a Bráhman, I am a Kshatriya, I am a Vaisya, I am a Sudra, these differences of *caste*,—I am a Telinga, I am a Canarese, I am a Mahratta, I am a Gujeratty,

* Urvasi the courtesan was his mother, Arundhati his wife.

† Extracted from the *Verses of Vemana*, translated by C. P. Browne, Esq. of the Madras Civil Service.

these *provincial distinctions*,—I am of the tribe of Kasipa, I am of the tribe of Baradvasar, &c. &c., these distinctions of *tribes*,—I am a bachelor, I am a married man, I am a *sannyasi*, these distinctions of *states*,—I am a carpenter, I am a goldsmith, I am a blacksmith, I am a potter, I am a barber, I am a washerman, these distinctions of *trade*,—do not make in themselves any essential difference between man and man. As for those who would make any, these differences may justly be compared to a horned hare, to a child produced by a barren woman, or to a lotus growing in the skies.* “Is it a body that constitutes a Bráhma? The Kshatriya has the same body. Does the tuft of hair, or the cord, make a Bráhma? Then the potters have these likewise. Are there any differences in the members of their bodies? Is he a Bráhma, because his father and mother were Bráhmans? Then the nail, the teeth, the hair, the urine, and the ordure must also be Bráhmans. But they are not so. Therefore the title Bráhma is similar to the names given by children to toys in play; it is nothing in reality. So said *Vasudeva*.”

Agastya, the great sage and supposed father of the Tamil language, says:

“The ancients, in order to delude mankind, have written the Vedas and Puránas, that the mind may be like a fly caught in a cobweb.” “Know that the distinctions of high and low caste were made for men to get a livelihood. The Vedas were made for the support of Bráhmans.”

Cabilar, a disciple of *Agastya*, in his *Agavel* (poem) says: “To Brahmá was born *Vasishta* of *Kuti*, a courtesan. To *Vasishta* was born *Sattiar*, of a *Pariar* woman. To *Sattiar* was born *Parasar*, of a low boat-woman. To *Parasar* was born *Vyása* of a fisherwoman. These four are renowned for having established the Vedas.”

Soobramanyar, a poet, in his *Gnanam*, says: “Hear this: the birth of all is alike, and all are subject to death. The life that leaves the body, mingles with the ether. All life proceeds from one source. Do not, therefore, speak ill of castes. All are alike. There is no distinction.”

Sangarachari is supposed to have said: “Do you know where the sun and moon were born, or where they will hide themselves? Where shall we see all castes merged into one? Where shall we see the unity of the Deity? Where shall we forget the doctrines and practices we rely upon? Where is the place where all things are considered pure? The wise will know these things.”

* Meaning, that they are non-entities.

In the *Suddha Sangita*, written by *Suddha Mamooni*, Siva says to Vishnu: "Hear this, thou wise one, the ignorant, who have no knowledge of the truth, fix their mind on the differences of castes and tribes, and go about accumulating fearful sins. The result will be nothing but delusion and folly."

In the *Sukshma Vedānta*, it is said: "Men, after exercising particular trades and professions, divide themselves accordingly into as many castes. But if we properly consider the matter, we shall find that the nature of man is the same. If so, how is it then, that one man considers himself of superior caste to another? These distinctions only become demons, not men, who are of one origin."

Siva Vaciar says: "What, O wretch, is caste? Is not water an accumulation of fluid particles? Are not the five elements and the five senses one? Are not the several ornaments for the neck, the breast, and the feet equally gold? What then is the peculiar quality supposed to result from difference in caste?"

Another writer says: "Is there any advantage in the observance of caste? No. So long as one is under the influence of caste, he is under the influence of *máyá*," (delusion).

Professor Wilson, in his "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus," points out the repudiators of caste. He remarks in one place, that "many of the sects seem to have originated, in a great measure, out of opposition to the Bráhmancial order: teachers and disciples are chosen from any class, and the distinction of castes is, in a great measure, sunk in the new one of similarity of schism."* Alluding to the Jainas he says, "In the south of India, indeed, the Jainas preserve the distinction of castes; in Upper India, they profess to be one caste, or *Vaisyas*. It is very clear, however, that admission to the *Jaina* communion was originally independent of *caste*, and the partial adoption of it or pretension to it, is either a spontaneous or politic conformity to the strong feeling on the subject which prevails amongst all Hindus." In a note upon this passage, Professor Wilson writes: "Mahávira himself was the son of a king, and should therefore be a Kshatriya. His chief disciples, Indrabhuti, and the rest, were Bráhmans. His special attendant, Gosala, was an outcast; and his followers, of both sexes, were of every caste."

In an interesting Essay on the creed, customs, and literature of the *Jangams*, an anti-Bráhmancial sect of Hindus, by C. P. Browne, Esq. the author, after stating what the *Jangams* renounce of the Bráhmancial creed and customs, says: "Basava, their leader, abolished these distinctions. He taught that all

men are holy in proportion as they are temples of the great spirit ; that by birth all are equal ; and among those whom the Jangam books describe as saints, we find not a single Bráhma, but many Pariars, and many women." In stating the rules in regard to their eating, he observes : " Though the Vira Saivas declare themselves entirely free from the bonds of caste, we shall perceive that their liberation is but partial. They cannot eat with any who refuses to bless the food in the name of *Basava* ; —for they look upon others as heathens." " The food is polluted, if ' a heathen ' casts his eye upon it, *before* it is blessed. But *after* the benediction is uttered, they consider the food holy, and are bound to eat it : it cannot be defiled by the glance or the touch of any person." " The Jangam is no leveller : he indeed desires to abolish caste : but by raising from the lowest grade those whose faith shows them to be good men." Such sentiments are certainly worthy the study and consideration of those Hindus who profess to be more enlightened than their countrymen, and more especially of those who profess a purer faith, but who have not the resolution or the moral courage to throw off the shackles of caste, although they virtually declare that it is a lie against God, an indignity to humanity.

CHAPTER III.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST CASTE. ITS EFFECTS ON THE MENTAL, MORAL, SOCIAL, AND NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE HINDUS.

The principle of caste is founded on *falsehood*. The advocate of caste has nothing to glory in. Does he really believe the fable that man proceeded from the different parts of Brahmá's body ? Does he not know that this Brahmá, his Creator, seduced his own guru's wife, wherefore his head has been cut off, a temple has been denied him, and his worship forfeited ? Strange infatuation, to believe, and to maintain, and to glory in a system which ascribes the creation of man to an adulterer defiled in body and mind.

Supposing that all castes have proceeded from Brahmá, as alleged, whence the *difference* between one man and another, when they owe their origin to one common father ? Is Brahmá himself divided into four castes ? Is there any difference in the fruit produced at the top and the bottom of the common tree ?

If the Sudra is considered low and mean, because he proceeded from the feet of Brahmá, of what caste is *Daksha*, one of the

Prajápatís (Patriarchs,) who proceeded from Brahmá's toe? * If everything proceeding from the feet be vile, whence the purifying virtues of *Gangá*, which proceeds from the feet of Vishnu? To what part of the deity are adorations offered? Is it not to his foot?

If there is an essential difference between one man and another, owing to their original birth, why are they not now born as at first? Is there any difference in the formation, birth, and death of a Bráhmaṇ, and a Chandála? Are not the blessings of Providence common to all? Do not the sun and moon give their general light, the clouds pour forth their "ambrosial rain," and the air breathe its vital influence on all? Does not the parent earth support all mankind? Is not the heaven-born soul, and the mind, with all its wonderful powers, the property of every man? Are not the souls of all men capable of *Devaprasáda*, or divine grace? Are knowledge and wisdom the monopoly of the higher castes only? In the reign of Kunapandian, Teroovalluvar, a Pariár poet, is said to have obtained, by his superior knowledge and wisdom, the seat in the assembly of the learned Bráhmaṇs of Madura, made vacant by the degraded sages? †

If your Vedas are true, of what caste was *Vasishta*, one of the arrangers of them, who was the son of Urvasi the dancing girl, and the husband of Arundhati, a Pariar woman?

If there are only four castes, according to the shástras, whence the vast variety of Bráhmaṇs and other castes, and the interminable differences amongst themselves? If the theory of caste be true, will there not be some marks by which one caste might be distinguished from another?

Is it not a fact that all castes agree in sin, all go to the house of ill-fame, eat and drink proscribed food in private? Is it not a fact, corroborated by universal experience, that every man is born in sin, is sunk in a sea of impurity, and carries about a body of sin and death?

Will it be said that every man's caste and condition in life depend on his deeds in a former birth, and are regulated by the impartial and unavoidable laws of transmigration, and that the fate of every individual is written in his forehead, and cannot be altered, it being the result of actions done in a previous existence? ‡ If the state and circumstances of the

* Professor Wilson says, *Dakṣha* was born from Brahma's right thumb. Vishnu Purána, page 348.

† Professor Wilson's Historical Sketch of the Pandya kingdom.

‡ The theory that a Sudra was contaminated in a state of pre-existence, will give a clear and perfect account of the way in which he comes to be what he is: it is too perfect a theory to be a true theory. It is a spe-

present existence be the result of a former birth, the present is not a state of trial, but of punishment. But is this consistent with fact and experience? If it be alleged that this is a state of penance and purgation to some, and of reward of merit to others, the last assertion is contradictory to the Shástras, where it is said that in the present age, the *Kali yuga*, there will be no virtue nor righteousness in the land.*

If caste were of divine appointment, would it not be more extensively recognized, and would not its benefits be more apparent? Would He who is "too wise to err and too good to be unkind," give us a law against the very principles of the nature He has implanted in us himself? Is caste necessary for the existence or well-being of man? If it were an institution based on equity and humanity, why do many of the wise Hindus trample upon it, as they have done in their writings? Do they not declare, in unequivocal terms, that without disclaiming caste man cannot be holy, and that he is still under the influence of the *five-fold* ignorance, "consisting of obscurity, illusion, extreme illusion, gloom, utter darkness?"

If caste is of divine institution and necessary for the welfare and happiness of man, whence the amalgamation of communion of castes at Jagannáth, where all the four castes eat together and consider it no defilement? Does not this show that all mankind are brothers, and belong to one *Játi*?

If eating with one of an inferior caste should deprive a superior of his caste; by a parity of reason, why should not eating with one of a superior caste elevate the inferior to the superior grade? If "evil communications corrupt good manners," is it not equally true that *good communications elevate the mind and purify the affections*? But it is well known that caste is not lost by doing evil, but in many instances by doing what is right and good.

Are the rules of caste now punctually followed? Does the Bráhmaṇ confine himself to his original functions? Or does he not, in numberless instances, rise early and sit up late, immersed in secular affairs, intent on plundering, and hoarding up money? And by changing his dress, and neglecting his ceremonies, does he not cringe at the foot of his European master, and even of the wealthy Sudra, to secure their favour and patronage?† We know that this will be referred to the force of

cimen of a theory, which does not present the mind with something above experience, but something absolutely contradictory to it; and though I may be wrong, I do not think any pure revelation would ever contradict experience, however much it may go beyond it.—*Morris's Prize Essay*, page 187.

* See Vishnu Purána, Book IV. Ch. I.

† But it cannot be passed unnoticed that those who practise idolatry, and

circumstances and to the law of necessity, for which there is provision made in the Shástras; but does this not in the very face of it indicate priestcraft, and prove that the Bráhmans who were the framers of the laws, have evidently studied their own advantage, convenience and comfort?

You will say, perhaps, that caste distinctions are necessary to be observed, in order to preserve the order of tribes by the prevention of intermarriages, which has been an immemorial custom. But your ancestors did not observe caste as you do. Intermarriages are allowed in Manu, the Dharma Purána and the Játimálá. Manu says: "If a Bráhman marries a girl of the Kshatriya caste, the duty of the sons is to teach military exercises. If a Bráhman marries a Vaisya woman, the sons become musicians, astronomers, and shepherds. The son of a Vaisya and a Sudra woman may become servants to princes; the children of a Bráhman woman and a Vaisya must wait upon women." Where then is the empty boast of your following the laws and customs of your ancestors? Have you not understanding to distinguish between good and evil, between true and false, between just and unjust? You should learn from your ancestors, so as to benefit by their experience, and avoid their mistakes and errors. Will you perpetuate an evil because it is *custom*, and continue to be its slaves?

Perhaps it will be said, that Sudras and especially Chandálas are extremely filthy in their habits;—and the nature of their food and duties are such that those of superior castes could not with propriety associate with them. I admit this. There will certainly be a feeling of repugnance to *associate* with people of that kind. But the *spirit* of Hindu caste is in the idea of *defilement* attached to the very touch of an inferior. Every man is naturally filthy. If the Pariar washes and keeps himself clean, and better still, if his mind is enlightened and

defend it under the shield of *custom*, have been violating their customs almost every twenty years, for the sake of a little convenience, or to promote their worldly advantage,—a few instances which are most commonly and publicly practised, I beg leave to state here. 1st. The whole community in Bengal, with very few exceptions, have, since the middle of the last century, forsaken their ancient modes of the performance of ceremonial rites of religion, and followed the precepts of Raghunath, and consequently differ in the most essential points of ceremonies, from natives of Bahar, Tirhoot, and Benares. 2d. The system of their subdivisions in each caste, with the modes of marriage and intermarriage, is also a modern introduction, altogether contrary to their law and ancient customs. 3d. The profession of instructing European Gentlemen in the Veds, Smritis and Puránas, is a violation of their long established custom; and 4th. The supplying their European guests with wine and victuals, in the presence of their gods and goddesses, is also a direct breach of custom and law."—*Rammohun Roy, Preface to the Ishopanishad*, p. 21.

purified by truth, if he is called by Providence to fill a responsible and respectable position in society, and if his manners are agreeable, what should hinder the Bráhmaṇ from associating with him? What is the one then better than the other? "Ah! but," the objector may say, "he or his parents and friends have eaten the flesh of the cow; how can I make up my mind to associate with him to that degree as to give him a proof of cordial friendship, or to eat with him?" A higher law and purer philosophy would tell him that it is not eating that defiles a man, but the evil thoughts and sinful desires that proceed from the heart. But, really, are the scruples of a cherisher of castes so great with regard to eating, or towards him that eats flesh? * Let him consult his understanding, and it will tell him that the milk of the cow is the essence of the animal, and clarified butter is the very essence of animal food. Even vegetables have *life*; every seed has the principle of life, and every vegetable teems with animal matter. Let him consult his common sense, and it will tell him that the urine and the dung of the cow, † considered pure and purifying, and which are eaten and drunk, are certainly worse than eating the flesh. Or let him consult his Shástras, and he will find that animal sacrifice is commanded, and moreover he will find the mortifying story of *Garga Rishi's* cow in the *Matsya Purána*. ‡

* "The Ved says (observes Rammohun Roy) that he who has true faith in the omnipresent Supreme Being may eat all that exists, i. e. is not bound to inquire what is his food, or who prepares it." In *Manu* we read, "Doubtless in the ancient sacrifices and in the offerings of Bráhmans and Kshatriyas there were sacrifices of such birds and beasts as may be eaten." (V. 21.)

† *Bezoar-Korosani*, found in the cow's belly is highly valued as an internal medicine by the Bráhmans and others; and *assa foetida*, so commonly used by the Hindus themselves, is supposed to be mixed with animal matter.

‡ "The Rishis asked, how did Kaushika's sons obtain the supreme union? Suta replied: In Kurukshetra there was a Rishi named Kaushika. He had seven sons called Swasrapa, Krodhana, Himstra, Pishuna, Kavi, Vagrishta, and Pitriivarti. Their father Kaushika died; and a dreadful famine came on. Having nothing to eat, they went to Garga Rishi, who sent them into the woods to herd his cow. One day, when pinched with hunger, they said among themselves: What would you think of killing the cow and eating her? The youngest son said: if we kill her, let us offer her to the manes of our father, and feast on her afterwards. All agreed to his plan; and he having put two of his brothers in the place of gods, and three in the place of ancestors, one being made a guest, they killed and ate up the cow; and at night brought home the calf to the Rishie, and told him that a tiger had eaten up the cow. For this meritorious act they obtained union in five births; and had the remembrance of all the former in every succeeding birth." Extract from the *Matsya Purána*. The Rev. Mr. Stevenson of Poona observed to me that he has frequently found the recital of this story a powerful *argumentum ad hominem* in the case of the Bráhmans.—*Dr. Wilson's Refutation of Hinduism*, quoted in Phillip's *Missionary's Vade Mecum*, page 190.

But lastly, the Hindu books say that all castes will eventually become one. Extraordinary knowledge is not necessary to make such a prediction. Vyásdev, a prophet probably like Balaam of old, has declared: "The Turks shall reign fourteen generations without discretion, after which the Feringis (a name applied to Europeans) shall remain thirteen generations. In this time all religion shall go, caste and conduct shall not remain." (Book xii. Ch. i. 179.) Again, it is said, speaking of the same time—"All castes shall sit and eat in one place with excellent minds. The Bráhmans shall sell the Vedas, and in process of time their knowledge shall be lost. No one will support the religion of his family, but all will forsake the distinctions of caste. Even in marriage caste shall not be regarded, for all shall become one class. In this manner will end the Kali Yuga, after having remained 10,000 years." (Book xii. Ch. ii. 115).

Ye Sudras, who know and feel the inhumanity and injustice of caste bondage, why will you not throw off a lie, a corruption, a hardship, which your gurus have imposed upon you for their own advantage? Perhaps you say: Let the Bráhmans and the great first give up their caste, and then we shall give up ours. But would you say so in other cases? Would you defer appropriating to yourself any worldly advantage that offers itself to you, and wait for your gurus to lead the way?

Ye wealthy and educated Hindus! Permit us to ask you, how long you will suffer yourselves to be governed by such unjust laws that trample upon the rights of man? Let us appeal to your reason. "Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?" Throw off the shackles becoming only an ignorant and priest-ridden age. Ye bolder and more enlightened sons of the North, whose minds are imbued with the arts and sciences of Europe, conversant with the poets, historians, and philosophers of Britain, lead the way to the great reform of abolishing these invidious distinctions,—break the inexorable chains, and throw down the barriers which an iron age has formed and raised to perpetuate misanthropy, to alienate man from man, to banish benevolence from the land;—and lead the way to your ignorant, timid, and supercilious countrymen of the South. They would be led, but will not lead.—Oh! that there were some Luther-like genius, to head the battle for humanity and righteousness. We have heard of your meetings on the banks of the Ganges, and in the halls of Calcutta, when "looking forward to the period in which knowledge, by its transforming power, would make the lowest type of man feel itself to be of the same species as the highest, you

have given utterance, in an apparent ecstasy of delight, to these characteristic lines :—

For a' that, and a' that,
Its comin' yet, for a' that,
That man to man, the world o'er
Shall brothers be, for a' that."

Our prayer is, that such a consummation may be realized in a higher and nobler sense than the poet or his Hindu admirers were privileged to conceive.*

II. Unnatural and arbitrary as the institution of caste has eventually proved, and favorable as it must necessarily be to the exercise of despotism, it has not unfrequently been defended, as singularly adapted to serve the end for which it was formed. It has been said, that this institution was an accommodation to the law of necessity; and that, however repugnant it may be to our feelings, it is calculated not only to teach the Hindu his station in life and the duties peculiar to it, but to repress the fatal effects of inordinate ambition. It has also been alleged, that this division is the most undoubted proof of the early and high civilization of the Hindus, and of their perfection in the art of government. It has been finally asserted, that to this institution may be attributed the astonishing perfection of the inhabitants of India in the arts and sciences.†

Whatever may be the origin assigned for such an institution, and however morally innocent as well as politically useful it might have been at first, yet we know that this singular institution, originating probably in a necessary division of labour among the different orders of society, became soon immutably fixed and riveted by the chains of an inexorable superstition. That its present state can have a tendency to increase national prosperity, is a position which equally contradicts reason and experience.

In order to judge accurately, it is by no means sufficient to isolate and point out a few of its apparent advantages; but it is requisite to take an enlarged view of the system, in its direct and necessary tendencies.

It has been well remarked that "like all other attempts to cramp the human intellect, and forcibly to restrain men within bounds which nature scorns to keep, this system, however specious in theory, has operated like the Chinese national shoe, it has rendered the whole nation cripples."‡

It is an institution more calculated to *divide* than to *unite*. The effect of error is division, that of truth unity. Caste

* Dr. Duff's India, page 650.

† Sic Robertson; Abbé Dubois, and others.

‡ Ward on the Hindus.

destroys the principle of unanimity. It splits the bonds of union, by putting asunder what the Creator has joined together.

From the time when our acquaintance with the history of India begins, its inhabitants, so far from possessing any political importance, have ever groaned under the dominion of a foreign yoke. They have dragged the chains of ignominious servitude for ages, under a people whose numbers have scarcely exceeded a tenth part of their own population. Is it not wonderful, if the institution of caste were really as beneficial as is contended, that the ardour of the military class should be so completely extinguished, and the warriors of India should so long have slumbered in supine indifference? "That an order of men, like the sacerdotal order, to whom is entrusted the care of science as well as religion, should, in modern times, have so far degenerated from their ancient pre-eminence, is another proof of the impolicy of this regulation, plainly demonstrating, that where knowledge is not permitted generally to expand, knowledge is itself diminished. When it is, at first, from interested motives, confined to a few, it is, at length, neglected by all." To this existing evil may be traced the limited knowledge of the arts and sciences. The mind of man cannot soar above the principles it imbibes; and whatever latent capacity the Hindus may have for scientific pursuits, it cannot be developed, while the Bráhmans are permitted to hold their minds in trammels. The Bráhmans monopolize the Shástras as well as the Vedas. How can a nation be expected to rise under circumstances like these? While the Bráhmans arrogate to themselves the exclusive right of reading and expounding the Shástras, they have themselves sunk generally into ignorance and apathy, without abating one iota of their pretensions; and the people, implicitly conceding the claims of this proud and ignorant priesthood, have submitted to be held by them in a state of mental thralldom, worse than Egyptian bondage.

This system not only fixes, but even paralyzes the genius and industry of the country. It severs the sinews of exertion, it impedes and destroys it. India is now what it was 2000 years ago. A Hindu is prohibited from embracing any thing new, however useful, necessary, or profitable it may be. That some of the manufacturers of India may have excelled in the labours of the loom and other arts, is certainly to be imputed to other causes than the institution of a commercial caste. The scrupulous adherence with which they follow the practices of their ancestors, has entirely checked the spirit of invention or discovery. In the religion of the Hindus, every art is declared to be revealed from heaven, and all knowledge, speculative or

practical, is traced to its source in the Vedas—a revealed system of philosophy and a revealed science both preclude all change or improvement.

“Their law has permitted the mixed classes, which have sprung from the intermarriages of the four first, to gain a subsistence by agriculture, commerce, or menial service. The same law has also permitted, with a few limitations, such as cannot procure a subsistence by following the duties of their own class, to pursue those of another. Yet this seemingly wise provision, which might have been used to better purposes, has been converted, by the Hindu priesthood, to their own interested designs, to gratify their avarice; a passion which takes deep root in their minds, and which always preys on minds not stimulated by nobler objects. It has enabled the Bráhmancial order to follow their own inordinate love of wealth, by insinuating themselves into offices of trust and emoluments. It has enabled them to administer to their interest, without derogating from their sacred character, or injuring their reputation in the eyes of their followers. But this provision has proposed no incitement, it has not even given permission to the subordinate castes to aspire to eminence. The sacred order, to which it entrusted ‘the key of knowledge,’ must be preserved unpolluted; into that none of the inferior classes can enter.”*

Caste proscriptions account for the limited knowledge of the arts and sciences. The Hindus have speculated much on the human frame, and written largely on medicine, and seem to understand it better than any other branch of knowledge, probably because the Bráhmans interfere less with it. Their dread of shedding human blood has prevented them from studying the anatomy of the human frame, and from applying this science to the purpose of medicine.

Their total abhorrence of maritime voyages, arising from religious prohibition, has prevented them from enjoying a general intercourse with distant parts of the world, either for purposes of commerce, or for the gratification of useful curiosity; and they have seldom seen the face of a stranger, but to recognize in him an enemy. In short, there is scarcely an art which embellishes life, or a science which strengthens the faculties, which is not, in some manner, brought under the domination of their superstition, and is not either prohibited, or restrained, or controlled, by their religious creed.†

* Carwithen, 230.

† It is well known to have been the chief wish of Alexander, among his other vast projects, to reconcile the dissimilarities between the Western and Eastern nations. After his death, there was found, among his tablets or commentaries, a design to build several new cities, some in Asia, and some

"If in addition to the arguments, which have already been urged, to prove the inseparable connection between mental ignorance and moral degradation, and the powerful influence of religion on the removal of both, any exemplification should be thought necessary, this may be fairly instanced in the superiority of Europe over Asia; a superiority acquired and retained by intellectual strength: and this intellectual pre-eminence arising from the profession of a religion favorable to the progress of knowledge. And if there be any truth in the popular apophthegm, that 'knowledge is power,' its propriety and its justice will here be forcibly asserted."

I cannot better express my conviction on this subject than by quoting the following passages from Carwithen's Bampton Lectures, to which I am already indebted for some of the foregoing remarks, which are as beautiful as they are true.

"The elegant and rational Jortin, with a warmth which the subject justifies, and which, if the professors of Christianity have any cause for glory, or if Christianity were capable of inspiring ostentatious vanity, might be enlarged on with greater force, and emblazoned with greater eloquence—has enumerated many of those advantages, for which the world is indebted to the Christian Religion; and which have, in more senses than one, proved the assertion of its divine Author to be true, 'I am the light of the world.'

"In the same spirit, and with the same success, may we apply his observation to the subject which has now been under contemplation, the superiority of the European to the Asiatic continent.

"We may boldly ask, By whom was the design first formed and attempted, of encountering the fury of distant seas, when navigation was yet in its infancy, with the laudable desire of rescuing the commerce of the Eastern world from the despotic influence of Mahommedanism?—by Christians. By whom was this influence at length subdued? And by whom were the riches of Asia diverted from the Persian Gulph to the shores of the Adriatic and the Mediterranean?—by Christians. In spite of the exaggerated aspersions of prejudice, of ignorance, or of party, on the European character in the East, we may again confidently ask, Where, in the records of history, shall we first behold the factorial establishment of a commercial nation,

in Europe; to people those in Asia with Europeans, and those in Europe with Asiatics: that by intermarriages, and by the constant interchange of the common offices of social life, the inhabitants of these two great continents might be gradually moulded into a similarity of sentiment, and become attached to each other by mutual affection.

erecting an absolute empire over a population of more than sixty millions ; while the best security of that establishment is founded on the opinion, which the inhabitants entertain, of the superior wisdom and integrity of foreign settlers?—among a nation of Christians. From whom did the humane and liberal idea originate, that the natives should be governed by those laws which they have so long revered as divine, and which alone they are qualified to appreciate, while at the same time, the stern code of Manu should be softened by that spirit, which dictated the institutions of Alfred?—from Christians. Where shall we first see the singular spectacle of the refined Asiatics willingly flying for protection to the arms of strangers ; seeking redress for injuries in their courts of justice ; following them to the field of battle, with a confidence in their invincible strength ; tacitly owning the benefits of their administration ; and proving that, if the Aristotelian maxim be true, that ‘the Asiatics are born to be slaves,’ yet subjugation itself may become a blessing, when absolute power is exercised by freemen?—in a colonial establishment formed by Christians. Finally, where shall we see a European nation, differing indeed as to the means, but agreeing as to the end, endeavoring with parental care to meliorate the condition of a vast empire, which the inscrutable destinies of Providence have committed to its protection, not indeed by sudden innovation and wild theories of reform, but by that cautious and gradual propagation of truth, which is requisite to ensure its ultimate and complete success?—in a colonial establishment, formed by Christians.

“Let us indulge a pious gratitude for the enjoyment of the blessings of religious truth : for these are the triumphs of Christianity ; let us feel a pious exultation as Britons : for these triumphs are ours.”

Caste has not only a powerful influence in contracting the intellectual faculties, but also operates in contracting the social affections. It is emphatically unsocial. It has been known to impede the flowing forth of sympathy, to destroy kindliness of heart, and love for country—where Egotism reigns, Benevolence must languish. It resists the progress of *truth*,—it perpetuates ignorance,—on it mainly depends the practice of early marriages, and mournful widowhood.

India wants a work similar to the *Reformation*, which emancipated Europe from the priestcraft of Rome, to break the Bráhmancial spell which holds down its deluded inhabitants. This Reformation, if it should ever come about, must be based upon the regenerating power of Christianity.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INSTITUTION OF CASTE INCOMPATIBLE WITH DIVINE REVELATION—CREATION OF MAN—THE PROPLING OF THE WORLD—THE GOLDEN RULE OF LIFE BETWEEN MAN AND MAN ESTABLISHED BY CHRISTIANITY.

THE question whether all the races of men scattered over the surface of the earth, distinguished as they are from each other in structure of body, in features and in colour, and differing in languages and manners, are the offspring of a single stock, or have descended respectively from several original families, cannot easily be answered without reference to the sacred Scriptures, in which alone we find the proper solution for this difficult problem.

The whole constitution of revealed religion stands upon the declaration made against the Bráhmancial theory of creation,—a declaration based on eternal truth and involving the highest welfare of man. The declaration is, “God, who made the world and all things that are in it,—the Lord of heaven and earth,—who giveth to all life and breath and all things, *hath made of one blood every nation of men to dwell upon the whole face of the earth.*”*

Man, who has been presented as “the glory, jest, and riddle of the world,” is thus represented in the sacred records as being the handy-work of the Almighty Creator; and mankind as proceeding from *one original pair*. From one pair all the varieties of mankind have descended,—forming not many, but one species. The creation of man is thus related in the sacred oracles: “God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him: male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply; and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.” Gen. i. 26-28. “And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life: and man became a living soul. And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an helpmeet for him. And the Lord God caused a deep

* Acts xvii. 24-26.

sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof; and the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh." Gen. ii. 7. 18. 21—24. "And Adam called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother of all living."* Gen. iii. 20.

The history of man's creation is here given with great simplicity. No explanations are offered, though our curiosity is often ready to ask them; facts of the most interesting character and deepest import are stated without the slightest colouring. In this account several things appear worthy of notice. Man, for whom all other things were made, was himself made last of all. The inanimate elements are first produced, then vegetables, next animal life, and then man, the master-piece of the creation, endowed with reason and intellect, and therefore an accountable being, the subject of a moral administration. He was made in the *image* of God. His nature has two essential constituent parts: the *body* formed out of pre-existent matter, the earth; and a *living soul*, the inspiration of the Almighty. 'God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity.' (Wisdom ii. 23). This divine image is to be found in the *mind*, i. e. in the understanding, the will, and the affections. With regard to the physical part of his nature, it is an organization of wonder and beauty; and with regard to the intellectual and spiritual part, it consisted in wisdom, holiness and happiness,

* אָדָם *Adam*, אִשָּׁה *ish*, גִּבּוֹר *geber*, אֱנוֹשׁ *enosh*—These various words, all somewhat significant, are applied to denote man, the head and lord of the animal creation. *Adam* signifies *red earth* or clay, from the belief that man was originally formed of that substance. *Enosh* is derived from *Anash*, which signifies to be malignant, ill, incurable. *Geber* signifies to be strong, mighty, to conquer, prevail. We have a common and a proper name for the first mother. She shall be called woman. Woman, *isha*, אִשָּׁה is the feminine of *ish*, אִישׁ man, and signifies "man-ess." The English word *woman* is derived from the anglo-saxon *womb-man*, i. e. female man. It is significant both of *nature* as well as *title*. Adam called her so as his wife. But as the mother of all she is called Eve, חַוְוָה *Havah*, i. e. *Life*, indicating his faith in the promise of a future seed, because she was the mother of all living. Sir William Jones thinks that *Adam* may be derived from *Adim*, which in Sanscrit means the *first*, and is a name of the first Manu. By his wife Satarupa he had two sons and three daughters. See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, page 51, Preface.

“sufficient to have stood, but free to fall.” And though now, by *sin*, this divine image is effaced from the soul, and the body is subject to pain and death; yet we know that ample provision is made in the revelation of the divine will, which brought life and immortality to light, for the recovery and restoration of man to more than all his lost privileges and blessings.

Whatever some learned men may suppose to the contrary, the fact that all mankind have been derived from one original pair, is not only settled by the authority of Scripture; but the conclusions of reason and science concur with it. This fact, which lies at the foundation of revealed religion, is confirmed by an accumulation of proof from anatomical structure, from the theory of language, from history, and from the philosophy of intellectual and moral qualities. The sources of knowledge, then, which lead to the solution of this enquiry are:—

1. *The Physiological*, including all that relates to the physical conformation of man. He is, *first*, to be considered as a part of the animal creation at large, and under the many points of close and unalterable likeness to other forms of animal life, in all that relates to his procreation, nutriment, growth, decay, and death, as well as in regard to the modifications of which the species is susceptible, and to the diversities it actually exhibits. But beyond and above this comes in the peculiar condition of man as an *intellectual* being, richly provided by his Maker with those endowments which, in their highest elevation from nature or culture, have bequeathed to the admiration of all ages names made immortal by their genius and attainments. And, moreover, man is yet further gifted with that moral sense, those faculties and sensibilities of feeling and passion, to which, duly guarded and governed, we owe our understanding of virtue and conscience, and of all that is beautiful and sublime in the world around, forming what Milton has well called “a piece of divinity within us, something that was before the elements, and owing no homage to the sun.”

2. The second source of knowledge, which leads to the solution of this enquiry, is the *Philological*, which includes all that relates to human languages, their connexions, diversities, the theory of the changes they undergo, and the history of such actual changes, as far as we can follow it. The gift of speech is confined to man alone by the design of the Creator, and the consideration of this higher attribute of man, and the organs adapted to it, are subjects of the most interesting enquiry. Human language has become a main index to the history of mankind. Languages, though numerous, are reducible to certain common roots; and though diversified in structure and

idiom, indicate a peculiar connection, arising from one common origin.*

3. The third source of knowledge, which bears on our enquiry, is the *Historical*; taking the term in its largest sense, including all written history, inscriptions, traditions, mythology, and even the more common usages, which designate and distinguish the different communities of mankind. It might seem, on a superficial view, that this would be the most copious source of knowledge as to the physical history of man and his original dispersion over the earth. Profane history, however, as we have it in our hands, is rarely capable of conducting us to the heights of this great argument, seen dimly through the mists of time, and often rather obscured than enlightened by human tradition. In the sacred history of the Old Testament we have, as already cited, not only a distinct statement of the creation of man, but also a line of successive generations down to the period of the great Deluge; from which we are led to date a second growth and dispersion of mankind, proceeding from Noah, and his sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth.†

Passing from the Scriptures to profane history, whether embodied in writings, or traditions, or mythology, we lose the distinct affirmation of the unity of mankind. The notices indeed multiply as to the growth and spread of particular tribes; but even if possessing much more authority than belongs to them, they would go a short way towards satisfying our desire for information regarding that mysterious period, which intervenes between the creation of man and the formation of nations and empires. We lose ourselves in utter darkness, when we seek to go beyond certain epochs, remarkable in the ancient world as the periods of great improvements and migrations among the nations best known to us.

India offers a striking example of this imperfection of history, as bearing on the creation, early condition and diffusion of the human race. All is lost in the depths of time, or in the still darker depths of mythology.

Naturalists have much disputed, whether mankind is to be considered as forming one *genus* with several subordinate *species*, or one species with several varieties. The theory of a plurality of species, so gratifying to man's vanity, and so adapted to support a false religious system, has found supporters even amongst the learned of Europe. That differences in the human race are only *varieties* effected by circumstances, and not *species*, which would imply separate primary ancestors, is

* See Dr. J. Pye Smith's Lectures on Geology, Supplementary note [E].

† Might not the Hindu notion of the origin of the four castes from the different parts of Brahma's body, be a mystified tradition of this fact?

borne out by Scripture and facts. But the question being an important one, let us further enquire whether proper zoological deductions will coincide or not with the Mosaic narrative.

Is the human being then a single species of what naturalists call the *Genus Homo*? Can the perfect Negro and the perfect European, seeing the strong contrasts and diversities they exhibit, be rightly deemed to be descended from the same stock? If man be not a single species, how many species of the human being must we count on the earth? Are the fair Caucasian, the black Negro, the giant Patagonian, the dwarf Laplander, the long-haired Greek, the woolly-headed Hottentot, the oval-faced European, and the broad and flat faced Mongolian, different species of the human race? If we admit this, how and where are we to stop in these admissions? Diversities exist every where around us. "Multiplicity in this case becomes itself an argument for unity. No lines of demarcation are found sufficiently strong to render the plurality of species natural or probable. Every such line is transversed by others, which, while effacing its distinctness, do all point to a certain common origin, expressing in this what we believe to be the unity of the species over the earth."

The best criterion, however, is to determine the identity or diversity of species, both in the *animal* and *vegetable* life. Limiting our present view to the former, and to the part of the scale more approximate to man, we may name the following conditions as those which must mainly determine the result in each particular case;—the anatomical structure in all its parts; the average duration of life; the relation of the sexes and laws of propagation, including the period of utero-gestation and number of progeny; the production, or otherwise, of hybrid progeny by mixed breeding; the liability to the same diseases; and the possession of the same instincts, faculties, and habits of action and feeling. It will be readily admitted that wherever individuals or groups of beings concur as to these general conditions, there the proof of identity of species is complete. Each condition includes a liability to variations.*

From these criteria an affirmative answer is derived, as to

* "By species, then, we mean all those individuals descended from a common origin; and if there be a doubt as to whether an individual does or does not belong to a species, we compare it with the individuals known to be of that species, and ascertain whether it is marked by any more decided particularity than those by which they are distinguished the one from the other. If it be, we conclude it of a different species, and assign it a different origin; if not, we look upon it as a *variety* of that species, assign it the same origin, and term its particular characters *accidental*.—Lord's *Popular Philosophy*, page 395.

the proper unity of man. In truth, each point has been directly or silently conceded, except those which regard *configuration*, *colour*, and certain other bodily peculiarities on the one hand, and on the other the equality of the mental endowments and capacities. The species are generally reduced to three races, the Negro, the Mongolian, and the Caucasian; and among these the diversities of *colour* are as prominent as those of *figure*. The extreme contrasts in this case are the Negro and the Albino. The latter is clearly an accidental variety; but as such becomes, from its marked character, a valuable exponent of all other varieties of colour. That part of the structure of the skin, which is the pigment cell, is evidently capable of undergoing great changes in its secretions, from climate, manner of life, and those more mysterious causes, connected with generation and the hereditary transmission of bodily features and peculiarities, the mighty influence of which we everywhere see, but which our ignorance makes it difficult yet to subject to particular laws. Time is manifestly an element of the greatest importance here. "Nature produces frequent varieties in all races, as striking as are the extreme diversities amongst them. A striking example is, a Negro having an Albino offspring without pigment cells,—a fact that includes at once all those minor varieties of colour which are so familiar to us in the same community and even in the same family."

There are analogies to this in the inferior species of animal life, the horse, dog, cow, sheep, fowl, &c. In them we know, and regard without surprise, those vast diversities of size, figure, colour, habits of life, and even instincts of action.

The faculties of laughter and tears, as well as other expressions of feeling, common to all, mark identity.

The mental faculties of the Negro are not inferior to the European, when cultivated.*

"Among all other topics of argument are the melancholy demonstrations that moral depravity has acquired the dominion over all the nations and families of mankind,—that there is a mournful consciousness of this, lying deep in every human breast—that we all need a redemption from guilt and misery; and that all the varieties of our race, down to the Esquimaux and Hottentots, are capable of receiving that holy happiness, and all its elevation of character, which spring from restoration to God through our Lord Jesus Christ."†

We have endeavoured, then, to prove from physical, philolo-

* I am indebted for the greater part of the above remarks to the Quarterly Review, for December, 1849; Article, "Natural History of Man."

† J. Pye Smith's Geology, p. 396.

gical, and historical proofs, the *unity* of the human race, by derivation from one ancestry.

“One touch of nature makes the whole world kin.”

“We contemplate, among all the diversified tribes who are endowed with reason and speech, the same internal feelings, appetencies, aversions; the same inward convictions, the same sentiments of subjection to invisible powers; and, more or less fully developed, of accountableness or responsibility to unseen avengers of wrong and agents of retributive justice, from whose tribunal men cannot even by death escape. We find everywhere the same susceptibility, though not always in the same degree of forwardness or ripeness of improvement, of admitting the cultivation of these universal endowments, of opening the eyes of the mind to the more clear and luminous views which *Christianity* unfolds, of becoming moulded to the institutions of religion and of civilized life. In a word, *the same inward and mental nature* is to be recognized in all the races of men. When we compare this fact with the observations which have been heretofore fully established, as to the *specific* instincts and *separate* psychical endowments of all the distinct tribes of sentient beings in the universe, we are entitled to draw confidently the conclusion that *all human races are of one species and one family.*”*

If then the Almighty Creator “hath made of one blood every nation of men to dwell upon the whole face of the earth,” it follows, that no one nation, and no individual, can claim any pre-eminence over others in virtue of birth or blood. All are in this respect equal; and all the members of the human family, however they may differ in complexion, customs, and laws, are to be regarded and treated as brethren. It follows also, that no one part of the race has a right to enslave or oppress any other part, on account of difference of complexion, or any other inequality.

II. We think it necessary that we should here introduce a short account of the origin of the principal nations of the earth.

The doctrine of the creation would not be easily believed, if Moses had not given an account of the succession of mankind.

The fulfilment of Noah’s prophecy, uttered 3000 years ago, gives the only correct view of the pedigree of nations. This remarkable prophecy runs thus:—Genesis ix. 25—27. “Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan

* Dr. Prichard’s Natural History of man, &c. quoted by Dr. Pye Smith, p. 401.

shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant."

From this passage of holy writ, and according to the concurrent testimonies of historical records, we find that Noah, or *Satyavrata*, and his sons settled north of India, in Persia.

Ham's descendants went to Africa, Canaan, and probably also to India.* They flourished in the early ages of the world. Their's was the first empire. Nimrod founded Babylon, and Mizraim established the kingdom of Egypt; two of the greatest empires of the world. They were both brought under subjection, first by the Persians who descended from Shem, and afterwards by the Greeks and Romans, the children of Japheth;—and latterly by the Saracens and Turks. They have been made the *slaves* of other nations on account of their wickedness. Though these things are far from excusing the conduct of their oppressors, yet they establish the fact and prove the fulfilment of prophecy. The posterity of Canaan was cursed; God foreseeing their wickedness, which began in their father Ham. The curse did not affect individuals, or even nations, so long as they continued righteous; for Melchizedek and Abimelech appear to have been both Canaanites; so that this curse is no just objection against the dealings of Providence.

Shem's descendants settled in Asia, of whom Abraham was born, whose descendants worshipped the true God, and of whom was born the Saviour of the world. Besides the Jewish nation, the Persians and Assyrians, two great Asiatic nations, were derived from Shem.

Japheth's descendants settled in the northern parts of Asia. They had all the isles of the sea westward, and those countries near to them, viz. Spain, Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, &c.; besides which, Media, part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania and Scythia (Tartary) were their portions; from which last place the people of the new world seem to be derived, the Scythians going thither by Behring's straits.

Japheth is the progenitor of more than half the human race. His descendants, formerly straitened, have in the latter ages extended their conquests, and the civilized world has been for

* On this subject the opinions of learned men differ. It is probable that the aborigines of India—now constituting the Gonds, Khonds, Santals, and other mountain tribes—are descended from Ham; but judging from the character of the Sanscrit language, with its derivatives and cognate tongues, as well as from the contour of physiognomy and the traditions regarding Kashmir, &c., there can be little doubt that the Brâhmins and most of the Hindus belong to the posterity of Japheth. In most of the provinces of India the rural population is probably a mixture of both.—
Editor.

2000 years in their hands. They have entered into the tents of Shem. At this moment Europe and America are in their possession ; while the extent of the British dominions alone, over parts of Asia, includes nearly one hundred millions of people. Their dwelling in the *tents* of Shem implies a friendly, and not a hostile feeling ; and is prophetic of the accession of the Gentiles into the Church of God ;—to which privilege and blessing the descendants of Ham also are to be admitted. The promise is, “Princes shall come out of Egypt ; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.”* “I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me : behold Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia ; this man was born there.”† But it is a fact based also on the never failing promises of God, that the descendants of Japheth will not only know and honour the God of Shem, and possess and prize the *lively oracles* of the living and true God ; but that to them pertains the great privilege and high honour of bringing the whole family of man, by the knowledge of the truth, into the Christian Church. The Messiah speaks : “Listen, O isles, unto me, and hearken, ye people, from afar ; the Lord hath called me from the womb, and hath said unto me, It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob—I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou shouldst be my salvation to the end of the earth.”‡

Let us take heed, then, to this sure word of prophecy, which forms a sketch, as it were, of the history of the world, especially connected with the progress of true religion and of the Christian Church. It accumulates its evidence as time advances, affording to every reflecting mind a standing miracle, a light like the sun, which “shines more and more unto the perfect day.”

But it is necessary to make one remark before dismissing this subject, and that is, though most of the early nations began to worship their ancestors, Shem, Ham and Japheth ; and all were equally proud of their origin and race ; and might have remained separate wherever they settled, whether as conquerors or as conquered, just as the Hindus have remained separate to this day ; yet they saw no reason why they should not help each other, or eat with each other, or intermarry, according to their convenience and pleasure. It cannot be proved that any of them observed the distinctions of *caste*, in the letter and spirit of it, as observed by the Hindus. We read in history that Phœnicians and Egyptians went to Greece, and the original inhabitants received them, and intermarried with them. Pho-

* Psa. lxxviii. 31.

† Psa. lxxxvii. 4.

‡ Isa. xlix. 1. 6.

cians went to the south of Gaul, where the king's daughter chose one of them for her husband. Alexander wished to unite the Greek nation with the Persian by intermarriages, and many nobles and soldiers married Persian women. Romans mingled with the Spaniards, Gauls, and Britons. And the Arabians received into their nation any one who would embrace Mahomedanism. Is it not, then, a strange anomaly, that people of the same country, colour, and religion, and professing to be the sons of one father,—Brahmá, consider themselves as antipodes of one another ?

“ O execrable son ! so to aspire
Above his brethren ; to himself assuming
Authority usurped, from God not giv'n.
He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl
Dominion absolute ; that right we hold
By his donation : but man over men
He made not Lord : such title to himself
Reserving, human left from human free.”

Milton.

III. If then the world has been peopled from one original stock, and all mankind are the children of one common parent, we are under obligation to love our fellow-men, not only because they are our fellow-creatures, but because we are commanded to do so by our heavenly Father. Every child is obliged to love its parent, and every child is also bound to love its brother, both because he is its brother, and also because this love is a duty, enforced by the relation in which they both stand to their common parent.

The relation in which men stand to each other, is essentially the relation of *equality* ; not equality of *condition*, but equality of *right*.

God has given to one man wealth, to another health, to another strength, and to another intellect, so that the human race presents a scene of the greatest possible diversity ; and yet God has given to every man the means of happiness, and has constituted him an accountable and responsible agent.

Since all men are placed under circumstances of equality, though their conditions are very various, it follows that every man has a right to use the advantages with which his Creator has endowed him. No inequality of condition can create inequality of right. One man may be endowed with better eyesight than his neighbour ; but this does not give him a right to put out the eyes of the other. One may have greater physical strength than his neighbour ; but this gives him no right to break his arms, and interfere with his right to use them as he pleases, for his own benefit and happiness.

Since it is the design of the Creator to promote the common happiness of all his creatures, every individual is under obligation to pursue his own happiness in such a manner *only* as will leave his neighbour in the undisturbed exercise of that common right, which the Creator has equally conferred upon both. The teaching of the Holy Scripture on this subject is clear and express. "*Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*" Two questions are here to be considered. The first is, To whom does this command apply? or in other words, Who is my neighbour? And the second is, What is implied in this precept? The first of these questions is answered by the Saviour himself, in the parable of the good Samaritan. (Luke x. 25—37.) He there teaches us that every man is our *neighbour*, whether friend, relative, or countryman, or stranger, and that we are under obligation to love every man as ourselves. The second question, What is implied in this precept? or, What is the import of the command to love our neighbour as ourselves? is now to be considered. It has been already stated that God has conferred on every man the means of happiness, and has given a right to every man to use those means for the promotion of his own happiness. This principle is implanted in every one; and he therefore cannot be happy, unless this principle be an operative one. No man can be happy, unless he can gratify his lawful desires; and he is painfully conscious of injury, if this right be interfered with. In the exercise of this principle man loves himself. Now, in the same manner he is commanded to love his neighbour. That is, he is, by this precept, obliged to have the same desire that his neighbour should enjoy, unmolested, the control over whatever God has bestowed upon him, as he has to enjoy, unmolested, the same control himself; and to feel the same consciousness of injury, when another man's rights are invaded, as when his own rights are invaded. With these sentiments he would be just as unwilling to violate the rights of another, as he would be to suffer a violation of his own.

The same precept is expressed in another form by the Saviour. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them; for this is the law and the prophets." This *golden rule* inculcates, as in the former case, a principle of *universal obligation*. It teaches us to estimate the rights of others by the consciousness of individual rights in our own bosoms. All that we desire or expect of others in similar circumstances, we are commanded to do to them. It teaches the practice of self-denial, and recognizes a *conscience*, or the power of moral obligation, so essential to the welfare of individuals and societies. This rule has been well compared to the balance wheel of a machinery, and would, if universally

obeyed, prevent all irregularity of movement in the moral world, and by promoting virtue, banish all injury and violence and wrong from the earth.

This law of universal reciprocity applies with the same force to communities as to individuals. Whenever societies of men treat with each other; whether powerful with weak, or polite with rude, civilized with savage, or intelligent with ignorant; *all* are bound by this law, to love each other as themselves, and do unto others, *in all things, whatsoever they would desire others to do unto them.**

“God, working ever on a social plan,
By various ties attaches man to man;
He made at first, though free and unconfin’d,
One man the common father of the kind,
That every tribe, though placed as he sees best,
Where seas or deserts part them from the rest,
Differing in language, manners, or in face,
Might feel themselves allied to all the race.”

Cowper.

CHAPTER V.

ARGUMENTS URGED IN FAVOR OF CASTE, FROM THE SACRED SCRIPTURES, REFUTED:—CONFUSION OF TONGUES—ISRAELITES SEPARATED FROM OTHER NATIONS—DISTINCTION BETWEEN CLEAN AND UNCLEAN ANIMALS.

I. The confusion of tongues at Babel, and the dispersion of the people, have been triumphantly brought forward as an irresistible argument in favor of the divine institution of caste; because, it is alleged, when “*the whole earth was of one language and of one speech*, the Lord came down to see the city and tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, *Behold the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. 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, and they left off to build the city.*”†

Very little consideration will enable us to perceive that this passage is more *against* than *for* the caste theory it is meant to establish.

* See Wayland’s Moral Science.

† Gen. xi. 1—8.

The building of Babel was a terrible instance of the perverseness of man. It was an attempt to defeat God's purposes ; it was a plot laid to falsify the prophecy of Noah ; " it was a notable exhibition of caste ; " * and therefore was not and could not be permitted. " There is no wisdom nor understanding nor counsel against the Lord. " † To build up an argument in favour of caste, on that which was evidently a *punishment* rather than a *blessing*, is certainly a confusion of ideas,—as strange and perverse as the building of Babel itself.

" He builds too low that builds beneath the skies. "

It is generally agreed that *the children of men*, in Scripture, are opposed to *the children of God* ; as bad men and infidels are to the good and the faithful. According to this interpretation we may infer that neither Noah, nor Shem, nor Arphaxad, nor Salah, nor Heber were engaged in this work ; but some of the worst amongst the people, who degenerated from the piety of their ancestors. It is probable that some of the race of Ham were the principal persons in this work. It is likely that Ham carried much of the spirit of Cain into the ark : otherwise he could not have behaved himself so vilely towards his father, after they came out of it. ‡

" The only object, " says Fuller in his exposition, " which appears to accord with the whole account taken together, is that of a *universal monarchy*, by which all the families of the earth, in all future ages, might be held in subjection. A very little reflection will convince us, that such a scheme must of necessity be founded in *ambition* ; that it required *union*, and of course a *city*, to carry it into execution ; that a *tower*, or *citadel*, was also necessary to-repel those who might be disposed to dispute their claims ; and that if these measures were once carried into effect, there was nothing in the nature of things to *prevent the accomplishment of their design*. " " The dividing of languages was therefore, in effect, the dividing of nations ; and so a bar to the whole world being ruled by one government. Thus a perpetual miracle was wrought, to be an antidote to a perpetual disease. "

The corruption of languages was one of the most decided effects of sin, of pride and ambition, and the source of great embarrassments and difficulties. By it idolatry was spread through the world, and the knowledge of God and true religion was almost lost. But on the day of Pentecost " when all the disciples were with one accord in one place, " § they received the *gift of tongues*, to repair the knowledge of God throughout

* Taylor, 360. † Prov. xxi, 30. ‡ Bishop Patrick's Comments. § Acts ii.

all the nations of the earth. As at first mankind were separated by diversity of speech, so now is given in some sort a community of tongues, that the whole world might be brought to oneness of faith. No miracle would be more striking than the power of conveying our sentiments at once into all the languages of the earth. It was a miracle effected by the Almighty Being who made the tongue of man, and who was the original author of it; and this miracle was necessary to qualify the apostles to execute their commission to preach the gospel to every creature. For, since the gift of tongues has been the means to many nations of their having one hope, one faith, one baptism, mankind are far nearer to being one people, than if they had all one language, but different religions. That such would be the case in the gospel dispensation, was predicted in the Old Testament;* according to which, at the *foundation* of the Christian Church, “built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord,”†—at the foundation of this glorious temple, which is to pierce the skies and to connect heaven with earth—the gift of languages was restored, to *gather* together all the *scattered* into one fold, and unite them all under the one great Shepherd and Bishop of souls.

II. Another objection is, that God himself has forbidden the Jews to have intercourse with other nations, either in the way of eating or intermarrying.

It must be recollected that the object of such prohibitions was to make a separation of the good from the bad, of the worshippers of God from idolaters. As “evil communications corrupt good manners,” minute directions were given to the Israelites as to their food, clothing, intermarriages, &c., which operated as a constant check on idolatry, by restraining their intercourse with their idolatrous neighbours. * It is well known that intimate friendships are in most cases formed at social meals. There is seldom any great familiarity, where the parties neither eat nor drink together. The ancient Hebrews did not, therefore, eat indifferently with persons of other nations and religions, which they considered pollution. Daniel the prophet refused to partake of a portion of the Babylonian monarch’s meat and drink, lest he should defile himself;† and in our Saviour’s time the Jews had no dealings (social intercourse) with the Samaritans. The reason was that these idolatrous nations either ate of what to the Jews was forbidden

* Isa. xxviii. 11.

† Eph. ii. 2, 21.

‡ Daniel i. 8.

food, or food offered to their idols, which were abominations to the Jews. But the Jews, consisting of twelve tribes, had no distinctions of caste amongst themselves, nor did they consider it defiling to eat with every circumcised brother. But there were some of the supercilious, who considered themselves more righteous than others, and who would say to another, "Stand by thyself, come not near to me; for I am holier than thou;"* and who were scandalized at the Saviour's eating with publicans and sinners. But these were not Israelites indeed, in whom there was no guile. They would "strain out a gnat and swallow a camel." They were hypocrites, "who made clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they were full of extortion and excess. They were whited sepulchres, full of all uncleanness within."†

Since *marriage* is acknowledged to be an institution of God, and therefore a solemn religious act, as well as a branch of public morality, and a source of civil peace and national happiness; it is necessary that there should be certain wholesome restrictions regarding it. There is, doubtless, a great evil in intermarriages between people of different religious professions, feelings and customs. "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he which believeth with an infidel?"‡ is an apostolic injunction, applicable to unlawful intimacy of any kind, and among the rest to unequal marriages.

The descendants of pious Seth married the daughters of the wicked Cainites, and their progeny was the cause of much wickedness and misery. Lest Abraham should be infected by the idolatry prevalent in his own family, he was ordered to leave home, but his son and grandson married into their own tribes, because they were better than other idolaters.

The case of Esau's marrying those who were under the curse of God, and of Solomon, whom "outlandish women caused to sin," are instances of the evil effects of such unequal connections. But notwithstanding the restrictions laid upon the Jews, we find that they did contract marriages with other nations. Joseph married the daughter of an Egyptian Priest; but it is probable that at that time the Egyptians had not yet entirely lost the knowledge of the true God, and that she was not led into the abominations of idolatry. Moses married a woman of the Midianites.

* Isa. lxxv, 5.

† Matt. xxiii.

‡ 2 Cor. vi. 14.

There are two remarkable instances of women, of a religion and nation foreign to the Jews, being received into the Jewish Church and nation. Rahab, a heathen woman, and her family, were received, because they left their idolatry and wicked practices, and became true believers. Boaz married a woman of another nation ; but because she was pious, Christ, the Saviour of the world, was born in her family, and thereby evidently manifested to the world that he condemned caste, in the Hindu acceptance of it.

We have already alluded to the fact that in Manu's institutes, intermarriages are allowed between the different castes ; though now, the breach having become wider, and the prejudices and enmity stronger, between man and man, such marriages are attended with the most fatal consequences amongst the idolatrous Hindus.

In connection with this subject, another objection may be briefly noticed, which is, that as the family of Shem were chosen to be the people of God ;—of whom a tribe was set apart for the priestly office ; so the Bráhmans, who are also supposed to be the descendants of Shem, are said to have been chosen as the first of castes, and set apart for the priesthood.

We have already expatiated on the fact that Japheth shall dwell in the tents of Shem. As the exclusion of a whole class from the rights of citizenship and the offices of religion would be incompatible with the principles of Christian love, so an hereditary transmission of the priestly office would be inconsistent with the Christian doctrine, which declares that the sacerdotal office belongs to Christ alone.

The very people who were the chiefest of the race of Shem, to whom the oracles of God were committed, are now rejected from the priesthood, and scattered among the nations. This is a proof that even priestly tribes may cease to be so, and it is also another proof of the incompatibility which exists between the system of castes and the Christian Religion.

III. Another more serious objection, directly bearing on the question of caste in connection with ceremonial purity and impurity, is the distinction made by Jehovah himself with respect to clean and unclean animals, and the restrictions laid upon the Jews with regard to the use and rejection of these animals, as food.*

Let us look at the *object* for which this law was given. In Leviticus xx. 22—26, we have it expressly laid down, "Ye shall therefore keep all my statutes and all my judgments, and

* Lev. xi.

do them ; that the land, whither I bring you to dwell therein, spue you not out. And ye shall not walk in the manners of the nations, which I cast out before you : for they committed all these things, and therefore I abhorred them. Ye shall therefore put difference between clean beasts and unclean. And ye shall be *holy unto me* ; for I the Lord am holy, and have severed you from other people, that ye should be mine." From this passage we find that this law conveys a *moral signification*, which is, that the animals foreshadowed clean and unclean men, and that the unclean were heathens and idolaters, with whom those that are *clean*, professors of the true religion, should have no intimacy or communion.

In itself nothing is unclean, for God made all things *very good*. St. Paul says, "Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving : for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer."* And again, "I know and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself."† Some animals, however, are not *naturally* but *typically* unclean, which may be proved by the vision of St. Peter, which will serve as a key to open the whole subject. At Cæsarea, "Peter went up upon the housetop to pray, about the sixth hour. And he became very hungry and would have eaten : but while they made ready, he fell into a trance, and saw heaven opened, and a great vessel descending unto him, as it had been a great sheet knit at the four corners, and let down to the earth : wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air. And there came a voice to him, Rise, Peter ; kill and eat. But Peter said, Not so, Lord ; for I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean. And the voice spake unto him again the second time, *What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common.*" This was done thrice : and the vessel was received up again into heaven."

After that Peter went to the house of Cornelius, a Roman, whom God had chosen for a member of the Christian Church, —of which society the sheet was a figure, comprehending people of all nations, gathered from the four quarters of the earth. When he entered the house of Cornelius, he observed to the people who were present, "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or come unto one of another nation ; but *God hath showed me, that I should not call any man common or unclean.*" And then he declared : "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons ;

* 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5.

† Rom. xiv. 14.

but in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.”*

The Jew and Gentile were henceforth to be one. The heathen were to be received into the Christian Church, and by the principle of a living faith and the laver of regeneration, be purified. “For Christ is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile; having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; for to make in himself of twain one new man, so making peace; and that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby.† And henceforward “there is neither Jew, nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye all are one in Christ Jesus.”‡

There are two kinds of laws; *positive*, which are mutable at the will of the authority of him who institutes; and *moral*, which are immutable. That which might have been at one period divinely sanctioned, might be in another period divinely abrogated. The law which relates to the distinction of clean and unclean animals was such a positive law, which, after a time, God intended to remove, and to show that it was not binding on them to whom he committed the new and final dispensation. As pollution is not inherent in matter, the idea of uncleanness attached to it should not be binding upon Christians.

The nature of true defilement has been explained by the Saviour, in a sense exactly contrary to the notions entertained by the Jews and the Hindus. “Do not ye understand, that whatsoever entereth in at the mouth, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught? But those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart; and they defile the man. For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witnesses, blasphemies: these are the things which defile a man.”§ From which it appears that there is nothing unclean with God but sin, nothing pure but obedience and holiness. “The kingdom of heaven is not meat and drink; but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.”||

* Acts x. 34, 35. See Gen. ix. 3, where all animals are allowed, and only blood prohibited, (Acts xv. 29) which exception long continued in force under the Christian system.

† Eph. ii. 13—16.

‡ Gal. iii. 28.

§ Matt. xv. 17—20.

|| Rom. xiv. 17. This passage, however, is brought forward by the advocates of caste as favouring their views; little knowing that it is *against* them. The apostle argues that we should not judge another on account of eating and drinking. In verse 3, of the same chapter, the Apostle says, “Let not him that eateth (both flesh and vegetables) despise him that eateth

Christianity, therefore, abrogates all distinctions not founded upon inward and invisible gifts, and maintained by sanctity. "As the moon doth not withhold her light from the dwellings of the Chandála, so the Christian Church does not withhold her blessings from any of the nations that flow in unto her, but sets aside all distinction of Mlechchha, Sudra, bond or free, and bestows even the greatest honours upon men of meanest birth, provided they are regenerate with the true regeneration, and lead a holy life."*

The difference between believers and infidels is not a difference of *nature*, but of *grace* and *principle*. Though they are all of one blood, yet a different course of conduct will make them differ from one another, as the sheep differs from the wolf, or the dove from the vulture.

Isaiah, foretelling that the Gentiles shall be brought into the Christian Church, says: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them, &c. &c., for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."† This scene had been once literally verified, when the various kinds of animals were taken into the ark of Noah. This was typical of the Christian Church, in which all empty distinctions are abolished. The great commission to the Apostles requires this: for he said, "Go ye into all the *world*, and preach the gospel to *every* creature." And accordingly, "the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind."‡ And every creature in heaven and earth is to join in the triumphant song, and ascribe "all honour and glory unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever." Nothing short of such universal benevolence will besit a religion whose object is "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men."§

We consider it our imperative duty, however, to admit one distinction in the Christian Church, which will never be obliterated. For though Jews and Gentiles are incorporated together, the immutable distinction between good and evil shall at length prevail; an eternal separation shall take place; and they only who possess a purifying faith, shall have their final portion in the kingdom of heaven.

not flesh (but only vegetables;) and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth; for God hath received both." Neither the Sudra nor the Pariah is to judge one another in this matter, being at liberty to do as he pleases.

* Morris' Prize Essay, 186.

† Matt. xiii. 47.

‡ Isa. xi. 6—9.

§ Luke ii. 14.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TOLERATION OF CASTE DISTINCTIONS IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH—(I.) BY THE ROMANISTS, AND (II.) BY THE EARLIEST PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES.

We must in justice admit that the first Missionaries of the Papal Church, who laboured to convert the Hindus, were actuated by pure intentions, and prosecuted them by unexceptionable means. The earliest baptisms are said to have been administered by Cabi Lonez, the confessor of Vasco De Gama. Francis Xavier, who came out to India in 1542, was a man of rare self-denial, devotedness, and simplicity; and his efforts were crowned with success. He belonged, however, to the Jesuits at their first organization. For several years the mission field was occupied by Franciscans and Capuchins. But soon after, a reinforcement of Jesuits came out, and pursued a different method to their predecessors. The desire of secular power was the motive which influenced all their attempts; and to this the precepts of their religion were made to yield. While they compelled the Syrian Christians, whom they found established on the Malabar Coast to abjure the tenets and practices of their ancient creed, and to acknowledge the authority of the Papal See; they sought to acquire an ascendancy over the followers of a debasing idolatry, by a ready compliance with their long-rooted and favourite prejudices.

In the synod of Diamper, held at Malayalim, in 1599, at which Archbishop Menezes presided, the following is one of the decrees. Session 9, decree 2, *“permits Christians to refrain from touching persons of inferior caste, when in the company of heathen of superior caste; but forbids all such scruples, when none but Christians are present.”**

On which Mr. Hough remarks: “This concession to heathen pride and superstition would have been very questionable under any circumstances: but when made to the prejudice of those *Christians* who happened to be converted from the lower castes, it was utterly indefensible on the principles of the gospel. To this day the Church in India suffers from the practice. It was not to be expected that a prejudice in which they had grown up, was to be eradicated from the minds of an ignorant people without an entire prohibition. The partial sanction, given to it, tended rather to its confirmation; and the Romanists, throughout India, preserve among themselves the distinc-

* Hough's History of Christianity in India, Vol. II. p. 114.

tions of castes, with all the marks that distinguish the different classes of idolaters of similar castes, to the present day."

In 1606, sixty years after Xavier's death, one of his fraternity, Robert de Nobilibus, a deep, designing man, full of worldly policy, came to India, with others likeminded with himself, and pursued a system of *accommodation*, and did not hesitate to adopt unscrupulous *expedients*, in defiance of the sovereign Pontiff himself, for carrying out his views, to the scandal and injury of the Christian faith.

"With this persuasion," to quote their own authority, "they at their first outset announced themselves as European *Bráhmans*, come from a distance of five thousand leagues from the western parts of the *Jambudwip*, for the double purpose of imparting and receiving knowledge from their brother Bráhmans in India. After announcing themselves as Bráhmans, they made it their study to imitate that tribe: they put on a Hindu dress of *cavy*, or yellow colour, the same as that used by the Indian religious teachers and penitents; they made frequent ablutions; whenever they showed themselves in public, they applied to their forehead paste, made of sandal wood, as used by the Bráhmans."*

The mark on the forehead above referred to is the very mark of idolatry. It signifies the eye of Siva, which is supposed to be in his forehead. They had also, it is said, a golden casket, containing a small crucifix, which they worshipped during their ablutions, and suspended round their necks in imitation of the Lingavites, who have the *Linga*, "the representation of Siva," suspended round their necks, or tied to their arms.

As one lie leads to another, and one false step is generally followed up by another, we find that these men were obliged to have recourse to extreme measures to carry out their false principles. Their primary object was to conciliate the Bráhmans, supposing that by securing them they should easily gain the rest of the Hindus. "For this purpose they did not scruple to compromise the truth of the Gospel, and the liberty of the poor believer. Having announced themselves as Bráhmans of a superior order from the western world, they actually assumed heathen names,† and conformed in every respect to the customs of that haughty and exclusive caste. There are several degrees of Bráhmans; and in order to give the more effect to his deception, R. de Nobilibus pretended to be one of the highest order:

* Abbé Dubois's Letters, pp. 5, 6.

† For instance the assumed name of Robert de Nobilibus was *Tattwa-bodhagya Swámi*; that of R. C. J. Beschi, was *Virámamuni*. The heathen always knew them and their brethren best by their heathen names.

and to stop the mouths of his opposers, and particularly of those who treated his character of Bráhma as a deception, he produced an old, dirty parchment, in which he had forged, in the ancient Indian characters, a deed, showing that the Bráhmans of Rome were of much older date than those of India, and that the Jesuits of Rome descended in a direct line from the god Brahmá. Father Jouvenci, a learned Jesuit, tells us, in the history of his order, something yet more remarkable, even that R. de Nobilibus, when the authenticity of his smoky parchment was called in question by some Indian unbelievers, declared *upon oath*, before the assembly of the Bráhmans of Madura, that he really derived his origin from the god Brahmá. Is it not astonishing that this reverend father should acknowledge—is it not monstrous that he should applaud, as a piece of pious ingenuity, this detestable instance of perjury and fraud ?*

“The forging of the deed in question, with all the circumstances connected with it, was one of those *pious* frauds, as they are improperly called, which the Church of Rome has so long been accustomed to practise upon mankind. It has been conceded to be just possible, that they may sometimes, though seldom, have been set up and encouraged with a design to do good ; but the good they aim at, requires that the belief of them should be perpetual, which is hardly possible ; and the detection of the fraud is sure to disparage the credit of all pretensions of the same nature. Christianity has suffered more injury from this cause, than from all the other causes put together.”†

In the life of Father Beschi, a celebrated Tamil scholar, written and published in Tamil, by one Mootoosamy Pillay, a Romanist; there is a defence of the conduct of the Jesuits, which we shall take the liberty of translating.

“*Tattwa-bodhagya Swámi*, (alias Robert de Nobilibus) gave out that he was a Roman Bráhma, the reason for which is, the term Brahmá does not only mean omnipresent, but also means Ved—knowledge—from whence the term Bráhma signifies a divine, one that knows the Veda ; and therefore a Roman Bráhma means nothing more than a divine from Rome. The ignorant would not accuse *Tattwa-bodhagya Swámi* of prevarication, if they knew the signification he attached to the word Bráhma, even its real signification. And even if it should be

* Jouvenci, Histoire des Jésuites : Norbert, Mémoires Historiques sur les Missions de Malab. Tom. ii. Liv. xi. Sec. 11, &c. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical Hist. Cent. 17, Sec. 1. Asiatic Researches, Vol. xiv. p. 57.

† Hough's History of Christianity in India, Vol. ii. p. 230.

insisted, that *Bráhmans* signify the descendants of *Brahmá*, because they were created from the forehead of *Brahmá*, it must be equally admitted that the other three castes, who have also proceeded from *Brahmá*'s body, are also the descendants of *Brahmá*; and therefore that the *Bráhmans* alone are the descendants of *Brahmá*, is inadmissible. The term *Bráhma*n is not so much a patronymic as a verbal noun, significant of profession, not birth. As men versed in divinity are called divines, so all whose duty is to learn and teach the *Veda*, of whatever country they may be, they are *Vedians*, or *Bráhmans*. This is the explanation of the term given by *Tattwa-bodhagya* himself. In his writings, he calls *Ananias* and *Caiaphas*, the Jewish High Priests, Jewish *Bráhmans*. And this explanation he gave before the learned assembly of His Holiness the Pope at Rome, and justified his conduct."

By professing to be *Bráhmans*, the Missionaries were led to despise the lower castes. They refused to eat in the houses of *Pariars*, or to administer to them the last rites of their Church, and forbade their communing at the same altar with converts of a higher grade. The Christianity, resulting from such a system, will of course, as it does, wear all the guise of heathenism,* and what was effective perhaps at the moment, became fatal at the end. It was the means of introducing a variety of idolatrous ceremonies into the Church. Let the *Abbé Dubois* declare some of these: "If any of the several modes of Christian worship were calculated to make an impression and gain ground in the country, it is no doubt the Catholic form, which you Protestants call an idolatry in disguise: it has a *Pujá* or sacrifice (mass;) it has processions, images, statues, *tirtam* or holy water, fasts, *tillys* or feasts, and prayers for the dead, invocation of saints, &c., all which practices bear more or less resemblance to those in use among the *Hindus*."†

* See *Abbé Dubois*' Letters, which are a complete exposure of his Church. In his larger work on India, the *Abbé* views the institution of caste as coincident with the tribes of Israel, and writes largely on its advantages.

† Letters, p. 18.

"Parallel and contemporaneous with these acts of the *Madura* Missionaries, were the controversies respecting the adoption of the practices and language of the Chinese idolatries. The worship of ancestors and the appropriation of a term to the Deity, which is constantly represented as conveying to the Chinese mind merely the idea of a material first cause, were freely allowed and defended; and, in justification, it was maintained that the same acts, though idolatrous in idolaters, ceased to be so in Christians: and thus, by a sophistical refinement, which involved a practical falsehood, the outward religious act was disjoined from the inward, and a mere intention of the mind was substituted, in the worship of God, for the homage both of 'body and spirit which are His.'"—*Grant's Bampton Lectures on Missions*, p. 163.

Their churches are generally divided into two sections, one for the use of Pariars, and the other for persons of caste. A wall divides them both; and if the Pariar dares even to place his hand on the other side of the wall, it is sufficient to justify his expulsion from the house of God.

The internal economy of their Missions will be further seen from what Father Mauduit writes :—"The Catechist of a low caste can never be employed to teach Hindus of a caste more elevated. The *Bráhmans* and the *Sudras*, who form the principal and the most numerous castes, have a far greater contempt for the *Pariars*, who are beneath them, than princes in Europe feel for the scum of the people. They would be dishonored in their own country, and deprived of the privileges of their castes, if they ever listened to the instructions of one whom they look upon as infamous. We must therefore have Pariar Catechists for the Pariars, and Bráhmanical Catechists for the Bráhmans, which causes us a great deal of difficulty."—"Some time ago a Catechist from the Madura Mission begged me to go to Pouleour, there to baptize some Paríár catechumens, and to confess certain neophytes of that caste. The fear that the *Bráhmans* and *Sudras* might come to learn the step I had taken, and thence look upon me as infamous and unworthy ever after of holding any intercourse with them, *hindered me from going!* The words of the holy apostle Paul, which I had read that morning at mass, determined me to take this resolution, 'giving no offence to any one, that your ministry be not blamed.' 2 Cor. vi. 3. I therefore made these poor people go to a place about three leagues from here, where I myself joined them *during the night, and with the most careful precautions*, and there I baptized nine!"

"With all deference to Father Mauduit, it may be doubted whether the apostolic injunction is very consonant with this work of darkness: nor does the good-natured Father tell the whole story. For the poor *Pariars* had not only separate catechists, but separate churches; and if they presumed to enter the church of a higher caste, they were driven out and well whipped. Nay, even when they were dying, the Christian *sanyásis* refused to enter their dwellings; and the expiring wretch, in nature's last agony, was dragged from his couch into the open air, or to a distant church, that the *sanyási*, uncontaminated by entrance into the house, might, (but without contact) administer the last rites of the Church."*

It has been urged, again and again, that Christianity would

sustain a severe shock if these practices were discontinued : the cause of conversion being made to rest upon them.

It was only the other day that a military gentleman, travelling from Tranquebar to Trichinopoly, politely invited a French Priest, who had just then arrived at the bungalow, to dine with him. The Priest, after ascertaining that the food was prepared by a Pariar, declined eating any thing cooked, and partook only of fruit, alleging as an excuse, that his compliance would shock the prejudices of the Sudras !

Does such conduct become men who profess to teach the religion of truth and love ? Are the sacred verities, that God made of one blood all nations of men, that He is no respecter of persons, and that the great atonement was to save all the nations of the earth and to unite them in one body, the Church ; —are these vital truths to be sacrificed on the altar of a worldly policy, for the purpose of inducing the heathen to assume the Christian name, without sacrificing the arrogance peculiar to caste ? Away with such abominations ! Away with such soul-destroying treachery !

II. The first Protestant Missionaries also, it must be confessed, admitted this evil into the Christian Church ; though perhaps under a somewhat modified form. But the question has been agitated with greater or less warmth, and the opinions of good men have been much divided, as to the expediency or impropriety of allowing it from the very first. From accredited documents we can prove that a firm stand was originally made against the recognition of caste ; but when the difficulty of bringing over the natives to a profession of Christianity was felt, this firmness gave way, and concessions were gradually made ; and the evil was recognized as a civil custom, which would, in time, as Christian principles would take deeper root in the understanding and the affections, naturally die away. But alas ! they were mistaken ; and the subsequent history of the native Protestant Church proves that the toleration of caste “was found to encourage the prejudice it was intended to conciliate.”*

The remarks of the first Missionaries on caste, at the commencement of the Protestant Mission at Tranquebar, express the proper language of Christianity. Their observations are clear and uncompromising.

Ziegenbalg and Grundler, in 1712, viewing the subject in a proper light wrote thus :†

* Trevelyan's Education in India, p. 20.

† Ancient Reports, Vol. I. p. 342.

"When a heathen embraces Christianity he must renounce all superstitions connected with caste, viz. 'that no one should intermarry or eat with those of another caste; that every caste should have a distinguishing title, peculiar ceremonies and customs, and a different way of living; that those who acted contrary, should lose their caste and be accounted the most despicable wretches.' For we admit of no such distinctions; but teach them that in Christ they are all one, none having a preference before the other. We allow them therefore to intermarry not in regard to caste, but according to their own pleasure, if otherwise they may be united in a Christian manner without difficulties. On account of the above superstitions, the heathens are very much surprized to see that those who have embraced Christianity, sit together in one church, marry without respect to caste, live, eat, drink together, and renounce all former distinctions. To rank derived from official station we do not object, but take care that good order be observed among our people."

Fourteen years after this, the difficulties seem to have been felt, and Mr. Schultze, in his diary, writes :*

"On the 5th of March a school was established at the Paper Mill for Pariar children, who had none hitherto, being prevented, on account of their despised caste, to sit with other children. The Pariar children of our congregations, as long as they remain with us, are treated alike with those of other castes, but we cannot bring them up together to one and the same trade. We can neither prevail as yet on our grown up Christians to forget the distinction of caste, and to get a Pariar girl of our school married to a man of another caste, be he ever so poor, is entirely out of question. But though we are obliged to indulge them in these points, as far as they are merely political, yet we do not in the least countenance such as are of a spiritual nature; on the contrary we admonish them on every occasion that they must be all in Christ, in order that he in them might be all in all."

"Our predecessors were at first obliged to appoint to the Pariars who had become Christians, separate places at church, to which they also willingly submitted. But this distinction at church was afterwards with great difficulty abolished again. When we had newly arrived from Europe, we also thought this was all right and should be so. But our Catechists always complained that the heathens reviled them on that account. Though such excuses are but absurd in themselves, yet it is necessary, in imitation of the example of Paul and other apos-

* Ancient Reports, Vol. II. p. 861.

ties, to bear with the infirmities of these poor people. Being persuaded, therefore, after repeated and mature deliberation on the subject, that outward order may well agree with Christian humility and concord, we have allowed that the Pariars shall sit at church one step distant from the Sudra. But in the administration of the sacrament no such distinction is observed.”*

Five years after this, the Missionaries appear to have yielded to difficulties rather than to conviction. In the Report of 1732, it is stated :—

“The School at Poreiar has been established chiefly for the sake of heathens and those of our Christians in the country who are Sudras. Both will send their children rather to this school than that in town, because in the latter are also Pariar children, but none in the former. However, in the school in town we observe the distinction in caste, so that the Pariar children are together by themselves, when they learn, eat, and sleep.”

In a letter written from Tranquebar 1738, we find the caste system developing itself. The Missionaries say :—

“We are endeavouring to eradicate from the minds of the Sudra Christians their too great aversion against the Pariárs, but the observance of this distinction is so generally prevailing in the whole country, that we must yield in many things.

“The Pariars very easily conform themselves in such cases. On this account we are not yet come to a final determination to ordain Raja Naick, a Pariar, as a native pastor. Besides he performs already in his diocese every duty of a country pastor, except the administration of the Lord’s Supper. And here we must observe that it cannot be expected of Sudras to receive the sacrament from his hands; and thereby the Pariars might easily be led to despise this holy ordinance, as some Roman Catholics, who made lately a great noise, because the country pastor, they said, had brought the sacred memorials into a Pariar village.”

Though the authorities in Germany recommended that this exemplary Catechist, whose labours were crowned with success, should be elevated to the ministry; the Missionaries “hesitated to have the Lord’s Supper administered by him, lest it should diminish the regard of Christians of higher caste for the sacrament itself.” And deeming the impediment insuperable, they did not attempt to surmount it.†

* Ancient Reports, Vol. III pp. 38, 39.

† A late anonymous writer in the Madras Circulator, a Tanjore caste Christian, alleges the uselessness of teaching Pariars, with a view to the ministry, and says, that “their preaching will be liable to be discarded with

That the abolition of caste was not required by the Missionaries, is apparent from a letter written to the Dharmapuram Pandaram from one of that order who embraced Christianity in 1765 :—

“The God of infinite compassion hath delivered me, wretched sinner, out of Satan’s captivity. Your promise of honour and riches touch me not. I have the hope of an everlasting kingdom : you also can inherit it when you repent. I have changed my religion, *but not my caste*. By becoming a Christian, I did not turn an Englishman, I am yet a Tondaman. Never did the priest of this place desire of me any thing contrary to my caste. Never did he bid me to eat cow’s flesh or beef, neither have I seen him eat it, or any of the Tamulian Christians,* though such a thing be not sinful in itself. Turn to the living God, so writeth Arulananden, formerly a Pandaram, but now a disciple of the blessed Jesus.”

The opinions of the venerable Schwartz on this subject are well known from his Life by Pearson, which has received an extensive circulation. The evil had taken root, ere he appeared upon the field. He wrote against it in his Dialogues between a Christian and a Heathen ; and charitably hoped, as all his predecessors did, that it would disappear before the light of Christianity and the lessons of humility which it inculcated.

There is an anecdote connected with this subject, which is not in Pearson’s Life of Schwartz, but which throws some light on the way in which he treated caste. It was related by the late venerable John Caspar Kohlhoff, who was present when the circumstance occurred.

One Sunday, on a sacramental occasion, a respectable and pious native Christian, named Daniel Pillay, who was a Seristadar in the service of the Danish Government at Tranquebar, and who was on a visit to the Tanjore Rajah on business, was also present. Among the communicants between this man and Royappen, a native minister, there was room for another person ; and Mr. Schwartz beckoned to Gabriel, a respectable Pariar Catechist, to come and kneel down in the vacant place ; which he did. Mr. Schwartz gave the elements to him first, and after that to Daniel Pillay and others. When the service was over, Royappen, the native minister, observed to Daniel Pillay, how presumptuous it was in the Pariar to come up along with the Sudras ; to which Daniel Pillay piously remarked, “Do not

emotions of disdain and ridicule by the higher castes, and slighted by the lower.” We know, however, of one Pariar minister who has done more good than half a dozen caste ministers put together.

* i. e. Caste Christians.

talk about it, for when we come to the Lord's table, we ought all to come without distinction in the character of wretched sinners."*

After the death of this Patriarch of Protestant Missions, as caste Christians became men of importance, occupying respectable Government situations, their minds became secularized, and they studied to please their heathen neighbours by conforming to caste customs.

In a letter of the Tanjore Missionaries, written in 1809, in defence of their principles, they say, caste differences are only "the differences between nobility, clergy, gentry, and common people; that their renunciation was never insisted upon; that it would be an unscriptural surrender of their birth-right," &c.

But what was the consequence? Caste was rampant. It was justified by its adherents; and as in the Romish Church it was the means of introducing additional errors and idolatrous practices, so here it developed itself in its native colours, and brought forth innumerable evils. The Tanjore poet, a scholar of Schwartz, and himself a great stickler for caste, wrote songs denouncing caste, which were everywhere publicly sung, and also a book, which we have now before us, exposing all the idolatrous customs of caste Christians.

But this man, with all the inconsistency peculiar to caste, has also written a volume in defence of caste distinctions. Some of his arguments we have already disposed of, and others we shall notice in the sequel; but one objection urged both by the Romanist and Protestant caste Christians should now be considered. The renunciation of caste is objected to, on the ground of its having been allowed to exist in Christian churches, by most eminent Missionaries, for upwards of a century. It has been already observed that the former Missionaries tolerated caste, under the idea that the Gospel would in time effectually banish it from the hearts of their converts. To argue for the continuance of caste on the ground of its having been allowed to exist so long, is an absurdity; for on the same principle the Romanists contend, even against their present priests, for images, processions, and many other practices; and the heathen may with more plausibility contend for their idolatry.

* The native minister here alluded to was no favourite of Schwartz. He was sent to assist him by the Missionaries at Tranquebar, but on his refusing to submit a report of his labour to Mr. Schwartz, on the ground of his being a minister like himself, Mr. Schwartz sent him back to Tranquebar; and the remark made by him: "What Catechist Royappen would do, the Rev. Mr. Royappen will not do," has since turned into a proverb applicable to other ministers of his stamp.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NATURE OF CASTE AMONGST PROTESTANT NATIVE CHRISTIANS.
 —THE QUESTION AGITATED.—EPISCOPAL INTERFERENCE.—RESOLUTIONS OF MISSIONARY BODIES.—VARIOUS OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

“Caste will entwine itself round every thing; it only wants support, and whilst supported, it destroys. We think of Christianity as of a goodly tree which has been transplanted from the west for a shadow to the east, and a refreshment to the weary and the heavy laden. The husbandmen were faithful, and it has taken root, and spread out its branches to the heavens. But the adversary has sown his seed, and the parasite shot up beside the tree, and under her shadow and support. The husbandmen were not alarmed, for the shoot at first was small and tender, and it has crept and twined with her growth and strengthened with her strength: the stems are now incorporated; the branches are mingled; the foliage is unnatural; the growth is checked, and there are symptoms of decay. Is this the tree which was planted for the healing of the nations? Is this the emblem of Christianity? No. It is the emblem of Christianity with caste,” says a writer in the *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, for June 1834.*

Such a state of things is certainly a cause for deep humiliation. We have permitted the enemy to have free access to and liberty in the camp; who, well knowing that Christianity asserts its divine origin by the very universality of the message it contains, and by its tendency to unity, has assumed the appearance of an angel of light, and spread discord and disunion, to defeat, if possible, the purposes of the Eternal.

Caste, as observed by native Christians, is essentially the same as that observed by the heathen. “It has the same name,—is regulated by the same conditions as to transmission,—is divided and subdivided in the same way, and may be lost by the same means, that is, by ceremonial defilement, and not by a course of immoral conduct. Its rules of conduct are the same. The caste Christian can have no more intercourse with those below him than the caste heathen. He observes the same prohibitions as to meats and drinks; he cannot have a Pariah servant in his house, cannot take water from the hands of a lower caste Christian brother, eat with him, drink with him, live with him, or be buried by his side. He cannot partake of food even with his spiritual pastor, if of a lower caste; he could not freely asso-

* Article, The Caste Question, p. 247.

ciate with the Jewish Prophets or Apostles, were they here; nor even with the Lord of glory himself, were He upon the earth.* In all these and other important respects it is identical with Hindu caste. Its leading idea is the same, to guard against ceremonial pollution, as among Hindu idolaters. What else can be needed to show its identity?"†

The object for which caste is retained is, evidently, to conciliate the heathen, and keep up an intercourse with them, which is contrary to the plain apostolic command, "Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you."‡ "A worldly spirit is thus gratified; dissimulation is practically promoted, and the road to apostacy kept open. The evils of caste in the Christian Church have gradually developed themselves, and have been better understood, or at least more firmly resisted, of late years. Conscientious minds have ventured to oppose and expose it; and the opposition has excited the rage and virulence of the evil one."

I. In attempting to give a historical sketch of the attack upon caste, we must begin with Ceylon. At a very early period of the Dutch settlement in the island, they issued a proclamation that could hardly fail to tempt the natives of all descriptions to embrace Christianity, without understanding the faith which they professed to receive. It was decreed that no native should attain the rank of *Moodaliar*, be permitted to farm land, or hold any influential office under government, without subscribing the Helvetic Confession of Faith, and submitting to baptism. The consequence of this decree was such as might have been foreseen. Heathen and Romanist Singhalese and Tamulians, who aspired to any dignity or office, assumed the name of Protestant Christians, while many of them cherished and secretly observed their old superstitions. The Dutch committed a serious mistake in issuing this decree: it was tantamount to setting a premium on hypocrisy. It was soon found that caste was retained in the full strength of its prejudices. One of the Dutch ministers, M. De Vriest, put their sincerity to the test in 1693, at the examination of the schools, at which the Dutch Commodore presided. After the examination he invited the native Christian officers who were present, as well as the students, to dine; but they begged him to excuse them, alleging

* This sounds irreverent, but we know it as a fact that such language was actually made use of by a caste Christian, not long ago.—ED.

† Madras Christian Instructor, Vol. viii. p. 205. See an enumeration of caste differences in Bishop Wilson's charge of 1835, p. 73.

‡ 2 Cor. vi. 17.

that their customs forbade them to partake of the food which he had provided. Some, however, were induced to sit down, and a few partook of the food. Whatever some may be disposed to think of this proceeding, it is the plan now adopted by the American Missionaries, who invite their people to partake of what they call the *Love feast*; and it is the plan followed by some of the Missionaries in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in the Tanjore District, and probably in other places, when any situations in the Mission, or scholarships in the educational establishments, are to be conferred.

At Tranquebar, to accommodate the prejudices of the higher castes, they had formerly two cups in the administration of the Lord's Supper. The late Dr. John, judging such a practice to be incompatible with the ordinance of Christ, was determined to remove the distinction, by dispensing with one of the cups. But no sooner did he do that, than the demon of caste felt his prerogatives interfered with, and its adherents declared they would sooner leave the *table of the Lord*, than suffer what they considered so unwarrantable an innovation.*

Even to this day, in some of the native churches, the celebration of the eucharist is a heart-rending sight to a truly Christian mind. Where there is a mixture of castes, there is generally a rushing to the communion table of persons who are afraid lest any other caste men should approach the altar with them; and when it does happen that a person of an inferior caste comes up, there are evident signs of distress, when all solemnity must be lost and all devotional feeling die. Is this the place, and this the time, when the Saviour's dying love to a world of sinners is commemorated, that one who calls himself a Christian should manifest the malignant effects of his prejudices? Well might an inspired Apostle ask, "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"†

This growing evil was first systematically attacked by Messrs. Haubroe, Schreyvogel and Rhenius.

At Vepery there is a colony of caste Christians, who obtain a livelihood in the Mission Press; printing and book-binding being works in which those who retain caste can engage. The children of these caste men were in the habit of having separate places in the school room, which Mr. Haubroe objected to, and

* What is now the state of this once flourishing Mission? *Ichabod* is written upon it, for the *glory is departed*. What the present reinforcement of Lutheran Missionaries will do to repair its ruins, time must declare.

† 1 John iv. 20.

endeavoured to remove. When he went further and interfered with the caste arrangements within the church, they made a covenant amongst themselves, of which the following is the purport:—

“Covenant made amongst us, members of the English Mission Congregation.—Because Mr. Haubroe, on the 23rd day of this month, permitted a child of a Pariar to take his seat in the church alongside the *Tamil* (Sudra) school boys, which is a great disparagement to our caste, be it covenanted, that neither we nor our families will come to church any more, nor send our children to school; until Mr. Haubroe gives us a fair promise not to allow such a thing in future. But if any shall break this covenant, he is bound to pay 12 pagodas to the Police office, as a person guilty before the congregation.”*

But when they found Mr. Haubroe was unwilling to yield to their prejudices, they complained against him to Archdeacon Vaughan, President of the Madras Diocesan Committee; and on the Archdeacon’s soliciting information on the point in dispute, Dr. Rottler wrote to him the following letter, dated Sept. 13th, 1824.

“I have been favored with your letter of the 11th instant, and I am sorry to learn from it that *some* of our native Christians (for I am certain it is not all of them) have brought forward a complaint against their ministers, who have hitherto endeavoured to instruct and lead them in the way of righteousness. It has never been our practice to *compel*, but to persuade, and direct them to that which we, from the word of God, can shew to be just and right. We think that a Christian congregation ought to be nearly united in the bonds of faith and love, agreeably to the admonition of St. Paul, Eph. iv. 1, &c. And we are grieved to say that the distinction of caste in this country is the greatest obstacle in obeying it; but we, as well as our predecessors, have hitherto experienced how great are the difficulties in removing this unhappy distinction. Having, however, instances before us that, by the blessing of God, successful efforts herein have been made, we tried to make the same; and to begin in our schools, where we found such a distinction of castes to be the greatest hindrance to a regular and proper course of instruction; we therefore united boys and girls of the higher and lower castes in their respective classes, and observed no other difference between them, but what their progress and learning and well behaviour naturally required; the same order and distinction, we endeavoured also to keep among them, when they attend divine service on Sundays. This, however, proved to meet with a strong opposition on the side of their parents.

“Hitherto no other steps have been taken by us to associate the Tamul with the Pariar. I suppose that the persons of our Tamul congregation, who complained against their Pastors, are the same who troubled our late dear Lord Bishop, by presenting a similar paper to His Lordship against the regulations which I found necessary to establish, when I took the charge of this mission, and which His Lordship highly approved.”†

* Taylor’s Centenary, 215.

† It is related that when good Dr. Rottler had charge of the Vepery congregation, some of the caste Christians used to wear a very small sandal wood

From this letter we gather Dr. Rottler's opinion on the caste question, though perhaps it contains only all that he could safely say on the subject. When Mr. Gerické had charge of the Vepery congregation, there is reference made to the death of a man named Pakien, of whom it is written, "By the confessions, prayers, and praises of the man during his sickness, he gave proof of his knowledge of Jesus Christ, and of the hope that was in him, particularly on the day before his death, when he received the sacrament; at which many persons were present—yet it is observable that *he had not renounced the heathenish and devilish system of caste.*" From this passage it would appear that caste was allowed to exist, hoping that in time it would vanish of itself. But time has proved that *that* hope was fallacious.

II. Simultaneously with the disturbances caused by caste Christians in Vepery, similar disturbances broke out at Tanjore and Trichinopoly, and the caste Christians finding no redress from the Madras Diocesan Committee, appealed to Bishop Heber, shortly after his arrival in India. As the Bishop had no personal opportunities of judging on this intricate subject, and relied on the statements of the Rev. Christian David, himself a caste man;—he wrote to Mr. Schreyvogel, the agitator in the south, from Chillumbrum, dated 21st March, 1826. This letter is held in the highest esteem by the advocates for caste, because the Bishop suggested the idea that caste distinctions might be *civil* rather than *religious*; and because the passage, "God forbid that we should make the narrow gate of life narrower than Christ has made it," is so congenial to their feelings, and so apt to be quoted as an authority in their favor at all times.

The Bishop also put forth articles of enquiry on the subject, which, together with the answers given by the Tanjore Missionaries and the Rev. Christian David, and the Bishop's "famous letter," as well as Bishop Wilson's Circular, containing sentiments and decisions worthy of a Christian Bishop, will be given in the Appendix, for the information of those who wish to know the *pros* and *cons* of this vexatious question.*

wafer, called *Pottu*, on their forehead, even when they attended church. As this was not taken notice of, a non-caste man wore one, made of pipe clay, on his forehead, about ten times the usual size, and to attract notice, came and sat right before the Doctor, who, shocked at such a sight, sent for the man and reprimanded him; when the man, after asking whether there was any difference in the use of a small or a large *pottu*, told the Doctor the names of all the persons in the congregation who were in the habit of wearing these heathen insignia on their foreheads.

* See Appendix, C.

Bishop Wilson's letter to the southern churches, issued in 1833, requiring the abolition of caste, was publicly read in the churches, and was the means, as the Tanjore Missionaries describe in their report, of causing "great anxiety and gloom, having to contend with the calumny, perverseness, and ingratitude of the caste Christians." They seceded in a body, behaved shamefully, and at once manifested the evil results of permitting caste in the Christian Church.

The injurious tendency of caste to affect the stability and purity of the Christian Church being so very apparent, the calm and deliberate decision of the Bishop was a timely one. The whole question had, in fact, arrived at a most important crisis; the timid principle of non-interference had been fairly tried; the harmless nature of the practice had been contradicted both by the temper, and in some instances by the apostasy, of its advocates; persuasion was tried, and now *authority* was the only resource left. The Bishop's decision, which the crisis rendered imperative, was worthy of his head and his heart. He says, "The distinctions of caste, then, must be abandoned, decidedly, immediately, and finally; and those who profess to belong to Christ, must give this proof of their having really put off, concerning the former conversation, the old, and of having put on the new man in Christ Jesus."

The Bishop, in his charge to the Reverend Missionaries of Tanjore and Vepery in 1835, says in reference to this subject: "I wonder not that the decisive step was not taken sooner. It was natural, it was proper, it was necessary, to try every other expedient, before so violent a one, for such it appears to the natives, was adopted. Whilst the master minds of Schwartz and Gericke remained to keep down the attendant heathen practices, caste was comparatively harmless. It seemed more of a civil distinction. But I rejoice to find that the judgment of all my brethren, and of the whole body of Christian Protestant Missionaries without exception, concurs now with my own—that the crisis had arrived, and that nothing but the total abolition of all heathen usages connected with this anti-christian and anti-social system, could save these Missions."*

It was not long before the seceders were made to return to the bosom of the Church. The malcontents, perhaps no longer able to suffer the distress, consequent upon their disconnection and the loss of mission employment and patronage, sought reconciliation and submitted to certain conditions. But so long as they were permitted to hold their caste preju-

dices untouched, which the controversy and ruption had tended only to increase in graceless hearts, the subsequent results have plainly proved that the breach was slightly healed, and the people have been bound to the Church by a rope of sand.

What part the first Bishop of Madras took in this matter is not known, further than may be gathered from a letter which he wrote to one of the leading Tanjore caste Christians, a copy of which having fallen into our hands, we here give it entire, as we are not aware of its having been printed before.

To A. Njanaprasadam.

DEAR FRIEND,—Your letter of the 30th January* found me here to-day. I am sorry to find you have not attended to the answers which have been so often given to the points you stand upon. Caste is not as rank in society in any sense. You see what rank is in the army. An officer may rise from the rank of Ensign to that of Commander-in-Chief: a private soldier may rise to the rank of an officer, and many private soldiers do. A civil servant serves at first as a writer, and may be selected from any class of society, and may one day (as Mr. Lushington) become Governor. In any of these ranks a man may take food, if occasion require, from an inferior, or he may assist with food and bodily service, if need be, some poor or diseased creature, but loses no rank by so doing.

"How different is all this from caste, which is always one! As to the Lord's Supper, no one who receives it otherwise than with a true penitent heart on account of his sins, and with a lively faith in the Lord Jesus—the Saviour of sinners, can be benefited by receiving it. But those who refuse to receive the Lord's Supper, because an inferior has first partaken of it, refuse the Saviour, because he has become the Saviour of a poor brother first.

"Thus caste sets itself up as a judge of our Saviour himself. His command is, *Condescend to men of low caste—esteem others better than yourself.* No, says caste—*Do not have communion with low men; consider yourself of high estimation. 'Touch not, taste not, handle not.'* Thus caste condemns the Saviour. Believe me, that in no other part of the world do any, who call themselves Christians, hold such destructive opinions. These destroy the soul by nourishing pride and self-dependence. In this way also you make the heathen believe that their distinctions are founded in truth and righteousness. If Christians, they argue, hold these distinctions, they must be good.

"No evil can come to Merasdars† from obeying the gospel entirely. They pay the same tax to Government, whether they have caste or no caste. There are so many who profess Christianity, that no society worth keeping is lost. In short, it is only unacquaintance with the true spirit of Christianity, which upholds this fatal delusion. May God the Holy Spirit enlighten your mind, and lead you into the light of everlasting life! I pray for you.

"Your Sincere Friend,
DANIEL MADRAS."

P. S.—"You say that yielding caste hinders the heathen from embracing the gospel, but the contrary is the fact. What progress had been made of late years in converting the heathen? None in comparison of former times. When they see Christians obeying the same customs as themselves, they think Christians approve of their ways, and see no reason to change. But

* Probably 1837 or 1838.

† Land-holders.

in other parts of the country, where caste is not allowed among Christians, many heathen are daily forsaking all, and taking up their cross and following Christ. You have no cross to take up; the heathen do not despise you, because they think you are like themselves; and thus you are the occasion of their perishing in their idolatry and sin."

"D. M."

Bishop Spencer, in his first charge, speaks cautiously on caste, doubtless feeling incompetent to judge on so intricate a subject; but very little time sufficed to convince him of the evil tendency of permitting it, and in his charge, delivered to the missionary clergy in 1841, he says, "As a civil distinction I touch it not; if used as a badge of religious superiority by either Catechists or schoolmasters, I say, Away with it, down with it even to the ground. I wish it therefore to be distinctly understood that from henceforth, deeply anxious as I am to gather around me a native priesthood—for to a native priesthood we must look, humanly speaking, for the evangelization of India—I will not admit to holy orders any native who refuses or even hesitates to eat and drink with my Reverend brethren or with myself. If he hold his Bishop and fellow-clergy "unclean," he cannot be fit to preach, far less to practise the gospel of Him who ate and drank even with publicans and sinners, to shew that the word of God cleanseth all who receive it in an honest and good heart."

In 1845, Commissioners were appointed at Madras, to enquire into the state of caste in the Vepery congregation; and the result of their enquiries was given in a letter to the Bishop, which, as it is carefully drawn up, and throws some light on the question, we shall give in the Appendix, together with the excellent minute of the Madras Missionary Conference on the subject.*

If caste is a religious distinction, it is reprobated by the Bible; and if it is a *civil* distinction, it is belied in practice. It has been proved that, as a religious distinction, it is connected with one of the worst systems of idolatry and superstition; and as a civil distinction, it does not promote the welfare of man. If so, then is it to be tolerated in the Christian Church? Even to this day, notwithstanding the vigilance of faithful missionaries, and in places where the people came up indiscriminately to church and to the Lord's table, caste is lurking and exercising its withering influence. If India is to be christianized, what kind of Christianity is it to be? Are the heaven-born truths of Christianity to be mixed up with error and superstition? Is this to contend for the faith, to propagate the truth, and to inculcate the religion of universal love?

* See Appendix D.

The clergy of the Madras Presidency, with the present Bishop at their head, have just put forth a declaration, with the concurrence of the Metropolitan, and published it as the united testimony of the ministry of the Church of England against caste. The declaration is as follows: "We, the undersigned Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese and Archdeaconry of Madras, having observed with great pain the disabilities to which our native Christian brethren are subject amongst their countrymen through the heathen institute of caste, as well as the unprecedented obstacles to the progress of the gospel springing from the same source, and perceiving that the disabilities alluded to arise more from relinquishing caste than from renouncing idolatry, deeply deplore and reprobate this system of tyranny, grounded upon a totally false standard of rank, irrespective of virtue, learning, or station.

"We desire further to express our extreme concern that such an evil, tending to perpetuate one of the most mischievous features of a false religion, should have found any place in the Christian Church: and we are of opinion that the exclusive distinctions of caste, however divested of the idea of ceremonial defilement, are inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel, which teaches that we are the body of Christ, and members in particular."

IV. A common objection frequently urged by the advocates for caste, is the difference that is said to exist between Sudras and Pariars, in point of cleanliness. This gratuitous assertion will only be received by those who have no opportunities of judging. It is well known that the heathen Pariars have very mean and filthy offices to perform, and their habits, owing to their poverty and oppression, are far from being cleanly. But with regard to Pariars who have embraced Christianity, it is well known that they are as cleanly as the generality of the Sudras. But with the cleanest and best of them a Sudra will not associate, though to eat and drink with the filthiest of his own caste, he will not for a moment hesitate. The Pariars are accused of eating things strangled, but we know of Pariars who will not eat a strangled goat or sheep, which many a Sudra will not hesitate to do. The apostolic injunction is, "Be of the same mind one toward another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. Be not wise in your own conceits."*

Some would say that "a vigorous and faithful preaching of the gospel, according to the doctrines of grace, and a steady attention to the caste-breaking ordinance of the Lord's Supper,

* Rom. xii. 16.

will break down caste. Preach the full gospel, and keep out all distinctions there; and every thing else concerning caste may be allowed to go on to natural and necessary decay."

Does this not insinuate that the excellent missionaries, who planted and nourished the churches, did not preach the full gospel, according to the doctrine of grace? Let all the old Tranquebar Tamil books declare. Let the excellent writings and sermons of Schwartz and Gerické declare, that the full gospel was preached according to the doctrines of grace. The gospel of salvation was preached, but the gospel in connection with caste distinctions was not perhaps discriminated and insisted upon. The vision of Peter, so applicable to the introduction of Christianity into India, was not perhaps applied and insisted upon as it should have been. "We doubt not" says Mr. Rhenius, "that our predecessors in Missions have often urged upon the Christian congregations the abandonment of caste, in the hope of eventually prevailing with them; yet as it never began to be actually abandoned, and its renunciation was never insisted on as indispensable, caste has, as it were, grown with the congregations; and although a century has passed since the establishment of Protestant congregations in this country, the attachment to caste, instead of diminishing among Christians, has rather increased, and is perhaps more obstinately insisted upon by them than by the heathen."

Shall it be said that some of the sects amongst the Hindus have abandoned caste, and that the Mahomedans, who receive all castes into their religion, do not tolerate it amongst themselves, and yet that Christianity has not the power to effect its destruction? We know that the evil is not tolerated in Bengal and other parts of India, and we know that amongst some Missionary bodies it is required to be entirely abandoned. And why should not the Tranquebar, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Tinnevely, and Madras congregations be guided by the same rules as their other fellow-Christian countrymen? Shall the Church of England be said to tolerate this evil, and be behind other churches in this respect? Are we to preach the Gospel, and at the same time cherish caste, in the hope that in time it will die away? "The serpent does not lose his poison by being taken into the house and fed on milk."

It is also alleged that "distinctions of caste will insensibly die away—only give it time." Time would remove it, without any interference. A large numerical increase of Christians, a preponderance in numbers of Christians over heathens, and an equality of public employment once secured—mountains in effect being removed, the thing is done. Few, if any, native Christians love the distinction for itself; but they fear certain

heavy disqualifications, consequent to forsaking it." Are not a hundred years sufficient to test an evil? Does not a little leaven leaven the whole lump? Experience has shown that where this distinction is permitted, the evil, so far from melting away under the genial influences of the gospel, possesses the most inveterate tendency to perpetuate itself; thereby stunting the growth of congregations, and enfeebling the aggressive energies of the Christian Church. It has been painfully observed that the Christians are more tenacious of caste than the heathen themselves.

There could be but one decision *a priori* in the present case: gentle means have been tried, and time enough has been given to have allowed caste to die away, if it had contained within it the seeds of dissolution. But conciliating measures have only encouraged the prejudice they were intended to remove.

In connection with this a divine command is alleged; *that the tares should be allowed to grow with the wheat*. The tares and wheat here refer to the wicked and the righteous, the hypocrites and the godly, who are known only to God. Though the tares are forbidden to be plucked up when sown, yet it is the duty of the Church to hinder their being sown. When we find that the tares are likely to destroy the wheat, is it not our duty to pluck them out, if we can do so without prejudice to the wheat?

Shall we perpetuate an evil which fosters the pride of the human heart, despises the children of God, and honours heathen distinctions more than the image of Christ? Shall we permit an evil which is directly opposed to the genius of Christianity, "the unity of the Spirit?"

It is the opinion of some conscientious Missionaries of the present day, that Christianity is sent to the nations, not to *change*, but "to *sanctify* their customs." They say, "every nation has its own peculiarities, with corresponding institutions, laws and customs. These peculiarities the Church of the Lord has not, among any people, suppressed, taken away, or abolished; but on the contrary, by the word and the sacraments she everywhere sanctifies, purifies, and glorifies."

It would appear from this objection that the observance of caste is necessary, and that it is a *custom* to be *sanctified*. A Hindu would on a similar principle defend suttee, infanticide, polygamy, the forbidding widows to marry, and girls to learn, the exposure of the sick and aged, to die on the banks of the Ganges, and other cruel practices, as being customs, not to be changed, but sanctified. Why is the slave trade declared to be sinful by the most enlightened Christian nations? A noble and generous nation, influenced by the principles of Christianity,

has thought it proper not to sanctify, but to abolish the custom. "Is Hindu caste, which binds, in worse than African slavery, the soul as well as the body of every inferior grade to the superior, and all to the will of the Bráhmaṇ, who is made by it the representative of the gods—to be baptized into the Christian Church, adopted, fondled and cherished, that it may be 'sanctified, purified, and glorified?' Then let idolatry be baptized, for it does not oppose a greater barrier to the spread of Christianity than does Hindu caste; and it is no more a lie to declare that 'there are gods many,' than to declare that the different races of men have a different origin, and are by nature pure or defiled as born of higher or lower castes. 'God hath made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth.' This is the declaration of the Bible, and to this, Hindu caste gives the direct lie. 'Let God be true.' There is no need of morbid sensitiveness on this subject."*

In confirmation of the above and similar excuses, a remarkable passage from St. Paul's writings is quoted. The apostle says: "Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews, &c. To the weak I became as weak, that I might gain the weak. I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some."† From which passage it is argued, we should assimilate to the native customs, after the example of Paul, in order to gain the people of caste. But this is only a partial view of the question, and not a carrying out in all its fulness the example of the great apostle; for here they forget that upon the strength of this very passage, they ought also to assimilate to the Pariars as well as to the Sudras, in order to gain them. This passage is frequently quoted by caste Christians, without at all thinking that it requires the Sudra to become in some sense a Pariar, which is the very thing they refuse to do. But could the apostle have meant that he would have become a Bráhmaṇ to a Bráhmaṇ, a Sudra to a Sudra, and a Pariar to a Pariar, in adopting their customs and yielding to their prejudices? We think not. St. Paul says again, "I please all men in all things," 1 Cor. x. 33, i. e. by accommodating himself to their respective circumstances, not seeking his own profit, but the profit of many. But he did not seek to gain their favor by any compromise inconsistent with truth and duty. To obviate such a construction, he says in another place, "If I yet pleased men, I am not the servant of Christ." Let us first obey God's word, which has declared that we should not consider "what

* Madras Christian Instructor, for May 1850. † 1 Cor. ix. 19—22.

God hath cleansed, common or unclean," and then let us accommodate ourselves to any set of men in all innocent things; so as to gain them over to Christ.

It must be recollected, in reference to this passage, that St. Paul is here alluding to the less instructed, and therefore superstitiously scrupulous, both among Jews and Gentiles. Here is evidently a reference to the toleration of Jewish prejudices. But it must be remembered that Judaism was of divine appointment, and there was nothing sinful in allowing circumcision or distinctions in meats among the Jews. Another very striking passage of St. Paul's settles the question at once. He says: "Unto the pure all things are pure; but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving, is nothing pure, but even their mind and conscience is defiled."*

There is another passage of Scripture which the advocates of caste bring forward, viz., "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations." (Rom. xiv. 1.) We admit that weak and scrupulous brethren, who are, notwithstanding, sincere Christians, are to be received. The fellowship of the saints is not to be broken for non-essentials, and we have no right to make any thing a term of communion which is not inconsistent with piety. Him that is weak in the faith we must receive as a Christian brother, and treat him kindly, whether he be Jew or Gentile, Sudra or Pariar. See Acts xxviii. 2. Rom. xv. 7, Philem. 15, 17. But are caste Christians always to remain weak, and never to go on to perfection?

Persecution, it is said, will be the inevitable consequence of renouncing caste. "It may be that the renunciation of caste will subject a Christian to severer trials than the renunciation of heathenism only in part; but as this is a sacrifice which the gospel peremptorily demands, it is required, in order to enjoy the peace of God, which passeth all understanding. On a profession of Christianity, the odious distinction of caste should be relinquished. But why is the renouncing of caste so great a sacrifice? Is it because it forms a principal part of heathenism, and is one of its strongest bulwarks? If so, then it cannot possibly be united to Christianity; for that which is of so much importance to the one, must unquestionably be inimical to the other. The inference, then, is natural, that caste must be abandoned, as well as every other part of heathenism, whatever persecution should be the result."† It is said of the persecuted apostles, that they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name.‡ "Blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me."§

* Titus i. 15. † Rhenius. ‡ Acts v. 41. § Matt. xi. 6.

Another objection is, that "the sudden abolition of an evil that has become an inveterate habit in society, is mostly attended with danger, and frequently works another wrong of an opposite kind." We admit the truth of this remark in one sense, but with regard to the subject under review, what evils can be consequent upon the abolition of one of the greatest evils society can labour under? On this principle it is said that if the Sudras were to relinquish caste, the Pariars would become proud, or a revolution may be the consequence, to prevent which caste must be retained. According to this we should do evil, that good may come. The difficulty is more imaginary than real. "Pride in the Pariar is an evil; but caste is the very image of pride, and tends most powerfully to increase and perpetuate it. The pride of a Pariar, occasioned by being put in some degree on a level with a Sudra, is occasional, temporary, and limited in its operation; but the pride of caste is a continued system, and acts on society like a pestilence. The pride of the Pariar, as implied by this objection, consists in his thinking himself entitled to the same respect as the Sudra, placed in similar circumstances. And upon what Christian principles can we deny him so just a right? And how can a principle so natural, and which is held so sacred by the wisest of men, be designated pride? Would to God that the world were full of such pride. How different the pride engendered by caste, which demands that a fellow-creature, a fellow-Christian, a fellow-heir of eternal life, should crouch beneath another, who has no claim to such respect, but what the superiority of caste is supposed to give him. The pride of a Pariar, then, sinks into nothing when compared with the pride of caste. Allowing that there is danger of the Pariar becoming proud by the Sudra giving up caste, the system we propose for adoption, 'would be an effectual barrier against it.' For we conceive that no person should be baptized, that does not give real evidence of a change of mind and of being under the influence of the Holy Ghost, which will be the most effectual means to suppress and guard against any tendency to pride, especially when the minister's admonitions are not found wanting. Again, while we show ourselves anxious to prevent the Pariars from unnecessarily giving offence to the Sudras, we should be equally anxious to check by every means in our power the reigning pride of the Sudras, inasmuch as the latter is more common and more mischievous than the former."*

It is again stated, with some degree of confidence, that if the renunciation of caste be made a *sine quid non*, there will be an

end to conversions. Yes, there will be an end to *nominal conversions*. Ten real Christians are worth ten thousand nominal ones; and those ten real Christians may be the means of leavening a whole mass of their countrymen with holiness and righteousness. The Saviour himself says: "How can ye believe, which receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that cometh from God only?" Every sensible heathen, with whom we have conversed on the subject, has admitted that a Hindu forsaking his religion has no right to retain his caste; and if he does so, his conversion is a doubtful one. They have always respect for a conscientious, learned, and upright man, who from pure motives has given up his caste,—though as heathens they would not eat with him. Such men are known to be more respected by the heathen, than by the caste observing Christians. We have an instance to the point. Mr. Haubroe had a Munshi who was once a guru among the heathens of high caste, but on his conversion renounced his caste. Mr. Haubroe desired a Tanjore Catechist to take this man into his house, until he could provide a place for him; but the Catechist and his caste fraternity deemed it a great insult "to allow a person who had made a Pariah of himself, by eating in Mr. Haubroe's house, to be considered on an equality with themselves." This one instance is enough to show the odiousness of caste, and the necessity for its renunciation in the Church of Christ, whatever may be the consequences.

Not long ago an anonymous writer in the Madras Circulator put into the mouths of the Hindus, as an objection to their becoming Christians, "the too frequent admission of Pariahs into the church." From which it appears, as has been well known to be the fact in many instances, that he would have them excluded, or admitted less frequently. He also makes the Hindus charge the Missionaries with an "inconsiderate eagerness and zeal to advance the interests of Christianity, to the thorough annihilation of the established order of society—established by a countless number of ages." And the writer, after some remarks about following *custom*, and making some uncalled for and mean allusions to the Tanjore District Theological Institution, which is an eyesore to caste Christians, observes, that "the indefatigable labours of European Missionaries and native Priests of high caste, though exerted for a long series of years, have produced proselytes scarce worth the time and expense, *and these only on the ground of being allowed to retain the distinctions of caste.*" Little did the writer know what testimony he was bearing for the cause of truth. He has unwittingly given an opinion in which we fully concur. The labours of Missionaries, for a long series of years, "*have pro-*

duced proselytes scarce worth the time and expense." Yes, it is so, and it is a humiliating fact; and it will be so, as long as caste is allowed to be retained in the Christian Church.

A plausible objection of the advocates of caste is, that if the Church should insist on the renunciation of caste, the probability is that many would apostatize and go back into heathenism, or become Romanists;—and the consequence would be that only Pariars and other low castes would become Christians. This is the language of a short-sighted policy. We have the sure word of prophecy that all shall know the Lord, from the least to the greatest, and every knee shall bow to Him in heaven and earth. But we know that the chaff must sooner or later be blown away from the Christian Church, while the grain will remain. And with regard to the professors of Christianity, it is God's plan that *the poor have the Gospel preached to them*,* "having chosen the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which He has promised to them that love him."† "For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called. But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: that no flesh should glory in his presence."‡ God is no respecter of persons. All souls are his, and capable of the impression of his image. Are not the souls of Pariars, as well as of Bráhmans and Sudras, incalculably precious? Are they not capable of the enjoyment of an eternity of bliss?

"O! be wise!

Nor make a curse of immortality.

Knowest thou the importance of a soul immortal?

Behold this midnight glory; worlds on worlds!

Amazing pomp! Redouble this amaze;

Ten thousand add; add twice ten thousand more;

Then weigh the whole; one *soul* outweighs them all;

And calls the astonishing magnificence

Of *unintelligent* creation poor."

Young.

* Matt. xi. 5.

† James ii. 5.

‡ 1 Cor. i. 26—29.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRISTIANITY A SYSTEM PERFECTLY ADAPTED TO RESTORE FALLEN AND DIVIDED HUMANITY TO A STATE OF HAPPINESS AND UNITY.
 —THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.—ORDINANCES AND CEREMONIES.—
 AN ADDRESS TO NATIVE CHRISTIANS.—THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.—CONCLUSION.

"The soul, whose sight all-quick'ning grace renews,
 Takes the resemblance of the good she views,
 As diamonds, stripp'd of their opaque disguise,
 Reflect the noonday glory of the skies."

Cowper.

Man is a religious being, and will worship something; and by worshipping becomes assimilated to the character of the object he worships. The whole experience of the world, however, confirms the fact that man cannot by his unassisted reason establish a perfect rule of religious and moral duty, applicable to himself as a sinner and an immortal being. Even a high point of civilization has opposed no check to idolatry; thus forcibly illustrating the remark of unerring truth, that "the world by wisdom knew not God."*

The necessities of our nature cry out for relief; they press towards something which they know not, but which they "feel after, if haply they may find it." We want the restoration of our ruined nature. To all this Revelation responds. Do we feel that we are poor, insignificant, dependent, *limited* beings, with every thing fleeting and unsubstantial around us? The Bible declares to us a Being unlimited, unchanging and eternal, from whom we sprang, by whom we are sustained, and for whose use and glory we are formed. Do we feel that we are wretched, self-condemned, *sinful* beings? The Bible declares to us a Being holy and divine, who came into the world to save us from sin and its consequences. And do we feel that we are *feeble* beings; in understanding, weak; in will, uncertain; in every good work, imperfect? The Bible declares to us a Being wise and perfect, who can infuse new life and regenerate the soul and purify the affections.

Natural reason and conscience are insufficient to lead man into the path of truth and happiness. Conscience is not entirely guided by reason, but in a great measure by what men *believe*. *Faith* may therefore be said to be the regulator of the conscience. A correct view of God and man will form a correct

* 1 Cor. i. 21.

conscience; and a wrong view, on the contrary, will produce its opposite.

God has given us a law by which holiness and justice, and moral right and wrong are known and felt. The Mosaic or preparatory dispensation was one of shadows and ceremonies, which "could not make the comers thereunto perfect," but pointed to a great and glorious truth which was to be developed, and which was to be a more perfect and more spiritual dispensation, bringing "life and immortality to light."

This new and perfect system of religion, now revealed to us in Christianity, is adapted to develop and perfect man's moral powers, and render him in his present condition as perfect as his nature and his circumstances will allow.

Since man cannot be instructed but by human language, and since he is so constituted that he learns by example better than precept, and since in a perfect system there must be both precept and example; a perfect model of human nature was necessary for such a purpose; a being, possessing a perfect human nature, who would not only give perfect precepts, but also practise those precepts before the eyes of men. The teaching and example of an angel, or of any being from a different order from man, would be of no benefit to the human family. Man must see his duties, as man, exemplified in his own nature. *Jesus Christ* assumed a perfect model of human nature, and appeared in that condition, which would have the most direct influence to destroy selfishness and pride in the human heart, and to foster in their stead humility, contentment and benevolence. "It became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings. For both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one: for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren."

Jesus Christ is the sun of the moral world. He came and stood as the centre of attraction to a race of beings ruined by the malignant power of sin, and scattered and dissipated by the repulsive power of selfishness. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." But Christ died for us while we were yet sinners. "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to give his life a ransom for many."† What amazing love, which made the Lord of heaven stoop down to empty himself of all his glory, to tabernacle with created sinful beings, and associate and eat with sinners, in order to elevate their condition, and to lay down his life as a purchase for their redemption. In the incar-

* Heb. ii. 10, 11.

† Matt. xx. 28.

nation and the atoning sacrifice of the Lord of glory, we see an unparalleled exhibition of love and mercy. And in his glorious resurrection, ascension and out-pouring of the promised Spirit, we see not only the doctrines he taught confirmed, and the truth of his religion established; but we also see him in his mediatorial capacity exalted to be our Prince and our Saviour, to give us repentance and the remission of sins. Jesus Christ then is the light, and life, and love of the spiritual system, drawing all men unto him by the attractive power of his meritorious righteousness.

Christianity claims to itself the title of being the only true revelation of the one only true and living God;—of being “the way, the truth and the life.” Even that doctrine which has been assailed with the greatest virulence, the doctrine of the *atonement*, is, in its practical effects, calculated to produce sentiments of the most unbounded philanthropy. It teaches that the benefits of this sacrifice are unlimited in their efficacy, and have a retrospective influence in sanctifying the virtues of those who saw the promises of God afar off.

The only way in which truths, on which depend eternal interests, can be brought into efficient contact with the soul of man, is *faith*, a living and operating principle which rectifies the conscience, purifies the affections, and produces love to God and man. It destroys sin in the heart, and produces righteousness and benevolence. This vital and necessary principle is laid at the foundation of the Christian system; “He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.”* The main scope of Christian faith is to establish two principles, the corruption of human nature, and the redemption by Jesus Christ. The whole system of Christianity might be made to rest on this one remarkable passage, “God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.”†

Knowledge of God’s truth is the one thing needful for man. This knowledge sanctifies the heart, destroys selfishness, and produces universal love and liberty.

While Christianity claims an entire and unconditional compliance with its requisitions, there is no evil which it does not alleviate, and there is no good which it hinders us from enjoying. A compliance with its principles is profitable unto all things; being accompanied with the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come. It tends to counteract, by the spirit which it forms in its disciples, the moral evils which naturally result from the diversity of rank and circumstances; by fixing our attention on the attainment of

* Mark xvi. 16.

† 2 Cor. v. 19.

holiness, which alone will avail us in eternity. It teaches us the insignificance of all earthly distinctions, and by placing the rich and poor on the same level in the worship of that God who is no respecter of persons, it cherishes that humility of mind which in his sight is of great value. Thus, while Christianity is favorable to the internal tranquillity of nations, by inculcating subordination to magistrates, and a becoming deference to superiors, it teaches those that are elevated, not to be elated, and those that are low, not to be depressed; but, if believers, to regard each other as members of the same family, and cherishing the same hopes of joining the society of glorified spirits in heaven. Thus the admirable adaptation of Christianity to the wants of man proves its divine origin.

II. In connection with Christianity it will not, we trust, be irrelevant here, briefly to treat on the nature of the Christian church, ordinances, and communion.

The Christian Church is the aggregate sum of those, who have been called out from the dimness of Judaism and the darkness of heathenism to constitute the body of Christ, in which he, by his Spirit, dwells and works. "He is the head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all."*

It is the temple which the Holy Spirit animates, the sacred sphere in which Jehovah manifests his presence. "It is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone."† In the Saviour's commission‡ to his disciples, he designed that they should constitute a distinct and organized community of men separated from the world. The Church is not a mere substitute framed to supply or repair the deficiencies of other social institutions and corporations, but is of itself a free, peculiar, independent corporation, pervading all states, and in its object exalted far above them.

The Church is called *the kingdom of God*, of which Christ is the Supreme Head and Ruler. It is an institution not confined to place or time. It is not of earthly origin. It is designed to knit man to man in fresh and universal relationship, by uniting him to God. It gathers together all who share in that nature which God has redeemed and sanctified and glorified. Within it, all those inequalities of life and circumstances which foster so largely the pride and discontent and envy and all the evil passions of the heart, are made to disappear; for human distinctions find no place in this spiritual kingdom, in which the weak things are chosen before the strong, where Christ is

* Eph. i. 22, 23.

† Eph. ii. 20.

‡ Matt. xxviii. 20.

all in all. The Head of the Church says, "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."*

In this Church the Lord has distinctly provided and enjoined specific, public, solemn *Ordinances*; the one of admission into fellowship with this community, by which the number of its members might be recruited and increased from time to time all over the world; and the other of social union and communion, by which the relation of those members to each other and to their invisible Head might be kept up. By participating in these ordinances with a lively faith, Christians are constituted a new nation of redeemed people, holy to the Lord.

The initiatory rite is Baptism, which, when connected with "the answer of a good conscience,"† is attended with saving benefit to the soul. The soul that is regenerated, is quickened from a state of death in trespasses and in sins, is introduced into the glorious liberty of the children of God, and is the subject of that illumination which gives the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in Jesus Christ.

The Lord's Supper admits Christians into a fellowship both with their common Lord and with each other, which is peculiarly sacred, intimate, and endearing. The Saviour's injunction, "Do this in remembrance of me," imposes on all his disciples the obligation and imparts to them the right to come to the Lord's table. Of all religious services there is none better adapted to nourish and express the brotherly affections of Christians than this ordinance, in which they are required to profess their attachment to all their fellow-disciples, as well as their gratitude to their common Redeemer and Lord.

In the Church there is a public union and communion of Christians, necessary not only for the perpetuation of the Church, but to promote personal and social religion. In this holy connection, "no man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself." "For as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit; that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."‡

* John xvii. 20, 21. † 1 Pet. iii. 21. ‡ 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13; 25, 26.

"By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." This language of our Lord seems to require a *visible* union, which we cannot have without public intercourse of some kind. Under the disorganizing influence of sin the tendency of man is towards a universal misanthropy. The language of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" is the appropriate language of all false systems of religion. Human nature is like a mass of quicksilver which, when it falls on the floor, splits itself into a vast number of distinct globules; but when Christ gathers the scattered globules, and puts them together in his Church, they will coalesce into one as before. Even so the essence of the social life in the Christian Church is a feeling of the sense of brotherhood and union in Christ. It is a disposition to count as brethren in the Lord, and to unite with, all who have been consecrated to our heavenly Master. Whatever may be our individual distinctions, or varieties of character in the eyes of men, yet *in Christ* we all stand on the same footing, having no hope but in his blood and righteousness. The brethren are loved, because they are *holy*, on account of their relation to the Lord; on account of which relationship they are entitled to our Christian sympathy, fellowship and beneficence. All being descended from one common parent, redeemed by one Lord, sanctified by one Spirit, and animated by one hope, they form one compact and undivided family. Such was the nature of the early Christian Church. "They continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers." "Continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, they did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart."*

III. We would affectionately invite the attention of those natives, who have been baptized into the name of Christ and profess to be his disciples, to a few words of exhortation.

Do you know how much you are indebted to the Missions with which you are connected, and how much you owe to the eminent men who have laboured for your welfare? Can you estimate the obligation in which you stand to your Redeemer who shed his heart's blood for your salvation? If, after professing Christianity, you still maintain and adhere to the idolatrous distinctions of caste, you are not acting up to the requirements of Christianity. To attempt to retain caste under the gospel is as unlawful, as would be the attempt to introduce the Jewish notions of purity and impurity; for you call that com-

mon which God hath cleansed. Yea, such an attempt is even more unlawful; for the Jewish notions did originally come from God and were good and lawful for a time; but caste distinctions have no other origin and no other authority than heathenism. Recollect that caste distinctions are contrary to one of the great designs of redemption: "Christ has redeemed *you* from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers."* Do you believe this? Where then is the awe which trembles at his word? Do you consider that "a Christian is the highest style of man?" And yet would you despise the Christian who is not of your caste, and consider it pollution to eat and associate with him? Would you make it your duty to please your Lord and your fellow-Christians? Or would you endeavour to please your heathen neighbours, from whom you are commanded to separate and not to touch the unclean thing? "Ye have despised the poor. Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before judgment seats? Do not they blaspheme that worthy name by the which ye are called? If ye fulfil the royal law, according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well: but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors."† If the demon of caste be still lurking in your heart, and you secretly fall down and worship him, Christ will profit you nothing. He requires an entire and unconditional surrender of yourselves to him. He will suffer no rival on his throne. Should it be said that Christians are worse than the wise heathen who have renounced caste? Hear what one of them says: "What is the good of instruction, so long as you retain your caste? It is base, after embracing a creed, to hesitate about giving up caste."‡ Shall Satan triumph in the success of his schemes? Shall the infidel point with the finger of scorn at the Church of Christ, so divided by the spirit of caste? Know you not that we must cease to be slaves, before we can be children? and that we must be free from the dominion of fear, before we can be under the government of love? The Saviour says, "Them that honour me, I will honour." Do you honour him, and "count all things but loss for the excellency of his knowledge?" The Lord of life and glory is not ashamed to call you *brethren*; are you ashamed of him and his cross? Can you conscientiously say, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." The Saviour asks, "Lovest thou me?" and says, "If ye love me, keep my commandments." And if you love him, do you love his image, wherever it is re-

* 1 Pet. i. 18.

† James ii. 6—9.

‡ Vemana, 139.

flected? Do you believe in the Lord Jesus Christ? Of true believers it is declared: "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God: and every one that loveth him that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him."*

Those of you who according to the false estimate of Hinduism are accounted low and mean, remember what Christianity has done to elevate your position, and be grateful. Be humble followers of the meek and lowly Saviour, and let your oppressors and despisers see your piety and consistency of conduct, and acknowledge "that God is no respecter of persons."

Those of you who have counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ, and have forsaken your caste as well as your idolatry and your sins, and glory in nothing else but the cross, your loss is not to be compared to your gain. You are witnesses for the living God, who is glorified by the light that shineth from your sincerity; and you are witnesses for that truth which purified your hearts. "Rejoice and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven."

Fellow-Christians! Do you "forbear one another in love?"—a precept which, if obeyed, will reduce all to order and harmony in the Christian Church. Where there is envying and strife and division, there is the *carnal* mind. If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another. Know ye not that "the secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will shew them his covenant? The meek will he guide in judgment, and the meek will he teach his way. Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." What then is your imperative duty in reference to your fellow-Christians, of whatever caste they may be? Let the prophet Malachi declare: "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously, every man against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers?"†

IV. India is in Britain's power, the hundred millions of Hindustán are under her controul and disposal. A sacred duty is committed to her charge. It is a fact felt and acknowledged that European conquests have tended to mitigate the calamities of India. In contrast with the tyranny and misery of the Hindu and Mahomedan dominations, the European conquest, and especially the power of the British Government, is held in the highest reputation. The security of person and property, with righteousness and benevolence of rule, and fidelity to treaties and engagements, has won for the British name an extensive fame. The benefits conferred on India by the abolition of suttee, infanticide, and other inhuman rites

* 1 John v. 1.

† Malachi ii. 10.

and usages, and the encouragement given to education, and a variety of improvements, will yet be universally hailed as British mercies for India. We trust the day of a temporizing and timid policy is gone by, when government could issue a regulation that "no one shall be authorized to officiate as District Moonsiff, unless he be of the *Hindu or Mahomedan persuasions*,"* and when a Naick in a native Regiment was dismissed from the army for having embraced Christianity.† A more righteous policy is now pursued. The late disconnection of Government from the support of idol temples, and the still more recent noble *Lex Loci*‡ Act, by which natives embracing the Christian religion are delivered from severe and ruinous disabilities, are worthy of a powerful, intelligent, and Christian government. We trust that reforms will yet go on, and that government will not be deaf to the voice of humanity, still groaning under the lash of superstition and idolatry. It is the duty of Britain to use every legitimate means for the gradual downfall of institutions, however ancient they may be, which are calculated to check the growth of the intellectual, moral, and social improvement of man. Let there be an impartial distribution of patronage and favour; let men of learning and talents and character be encouraged, of whatever caste they may be; and let it be seen that respectability is connected not only with birth, but with learning and virtue. May the British government in its policy and legislation for India ever remember the scriptural injunction: "As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith."§

V. We must now draw to a conclusion. From all that we have considered, let us view caste in the Christian Church in a proper light. We have seen that by encouraging it, we cherish an enemy in our own bosom. Some little reform has been effected in the southern churches by insisting on the annihilation of caste distinctions in the administrations of ordinances, — a rule, at first openly resisted, and even now in many places unwillingly obeyed. Caste has been known to dry up the life and fervour of Christian faith. We have had painful experience that there is worldliness about the caste Christian, a love of something earthly, which exceeds his love to the Saviour.

It must be recollected that caste sets up a tribunal in the Church of Christ which the Gospel does not recognize or allow. Caste is a combination to maintain certain arbitrary regulations with regard to conduct. Each member is obliged to act with the rest, or he will be excluded. These regulations take cog-

* Madras Government, 1816.

† Heber's Journal.

‡ See Appendix E.

§ Gal. vi. 10.

nizance of private and public conduct, extending even to the service of God in the sanctuary. No man is at liberty to act up to the convictions of his conscience. If he dares to do so, he is formally tried by the members and the rules of caste, and if found guilty, he is ejected and is deprived of family respect, comfort, and as far as caste can reach, of the means of subsistence. Here there is an independent tribunal for judging and punishing amongst members of a Christian congregation. Now whence does this tribunal derive its authority? Not from scripture certainly, which only acknowledges two powers, the ecclesiastical which regards religious and moral actions, and the civil or magisterial which regards state offences. Caste belongs to neither of these powers, for Christianity does not recognize it, and the state cannot interfere with it, being a voluntary association. What power then shall we call this? It is decidedly anti-christian; and if so, should it be permitted in the Christian Church?

The testimony of an eminent minister, whose praise is in all the churches, is worthy of our attention. Dr. Duff says: "Simultaneous with the destruction of idolatry and superstition will be the abolition of caste. Idolatry and superstition are like the stones and brick of a huge fabric, and caste is the cement which pervades and closely binds the whole. Let us then undermine the common foundation, and both tumble at once, and form a common ruin. Wisdom proclaims they must be destroyed together, or not at all. But destroyed together in many cases they have already been. The same cause inevitably proves the ruin of both. The cruel, anti-social, tyrannical dominion of caste is made to be known, abhorred and trampled under foot, with an indignation which is not lessened by the reflection, that over ages and generations without number it has 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 a rigour of a merciless necessity."*

In treating the subject, however, great care and discrimination are necessary. Zeal without knowledge and firmness without prudence will do little or do no good. We must endeavour to raise the tone of moral feeling by a thorough Christian education, and employ as mission agents none but men of decided piety and ability.

We do not blame those who establish schools exclusively for caste children of the heathen. Their object is good; they are letting in light to dissipate darkness. It is only by Christian education that the mass of the people can be taught to consi-

* Duff on India, 592.

der their deep-rooted prejudices as unreasonable ; and divine grace alone can enable them to renounce such prejudices. But whatever we do, we must never lose sight of the main point, and that is, we must not sacrifice principle to expediency ; for it must be remembered that no good can be gained, if it involve the sacrifice of any important principle. In matters essential there must be no compromise, and therefore it is necessary to maintain a firm attitude in respect to the spirit of caste, in connection with the services and ordinances of the Christian Church.

We trust that Christian ministers will view their awful responsibilities in connection with this subject in a proper light. The keys of the kingdom of heaven are entrusted to them. The sacred ordinances are committed to their hands. They must be faithful to their trust, and endeavour to preserve the purity of the Christian Church, by not admitting caste into the sanctuary and to the table of the Lord.

Caste must be opposed as a *sin*, a religious error ; and a simultaneous *union of effort* is required to put it down. Its abolition must be made a test of following Christ. A decisive and unanimous step must be taken ; for as converts increase, their prejudices may grow into a barrier too formidable to resist. The difficulty must be met in its incipient stage and destroyed.

“The heathenish usages connected with caste are unknown in the presidency of Bengal, and must become unknown in every other. And that at once, so far as religion and the service of God is concerned. An isthmus cast up between Christ and Belial—a bridge left standing for retreat to paganism—a citadel kept erect within the Christian enclosure for the great adversary’s occupation—is what the gospel cannot tolerate. The Jesuits’ proceedings in China are warning enough to us.”*

Caste in the Christian Church, and the disorders consequent upon it, are certainly subjects for deep humiliation and for *fervent prayer*. God often humbles that he may exalt in due time, and waits to be enquired of. His unerring purposes have decreed that *there shall be one fold, and one shepherd* ;—Let the Church then pray and exert herself with renewed fervour and energy for the welfare of man, and the glory of God.

* Bishop Wilson’s Charge, 42.



A P P E N D I X.

(A)

PETITION OF THE PANCHALARS.

To the Hon'ble the Board of Revenue, Madras.

WE the undersigned, descendants of Punjah Brahmá, residing at Salem, beg to inform your Hon'ble Board that in the five Vedas now extant among the Hindus of this country, viz. Rik, Yajúr, Sáma, Atharva, and Pranava, and also in our Shástras, it is averred that Sanaga Rishí sprang from the *east side* face of the Punjamuga Brahmá, endowed with the capacity of working in iron; Sanathana Rishí from the *south side* face, with the capacity of working in wood; Abuvana Rishí from the *west side* face, with the capacity of working in brass; Prattana Rishí from the *north side* face, with the capacity of working in stone; and Subarna Rishí from the face towards the sky, with the capacity of working in gold; that it is manifestly clear that we, the ironsmiths, the carpenters, the brasiers, the masons, and the goldsmiths, are the descendants of the Brahmá Rishís, and that therefore we alone ought to be designated Bráhmans; that our five kinds of works (trades) are the acts of Brahmá; that thereby the three important works, viz. those of creating, saving and destroying, are continually carried on; and that our caste-men alone were the persons who exclusively officiated as priests (*purohitas*) to the Hindus from time immemorial, and continued so to officiate even in the reign of the Kshatriya kings.

It is also mentioned in our Upanishads and Vatchera Sutchy and in the Puránas, that Vashishtha was born of Urvasí a prostitute, that Naratha was of the washerman caste, that Vyása was a fisherman, Valmega a huntsman, that Sankia Rishí, Cabiler, and Parasa were Pariars, Tanka Rishí, a cobbler; that Karkayer was the son of an ass;—Sawnaga Rishí, the son of a dog;—Kandannia Rishí, the son of a widow woman;—Sambuga Rishí was the offspring of a jackal;—Goutama, of a hare;—Mondavia Rishí, of a frog;—Agastia, of a water-pot;—and Pattuvasanagar, of a bird;—that from these Rishís, who were a mixed tribe of the higher and lower castes, sprang the Bráhmans, who are also called village irrigators, and that therefore the Bráhmans are a mongrel tribe.

2. That these Bráhmans had by some means or other, about 500 or 600 years ago, insinuated themselves into the favour of the Carnatic Kings, an uneducated race, who then reigned in these countries, and

having also succeeded in making some ignorant men succumb to their authority, proceeded so far as to prejudice the minds of the king (Royar) and of his minister Appaji against us, and by their influence caused a separation between us and the Vellalers, &c. denominating us the *Edenkeyer* (left hand caste), and them the *Valankeyer* (right-hand caste), and thus created such a jealousy in the minds of the latter toward us, that even they have since become our enemies, and endeavour by every possible means to mar our prospects and lower us in the estimation of others, by excluding us from privileges which belong to us alone, and which when we attempt to claim, they illtreat and abuse us in various ways. Moreover, being well aware that all the Vedas and Shástras bear witness to our being both the descendants of Brahmá, as well as the sole agents ordained by him for the performance of his Punja acts; and fearing that if the people should read them, they would discover that they (the Bráhmans) are of a low caste and thus be led to despise them, and esteem us as the objects of their veneration, they have made various attempts to pervert the passages in these holy writings (which alone are our credentials), and have moreover prevented their being read by others: as a thief who steals a jewel from another, would try to deform it and keep it hid from public view, lest it should be detected by its owner. But as it is impossible for one to lop off even a single branch from that tree whose roots are in the depth of the earth, whose top reacheth to the very heavens, and whose stem filleth the whole earth; so likewise it is impossible for them to pervert even a single letter in the Vedas; in consequence of which they have adopted other measures, and have confined the study of them to themselves; and also have prevented the other castes from reading them, under a threat that if they should at any time read them or hear them read, their posterity would be utterly destroyed. They have allowed them to read only the Puránas, having, however, perverted some portions of them also, with a view that the readers may esteem them more than us, and have in addition appended many spurious fables which militate against our character. But we, on the contrary, have ever lived honestly, and consistently with our profession from the commencement, and have appointed *Purohitas* from our own caste, excluding the Bráhmans from having any thing to do with our ceremonies. This has excited the jealousy of the Bráhmans who have therefore stirred up the Valankey people to rise up against us; and the Bráhmans themselves who have influence with government, have caused us a great deal of annoyance and trouble, of which we have complained to the Zillah Judge, to the Collector, and other Magistrates, assuring them that we are in possession of proofs from the Shástras respecting our rights to the priesthood; but since those who hold public offices in the durbars are chiefly Bráhmans, they endeavour to defeat our purpose by misrepresenting our case and refusing to receive any farther petitions from us. Thus does our case lie still unheard, uninvestigated and undecided. We have, therefore, now no other alternative but to send our case to Government for their consideration.

3. Though the Sircar have accepted our complaints, they have not given us an answer as yet. We in the mean while addressed a circular

to the chief merchants and inhabitants of this country, regarding the origin of the Bráhmans caste, according to the principles of our Vedas, and desired them to examine it; but they having been bribed by the Bráhmans, refused to do so, and advised us to appeal to Government. The Honorable Company are celebrated and greatly venerated for their rectitude, generosity, knowledge, and excellent moral character; and they moreover spend enormous sums of money on the College established at Madras for the benefit of the public, and many of these gentlemen have become scholars even in the Sanskrit language—and yet it is surprising that they have not been able to discover the cupidity of the Bráhmans, and to know that they are decidedly a mean set of people,—but have on the contrary supposed them to be the noblest caste in the world, and are thus deceived as the former Carnatic kings were.

There is not a line or a letter to be found in the Vedas, which will corroborate the claim of the Bráhmans, so as to entitle them to belong to either of the four castes, viz. Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaysia, or Sudra; but on the contrary it will be found that the Rishís who are the progenitors of the Bráhmans, were born long after the various descriptions of castes had been introduced into the world. It is therefore absurd on their part to claim to be the descendants of Brahmá, who is the prime progenitor or the first Creator. If they are, as they say, the posterity of the great Creator, they ought of necessity to possess at least a little (be it ever so little) of the capacity of creating, so as to resemble Brahmá; nor would they, if they were really his descendants, have been so destined as to go about begging for a livelihood or to work for their living. Moreover, an examination of their genealogies as well as of their tribe, which are to be found in their Sasanams, will at once prove that they are but a low caste.

4. Moreover, when people are called upon to swear in courts of justice, the Christians are required to have in their hands their Bible, and the Mahomedans their Koran; but in the case of a Hindu it is not so; they have none of their Vedas given to them to swear upon; and the Bráhmans make the Europeans believe that the Rámáyana is their true Veda, and have concealed the real Veda, for fear that the Europeans would thereby discover that the Bráhmans are a low caste, and that we are the high caste. This Rámáyana is nothing more than a narrative respecting a war which broke out between two persons, one of whom ran away with the wife of the other, and the whole work is full of fabulous stories. Such being the nature of the Rámáyana, the Bráhmans, it is evident, would not regard it with any religious reverence, but would without the least hesitation presume to take false oaths upon it, and to bear false witness in your courts of justice. Neither again would the Hindus be afraid in bearing false witness after drinking the *Tulasee* water. But let us assure your Hon'ble Board candidly that if our Veda be given into their hands on such an occasion, none of them would dare to bear false witness against his neighbour. It is therefore worthy of your equitable government to take into consideration the fraudulency which the Bráhmans are practising, and have been practising since the time of the Carnatic Rájás, in order that they may be considered as

high, and others as low caste people ; and it devolves upon your Hon'ble Board to determine to which of us the priesthood exclusively belongs, by examining their genealogies ; for which purpose we are prepared to furnish you with the requisite information from the Hindu Vedas.

5. Moreover, the Bráhmans persuaded the *Polygars* of old to believe that they themselves were a tribe equal to the gods, that any acts of benevolence shewn to them would be considered as virtuous by the gods, and that their blessing would be attended with, or secure, a long succession of power and prosperity in favour of the *Polygar* government. The *Polygars* therefore, without discretion, bestowed upon the Bráhmans (to the exclusion of all others) considerable gifts of land ; for which act of partiality, on the part of the *Polygars*, God having been displeased, he deprived them of the reins of government, and divested them of their former authority. The Bráhmans continued, however, in the subsequent reign of the Nabob, to remain in influential circumstances, having by some means or other retained the endowments of their *Servamanium* lands. But as that government also did not act according to the will of the Almighty, it pleased him to give over this country to the English, who are true and just in all their dealings and engagements. You, Sirs, have bound the country with laws and rules suited to every class, and govern them peaceably, so that no one can hurt or injure his neighbour. But it must be recollected that the *Polygars* had by a false credulity taken them to be Bráhmans, who were really not so, esteemed them as *gurus*, and in consequence granted them lands in abundance. But be it remembered that they are not *gurus* to the English, neither are they required to furnish the English with calendars—nor do the English owe the exercise of their authority in this country to any aid afforded them by the Bráhmans. Yea the Tamulians cultivate their lands and pay their tax to government, and even serve the Company in their armies, and give their lives for them ; but the Bráhmans render no benefit to the English : and yet the Government esteem them very highly, and grant them *Servamaniums*, *Arthamaniums*, &c. This partiality is surely contrary to your true religion and to the equity of your government, and tends greatly to encourage the Bráhmans, whereby they are enabled to hold situations in public offices, carry on merchandize, possess numerous lands, and grant them out on contract annually to cultivation for large sums ; thus do they distress the poorer classes as they please. It may perhaps appear just that the lands bestowed on the Bráhmans who live in *Akrarams* should be possessed and enjoyed by them so long as they live, but on the death of the land-holder and in the event of his leaving no issue, the land ought of necessity to be resumed by Government. On the contrary, these Bráhmans are wont to usurp the land on such occasions, by drawing up a false document and making it appear that the land in question had already been either disposed of by the proprietor when alive, or given away by him as *Dánam* (a gift) &c., &c.

6. The Bráhmans are not *gurus* to the English ; they ought therefore to be considered in the same light as others. It would therefore be just and agreeable both to God and man, if taxes for their land be exacted from them as from the Tamulians, or if the land be re-

sumed by Government ; such resumption would in no wise offend the other castes. Otherwise, if the Bráhmans seem to be more learned than the others, or if they differ from the rest in ability, form, &c. peculiar to themselves, they are at liberty not only to enjoy what they do now, but also to have more honour bestowed on them than on others. But when they are found to be no better than the others, it is surprising that their pretended character is left so unnoticed, especially at this time, when knowledge pervades the country. It is true that lands were formerly given to them on a belief of their being Bráhmans, but since they are now proved to be no better than the low caste, according to the Hindu Vedas, surely they can be no longer entitled to hold the lands as they have hitherto done.

7. While all sects of men expect an equal share of benevolence and patronage from a government so equitable as that of the English, and while the management of all civil matters &c. ought to be transacted in the vernacular languages of the country, the Bráhmans alone are allowed to hold all the respectable offices, from a *Gumastha* to a Head *Shereshtadar* in *Azoors*, and from the office of a writer to that of a *Tassildar* in *Talooks*. Since other caste men are not employed in such offices, they deceive the others by transacting affairs in the Mahratta language ; and they all being of one caste, it is not likely that one would betray the other, whereas, if some of the other castes be employed together with them, the case would be otherwise. They therefore, from the same motive, give no room to others, nor will they allow them to come nigh even to the door of their cutcherries, and as there exists such an ill-will between us and them, with respect to the right of the priesthood, they look upon us as their inveterate enemies, and try their utmost to degrade and injure us, and they are not in want of means for doing so, for they have every privilege they require granted to them in the cutcherries. They boast of being the only race fit for government situations ; which of itself is an absurdity, for even if a cow-boy be employed in a cutcherry, the Sircar work would be carried on as regularly as heretofore.

We therefore pray that the Government will be pleased to employ all classes of men without distinction in public offices, to appoint East-Indians and Mahomedans as *Tassildars*, as also to endeavour to discover the fraudulency of the Bráhmans in assuming the priesthood to themselves, which deceit the former Carnatic government was not capable of discovering. We also beg to bring to your notice that if the Bráhmans' blessings were really true in order to prolong the Polygar government, as they were made to believe, what is the reason that they suffer the loss of it now ? It is manifestly known that those Polygars and Princes, who granted them lands, never prospered. Should the Government wish to take away the lands from them which have been presented for the use of temples, it will perhaps be a cause of offence to the public ; we therefore pray that Government may allow the continuance of the enjoyment of the temple lands, and take away the *Maniums* of the Priesthood from them ; and that all the foregoing statements relating to our right to the priesthood be duly investigated into and decided.

Here follow the signatures of thirty-two individuals.

Salem, 17th February, 1840.

(B)

CASTE VIEWED AS THE RESULT OF CONQUEST.

It is supposed that the system of caste was gradually established, from the successive importation of conquerors, which is evident from the physical disparities which exist between the races. "The general theory is that the *Sudras* entering India from the north-west, about 3500 years ago, cleared the country of its forests and inhabitants, and settled down to the quiet and permanent occupation of the soil. The second race, the *Kshatriyas*, one of the great warrior tribes, another branch of whom had founded the empire of Darius, poured into India like a flood, and fertilized more than they destroyed. With the hereditary gregariousness, which they have displayed in every corner of the globe, they raised and beautified enormous cities; and the ruins of Kanouj and Magadha, and the lost Palibothra, attest the architectural genius of those, whose fore-fathers may have founded Babylon and Nineveh. The *Bráhmans*, or third family, brought with them a more northern blood, and a creed disfigured by all the wild extravagancies of northern imaginations. The struggle immediately commenced between the disciplined and civilized *Kshatriya*, and the more energetic *Bráhmans*; and its first development appears to have been made at Kanouj. At first, either the nature of the *Kshatriya* worship, or their superior learning, rendered them alike insensible to the reasoning and to the swords of their *Bráhmanical* enemies. The latter, however, found means to detach from them a portion of their number, whom they designated the sons of flame (*Agnikul*), and vanquished the warrior caste throughout Northern India; from whence they gradually spread southward, greatly assisted by the series of catastrophes, which form the subject of the *Rámáyana*."

The victorious *Bráhmans* conceded to the remains of *Kshatriyas* a place only second to their own. The *Sudras* still formed the bulk of the nation: and the more wealthy and powerful of their nation were raised from their fellows, invested with a divided poita and formed into a separate caste of *Vaisyas*, or merchants. Then the system began to roll itself up, and the *Bráhmans*, by constructing their genealogies, far ever shut out from themselves the moving power of most religions—the principle of propagandism.—*Calcutta Review*, No. 25, pp. 44—46.

(C)

EXTRACTS FROM BISHOP HEBER'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Bishop Heber's Letter to the Rev. Christian David.

"*Furreedpore*, July 26, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received a singular application, signed by eighty of the native Christians in and near Vepery, and complaining of the conduct of the Lutheran missionaries, as compelling them to associate, to sit promiscuously at church, and to send their children to

the same schools, with persons of the Pariar caste. They refer me to you for a further explanation of their grievances, some of which, indeed, are expressed very obscurely. Will you, therefore, have the goodness to inform me, whether they object to intercourse with the Pariahs on any superstitious ground of *caste*, or simply because these last are mostly poor, and belonging to the *meaner rank of society*? Whether they object to sitting in the *same church*, or merely to sitting *promiscuously* in the same part of a church with them? Whether, supposing a Christian Pariar, by industry and good fortune, to elevate himself above the rank which (according to these remonstrants) they now generally hold, of horse-keepers, scavengers, &c., to decent and affluent circumstances, they would still object to associate with him or his children? And lastly, what are the peculiarities, if any, in the conduct and language of these poor Pariahs, from which they profess to apprehend pollution and infection to themselves and their children? Are there any practices, though indifferent in themselves, yet offensive to the persons of high caste, which the Pariahs practice? And, if so, may they not be induced to abandon them?

I must say, there is much in the letter of these Christians which I have read with great pain. They seem puffed up above their brethren, and disposed to regard those for whom Christ died as well as for themselves, as if they were of a different species. Their letter, too, contains a sort of threat, that if their wishes are not complied with, they will forsake the Church. Alas! do they not perceive that this is not the way to gain any thing from me? That if, on such grounds, they leave the Church, they leave it to the danger of their own souls? And what other Christian society will they find who can dare receive them, while claiming an inequality so decidedly contrary to Scripture and to the declared will of that God, with whom is no respect of persons, and who, of one blood, hath made all the nations of the earth?

Still, I am ready and anxious to make every allowance to ancient and deeply-rooted prejudice, which the Gospel authorizes me to do; and I, therefore, my worthy friend, shall be much obliged to you to inform me what was the practice of Mr. Swartz's congregation in these respects? Whether Bishop Middleton made any order in the business? And, above all, what is, in your own conscientious opinion, the best remedy for the difficulty?

Believe me, my dear Sir, your sincere friend,
(Signed) R. CALCUTTA.

*Rev. Christian David's Reply.**

Bishop's College, August 5th, 1824.

MY LORD,—I have been truly gratified by the very kind and interesting letter of the 26th ultimo, with which your Lordship has been pleased to honor me, and which was immediately forwarded by the Rev.

* We give insertion to this letter just as we found it in the Tanjore Mission Records. It is the production of a native minister, originally of Tanjore, but subsequently in Ceylon.

Principal Mill to Serampore, where I was at the time attending my son, who was afflicted with fever and liver complaint.

I have shewn your Lordship's letter to the Rev. the Principal, and have communicated to him verbally, from my own knowledge and observation, the answer to the several questions by your Lordship, which, partly by his advice, I now thus fully detail as follows.

Question 1st. Your Lordship's first question was, "whether the native Christians in the South object to intercourse with the Pariahs on any superstitious ground of *caste*, or simply because these last are mostly rude and belonging to the *meaner* ranks of society."

Observation. The two ideas are, in the minds of these people, merely the same,—i. e. their idea of rank is only that of *caste*. It is altogether distinct from the consideration of *poverty* or low circumstances in the world. It is necessary to observe also that theirs is purely a *worldly idea*; it is not connected in their minds with any notion of either true or false *religion*, nor is there, to my knowledge, any superstition connected with it by the native Christians; consequently I would answer the question thus:

Answer. They object on the ground of *caste*, though not as a superstitious ground, but as being the only rule by which they are accustomed to measure men's rank in society, i. e. on the ground of *worldly pride*, only joined to the worldly fear of degradation in the eyes of their own people, Christians as well as Heathens. (The third question will illustrate this.)

Q. 2nd. Whether, supposing a Christian Pariah, by industry and good fortune, to elevate himself above the rank which (according to those remonstrants) they now generally hold, of horse-keepers, scavenger, &c., to decent and affluent circumstances, they would still object to associate with him and his children?

Answer. If the person merely became rich, and so independent of menial occupations, it would make no *difference whatever* in their judgment of him; but if, even without becoming rich, he should yet become *well learned* in physic, in astronomy, or (such is the present course of their thoughts) in the doctrines of Christianity, he will then be called Shastree or Pundit, and be respected in that character. They will sit with him and admit him to their circles, even to sharing the betel-nut, *still they will not eat food out of the same dish with him, through the worldly pride or fear above mentioned*; as there are several Pariah catechists in our congregations so situated, and some of yet lower caste, Pallars and Troombars, who are listened to with deference and attention even by the most prejudiced of the high caste converts.

Q. 3rd. What are the peculiarities, if any, in the conduct and language of those poor Pariahs, from which they profess to apprehend pollution and infection to themselves, and their children? Are there among the Pariahs any practices, though indifferent in themselves, yet offensive to persons of higher *caste*? And if so, may they not be induced to abandon them?

Answer. There are certain vulgar, and occasionally, as in jest or anger, certain indecent expressions, from which no son of a Pariah,

though a Christian, can well escape, except such as receive the learned education above mentioned,—these expressions not being reckoned at all shameful among heathen Pariars, but extremely abominable to all others, Heathens as well as Christians. Not only *language*, though this is a great point, but many practices allowed and even enjoined, by custom, on the Pariars general, make the idea of their *society* to be feared as a source of contamination even by the Christian Native of *India*. Such is their custom of eating animals that have died a natural death; that of men, women and children drinking toddy and arrack together in the open streets, &c., &c. These, though not common among the Christian Pariars, are yet not so completely obliterated, but that they are yet feared as belonging to the caste, except, again, in the case of the educated *Pariars* above mentioned.

Q. 4th. What was the practice of Mr. Swartz's congregation in these respects?

Answer. From the days of Ziegenbalg downwards, a period of nearly 100 years, the practice, as I have learned from my predecessors and as I have myself seen, was as follows. That the native converts should sit at church in two separate divisions—those of high, respectable caste in one; the Pariars and those of castes still lower, in the other; yet in such a manner, that a stranger's eye would not discover the distinction, but only the Missionaries or those acquainted with the feelings and ways of the native Christians. (To prove this, it is only necessary to observe that the unconverted natives, Hindus, Musalmáns, constantly conceive and speak of the Christians as being all of *one caste*.)

They also drink out of the same cup at the communion; yet in such a manner, that those of the first division never drink after those of the other. For this purpose, they always go first to the rail—the men and women also separately. The two divisions have a common burial-ground, and in the funeral rites they walk promiscuously, as if with the consciousness, contrary to the heathen notion, that death entirely dissolves these distinctions. The old Missionaries, from the venerable Ziegenbalg to the present survivors, Drs. Rottler and Cämmerer, the former of Madras, the latter of Tranquebar, and the Rev. Mr. Kohlhoff of Tanjore, always lamented those feelings in their *converts*, which they felt themselves nevertheless obliged to consult in the above regulations of proceeding in church and communion. They made it a constant subject of prayer, both among themselves and with their native preachers and catechists, that these feelings of distinction might become extinct; justifying their own practice in this respect by the accommodating (though undissembling) practice of St. Paul and the other Apostles. And under this mild system, especially under the most venerable Swartz, the feelings in question, with the practices resulting from them, were visibly losing ground. A change of this mild practice was for the first time introduced by Mr. Rhenius of the Church Missionary Society, and by him recommended to various other Missionaries recently arrived, as well as of the sectarian denominations, as of those in connexion with our Church,—including Mr. Haubroe (not Mr. Falcke) of the S. P. K. These junior Missionaries agreed

among themselves to make immediate abolition of every shade of these distinctions an indispensable condition of Christian communion with the existing native *converts*. And in their mode of conducting this, they not only opposed, in the most marked manner, the senior surviving Missionaries above mentioned, but spoke both from the pulpit and in private of them and their venerable predecessors, Swartz, Gerické, Pohle, &c. as having done great mischief to the cause of Christianity. To the native Christians, who hold the memories of these illustrious men in the highest esteem and affectionate veneration, these young men were not content to speak of them as having *permitted* such and such things "because of the hardness of their hearts" (which supposing them *right*, they ought to have said, after our Lord's example speaking of Moses,) but denounced them, in the offensive manner above mentioned, as corrupters of the Gospel. The consequence of this harsh procedure, and of the innovations in the translation of the scriptures, as well as of the most known and familiar symbols, the Lord's Prayer, Decalogue, &c. of which they obtained fresh translations, were greatly disliked by the old converts, (i. e. as we may truly say, by all the native Christians now in being) as the heart-burning of which your Lordship has seen one species, shows.

Q. 5th. Whether Bishop Middleton made any order in the business?

Answer. I have heard, though I cannot trust my memory for the particulars, that a contest of this nature, in the Vepery congregation, was once submitted to the late Bishop, and that by his Lordship's intercession with both parties, greater forbearance was obtained, and harmony was for the time restored. The annual report of the P. C. K. Society for 1821, contains, I believe, a letter of Bishop Middleton alluding to this subject.

Q. 6th. What is, in your conscientious opinion, the best remedy for the difficulty?

Answer. I would humbly beg to suggest a means which must have a good effect. A word of advice, in private only (for the contest with the congregation will not admit of any other) from your Lordship to the junior Missionaries, (1) on the necessity for prudence and tenderness with respect to their flocks; (2) of unity and co-operation with their Missionary brethren of the same communion; and (3) of reverential esteem of those who have preceded them in this great work, with a zeal and success which they cannot pretend to have themselves equalled. I would venture to suggest also a pastoral letter from your Lordship to these *converts*, enjoining them at the same time to obedience to their pastors and Christian estimation of all their fellow-Christians,—explaining to them, from scripture, the utter opposition of all proud notions of *caste* to the *Gospel*, and intimating the earnest wish of their European instructors to remove this, with as little offence as possible to any of their national feelings or prejudices, without touching any just and proper distinction of rank, education, or degree in society. This would certainly have very great weight with them. And it might, in my humble opinion, be made still more useful to them, if a special address were made to the Pariahs and those of lower

caste,—reminding them that as Christianity had an evident proper tendency to elevate them with respect to themselves and their countrymen, they should carefully abstain from every expression or habit (however supposed essential to their condition in life) which might have a tendency to excite disgust and dislike in their higher brethren; reminding them also of that necessary regard and deference which Christianity not only allows, but *commands* to be paid to our *superiors* in knowledge or worldly respectability, and of the special directions of St. Paul addressed to Christian slaves against the contempt of their Christian masters. I should not have presumed to offer these suggestions, My Lord, had not your Lordship so condescendingly invited me to do so. I beg leave to inclose, for your Lordship's perusal, the copy of my letter to Dr. Rottler, as it bears on the subject in question, and may throw further light upon the state of things at Vepery; reserving to another opportunity to express myself on one or two further points in your Lordship's letter, irrelevant to the preceding enquiries, having already, perhaps, too greatly extended this letter, for which I beg your Lordship's indulgence, and remain, with a strong and lasting sense of the great condescension and kindness I have experienced from your Lordship, and with ardent wishes for your continued health and happiness and long usefulness in the Church,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's very obedient and faithful Servant,
(Signed) C. DAVID.

Bishop Heber's Letter to the Rev. Mr. Schreyvogel.

Chillumbrum, 21st March, 1826.

“REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I wrote yesterday to Dr.—, to express my regret at not being able to visit you at—. Since that time having again looked over your letter to me, as well as that which you sent on the subject of distinctions of caste, and of other customs yet remaining among the native Christians, which you reprobate as heathenish and improper, I have been led to wish for some explanation of those customs, and of your reasons for objecting to them, of which the latter, as expressed in those papers, (to deal freely with you) do not seem to me satisfactory. With regard to the distinctions of caste, as yet maintained by professing Christians, it appears that they are manifested, (a) in desiring separate seats in church, (b) in going up at different times to receive the holy communion, (c) in insisting on their children having different sides of the school, (d) in refusing to eat, drink or associate with those of a different caste.

Now it is desirable to know whether these are insisted on as religious, or as merely civil distinctions; whether as arising from a greater supposed purity and blessedness in the Sudras over the Pariahs, or whether they are not badges of nobility and ancient pedigree, such as those which in Spain, even among the poorest classes, divide the old Spaniards and Castilians from persons of mixed blood,—and in the United States of North America entirely exclude Negroes and Mu-

Jattos, however free and wealthy, from familiar intercourse with the whites; also whether the Christians of high caste adhere to these distinctions as supposing that there is any real value in them, or merely out of fear to lose the society and respect of their neighbours and relations? If these questions are answered in the affirmative (as they have been very solemnly by the Rev. —, in answer to my repeated inquiries), I confess that I do not think the evil so great as to be insufferable, or to justify the ministers of Christ in repelling from the communion those who adhere to them,—though it may be that the spirit of pride, (from which they flow) should, by gentle means, be corrected as far as possible. We all know that in Europe persons of noble birth or great fortune claim and possess precedence in our churches, and I have already observed that the whites take the same priority to themselves in America. But there is no reason for this but custom, inasmuch as a gentleman and a beggar are as much equals in God's sight as a Sudra and a Pariah. The reason why a Christian gentleman conforms to these rules is, because by acting differently he would lose influence with those of his own degree in society; and a Sudra may say the same thing, and does say it. It seems, then, to me, that these distinctions of castes in church may still be allowed to continue, provided due care is taken to teach our congregations that they are all naturally equal.

With regard to their private meals and social intercourse, it seems to me, that we have still less business to interfere, "For meat and drink destroy not him for whom Christ died." In the schools, indeed, and among the children,—taking places, &c. must be arranged, as it appears to me, without regard to caste, but even here caution should be observed to disgust no man needlessly.

I perceive you object very strongly to certain ceremonies usual in marriages, such as going in procession through the streets, with music, erecting a pandal, &c. On what grounds of reason or scripture do you object to these? Are they idolatrous? Are they necessarily or usually attended with uncleanness or indecency? In what respect do they essentially differ from those ancient ceremonies which are known on the like occasions to have been practised among the Jews, to which both the prophets and our Saviour make repeated allusions, without ever naming them, and which, judging from analogy, must have been practised at that very marriage of Cana, which our Lord sanctioned by His presence?

Again, it appears that one of your principal causes of complaint against the — has been, that they would not sanction the sentence of excommunication pronounced against a person who had dancing girls in his house, and another who had acted some theatrical part. Now here, too, I much want information. Were the dances indecent in themselves? Were the performers persons of notoriously indecent character, prostitutes or servants of some heathen temple? Or did you object to the dancing itself as unchristian and a fit ground for excommunication? In like manner, was the acting on a public stage and for money? Was the drama indecent or immoral? Or was it (as from the little which I yet know of Indian customs, I am led to suspect) one of those masqued fooleries in which the common people of Germany and

England often indulge at Christmas and harvest home, and which, though they may sometimes be abused, are not regarded as in themselves criminal, or worthy of ecclesiastical censure?

My reasons for asking information on these subjects will be plain, when I mention, that the question of caste and of such practices as these has been referred to my consideration both by the Christians and Missionaries of Vepery, and that in order to gain more light on the subject, a select Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has been at my desire appointed. In the mean time, I am most anxious to learn from every quarter, especially from a Christian minister of your experience and high character, the real truth of the case. God forbid that we should encourage or suffer any of our converts to go on in practices either antichristian or immoral, but (I will speak plainly with you, as one brother in Christ should with another) I have also some fears that recent Missionaries have been more scrupulous in these matters than need requires, and than was thought fit by Swartz and his companions. God forbid that we should wink at sin,—but God forbid also that we should make the narrow gate of life narrower than Christ has made it, or deal less favorably with the prejudices of this people, than St. Paul and the primitive Church dealt with the almost similar prejudices of the Jewish converts.

It has occurred to me that if either you or —, (to whom pray offer my best wishes and respects) could find time on Easter Monday to come over to meet me at Tanjore,—my doubts might be the better cleared one way or the other, and other matters might be discussed in a few words, of much advantage to the cause of Missions in this country.

I remain,
Rev. and dear Sir,
Your faithful and Obedient Servant,
(Signed) REGINALD CALCUTTA.

Bishop Heber's Articles of Enquiry on the Question of Caste.

I. General.

1. Is the distinction of castes observed among the Christians of your Mission?

2. If not, has the neglect of it been recently introduced? or has it been always so since the first establishment of the Mission?

3. Be pleased to distinguish accurately,—1. Such observances of caste among Native Christians as are purely civil; 2. Such as are purely heathenish and idolatrous; 3. Such as are of a mixed nature.

4. Do such observances arise from supposing a greater degree of inherent purity or blessedness in the higher classes above the lower?—or are they simply insisted on, as badges of nobility and ancient privilege?

5. Do Christians of high caste, who adhere to them, attach any real value to them *per se*? or do they retain them only as a means of influence among their heathen neighbours and relations, and from a fear of losing their respect in society?

6. Do the heathens regard those Christian converts who adhere to their former distinctions of caste with any greater respect than they do those who violate them? and to what extent is any such respect carried? and for what purposes is it really valuable?

7. Is the profession of Christianity, as it is a new law and condition of life, considered by the heathens in the light of a caste, conveying to the converts new privileges of a social as well as of a religious nature?

8. If your own experience does not enable you to answer the last question fully, can you throw any light on it from the analogy of converts to Mahomedanism from Hinduism? Are such converts, though they abandon their former caste entirely, looked upon as transferred to a new caste, in itself respectable and privileged?

II.—Church.

1. Are separate places appropriated in your churches to the several castes? Is a separate chalice and paten ever suffered for separate castes in the administration of the Lord's Supper? Do they go up at different times to the holy table?

2. Do you consider such appropriation desirable or necessary? Does it seem to rest on the same grounds of the proper gradation in the different orders of society, in the point of wealth or official station, as obtains throughout Christendom? or does it rather lead to confound those natural distinctions of rank and order, introducing others more inconvenient and mischievous?

III.—School.

Is any objection evinced by native Christians to send their children for instruction to a school which is open to all castes? or do they express a wish to have a different school for the higher and lower castes?

2. Supposing the Native Christians of all castes are willing to send their children to one common school, do the parents of higher caste shew any objection to their children mingling in the same class at school with children of lower caste, and taking places with them?

3. Do the children of Christian converts observe any holidays but those which are of Christian origin? And if so, be pleased to co-enumerate them and to state their nature;—and also whether observances of these holidays affect the attendance of the children at school.

IV.—Social Intercourse.

1. Supposing Natives of different castes to become converts to Christianity, do they object to eat and drink together of the same provisions? and if the objection is made, is it on the side of the higher or lower caste?

2. Are any distinctions observed among Christian converts in contracting and forming marriages? And if so, are those distinctions merely of their trade and calling, or of a religious nature?

3. In addition to the ceremonies of the Church in solemnizing marriages, do the Christian converts observe any other ceremonies? And if so, enumerate them, stating whether they are observed in the procession to and from church, or in the domestic festivities consequent on the marriage.

4. Are there any such observances in the case of funerals, either at the time of the service, or at any subsequent period?

V.

Be pleased to add such other points of information on the subject as you consider important in order to a clear judgment of the question.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—The special Committee of the Madras District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, appointed by the late Bishop Heber for the purpose of collecting information on the subject of caste in the native churches of the south, beg to forward to you the accompanying articles of enquiry, and earnestly request your attention to the important subject. In order to ensure distinctness as much as possible in the valuable materials which they thus hope to collect, they will be obliged to you to return answer to each question as concisely as possible, and to favor them, under the last number, with such further information for the guidance of their judgment as the preceding articles may not embrace.

I have the pleasure to enclose a copy of Bishop Heber's letter, addressed to one of your body, when the subject was proposed to his Lordship, and upon which the Committee have endeavoured to ground their present enquiries.

I remain,

Rev. and dear Sir,

Your faithful Servant,

(Signed) THOMAS ROBINSON,
President M. D. C.

Madras, 27th October, 1828.

Statements relative to the Articles of Enquiry on the Question of Caste, by the Tanjore Missionaries.

I.—General.

1 and 2. The distinction of caste, though not in its full extent, has been observed among the Christians of Tanjore since the establishment of this Mission by the late Rev. Mr. Schwartz, soon after the year 1762. Mr. Schwartz in permitting, with some restrictions, a custom apparently so opposite and prejudicial to the spirit of the Gospel, to remain in the new congregations, was guided by his own discretion as well as by the example of the Tranquebar Missionaries before him, and

that both they and himself were actuated herein by motives of prudence and caution, is plain from several of their letters still extant.

In the course of administration of the Mission affairs since the death of Mr. Schwartz, myself and several of my colleagues successively have endeavoured to act with similar caution and forbearance, at the same time seizing every opportunity to soften the mutual prejudices arising from distinction of caste, and to bring our Christians by degrees into closer union with each other as brethren in one Lord and Master, Christ. And we have had the satisfaction to observe, that distinction of caste has, until of late, been seldom the object of controversy among Christians, and has gradually lost a great deal of its importance.

3. It is usually thought that distinction of caste originated from and was founded upon the Bráhmancial system and was one of the chief auxiliaries in its support and defence. The latter may be true as far it relates to heathens, but is certainly not the case in reference to Christians; for they, by embracing Christianity, renounce all idolatrous practices connected with the religion of Bráhmans, and particularly with the observance of caste. But as for the distinction of the several castes itself, it is by no means certain that it originated from the Bráhmancial system. The more probable opinion—of course not among Bráhmans, but among intelligent natives of other castes—is that the several castes existed distinct one from another, long before the Bráhmans came to this country; that it was merely of a civil or political nature, and that the Bráhmans only blended it with their idolatry, by persuading the original inhabitants of this country to believe that the four principal castes of mankind, viz. Bráhman, Kshatriya (Chattriar), Vaisya, and Sudra, owed their origin to Brahmá, who produced the first class from his head, the second from his shoulders, the third from his thigh, and the fourth from his feet, and distinguished each of them by a higher or lower degree of moral purity and blessedness in this world as well as in a future state. As nearly all the historical documents relative to former ages were destroyed by the Bráhmans on their arrival in this part of India, it is difficult to discern the small remains of truth among the vast mass of imposture. Otherwise it might most likely be discovered that the abject state in which some of the lower castes are at present, originated from political causes, as conquests, conspiracies, treasons, &c. One instance of this nature is, indeed, handed down by tradition and recorded by Bráhmancial writers, viz., that the Kamaller, a higher caste than that of Pariars, on account of a conspiracy raised by them, were deprived of several privileges, which even Pariars enjoy, as riding a white horse, using a white umbrella, and going in a páki, &c.

If, therefore, the Bráhmancial story concerning the origin* of caste be false, heathens, who embrace Christianity, return back, in point of caste, from error to original truth; they make caste again, what it had been before, a civil distinction. And supposing even the Bráhmancial account to be correct, then, too, such of the heathens as become Christians and renounce every thing connected with the superstition and idolatry of the Bráhmancial system, can of necessity retain nothing in the distinction of caste but what is merely of a civil nature; none of

their observances in this respect can, properly speaking, be of an idolatrous or even mixed nature, as among heathens, nor have such ever been permitted to be practised in their Mission, for the same reason.

4. The higher classes, at least the more intelligent and better informed individuals among the Christians, do not, in the observance of such distinction, act from a supposition that they are morally better than those of a lower class, or entitled to greater spiritual privileges; but they insist on it merely as a badge of superior rank in society, as an ancient civil prerogative.

5. They neither adhere to such distinction, because they attach any real value to it *per se*, but because by neglecting it they would give offence to high and low among heathens and Christians, lose not only their respect in society, but likewise all their influence among their heathen neighbours and relations.

6. The more bigoted heathens consider every Christian convert, of whatever caste he may be, as degraded, and in former times he was in their opinion undeserving of the rights of social intercourse; but one who violates or entirely gives up his caste, is treated as an outcast. Every heathen will avoid him more carefully than he would even Pariahs, Pallers, and Sackliars.

At present high caste Christians meet with more respect from heathens than formerly, owing partly to their own personal character and conduct, partly to the high stations to which some of them have been advanced. And though the circumstance does not immediately contribute to the furtherance of the Gospel, yet it serves greatly to make Christianity in general more and more respected among the neighbouring heathens. In regard to native priests and high caste catechists this respect is of still greater importance. They gain easier admittance among respectable natives of high caste, and meet with more frequent and favorable opportunities to converse with them freely on religious subjects, privileges which no Pariah can look for. This respect, however, and all the advantages derived from it, is forfeited for ever, as soon as they violate the observance of caste; native priests and catechists will thereby render themselves entirely useless to the Mission.

7 and 8. The heathens, who consider the different castes among themselves as religious distinctions, connected with greater or less privileges, look undoubtedly also upon the profession of Christianity as such a distinction, but as one of the very lowest degree, and which degrades below all the castes of Hinduism. As for new privileges of a social as well as of a religious nature, they can scarcely be said to allow it any, for in their estimate the loss of those privileges which Christian converts enjoyed while heathens, can never be compensated by any thing. If they respect, therefore, in some measure, Christians of high caste, as stated above; it is merely on account of superior personal qualities, rank and conduct; but upon the Christian religion itself they will always look as unworthy of comparison with their own.

They would treat Mahomedanism with no less contempt, had not the respect which they at present show to it, been formerly forced from them by the sword, and did not Mahomedans still form so numerous and powerful a body in the Indian community.

II.—Church.

1. At church the Christians of the high caste, both men and women, sit on the right, and those of the low caste on the left side of the pulpit, but without any intermediate space between them.

There has never been used a separate chalice and paten for separate castes in the administration of the Lord's Supper. But they go up at different times to the holy table.

2. The appropriation of separate places to the several castes (chiefly two, high and low caste) though not desirable, will be necessary as long as the distinction of caste itself remains; for any interference in this respect would at present be looked upon by all of them as an encroachment upon their civil rights. It rests on their own estimate of a proper gradation in the different orders of society, and as both sit according to their rank and station on their respective sides—though they are not so very anxious about it—the natural steps of rank and order are always conspicuous.

III.—School.

1. No objection has ever been made by native Christians to send their children for instruction to the Mission schools, because they are open to all castes; nor have they at any time expressed a wish to have different schools for the higher or lower castes. It ought to be remarked particularly that the teachers are very often of the low caste; but this too has never been objected to.

2. The children of one class sit indiscriminately, and take their places only according to their attainments and diligence in their respective lessons. This order has always been willingly submitted to by parents of high caste children.

3. Children of Christian converts do not observe, nor would they be permitted, if they wished to do so, any holidays but those which are of Christian origin. There are four principal heathenish festivals, connected with more or less outward show, which children are fond to look at; but this is merely curiosity, and is never allowed to interfere with their attendance in the school. The festivals are the following:

a, *Pongal*, (middle of January.) The heathens worship the sun as the author of all good, by boiling rice, offering it to the sun, and then worshipping it. The next day they repeat the same offering to cattle as a secondary source of good, and pay them also divine adoration.

b, *Kaumen*, or *Karnadahanam* (beginning of March). This they celebrate in honor of Siva, who burnt and consumed *Manmada* by the eye of his forehead.

c, *Dusara*, (middle of October.) The heathens perform religious ceremonies to Saraspathy, the goddess of Wisdom; during this festival they perform the Aitha Pujá, i. e. they wash the particular implements of their respective trades and worship them.

d, *Dipavaly*, (beginning of November.) This festival is celebrated in commemoration of the death of a *Rauchuden* (giant), *Naragasuren* by name, who in ancient times had committed a great deal of mischief in the world. The people rejoice, visit and congratulate each other.

IV.—*Social Intercourse.*

1. Converts of Christianity from different castes will, in separate places, eat and drink of the same provisions, if they be prepared by a high caste person, but not, if prepared by one of the low caste. The objection is always made on the side of the higher caste, not by Sudras only, but by all successively, who have or think to have one caste below them. Thus the Sudra will not eat the meal of a Kammalen, the Kammalen not that of a Parian, the Parian not that of a Pallen, the Pallen not that of a Sacklien, &c. and the two latter, thinking themselves higher or cleverer than the Parian, will not eat any thing prepared by them. But all will eat what is prepared by a Sudra.

2. No marriage is contracted between parties belonging to two different castes. This custom is strictly observed, not from a religious view of distinction of caste, but principally with the intention of preserving their family interests undivided, and of keeping up their particular trade and calling.

3. The ceremonies in solemnizing marriages are the following : According to the custom of the country the nearest relations of the bride and bridegroom erect a pandal in or near the house, as neat as their circumstances will enable them, in order to accommodate their relations and friends. There the *Parisam* (dowry) is given to the bride before the people assembled ; from thence they proceed to church, sometimes singing divine hymns, accompanied by soft music. After the marriage ceremony is over, they return home in the same manner as they came, join in prayer, distribute betel and nut to every one, and then separate. The following day they give an entertainment to the relations, and carry the bride and bridegroom, accompanied by music, in procession to visit their friends at their houses.

4. At funerals they observe the following customs : After the corpse has been buried, the relations bathe. The chief mourner shuts himself up at home for about a week or ten days ; he then receives the condolence of his friends, and gives them an entertainment ; he puts on a new turban given him by one of the nearest relations, and thus the mourning ends.

V.

Distinction of caste in its full extent, as it prevails among heathens, is certainly a great hindrance to the propagation of Christianity ; for it is so closely interwoven with the Bráhmancial system, that while it receives from thence its principal strength, it again becomes one powerful bulwark of Bráhmancial imposition ; and in its nature and tendency it opposes the very first principles of the Gospel, humility and love.

That such a barrier, therefore, should be abolished, must be the wish of every one who is desirous of the success of the Gospel in this country. The experience, however, of more than a century has proved, that it is not at once and by force, that this obstacle is to be removed, but by gentle means and by degrees. Compulsion, as in many other cases, would particularly here greatly increase the evil. Difficulties in bringing Gentiles within the pale of Christianity, already great, would

become nearly insurmountable, while the Christian congregations already collected would fall a prey to confusion and contention.

A great point is gained, when through the influence of the gospel distinction of caste becomes divested of all its reference to and connection with idolatry, and is thus reduced to its original shape as a civil distinction in the community. And what more may be done, in order to overcome some remaining prejudices, to which particularly new converts are liable, by a cautious and conciliating proceeding, Mr. Schwartz and other excellent Missionaries have sufficiently shown by their example. Christians who have been carefully instructed and who have been imbibing the spirit of the Gospel, will, though different in caste, always consider and esteem each other as members of one body in Christ, and as joint-heirs with him, they will exercise the Christian law of love, and never refuse their assistance, if they have it in their power, to one, because he belongs to a lower caste.

That the high caste Christians do not intermarry nor eat with those of the low caste, is owing to the different occupation and way of living peculiar to the several castes. The labors in the field, the employment of undertaker, and all the other mean occupations necessary in a community, are according to the ancient *Mammul* (custom) exclusively the duty of low caste people, whether heathen or Christian; nor would they allow any one of another caste to intrude on their trade. This, of course, has a great influence on their way of living.

To oblige, therefore, a man of a higher caste and accustomed to a genteeler way of living, to eat with them, is doing force to common delicacy and to the natural feelings of sense, and may be sometimes of serious consequences to bodily health. Some of the ancient Missionaries once persuaded a Siva convert (who according to the custom of his caste lived only on vegetable food) to eat meat, in order to show that he did not abstain from it on account of superstition and pride. He complied, but nearly died by making the trial!

There is every reason to hope that the more native Christians grow in the knowledge and practice of the truth, the weaker will become their prejudices of every kind; they will more and more approach each other, and by degrees become accustomed to put little or no value on their distinction of caste. But if compulsion of any kind be resorted to, in order to abolish their distinction, the majority will immediately consider it as a privilege in danger, and attach an importance to it which it never had before. Jealousy will engender discord, and social intercourse, such as it has been, will cease. In short, a breach will be made, which it will be difficult, if possible, to fill up again.

BISHOP WILSON'S CIRCULAR.

To the Rev. Brethren the Missionaries in the Diocese of Calcutta, and the flocks gathered by their labors or entrusted to their care.

Palace, Calcutta, July 5th, 1833.

REV. AND DEAR BRETHREN,—Having heard that some usages of an unfavorable nature prevail in certain of the Native churches, and

more particularly in the southern parts of the Peninsula, I am led by the obligations of my sacred office to deliver to you this my paternal opinion and advice. My honoured and revered predecessors in this See, now with God, laboured to abate the inconveniences to which I allude; and I am much relieved in discharging my own share in this duty by the memorials of their previous admonitions, which I have had the opportunity of consulting. Their abstinence from any official interference ought to have commended their advice to your cheerful acquiescence, and to have superseded the necessity of my now entering upon the subject. But as their forbearance and kindness have failed to produce the desired effect, you will not be surprised, if I feel compelled, as the Pastor and Bishop of Souls, under Christ our Lord, in this Diocese, to prescribe to you what seems to me essential to the preservation of the purity of the Christian faith amongst you.

The unfavourable usages to which I refer, arise, as I understand, from the distinctions of castes. These castes are still retained; customs in the public worship of Almighty God, and even in the approach to the altar of the Lord, are derived from them; the refusal of acts of common humanity often follows,—processions at marriages and other rites of heathenism are at times preserved; marks on the countenance are sometimes borne; envy, hatred, pride, alienation of heart are too much engendered; the discipline and subjection of the flock to its shepherd are frequently violated; combinations to oppose the lawful and devout directions of the Missionaries are formed—in short, under the name of Christianity, half of the evils of paganism are retained.

These various instances of the effect of the one false principle, the retention of caste, might be multiplied. They differ no doubt in different places; in some stations they are slight and few, in others numerous and dangerous,—many native congregations are, as I trust, free from them altogether, many have nearly accomplished their removal. I speak, therefore, only generally, as the reports have reached me. I throw no blame on individuals, whether ministers or people; it is to the system that my present remarks apply, and it is in love I proceed to give my decision.

The distinction of castes then must be abandoned, decidedly, immediately, finally; and those who profess to belong to Christ, must give this proof of their having really put off concerning the former conversation the old, and having put on the new man in Christ Jesus. The Gospel recognizes no distinctions, such as those of caste, imposed by a heathen usage, bearing in some respects a supposed religious obligation, condemning those in the lower ranks to perpetual abasement, placing an immovable barrier against all general advance and improvement in society, cutting asunder the bonds of humane fellowship on the one hand, and preventing those of Christian love on the other—such distinctions, I say, the Gospel does not recognize; on the contrary, it teaches us that God “hath made of one blood all the nations” of men; it teaches us that “whilst the princes of the gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great, exercise authority upon them, it must not be so amongst the followers of Christ, but that whosoever will be great amongst them, is to be their minister, and

whosoever will be chief among them, is to be their servant, even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many."

The decision of the apostle is, accordingly, most express. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for we are all one in Christ Jesus." For if the strong separation between the holy nation and the gentiles, which was imposed by God himself, and had subsisted from the first legation of Moses, was abolished, and the wall of division dug down, and all the world placed on one common footing under the Gospel, how much more are heathen subdivisions, arising from the darkness of an unconverted and idolatrous state, and connected in so many ways with the memorials of polytheism, to be abolished.

Yet more conclusive, if possible, is the holy apostle's language in another epistle,—“Seeing ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, which^{*} is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him, where (in which transition, when this mighty change has taken place) there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all, and in all.” So overwhelming is the flood by which all petty distinctions of nation, caste, privilege, rank, climate, position in civilization are effaced, and one grand distinction substituted, that between those who are renewed after the image of God, and those who remain in the state of fallen nature.

Imagine only the blessed apostle to visit your churches. Suppose him to follow you in your distinctions of caste, to go with you to the table of the Lord, to observe your domestic and social alienations, to see your funeral and marriage ceremonies, to notice these and other mummeries of heathenism hanging upon you and infecting even what you hold of Christianity, to hear your contemptuous language towards those of inferior castes to yourselves,—to witness your insubordination to your pastors and your divisions and disorders. Imagine the holy apostle, or the blessed and divine Saviour himself, to be personally present and to mark all this commixture of gentile abominations with the doctrine of the Gospel; what would they say? Would not the apostle repeat his language to the Corinthians, “Therefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty?” And would not the adorable Redeemer say again, what he pronounced when on earth, “He that loveth father and mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.”

There are two objections, dearly beloved, which may be raised against this statement. The one, that St. Paul became all things to all men, “that by all means he might save some.” The other, that civil distinctions are recognized in the New Testament and prevail in all Christian nations.

To the first I answer that the apostle did indeed, for a time, tolerate

the Jewish prejudices in favour of the Mosaical law, which had been itself of divine institution, and was not wholly abolished till the destruction of Jerusalem and the dissolution of the Jewish polity; but that this lends no support to a distinction, heathenish in its origin, and inconsistent with the equal privileges to which all are under the gospel admitted. A divine law introductory to Christianity, though at length superseded by it,—and a cruel institution which sprung at first from idolatry, and is opposed to the whole spirit of Christianity, are totally different things. Nor are we to forget that even during the brief period that the Jewish law was permitted to retain any force, the apostle denounced in the strongest manner and directed the whole epistle to the Galatians against the fatal error of trusting to it before God. All the mildness and gentleness of the apostle, therefore, we desire to imitate in the wise and gradual instruction of the new convert; but an inveterate evil, spread through large bodies of professed Christians, and going on to evaporate the whole force of the gospel, we must carefully eradicate.

The other objection is answered in a word. The civil distinctions of rank amongst Christians form no hindrance to the intercourse and offices of charity: there is no impassable barrier. The first noble in the land will enter the abode and administer to the wants of the poorest cottager. There is nothing to hinder any one from rising, by industry and good conduct, to the loftiest elevations of society. The shades and gradations of rank are shifting perpetually. Birth condemns no class of men from generation to generation to inevitable contempt, debasement and servitude. The grace of Christ, charity, the church, the public worship of God, the holy communion, various circumstances of life and occasions of emergency unite all as in one common fold, under one common Shepherd. The rich and the poor under the gospel meet together, the Lord is the Maker of them all. Distinctions in civil society the gospel acknowledges and retains only when they are the natural result of difference of talents, industry, piety, station and success.

The decision, therefore, remains untouched by these objections, in the necessity of making which I am confirmed by two circumstances, the one, that in Bengal no distinction of castes is known amongst the converts—it is renounced in the very first instance; the other, that apostacies to heathenism have been of late but too frequent in the congregations where the distinction is permitted to remain.

In the practical execution, however, of the present award, dear Brethren, much wisdom and charity, united with firmness, will be requisite.

1. The catechumens preparing for baptism must be informed by you of the Bishop's decision, and must be gently and tenderly advised to submit to it. Of course the minister informs the bishop or arch-deacon a week previously to the intended baptism of each convert, agreeably to the directions given by my honored predecessor in his charge delivered at Madras in November, 1830, and this will afford opportunity for each particular case being well considered.

2. The children of native Christians will, in the next place, not be admitted to the holy communion without this renunciation of caste,

—their previous education being directed duly to this amongst other duties of the Christian religion, no material difficulties will as I trust arise here.

3. With respect to the adult Christians already admitted to the holy communion, I should recommend that their prejudices and habits be so far consulted as not to insist on an open direct renunciation of caste. The execution of the award, in the case of all new converts and communicants, will speedily wear out the practice.

4. In the mean time it may suffice that overt acts, which spring from the distinction of castes, be at once and finally discontinued in the church—whether places in the church be concerned, or the manner of approach to the Lord's table, or processions in marriages, or marks on the forehead made with paint or other mixtures, or differences of food or dress—whatever be the overt acts, they must, in the church and so far as the influence of ministers goes, be at once abandoned.

5. Subjection, in all lawful things, to the ministers and pastors set over them must further accompany this obedience to the gospel. The resistance to due discipline, the tumults, the slanders, the spirit of insubordination, the discontent, of which I hear such painful tidings, must be renounced, and the temper of evangelical piety and obedience, according to the word of Christ, must be cultivated.

6. The only effectual means, dear Brethren; missionaries and pastors of the native congregations, of restoring the simplicity and purity of the gospel, is to preach and live yourselves more fully according to the grace of the New Testament. The union of spiritual doctrine with holy consistency of conduct, is the secret of all revivals of the decayed piety of churches. You will observe that when the apostles depress and condemn inferior and petty distinctions and grounds of separation, they do it by exalting the gigantic blessings of Salvation, by declaring 'that they who have been baptized into Jesus Christ, have put on Christ,' by asserting 'that if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature,' by pronouncing that 'Christ is all and in all' those who believe in his name.

7. Let us do the same. The holiness of God's law, the evil of sin, the fall of man, his responsibility, his helplessness, his state of condemnation before God—these are the topics which prepare for the gospel of Christ. Repentance is thus wrought by the grace of the Holy Spirit in the heart. Then the glory of Christ begins to break out upon the awakened and contrite soul. The sun shines not with more clearness, when the whole heaven is illuminated and gilded with his beams, than the Sun of Righteousness pours his bright light upon the unveiled mind. This leads to pardon, justification, acceptance, adoption, peace of conscience, hope of heaven. Then regeneration and progressive sanctification have their due course. Holiness is the fruit of faith, and follows after justification. The inhabitation of the Spirit consecrates every Christian a temple of God. Good works, in all the branches of newness of life, are thus produced, even as the rich fruit by the tree, enabling us to discern its real nature and value. Prayer, the worship of God, the divine authority of the sabbath, the sacraments, the apostolical order and discipline of the church, the obedi-

due to pastors, the general duties springing from the communion of saints; with preparations for death, judgment and eternity, close the main topics of evangelical doctrine.

8. When these are enforced with the tenderness and boldness which become the minister of Christ, when they are accompanied with private visits, exhortations and prayers, and are bound upon the conscience by the consistent walk of him who delivers them, the blessing of the Holy Spirit gives efficacy to the instructions. Men are awakened, born anew, roused, brought from the darkness of heathenism into the light of the gospel, and from the power of Satan unto God. They burst the thralldom of a natural state. Friends, family ties, privileges, caste distinctions fall like Dagon before the truth, of which the ark of old was the symbol; the convert rejoices 'to count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord.' He crucifies the whole body of sin; he 'presents his body a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is his reasonable service.'

In this way, beloved Brethren, will the God of all grace recover your decayed churches. Thus will the power of godliness revisit you. Thus will apostacies cease, and the weak be confirmed and built up on their most holy faith.

Full of love to you all is the heart which dictates these lines—I long to be able myself to visit you, and see the effects of this my paternal letter upon you. Think me not harsh, severe, too rigid. God knows the tenderness with which I would direct you, as a nurse cherisheth her children. It is that very tenderness which induces me to grieve you for a moment, that you may attain everlasting consolation. Faithless is the shepherd who sees the wolf coming, and fleeth and leaveth the sheep. So would be the bishop who hearing of the enemy of souls ravaging amongst you, shunned, from a false delicacy, to warn you of the danger. Rather, Brethren, both ministers and people, I trust that my God will give an entrance to His word, by however weak and unworthy an instrument, into your hearts. Rather, I trust, you will 'suffer the word of exhortation.' Rather, I hope, you will be ready, before you read these lines, to put away from you these practices which weaken your strength, and dishonor the holy name wherewith you are called. Yes, let each one say, it is the voice of the good shepherd that 'we hear, we will follow the call,—we will rejoice to renounce for Christ's sake our dearest objects of affection, we will offer our heart upon the altar, we will give up ourselves without reserve, not only in these instances, but in every other, to Him who hath lived and died and revived, that 'He might be Lord both of the dead and living.'

To the grace of this adorable Saviour I commend you, and am,

Your faithful Brother,

(Signed) DANIEL CALCUTTA.

(D)

REPORT OF THE MADRAS COMMISSIONERS.

To the right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Madras.

May it please your Lordship,

1. Having, as your lordship's commissioners, inquired as fully as lay in our power into the matter submitted to us in your Lordship's letter, dated July 21, 1845, we have the honour to submit to your Lordship the result of our examination of various individuals connected with the Vepery mission, and to add the following notes on the subject.

2. The matter proposed for inquiry is twofold.

3. First, the 'sense' in which caste is held by the native Christians of the Vepery mission; and

4. Second, the 'extent' to which they hold it.

5. First, as regards the 'sense' in which caste is held by the native Christians, we are of opinion, from the examination of the various witnesses who have appeared before us, that it differs in no respect from that in which it is held by the heathen natives around them. The principles of it are the same in both, and the practices arising out of it are precisely similar; and although it appears that some of their customs, of a public ceremonial nature, have, of late years, been gradually relinquished, those which are still retained tend, in our opinion, to point to this identity of the principle from which they spring.

6. Caste, an institution peculiar, we believe, in the present day to the natives of India, appears, as amongst the ancient Egyptians,* Medes,† Persians,‡ Athenians,§ and Peruvians,|| (if we are right in supposing the classifications of those nations to have been analogous to Hindu caste,) to have originated in priestcraft and superstition, in ages of intellectual darkness. Whatever may have been its political advantages, and whatever the ambitious aims of its inventors, nothing but a subjection to a truly slavish superstition could have induced the lower ranks especially to submit, for so many generations, and under so many insulting provocations, to so debasing and despotic a tyranny. The distinctions are, unquestionably, religious distinctions, originating in, and maintained by, the operation of Hindu idolatry. The tyranny of the institution is such, as to be perfectly unaccountable on any other supposition, and it is freely acknowledged to owe its dominion to this cause by the Hindus themselves. It was long since observed by Europeans, that 'the influence of priestcraft over superstition is nowhere so visible as in India. All the commerces of life have a strict analogy with the ceremonies of religion.'¶ The laws of Manu,

* Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 164.

† Ib. lib. i. cap. 101.

‡ Malcolm's History of Persia, i. 205.

§ Plato's Timæus.

|| Carli, Lettres sur l'Amérique, letter 13, as quoted by Mill.

¶ Orme on the Government, &c. of Indostan.

and Halhed's Gentoo code, supply complete foundation for all that might be said of the close connexion existing between caste and the idolatrous superstitions of the Hindus. It is by no means analogous, as is sometimes erroneously supposed, to the distinction of ranks amongst Europeans: it is clearly a religious as well as a social distinction; and under no circumstances, in our opinion, can caste exist, without some bond, however imperceptible to ordinary observation, which connects it with the national superstitions.

7. But it may be objected, that however true this may be when predicated of caste amongst the heathen Hindus, a doubt may arise as to this 'sense' of it, as prevalent amongst the native Christians. In charity, we will avoid the positive assertion of their habitual consciousness of its genuine character; but the facts elicited, even in this inquiry, do not admit of our acquitting them of being perfectly sensible of its utter incompatibility with the very principles of Christian morals. This conviction is evinced by Pariars and caste-men alike; they seem to be well aware of its heathen origin, and are not blind to its unchristian character. Amongst them, as amongst the heathen Hindus, caste is lost by defilement, and retained by purity, as those qualities are conceived of, not by the Christian, but by the Hindu religion. Contact with an outcast or Pariar, admission of such a person into their houses, eating food with him, or eating food prepared by his hands: these and similar sources of defilement, as amongst the heathen Hindus, constitute pollution, and subject the parties affected to loss of caste. In one instance, it appears that a Christian native of the Telirgu Indra caste was considered to have finally lost caste by assuming, not the European custom generally, but the hat in particular, the lining of which is formed of leather, the skin of a dead animal, a thing unclean in the superstitions of the Hindus. The intercourse still kept up between native Christians and heathens of the same caste, while both alike shun all familiarity with Christian and heathen Pariars, seems to afford additional evidence of the identity of the tie which still binds them together. If, therefore, caste is a superstitious distinction with the one, and we cannot doubt it, then may we reasonably suspect it to be the same with the other. It is one of the evils of heathenism, which has unwarily and most unfortunately been allowed to accompany the native convert in his passage to Christianity.

8. That superstitious influences should retain a secret hold on the mind, after all open subjection to the gross idolatries from which they spring has been professedly disavowed and discarded, is by no means inconsistent with the infirmities of human nature. The converts at Corinth, in the days of St. Paul, were, probably, more intellectually endowed and equally civilized with our Hindu converts at present. The general character of the Greek nation forbids the supposition, that the immediate neighbours of the Athenians were inferior in such respects to the natives of Hindustan. Yet we know that their lingering dread of their national gods caused the holy Apostle much solicitude, and gave occasion for his reproving those stronger-minded persons, who inconsiderately exposed their weaker brethren to the temptations connected with it. Now is it impossible that similar remains of idolatrous

superstition may secretly influence the native Hindu Christians in their retention of caste, with all its idolatrously-conceived ceremonial pollutions and perverted notions of purity? May we not apprehend that a more searching inquiry by the missionaries themselves might, perchance, elicit much to confirm the suspicion that a secret dread, perhaps a modified secret worship, of their false national gods may still lurk amongst the professedly Christian observers of caste?

9. With regard to the second branch of this inquiry, the 'extent,' to which caste is held by the native Christians of the Vepery mission, we regret to say, that in every instance the parties who appeared before us, Pariars and Tamulians, seemed to be in some sense or some degree tinctured with it. However deeply the former were sensible of its degrading influence, when operating against them, they were all conscious of precisely similar feelings and practices, arising apparently from similar principles, towards those unfortunates, who, in the scale of Hindu castes, are lower than themselves. The adherence of these prejudices, even to the Pariair Christians, is a remarkable evidence of the nature and extent of the evil. But its mode of operation in separating the nearest and dearest relations, even against the will of the parties themselves; its unseemly contempt of what is due to the ministers of Christ; its creation of artificial barriers against the communion in Christian charity between the members of the church; its unhallowed intrusion into the temple, and even to the table of the Lord; all and each mark it as one of those spirits of antichrist, which, we think, God's ministers cannot tolerate without sin, cannot encourage without impiety.

10. Under these convictions, we cannot but believe that those worthy men, who, like Swartz and Gerické, at the outset of our Protestant missions to the Hindus, unwarily submitted to the continuance of caste amongst their converts, were deceived as to its necessary character. Had it appeared to them as we view it now, it seems impossible that they should for one moment have permitted any false ideas of expediency to have betrayed them into so fatal a step as its open acknowledgment. In their day, our acquaintance with the science, religion, languages, customs, and national character of the Hindus, was comparatively in its infancy. They were themselves men of holy simplicity, and of the most zealous Christian charity; of that charity which, under no suspicion of imposition or of duplicity, 'thinketh no evil,' 'beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.' We venerate these pious men too well, to believe them capable of consciously tolerating idolatrous practices amongst their converts. Had they viewed caste as we view it, no temporizing policy would have withheld them from urging its downfall. They knew that the convert who was not prepared to give up all for Christ, was not worthy of Him.

11. In conclusion, we desire to record our deep concern at the lamentable fate of young Christian widows. We fear this is in some degree connected, indirectly perhaps, with caste prejudices. Left in utter desolation, without protectors or advisers, frequently at an age which we should deem that of simplest childhood, they are allowed to

grow up in a humiliating sense of degradation. Debarred by the criminal customs of their people from all hope of honourable marriage, and without adequate restraints of a moral or religious nature, they too often become unhappy victims of irregular indulgence of passion. Even if innocent of this, they are scarcely free from the imputation of guilt; and under the most favourable circumstances, they are in danger of becoming objects of suspicion, contempt, and obloquy. Any immediate remedy for this evil seems scarcely to be hoped for; but we do entertain a strong trust, that the total abolition of caste might in time favourably affect the unhappy prejudices of the native converts on this important subject.

12. We are aware that this examination may appear to have elicited fewer striking or novel revelations of the evils of caste, than might have been anticipated by persons unacquainted with the native character. Such persons can have little notion of the wariness and astuteness with which the natives evade impalatable inquiry into their practices and prejudices. It was often only by repeating the same question in various forms, and admonishing them against deceit, that definite answers were finally obtained; and in one instance, we were obliged to relinquish our examination in absolute despair. Enough, however, we think, has been here recorded to warrant our impression of the real character and extent of this evil, and to suggest the propriety of the general adoption by our Church societies of some definite plan for resolutely discountenancing or suppressing the continuance of it.

We have the honour to be, my Lord Bishop,

Your Lordship's faithful servants,

(Signed) G. W. MAHON,

„ A. R. SYMONDS.

Fort St. George, Madras,

October 29, 1845.

MINUTE OF THE MADRAS MISSIONARY CONFERENCE ON THE SUBJECT OF CASTE.

Caste is one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of the gospel in India. It meets and thwarts the Missionary, not only in bearing the unsearchable riches of Christ to the unconverted Hindus, but in building up the Native Church in faith and love. This has been painfully felt in Southern India, wherever Natives, at their baptism, have been permitted to retain it. In such cases experience has shown, for more than a century, that this evil, so far from melting away under the genial influences of the Gospel, possesses the most inveterate tendency to perpetuate itself; thereby stunting the growth of congregations, and enfeebling the aggressive energies of the Native Church.

Of late years, the evils of caste have been better understood than formerly, and largely exposed. The eyes of Christians in India have been opened to discern much of its true nature; and the conviction is constantly deepening in their minds, that to tolerate it, in any form, is to oppose the law of Christ. Practical cases, of a very painful nature, have arisen at Madras and in the South—cases which have constrained the Madras Missionary Conference to turn their attention to the consideration of this subject: and so fully has this Conference been impressed by the developments of the system, that they feel it to be their duty to lift up their united testimony against it. In doing this, they desire with devout gratitude to praise the great Head of the Church for the unanimity of sentiment on this subject, which He has been pleased to give to his servants of so many different denominations as are represented in this Conference. They feel encouraged to hope that the time is not far distant, when every Missionary of the Gospel will become so impressed with the heathenish nature of the evil; as no longer to give the least toleration to it.

I. With the views and feelings which have now been expressed, the Madras Missionary Conference, after mature and prayerful deliberation, have unanimously resolved to publish the following document, as an expression of their united sentiments on this subject.

1. *Caste, which is a distinction among the Hindus, founded upon supposed BIRTH-PURITY or IMPURITY, is in its nature essentially a religious institution and not a mere civil distinction.*

The Institutes of Manu and other Shástras regard the division of this people into four castes as of divine appointment. We find also stringent laws enacted for upholding this important part of the Hindu religion. Future rewards are decreed to those who retain it; and future punishments to those who violate it. The Hindus of the present day believe that the preservation or loss of caste deeply affects their future destiny. In the Madras Memorial to the Supreme Government, dated April 2nd, 1845, they declare, "That the loss of caste is connected with the vitality of the Hindu religion."

On the scale of caste, wealth, talents, industry and moral character, confer no elevation; and the absence of these imposes no degradation. It is ceremonial pollution alone, which destroys it. This may be conveyed to a person of high caste, through the sight, the taste, or the touch, of one of an inferior grade. Such an institution, therefore, can never be called a *mere civil distinction*; for, whatever it may have been in its origin, it is now adopted as an essential part of the Hindu religion.

2. *Caste is directly opposed to the word of God.*

This will appear from the following quotations:—

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Acts xvii. 26.

"Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." Psalm li. 5.

"I know and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself." Rom. xiv. 14.

The idea of *birth-purity*, which caste distinctions uphold, proclaims a difference, which the passages now quoted expressly deny. When

Cornelius and his Gentile friends were admitted to equal privileges with the Jews in the primitive Church, Peter was moved by the Spirit of God, to condemn all false notions about birth-purity or national pollution, in these remarkable words, "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company or come unto one of another nation; but God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean."—Acts x. 28. If the ceremonial distinctions of the Jewish law—distinctions which separated man from man, though originally appointed by God—were done away at the introduction of the Christian dispensation, how diametrically opposed to the spirit of the New Testament must be the unnatural and anti-social usages of caste!

Numerous usages, arising out of caste notions of *birth-purity* or *impurity*, have been retained in native Christian churches. A member, for example, will refuse to admit a fellow-member of a lower caste into his house, or to eat with him; and some will even refuse to drink promiscuously with those of lower grades from the same cup at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. As these and similar usages are, in their nature and origin, heathenish, they must be discountenanced and abandoned by every follower of the Redeemer.

While this Conference are thus free in giving expression to their sentiments, they desire to state, that they have no wish to dictate to Native Christians, regarding what they shall eat, what they shall wear, with whom they shall habitually associate, or whom they shall make their chosen friends. At the same time, however, they feel it to be their duty to state, that a Christian refusing to receive a brother Christian into his house—especially to receive a catechist or preacher,—to eat with him—to listen to his instructions—to join with him in prayer, or to receive the Lord's Supper from a native minister on account of caste,—can proceed only from the heathenish idea of *birth-purity* or *pollution*, and ought not to be tolerated in the Church of Christ. "In Christ Jesus, there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision, nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond, nor free." How utterly inconsistent, then, to recognise caste distinctions in that body of which Christ is the Head, and where all are members one of another!

To uphold caste, is to foster the pride of the human heart—to despise, insult, and dishonour those whom God has honored, by making them his children, and to grieve the Holy Spirit who dwells in them: it honors heathenish distinctions more than the image of Christ. The institution is pre-eminently anti-Christian. It breaks "the unity of the Spirit," deadens the energy of divine love in the souls of believers, preys on the *vitals* of Christianity, and dries up the streams of affection in every native church, where it is allowed to exist.

Again. The retention of caste tends to keep up an intercourse with the heathen, which is contrary to the plain apostolic command, "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord; and touch not the unclean thing." 2 Cor. vi. 17. A worldly spirit is thus gratified; dissimulation is practically promoted, and the road to apostacy is kept open. The dissimulation now alluded to, has been marked among caste-keeping Christians, by their observance of this

usage in their intercourse with the heathen, at the very time when they declared to their pastors, that they had renounced it.

II. Such being the sentiments of the Madras Missionary Conference on the subject of caste, they would proceed to state, what measures ought, in their view, to be adopted to keep this evil out of the Christian Church.

1. Candidates for baptism, from the heathen, should be well instructed regarding the sinful nature and subterfuges of caste; and, before receiving this ordinance, should be required to declare that they renounce caste usages for ever, both in principle and practice.

2. The renunciation of caste ought also to be demanded of all Native Christians, before their coming, for the first time, to the communion; and this occasion ought to be improved, with a special view to the rooting out of caste feelings and habits from the whole church.

3. While habitual efforts ought to be put forth to cultivate among native Christians mutual kindness and brotherly love, constant vigilance should be exercised, and in some cases, special means employed, to see that the professions respecting the renunciation of caste, made at baptism and on other occasions, are fully and faithfully carried into practice. Among the special means now alluded to, one which the Conference would recommend, is a "love feast," at which all the members of the church, including their pastor and teachers, shall partake of a simple and suitable repast. To secure the same end, native Christians should not in any case, on the ground of caste, be allowed to reject the ministrations or visits of any catechist appointed by their own pastor. There ought also to be a friendly interchange of visits in cases of sickness and distress. When invited, they ought not to refuse to give their attendance at the marriages and funerals connected with the members of their own church, on the ground of caste.

The expressions of Christian kindness now alluded to, are required by the precepts of Christianity. "Be ye kindly affectionate one to another with brotherly love; in honor preferring one another." Rom. xii. 10. "My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons." James ii. 1. "Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." Matt. xx. 26, 27. The example of our blessed Lord, who ate with publicans and sinners, and washed his disciples' feet, bears most forcibly also on this point.

4. Missionaries and Evangelists, together with the faithful preaching of man's corruption, the unspeakable condescension and love of Christ, and the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, should seek to exemplify in themselves those graces of the Spirit, to which caste is directly opposed, namely, humility and love; for without much lowliness and affection, as well as faithfulness, this deep-seated evil can never be removed from the Native Church.

III. The Madras Missionary Conference would most gladly dismiss the subject which has now been before them, were it not for the painful circumstance, that some, even of their Missionary brethren, in India, are to be found, still tolerating caste in their churches. To these brethren, they feel it to be their solemn duty, in faithfulness and

love, to declare their entire disapproval of such a course of procedure, and that for the following reasons :

1. Because, by the toleration of caste in their churches, they are openly upholding the system, and building up a caste-keeping Church.

2. Because their position directly supports caste in the eyes of native Christians of other denominations (thus strengthening what other Protestant Missionaries are labouring to destroy) ; and promotes insubordination ; and leads those who are dissatisfied on account of caste, to forsake their own pastors, and unite with caste churches, to the great injury of scriptural discipline and of Christian principle and affection.

3. Because the members of such churches practically hold in contempt those native Christians who have openly abandoned all caste usages,—this contempt showing itself, *generally*, by their unwillingness to tender to them those civilities which the gospel requires ; and *practically*, by their refusing to admit into their houses and to listen to the preaching of those, who have been set apart as Christian catechists and evangelists.)

4. Because it is the deliberate opinion of the most experienced Missionaries in the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies, that those great and good men, Ziegenbalg, Swartz and their coadjutors and successors, in allowing caste (however much they may have been opposed to it in theory) to enter the Native Church and continue in it, committed a fatal mistake, and unwittingly tolerated half the evils of Hinduism.

5. Because they deem it to be unwise in those Missionaries who uphold caste, to disregard and set aside the judgment of their brethren of the many different branches of the Christian Church who are endeavouring to destroy it,—experience having shown that caste painfully embarrasses Missionary operations, and retards the overthrow of Satan's kingdom in India.

6. Because, however strongly some Missionaries may condemn caste in theory, and whatever profession of its renunciation some native Christians may make, the Conference are bound to judge of both parties, by their position and conduct, according to our Lord's infallible rule,—“ By their fruits ye shall know them.”—Matt. vi. 20.

Madras, Feb. 1850.

(E)

LEX LOCI ACT, PASSED APRIL 11th, 1850.

So much of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company, as inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property, or may be held in any way to impair or affect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the courts of the East India Company, and in the courts established by Royal Charter within the said territories.