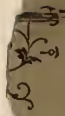


THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY



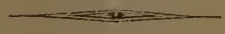
THE
Indian Evangelical Review;

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

OF

MISSIONARY THOUGHT AND EFFORT.

Vol. II.—JULY, 1874.—No. 5.



MADRAS:

PRINTED AT THE FOSTER PRESS.
CALCUTTA, G. C. HAY AND CO.; MADRAS, C. FOSTER AND CO.;
BANGALORE, W. W. GAUNT; COLOMBO, CEYLON, J. CAPPER, Esq.;
LONDON, TRÜBNER AND CO., 57 AND 59 LUDGATE HILL.

1874.

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THE SIXTH NUMBER of the *Indian Evangelical Review* will be published in Octo-
 ber.

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 Burma, is Rupees 3; to Subscribers in Ceylon and the Straits Settlements,
 Rupees 3-8-0; to Subscribers in England, 8 shillings; and to those in the United
 States, 2 dollars and 50 cents. These charges include postage.

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PAYMENT IN ADVANCE of all subscriptions is particularly requested. After
 October 1st an additional rupee will be charged to all whose subscriptions for
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THE
INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

No. V.

JULY, 1874.

ART. I.—INDIAN DISESTABLISHMENT AND
DISENDOWMENT.

BY REV. T. E. SLATER, MADRAS.

IT is quite possible that the title of this paper may prove distasteful to some of the readers of this *Review*. The writer hopes, however, to consider the matter from a sufficiently catholic and missionary point of view to justify its appearance in "a Journal of missionary Thought and Effort," and to assure the reader that it is not discussed in any invidious or sectarian spirit. Those associated together in the common cause of Christian missions have all at heart one common object,—the interests of the people of India, and the welfare of the native Church. It is with this object, or rather two-fold object, steadily in view, that the writer desires to deal with the question of Ecclesiastical Establishments as existing in this country. Specially must the present deeply interesting and perplexing condition of the native Church appear to have, in the minds of many, a significant relation to the question, and one that has been considerably overlooked.

We do not deny that the increasing interest excited in the question at home—to say nothing of its continental aspect, especially the struggle at present going on in Germany—the new forms and magnitude it has assumed since the Disestablishment of the Irish Church—entitle it to the thoughtful and dispassionate consideration of British Christians everywhere. The carrying out of the measure in our own country may be nearer than many of us suppose. The genius of the age is undoubtedly against the establishment of religion by the State. In 1865, Mr. Gladstone deemed the question of Irish Disestablishment "remote, and apparently without bearing on the politics of the day." But four years saw the same Church

disestablished and disendowed. And we do not hesitate to avow a conscientious objection to all ecclesiastical establishments alike, though, as in the case of Ireland and that of India, the injustice and injury occasioned may be much more palpable in one country than in another, and so afford all the stronger reasons for particular crusades.

The case against Establishments *per se* may be briefly stated as resting on a religious and a political ground. *Religiously*, the patronage and control of religion by the secular power is condemned as being opposed to the teaching and practice of the New Testament, and of the first three centuries of the Christian Church—as being derogatory to the position and authority of Christ as sole head of that spiritual society “which is his body”—and as being detrimental to the highest truth and holiness, the freedom, activity and development of the religious life. The rapid deterioration of the spiritual character of the Christian Church from the time it was established by Constantine down to the Reformation; and the history of State and Church connections in our own country, and in France, Austria, Spain and Italy, very plainly demonstrate the injurious influence exerted by the secular power on the real life of the Church.

The *political* grievance, with special reference to the English Establishment, has been concisely stated by Mr. Miall, for so long the able Parliamentary representative of the party advocating the Disestablishment policy; he says:—“The Establishment by law of “the Church of England—(1) involves the violation of religious equality; (2) deprives the Church of the rights of self-government; (3) imposes upon Parliament duties which it is not qualified to discharge; (4) and is hurtful to the religious and political “interests of the community.” If the terms of English charters, and the spirit of English institutions, and the distinctive character of the English nation mean anything, they declare that it is the duty of the State to deal *alike* with all good citizens, whatever may be their religious opinions. They are *citizens*, and as such alone has the State a right to deal with them; into their religious tenets it has no business to enquire, and for their religious worship it has no right to call them to account. The establishment, therefore, by law of any particular form of religion, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic—Episcopalian or Presbyterian—and supported by the money of the nation, is necessarily a grievance to a large section of the people who disbelieve in the doctrines it teaches, and have deliberately rejected its ecclesiastical polity; since it cannot but be regarded as an unjust attempt to maintain by law the ascendancy of such a creed and polity at the expense, and to the discouragement of the opinion of those who cannot conscientiously conform to them. A particular Church (and in the case of England it has never been a national Church,) is thus endowed with, and entrusted with, the revenues of the nation; the law is rendered partial, and

invidious and artificial social distinctions are made by the emoluments and prerogatives conferred upon such a Church by the political power. Nonconformists, therefore, while ever objecting to establishments on religious grounds, are only exercising the rights which every citizen possesses of appealing to Parliament for the removal of all such religious and necessarily social inequality.

And while seeking for themselves these social and religious rights, they desire, at the same time, to liberate the Episcopal Church from the anomalous and fettering authority of an alien power and to see her invested with that spiritual and constitutional freedom which she should certainly enjoy. A State Church, "created by acts of Parliament, and ruled by the policy of the government," is, necessarily, at the mercy of her lord in regard to doctrine, worship and discipline; and, as in the *Voysey*, *Purchas*, *Gorham*, and *Bennett* cases, has to accept the decisions of the civil court on momentous theological and religious issues, thereby involving many of her members in the tacit assent to doctrines that they believe to be unscriptural and erroneous; while such doctrines are, at the same time, sealed, by means of national law, with the semblance of national approval.

And, in addition to the loss of freedom thus imposed on the Church, can such high spiritual functions possibly come within the province of a *civil* power? Does not Parliament undertake duties which it cannot legitimately discharge?

Religious and political grievances, such as those that have been referred to, apply more or less to all ecclesiastical establishments. In the present serious condition of the question as it relates to England, there is a further special reason, though a purely accidental one, for pressing for the severance of the Church from the State, which might not be applicable elsewhere, for example, in Scotland. Many of the most devout and thoughtful within the established Church, in common with those who are without, can no longer conceal the conviction that, if not disestablished by act of Parliament, the ritualistic movement within the Church will eventually dissolve it into its original elements. With sacrificial vestments—the burning of incense—transubstantiation in a moderate form tolerated by law and largely preached—"the duty of the confession insisted on in an assize sermon from a Cathedral pulpit," and the confessional itself extensively introduced,—while many are thus actively employing themselves, without legal hindrance, "in laying down a velvet carpet upon which her adherents may walk over fashionably and pleasantly to Rome,"—it is still asserted that the established Church is "the great bulwark of Protestantism," and must therefore be preserved to repel the monster "Ultramontane Roman Catholicism." But do not the emissaries of Rome desire its preservation too? Do they not shrewdly see that clergymen propagating

their faith, with the exception of the dogma of Papal authority, and backed by the support of a powerful state, are doing their work far more successfully among the English people than even they themselves could do? The High Church party, however, are discerning symptoms of dissatisfaction and disruption, and assert that "the Evangelicals of the present day are beginning to perceive that they and we belong to two different religions and that the same Church cannot hold us both." The Archbishop of Canterbury's Public Worship Regulation Bill evidently shows that in his opinion the time has come for some desperate remedy; but the opposition to the measure excited in the Lower House of Parliament, only a forecast of the serious issues sure to follow if the measure were to become law, as evidently shows it to be only a half lamentably imperfect one.

Thus far, then, the objections urged against ecclesiastical establishments in general, and against the English establishment in particular, apply equally to India. True, ritualism and the confessional have not attained, even on a smaller scale, any corresponding development here to that reached in England; still the evil is on the increase, and must necessarily be so as the school enlarges at home and sends forth its disciples abroad. And the injurious effects of such a movement on the people of India, and on the native Church, must be, as we shall endeavor to show presently, most disastrous.

But the case against Indian ecclesiastical establishments is to be dealt with, mainly, on its own peculiar merits. An established Church anywhere is an anomaly in the present day, but nowhere more so than in India. The circumstances of its existence are almost unique. They had some parallel in the case of Ireland. In that country, till the measure of 1869 was passed, there was the standing flagrant injustice of a Church, by law established, and so accounted national, being the Church of the minority—the Roman Catholic Church having 4,250,000, and the Protestant Episcopalian 700,000 adherents. On no ground whatever could such a contradictory institution be defended. Those strongest in favor of state aided churches could no longer excuse or tolerate such a political scandal. But the establishment of the churches of England and of Scotland in India is a far greater anomaly—a grosser injustice—and calculated to become a more fruitful source of the most reasonable discontent. These establishments of the Government are, professedly, *solely for the benefit of its own Christian servants*. True, as will be referred to hereafter, their chaplains minister frequently to large and wealthy English congregations, consisting largely of persons unconnected with government, and who have come to India on private enterprises. But proselytizing is no part of the establishment. The religious benefit of the natives of the country does not come within its scope; that is left to the voluntary contributions of Christian people, and to the voluntary efforts of private societies. Government has distinctly declared its

policy to be one of religious non-interference,—and yet, it compels the people whom it governs to *pay* for the maintenance of their rulers' Church! Hindus, Mahammadans and Parsis, are alike required to help to raise a sum amounting to more than Rs. 1,600,000 a year, for an English ecclesiastical expenditure! Heavily oppressed already, lamentably and superstitiously indeed, but none the less real for that, with a terribly extortionate religious system of their own, burdened with an accumulating taxation under which they continually chafe,—is it just, or politic, or dignified, to provide for our limited worship, endow our religious institutions, erect splendid ecclesiastical edifices, keep up an elaborate and expensive Church establishment, and a gorgeous ritual, by means of the scanty earnings of those who do not believe in our dogmas, and care nothing for our ceremonies? The established Church in England is fast becoming an anomaly, numbering but a moiety of the church-going people; the established Church in Ireland was a national injustice, representing, as it did, but a minority of the Irish people; what shall we say of the established Church in India, comprising a mere fraction of the population, and maintained for the convenience and benefit of the few, out of the taxes of the Indian nation? The poor, dependant *millions* providing spiritual food for the wealthy, ruling *thousands*! The Irish Church, unjust though it was, yet flourished on the money of the *Irish* people; but the State Church in this country freely takes the money of *non-English* and *non-Christian* people.

The grievance, therefore, is political rather than religious. The existence of an establishment in India does not, from the nature of the case, exercise, as in England, that disparaging influence on the religious opinions of those who differ from it, *i. e.*, Hindus and Mahammadans; nor can it create corresponding religious and social distinctions. This aspect of the question can only exist as the case recurs, in this country, as one between Churchmen and nonconformists—specially between Episcopalian and nonconforming ministers. Here, too, there might be room for complaint; not, happily, to the extent there was some twenty years ago, when the then Bishop of Calcutta held such lofty opinions of the position and privileges of an establishment, as to write to the Government, at the time when it was proposed to permit the various sects of Christians in India to be married by their own ministers, and to express the fears he entertained, “if a person, calling himself a dissenting minister, is, now for the first time since England was a Christian nation, to stand in the place of the priest in holy orders, with the authority of a Divine Commission, derived through successive consecrations and ordinations from the Apostolic ages.” But questionable akin in nature to the abolition of clerical monopoly in the churchyards of England, religious equality in the Universities and endowed schools, might be legitimately introduced, *e. g.*, the invidious distinction still

made by law, in the privileges of the Marriage Act as it refers respectively to clergymen of the established Churches and of non-conformist congregations. But we do not urge these matters here. We wish simply to state the case as it relates to the masses of India, and, in their behalf, to expose the political injustice of an established Church.

That the people themselves do not prominently state the grievance is no proof that it does not exist. A state injustice may be inflicted, where, through the want of sufficient enlightenment and a high order of civilization, it may not be appreciated and defined. The masses of the people are, at present, as it has been said of the rural population at home, in the "alphabet of their political education." Native public opinion is, as yet, only forming in India, and can come to express itself intelligently and fearlessly only with the spread of education. But there are not lacking indications that such an injustice is understood, and resented, by certain classes of the native community. In the interesting essay written by Mr. Herbert C. Bowen, B.A., on "Mahammadanism in India, its present condition and influence," and which gained the Le Bas Prize for 1872, the author says:—"The last grievance I shall mention, though not solely a Mahammadan one, is already widely spread, and one which must continue to grow with the growth of education. It is that the English and Presbyterian are the only Churches in India which receive support from the State. That is, that, though in such an enormous majority, (at least 100 to 1,) both Mahammadans and Hindus are compelled to contribute to the maintenance of a religion which both hate, and this in the face of a professedly religious neutrality on the part of the Government. Lord Ellenborough saw the wrong, and tried to right it by presenting the Hindu temple at Umritzur with £500; but the storm he raised at home and abroad has prevented any repetition of such an attempt. While the masses were eager and clamorous in stigmatizing his conduct as an insult to Christianity, and to England, did they forget that we annually appropriate hundreds of thousands from the same source for our own religious purposes? It is more than useless to prove the danger to which an Asiatic mind is liable in the separation of Church and State; the injustice is too evident to be thus glossed over; while every argument lately applied to Ireland applies with an hundred-fold more force to India." Again, in a petition to Parliament from the Madras Native Association in 1852, the Petitioners remonstrate against an increase of clergymen upon the English and Scotch establishments in India, making the assertion that "the community to which your Petitioners belong supports its own religion, so do the Mahammadans." In an article in the *Indian Mirror*, too, not long since, when discussing the financial difficulties of the Government of India, and suggesting certain means for reducing the Imperial

expenditure, the writer asks, whether it would not be practicable to convert the expensive sees of Madras and Bombay into archdeaconries? These remarks, from three different sections of the native community indicate, more or less plainly, that the support of an established Church, out of the revenues of the nation, is felt to be both a burden and an injustice.

It may probably be said in reply to the objections that have been made, that they might be all very well if they related to a people kindred to ourselves; but that India is a *conquered* province, and, in conquering India, we naturally brought our institutions, civil and religious, with us. But the two kinds of institutions are widely different. In the case of our civil institutions, which we established in Indian society, there are the elements and functions of Government; and the people have long ago thankfully acknowledged their wisdom and beneficence. Moreover, it is the growing policy of the English Government to give the people a share in the government of their country. But there is nothing corresponding to this in ecclesiastical institutions. They do not touch the people. They simply concern the religious principles and practices of the governing body, which is altogether a private business, and may assuredly be indulged in, without impoverishing those who have neither part nor lot in the matter. But is there any such suitability and romance of national sentiment, in planting the established, and so-called national, Church of England on *foreign* soil? A great deal is made, in England, and with some show of plausibility, of the "traditional basis" of the established Church; and such defenders of establishments, as Dean Stanley, and Mr. Arnold, have been fond of speaking of the "historic" Church, and its connection with the social and historic life of the country. The Church has grown up on English soil, and it has been interwoven, nobly and shamefully alike, with the past of the English nation. But all that, which, after all, is but a sentiment even in England, vanishes in another land. The Church is no longer an indigenous, but an exotic plant. It no longer derives significance and draws inspiration from surrounding influences and associations, but is uncongenial and isolated in, and altogether unsuited to, the soil of its adoption. But, supposing it were granted that the maintenance of a State Church in a *conquered* country may be defended; is its best apology and its loudest boast to be, that it is a badge of conquest? Or, is it the policy of the English Government to remind the people of India, in every way it can, that they are a subject race? Is it not rather its desire to train the people to rule themselves—to inspire them with a spirit of confidence and gratitude—and to make them feel, through the possession of something of the life of British freedom, that they are, in interests and aims and rights, if not in blood, one with the British nation? And this can only be effected by the removal of all marks of subjugation.

But it is further urged, sometimes, that the connection that subsists between the English Government and Hindu temples and lands, which is held to be nothing less than an endowment, justifies the maintenance of an established Church. What that connection at present exactly is, it is not easy to determine. We can point to no pilgrim tax, or revenue officers "responsible for the collection of "the rents, the repairs of the temples and images, and the supply of "the various commodities required for their use." Festivals and shrines are not now lavishly enriched out of Imperial funds as once they were. But are there no money-payments still made by Government—as managers of lands—which afford endowments to heathen temples? Payments, it is true, that are not given as a voluntary donation, but made in consideration of value formerly received—"grants to temples and mosques in lieu of the revenue "of certain lands, which, either for arrears of the land tax, or some "similar reason, were taken possession of by Government?" Are there not also payments made in continuation of the grants of former governments—Hindu and Mahammadan—which were not, however, given as "perpetual endowments," but in the shape of "pensions?" Are they not items like these that are alluded to under the head of "Allowances and Assignments under Treaties and Engagements" in the annual statement of Revenue and expenditure belonging to the Government of India, and which a year or two ago amounted to over Rs. 18,442,790? Should not all such connection with the religions of the country, however refined and plausible, be discontinued? Is the present Government called upon to perpetuate the donations of former governments, when circumstances are entirely changed? Reasonable claims should, of course, be honored, and the vested interests of individuals be respected; but should not a Christian Government do its utmost to separate itself completely from all connection with religions it knows to be false, in the same way as it separated itself by the Irish Church Act of 1869, from the support of Romau Catholicism in Ireland, by withdrawing the obnoxious grant of £26,000, a year, to the College of Maynooth? As long as estates are held by Government under a perpetual lease, the rents should, of course, be paid; they are the property of the religious institutions to which they belong; but it has been very reasonably suggested that all known lands might be restored, and such as cannot be determined be commuted for land, the matter being properly explained.

If this were done, the argument for the maintenance of the established Church out of the Indian revenues, drawn from the Government endowment of the Hindu religion, would fall to the ground. Less reason than ever would then exist for requiring Hindus and Mahammadans to contribute to a Christian treasury. But, supposing the nature of former agreements, and the complicated connection with previous governments, were to forbid the with-

drawing of all money-payments on account of native lands and institutions, does that modify, in the least, the case of the Established Church? Because unhappily committed to one evil course, which every healthy mind must deplore; are we to practise another and one, in relation to which, we are under no moral obligation whatsoever? The system of concurrent religious endowments by no means palliates the evil.

But, apart from its being an act of political injustice, the existence of a State Church cannot but exert an injurious influence on the people generally, and on the Native Christian Church in particular, and one prejudicial to the interests of true religion in this country. To quote the words of Burke, "the Church and State are "one and the same thing, being different parts of the same whole," and this organic oneness, as history amply testifies, has always been recognised by the legislature; and if recognised by it, it will also be so recognised by the people. Connection with Government always engenders an "officialism." The master and servant relationship is necessarily prominent; and, when a clergyman receives his salary from the Government, and not from the congregation to whom he ministers, the link seems to attach him to the former rather than to the latter; and the character of an employè rather than of one voluntarily devoted to the work comes to be associated with him. Not that it is for a moment insinuated that there is anything corresponding to this in fact; the high character and earnest work of the faithful men engaged utterly forbid it: the charge of a faithful clergyman in India, though connected with the State, is well known to be no sinecure; it is simply the official and injurious connection that gives rise to a false but inevitable appearance; and so, in the eyes of the people of the country, detracts from the real worth and service of the man. They see enough of the "professional" in public offices and courts; is it not calculated to mislead and injure, when, through the intimate connection between State and Church it appears in the Christian ministry? The *Indian Mirror* not long ago, contained the following remarks:—"In this country, those who earnestly think on the subject, cannot clearly comprehend the position of the Christian clergy. What do they serve, whom do they serve, God or Mammon? Do they enter their line of life, as the merchant enters his, as the physician enters his, directly for the maintenance of life, indirectly for the love they have for their respective work, and for what is said, the good of mankind? Do they take up religion only as a trade?" We quote these words, not in commendation of the spirit they embody, but to illustrate that particular aspect of the subject that has just been touched upon. It is the same evil that has been deplored so much in connection with the relation that has subsisted between foreign societies and native ministers. Receiving their pay from those societies, such men have, almost unavoidably, come to regard themselves as ser-

vants of the societies, instead of in the service of the native Church. The link has been with the former rather than with the latter. Work is thus apt to be done in a too professional and perfunctory manner; and hence there has not been that mutual sympathy—oneness of interest—and enthusiastic devotion to the people's good, without which a true and living relation between pastor and people can never be sustained. Now, happily, as the native churches are becoming less dependent, and, by means of church councils, and other organizations, are learning to manage their own affairs, the evil will be done away with. It will only remain for the great model-evil, still before their eyes, to be, in like manner, removed.

Closely allied to this is the injurious influence of an establishment on the development of a self-supporting native Church. In the present young, yet transitional condition of the native Church of India, example is better than precept. Missionaries and others are doing their utmost to foster the spirit of self-reliance, and to teach the native congregations that it is their sacred duty to support their own ministry: and a few yards from them, it may be, they behold an English Christian congregation that does nothing towards the support of its minister, but is spared that Christian duty by the liberality of the State. It would be superfluous to dwell here on the duties and advantages of the voluntary system—of individual Christian giving, in native and English congregations alike,—a word or two will be added on the subject presently; it is only necessary to call attention to its very important relation to the State endowment of any particular church.

Looking at the present condition of the Established Church in England, and remembering that its teaching and practices virtually involve the English nation,—since civil courts declare that the voice of the English Church is in favor of certain doctrines, although it is well known they are held to be erroneous by the bulk of the English people, we may mention the baneful effect of such a movement as ritualism upon a people too superstitious by far already, and particularly upon an infant church. There are already signs, specially among mission agents, of an undue and unwarrantable grasping after titles and position; and of attaching to the service of ordination some mysterious virtue, and to the office of the Christian ministry superior and exclusive sanctities and rights; and indications, in the ministry itself, of the growing existence of "class," and even priestly feelings—all of which must be fatal to the simple, pure, and living spirituality of a Christian Church. We do not mean to infer that this is the result of an Established Church, or that disestablishment would destroy ritualism and its sacerdotal assumptions; the noxious weed has its root in the human heart, and would be sure to spring up anywhere; but the continued establishment of a particular Protestant Church, distinguished at present for its ritualism, and announcing to the world that this is *the* English

Church, is an insult to the national name and a libel on the religious sentiments of the thousands of English people who condemn and depise such practices. The natives of India may reasonably charge the English nation with being ritualistic; and so long as the Church in which it flourishes is established and endowed, the spirit of sacerdotalism and sacramentarianism, incipient in the native Church, is receiving national countenance and encouragement. A disestablished ritualistic Church would have to stand on its own footing, would lose the adventitious help and prestige which the patronage of the State confers, and would no longer be able to speak with the authority of the nation.

Such is a very imperfect statement of what are regarded as injuries, and an injustice, created by an ecclesiastical establishment in India, and, as such, adduced as reasons for its disestablishment. More might, perhaps, have been made of the question, what do the established churches do for the people of India? If the people contribute towards their maintenance, should they not share in their privileges? But for such privileges, conferred by the State, we cannot conscientiously contend. The State steps out of her province when she attempts to teach religion to a people. She undertakes spiritual work for which she possesses only temporal qualifications. The State Church, in not attempting to do anything *as a Church*, for the people of India, is, therefore, only loyal to its lord's decree—the religious neutrality-policy of the English Government. Hence it is not to be wondered at that, considering the position the much respected Bishops of India occupy in the state, exception should have been taken to the pastoral letter recently issued by them in which, as true Christian men, they urge upon the Church to put forth greater energies for the conversion of India. What is so lamentable is just this, that such eminent leaders of religion in this country should, by reason of their connection with the state, lay themselves open to the charge of inconsistency. True, this religious neutrality has been carried to a scrupulous extreme; so much so, as to close the mouths of Government chaplains, when they have sought to do good to the souls of native soldiers; and so to convert mere neutrality into a practical non-tolerance of what is Christian. Lord Wm. Bentinck's order to all chaplains, not to speak at all to the native soldiery on the subject of religion, will be remembered—an order issued after a godly chaplain, who felt that, in spite of Government connection, he was still a man, a Christian and a missionary, had been detected by a military officer, conversing with some native soldiers, at their own request, on religious subjects, and a prohibition which has never since been countermanded. This is surely an unenviable position to have one's hands, even in one's individual capacity, completely tied; and the yearnings of one's heart towards the unenlightened thousands within one's reach cruelly restrained. But such is one of the many evils

resulting from the connection of religion with the State, especially in a heathen land, and it is just this crippling, slavish, humiliating thralldom, which the State exercises over its ecclesiastical servants as well as the injustice it inflicts on others, that renders the continuance of such connection so undesirable. And it is earnestly hoped, that it has been made evident throughout this paper, that all that has been said in the way of objection and condemnation, has had reference, not to any body of Christian men, who are individually worthy of all esteem, nor to any particular church, which, as a church, is nobly conspicuous for its virtues, its ministers, and its work, but simply and solely to a *system*, looked at apart from the churches and the men themselves, artificial, and yet terribly real,—the enfeebling and secularizing alliance of the Church with the State. And with reference to the heathen, from whom the chaplains are thus excluded, we can only pity the more those who are called upon to contribute towards an ecclesiastical establishment, without participating in its profits; and must look to the fidelity and devotion of the Christian Church, both within the establishment and without it, to provide for the spiritual needs of the people.

But if the Establishment has not transgressed in respect to the natives of the country, it may fairly be asked, whether she has not outstepped her province in relation to the European population, and, in so doing, hindered, rather than helped, the development of a vigorous Christianity? She was designed solely for the servants of Government; but, for many years past, the chaplains of both the Episcopalian and Presbyterian establishments have been ministering in large cities, to numerous wealthy congregations, largely made up of persons in no ways connected with the Government. In the Madras Presidency, for example, in which the ecclesiastical expenditure is higher than in any other part of India, amounting to more than 380,000 Rupces, there are forty chaplains, a large number of whom are ministering to such congregations. In the city of Madras there are six who are thus employed; the services of only one (as regards at least the English establishment,) being needed as a distinctively garrison chaplain in Fort St. George. Not long since, the seven churches in Calcutta were, with one exception, ministered to by Government chaplains; whereas in small up-country civil and military stations, there was, and is still, the curious anomaly of missionaries, not receiving Government pay, being diverted from their proper occupation, and doing the work that rightly devolves on chaplains. We do not grudge a single European congregation the ministry of such able and earnest men, nor the men themselves a well-earned salary; we would have the former rendered more close and sacred; and the latter in some cases more equivalent, as it well might be, if it were raised, not by the pressure of public taxation, but by personal sacrifices such as we make for those nearest to us by friendship and kindred: but, Government, by being liberal be-

yond its original stipulations, has, we complain, repressed the spirit of voluntary benevolence in those congregations, and provided them with a ministry which they were competent to maintain themselves. It is the distinctive piety of Christianity to express itself in liberal gratitude ; and for the State to take the place of the congregation in the practical recognition of its pastor's services, is to cause one of the noblest and most natural graces of the Christian character to drop into decay. " If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it " a great thing if we shall reap *your* carnal things ? " said the Apostle Paul to the Corinthian Church. The State has thus been doing an unnecessary, as well as a costly and detrimental work, in thus providing large, and fashionable, and wealthy congregations with their ministers ; for it would be worse than a reflection on such congregations to suppose them less capable of supporting their own ministers, than the many smaller and far less substantial congregations, among the non-conformist community. In many of these churches high pew-rents are already levied ; and these, being of course, universally adopted, would, with ecclesiastical fees and voluntary contributions, provide, in each case, an ample minister's salary. The many Government chaplains now stationed in large towns might thus either themselves become locally supported ministers, or gradually give way to a supply of such, the Government thus retaining only strictly garrison and cantonment chaplains. Even this relation, which by no means depends on the establishment of any particular religion, and which has generally seemed to be inevitable, so long as there are British troops in India, might eventually assume a private character, and be a relation between the regiments and the societies which would severally support such army clergymen (with supplementary contributions from the regiments themselves), according to the different religious persuasions of the soldiers ; instead of Protestant Episcopalian and Presbyterian, and, in some cases, Roman Catholic and Wesleyan chaplains being paid, as at present, by the State.

As for the quarter of a million of Europeans and Eurasians scattered throughout India and variously employed, some of whom have been already included among the congregations at present under the charge of chaplains, and, for the matter of that, for the European regiments themselves, there exists material out of which their religious wants might be adequately supplied. There have been springing up, of late years, various societies, such as the Additional Clergy Society, founded by the late Bishop Wilson, the Additional Clergy Society of the Established Church of Scotland, the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and the Anglo-Indian Christian Union, a Society formed a few years ago in Edinburgh, and these voluntary organizations are eminently capable of supplying the place of an established Church in India.

We need not then be much concerned to see Claudius

Buchanan's elaborate and expensive "scheme for an ecclesiastical establishment for British India," regarded at that time in a light of "a moral police," sketched as far back as the year 1813, and still far short of what was then projected, ever realized. The just and easy work of disestablishment may enable it to give way to the freer, healthier, higher development of the life and activities of a local church, supplemented by the efforts of benevolent societies, while the saving of a million rupees a year to Imperial funds would in view of many present urgent needs, such as the spreading of elementary education among the masses, and the difficulty felt as to how to raise the necessary funds, relieve Government of much pecuniary embarrassment.

Well may we smile in these later days at the ancient fear entertained in this country of the voluntary system, that it would make the Government less responsible! Well would it be for Government and churches too, were it relieved of all such unnatural and unnecessary responsibilities. If the Municipal Commissioners do their duty in repairing roads, constructing sewers, and lighting streets, we do not complain because they do not burden themselves with the responsibilities of the Bible and the Tract societies. The State has enough to do in its own department, without troubling about the duties and privileges which, by their very nature, can appertain only to the Christian Church. We need have no fear for Protestantism, or voluntarism, either in India or in England, with the history of Christianity in the United States of America, and Canada, or Australia, which records no rich endowments to any religious sects from the revenues of the State. And if we look at Ireland, while the Protestant Episcopal Church, said to be still the second richest Church in Europe, has not, owing to its vast endowments and vested interests, had to test as yet the liberality of the people, we find "the Irish Presbyterian Church was never before in so prosperous a condition." On State aid being withdrawn, the confidence that had to be transferred to the laity suffered not a whit, but appeals made to their Christian benevolence were heartily and bountifully responded to. The true spiritual Church of Christ has power enough, and love enough, inherent in her, to be independent of the feeble, worldly power supplemented by the State. To need the aid of an establishment implies want of faith in the power of the Church to do the work Christ has committed her to do. Rather would we believe with him, who has done so much in the cause of social and religious liberty in the English Parliament, that, for all the spiritual work of the world, we need but "the might of Christian truth, the strength of Christian character, and the infinite energies of Christian love."

ART. II.—STREET PREACHING.

BY REV. E. C. SCUDDER, M. D., VELLORE.

UNDER this term we shall include all out-door preaching as ordinarily conducted by the missionary, whether in the bazaar, the festival, the crowded thoroughfare of the large city, or the more quiet street of the country village. The same general principles must be followed in each instance, and though the degree of depravity and opposition to be encountered, the attention secured, and the good resulting, may vary with condition and circumstances, the qualifications of the preacher and the mode of presenting his message must always remain the same.

As to the results of street preaching in general, it is well known to all that a difference of opinion exists; some insisting upon its utility, while others are prepared to abandon it as negative in result, and almost useless. This question appears to us to depend entirely upon the signification attached to the word success. If we are to confine it solely to the direct acquisition of converts in great numbers, it must necessarily be pronounced, if not a failure, at least a questionable, and perhaps an unprofitable, mode of attaining the proposed end. The converts gained by this method are painfully few; but *can* the work in any manner be pronounced a failure, and are we justified in abandoning it for some other untried and perhaps less scriptural method? Our reply is most emphatically in the negative. Not only have we the example of Christ and his immediate followers to urge us on in this peculiar work, but the instincts and promptings of our own natures lie in the same direction. Why has there been such unanimity of sentiment and action in this respect among the pioneers of the missionary work in every part of the world, and why is it that this method has been recently initiated amid the great centres of civilization both in the Old and New Worlds? Is it not because of an inward persuasion that it is the most effectual way of reaching the great masses of the people; that we are right in imitating him who made the mountain and the desert, the wayside and the well, his pulpit and his church, no less than the temple, the synagogue and the private dwelling? But we are not shut up to example and the persuasion of reason. Let us appeal to experience. We believe—and our belief is based upon observations and an experience of more than eighteen years, during which time we have, with our brethren, been extensively engaged in this work—that this mode of preaching is one of the most powerful and effectual means that the missionary

possesses for the dissemination of the truth; indispensable in fact to the speedy overthrow of the false systems that surround and oppose him. Though the direct results in the shape of converts are meagre and unsatisfactory, the *indirect* results are such as to convince us that this is a work of prime importance. Who that has had any experience in the matter can fail to see, even within the limited period of his own efforts, a marked and extensive change in the thoughts, sentiments, feelings and conduct of those among whom he has been called upon to labor? So gradual has been the process, that we can scarcely appreciate it, till a contrast of the present with the past—and that through a limited period—reveals to us an advance that fairly fills us with amazement.

Where are the virulent opposition, the outbursts of passion and rage, that a few years since were no unusual concomitants of street preaching? True this opposition manifests itself now and then, as recently in Bombay, and we must expect to see more or less of it at large centres where every thing is favorable to the development of excitement and religious fanaticism. But these are exceptional cases and will continue to diminish, provided the spirit of opposition is not fostered and encouraged on the part of the rulers of the land by such acts as that which recently led to the unwise suppression of a tract that has been for years in circulation. Not only has opposition in a great measure ceased, but there has arisen in its room a respect for the truth on the part of the people which is most encouraging; and this respect extends to the preacher as well as to his message. The missionary is no longer looked upon as a tool of the government, or a mad declaimer, but a hard-working, honest, earnest man with the interests of the people at heart.

Notwithstanding all this, it may still be urged that, owing to the changing character of street audiences, the effect produced must necessarily be imperfect and ephemeral. This no doubt would be the case were the truth proclaimed for once only, in any given locality; but when the process is frequently repeated—and this is the only true way of prosecuting this work—facts show that permanent impressions are made. Our experience in this Mission¹ enables us to give strong testimony on this question. Preaching has been our great work, in fact, we might say, that in connection with the distribution of Bibles and tracts, it has been the *only* agency we have employed for reaching the heathen, and we know that a great change has been effected within the last twenty years. There is more than a mere smattering of knowledge. The national conscience has been aroused. The people have become in a measure acquainted with the essence of Christianity, and with its great distinguishing feature, the atonement, as is evinced by their intelligent enquiries and acknowledgments; and the outward respect which is already paid to the Gospel

¹ The Aroet Mission of the Reformed Church in America.

message will naturally and inevitably lead on, by the blessing of God, to an interest in, appreciation of, and final reception of the truth. How many of us can even now point to not one, but numerous Nicodemuses, who, while they believe, have not the moral power to declare openly in favor of the truth that has found a lodgment in their hearts. Let but the social bondage under which they are groaning be removed, and we shall see a host of true believers in the land. We are fully persuaded that Christianity has made vast strides forward by its simple proclamation in the streets.

Looking at the matter in this light, there is every reason for thankfulness and encouragement in this department of missionary labor. It must be borne in mind that the work of the present day is in a great measure preparatory; breaking up rather than gathering and organizing, and the absence of those direct and substantial results that we all desire should not lead to the condemnation of this method. Conversions and accessions may be few and far between, but the work is nevertheless on the advance. It is very much like a tree about to put forth its blossoms in spring time. After standing naked, leafless and apparently dead through the long dreary months of winter, upon the fresh appearance of the warm sunshine, we see a blossom now upon this limb, now upon that; then a sudden, simultaneous bursting forth on every side, and the whole is clothed with fragrance and beauty. In the same manner may we not at the appointed time look for a general and simultaneous movement among the masses towards Christianity?

While thus strongly advocating this mode of work, let us not, however, be understood as saying that other agencies have had no share in bringing about the results that have been mentioned. The school, the *zayat*, the Christian congregation, the visitation from house to house where practicable, have all exerted their influence and contributed in no small degree towards the general end. We should use one and all of these as far as possible, yet it is evident from their circumscribed nature, that the power they exert must in a measure be confined to the localities in which they exist. *Zayats*, no doubt, gather in multitudes, and are especially useful in crowded thoroughfares where an out-door audience would be impracticable, but it will be found on investigation that only certain classes of hearers frequent them, and there is in our opinion nothing so effectual for reaching all classes of the people—you may even include the women, for many of them are found, especially in our village audiences—as preaching in the bazar, at the festival, and in the street. Confine us to only one mode of work in India, and we would choose to go forth and scatter the seed broadcast throughout the land.

In passing now to consider the method of carrying on this work, let us call attention to three points:

1. The requisites on the part of the preacher.
2. The method of securing an audience.

3. The method of interesting and profiting our audience.

1. *The requisites on the part of the preacher.*

Many of these are so obvious and universally acknowledged as to require no comment. Such are a high-toned piety, self-consecration, earnestness of purpose, a prayerful frame of mind, etc. No one destitute of these is fit to be a preacher of the gospel under any circumstances, and he who goes into the street merely to get through a duty in a mechanical, perfunctory manner, better speedily conclude that he has mistaken his calling. Others will if he does not. It is to be feared that some of our less spiritual native agents cause scandal and injury by the lack of these essentials.

But aside from these, one of the first necessities that meets us is an acquaintance with the language or languages in which we are called to labor. This is an indispensable requisite in one who wishes to become a *successful* street preacher. Prayer, earnestness and piety will not atone for a stammering tongue. A tool unskillfully handled will not produce a good piece of workmanship. The surest way of reaching a man's heart is by communicating with him in his own language. It will even secure the attention of an enemy, as in the notable instance of Paul when he stood on the stairs and addressed the Jews in the Hebrew tongue. "Mental qualifications" are not the only essential,—good looks go half way," quietly said a school trustee when about to make a choice of teachers between two candidates, one of whom was very ugly. So here, a glib tongue will go a long way, and even atone in a measure for the absence of certain other desirable qualities. It will at once command respect and prepare the way for what is to follow. The street preacher should not only be able to express himself with freedom and fluency, but should also understand every allusion that may be made, or any objection that may be presented, and meet them without hesitation. This can only be done by a thorough mastery of the language; hence nothing should claim his attention more earnestly than this. Many a missionary's power as a preacher in the streets has been hampered by an imperfect knowledge of the language he used.

It would be especially useful if, to a thorough grammatical and colloquial knowledge of the language required, acquaintance with the Sanscrit could be superadded. This places in the hands of the missionary a weapon which he can wield with tremendous effect, not only because of the sanctity in which the language is held, but because of its richness of tone and thought, and its intimate relation to the languages and literature of India. It is as necessary to a correct understanding of many of the languages we have to deal with as Latin and Greek are to a thorough familiarity with English.

Another requisite on the part of the preacher is an acquaintance with the national religion and literature of the people. In India these are almost indetical and any attempt to disunite them

would prove futile. The Hindu is one of the most religious beings on the face of the earth. His religion is his literature, and his literature is his religion; it is only by a proper study of these combined, that we shall acquire that familiarity with his customs and habits of thought which is essential to our usefulness among the people. It must ever be borne in mind, that all his religious ideas, from creation down to final absorption, with all the intermediate stages and changes of existence are in direct antagonism to our own; hence that the presentation of such truths as the Bible teaches in reference to man, the fall, the nature and expiation of sin, would be entirely misapprehended, unless accompanied by explanations of the differences of thought expressed by the same terms. A correct appreciation of these differences is especially necessary to the success of our efforts in street preaching, for here it is that we come most frequently in contact with the peculiar principles and tenets of the Hindu system. We must be able to place ourselves on a level with them and view everything from their stand-point.

Again, the street preacher needs to be bold, watchful and ready for any emergency. Street preaching we regard as the most difficult and, as far as the flesh goes, the most distasteful of all works that the missionary engages in. To a sensitive nature there is nothing to be compared with it. He goes where he is not wanted, and with a message which repels the natural heart. The inspiration of sympathy is wanting, and look where he will, there is not a single feature of encouragement in any of the surroundings. It needs no little courage and grace to face all this. Then too, he is one amid many, each one of whom is,—in a religious point of view,—his antagonist, ready to catch, carp, oppose or sneer, as occasion may offer. He must therefore be wide awake, with every sense and faculty on the stretch; every mental and moral feeler, as it were, out to catch as well as communicate; he must be ready to parry assault, meet objections, subdue the turbulent, turn the tables on the scoffer, submit patiently to abuse; and all this to be done and suffered with undisturbed good humor and moral serenity. Nothing delights an opponent more than to irritate the speaker, while failure to do so both discomfits and disgusts him. A Hindu once told a brother of ours, after striving in every way to ruffle his temper, “you are paid Rs. 400 monthly by Government to refrain from getting angry.” Loss of temper and the manifestation of anger place the preacher at a great disadvantage, and, at the same time, destroy any impression for good that may have been made. Surely a street preacher needs, besides the grace of God, a stout heart and a hard shell. We do not mean to imply that every heathen audience is of the above description, but such there are, and we must be prepared for them.

2. *The method of gathering an audience.*

Very little need be said on this subject. Circumstances suggest

methods, while methods vary with circumstances. Each one has his favorite way, and all are in the main successful. We never failed to secure an audience, except on two occasions, and the failure on one of these was due entirely to the women. Their combined eloquence was irresistible and we retired with such dignity as they who are completely overwhelmed and defeated can command. Our experience is decidedly against exciting a woman's tongue under any circumstances.

After securing a favorable position in the street—and this is a matter of some importance—we find that the reading of a passage of Scripture, or singing a song in native metre when practicable, will draw an audience as effectually as any method we employ. The latter is especially attractive and we have seen the people when restless, quiet down at once, upon the promise of another song at the end of the discourse. Entering into conversation with individuals on subjects of common interest; the repetition of some passage from their own sacred books; direct invitations to passers-by; these and a variety of other methods are all useful and can be employed as time, place and circumstances suggest.

3. *The method of interesting and profiting the people.*

This is the most important part of our subject, and in treating it, we will first call attention to certain things that should be avoided.

First.—Avoid, what is popularly styled, in these days, a long “preach.”

The Hindu, though the most placid and tractable of beings, and gifted with large powers of endurance, does not relish being *bored* a whit more than his Western brother. His docility should not therefore be taken advantage of, especially when the subject presented is one which possesses for him no intrinsic merit or interest. He cares not for the Gospel, much less for the decalogue. The preacher should therefore be wise as a serpent, and strike quickly and with power. We have seen many a good audience dissipated by a dry and prolonged exposition of the ten commandments, or by a profound argument to prove the existence of a God,—a work of supererogation, at least in India. We find from fifteen to twenty minutes quite sufficient under ordinary circumstances to bring before the minds of the people the truths they require to hear. There are of course occasions of special interest which would not only justify, but demand a more lengthy discourse. These, however, we regret to say are infrequent, and although a long discourse *may* be listened to with apparent attention, it is unsafe to regard it as a manifestation of genuine interest. It may be the result of mere apathy. The Hindu is so constructed that any physiological reference to his features fails to reveal what is taking place within. You may imagine his whole soul to be absorbed in the subject before

him, and yet his thoughts be as far from it as the east is from the west. Brevity with pungency should therefore characterize our street efforts.

Second.—Avoid every thing that savors of abuse.

Human nature is the same under all circumstances, and however mistaken or degraded a man may be, he naturally repels disparagement and abuse of any kind. This can result only in ill-will and a repugnance to listen to, or profit by, what may be said. Though the Hindu may laugh with you over the popular delusions, the superstitions and idolatrous practices of the land, to which he subscribes, and by which he is governed, he is as sensitive to, and as much affected by the abuse of his deities, his mode of worship and traditional customs, as any man living. Mistaken though his notions may be, they are, like our own religious thoughts and conceptions, precious and sacred to him. It should therefore be the special aim of the preacher to guard against any thing like vituperation in dealing with these subjects. To enter into a tirade against his religion, and to wound his prejudices by offensive allusions, would not only be out of taste, but would serve to embitter his feelings and harden his heart, converting him into an opponent instead of a listener. With the wisdom of the serpent should be united the harmlessness of the dove, and while we shun no difficulty, we can express all that need be said in regard to their superstitions and religious habits without exciting ill-will or in any way offending their tastes and feelings. We have no doubt that almost every missionary during some period of his course, and particularly in its earlier stages, has been tempted to indulge in denunciatory utterances, and this especially when urged on by irritating remarks or aspersions upon the nature and character of our religion and its holy founder;—and the mythology and literature of the country furnish ample scope for the display of such rhetoric—still his later experiences convince him that conciliatory measures are far more efficacious; that setting forth the truth in love is the surer method of influencing the feelings and touching the heart. It is not meant by this that we are to confine ourselves to an exhibition of the excellencies of Christianity, without exposing the fallacies of opposing systems, and without any reference to the character of the deities worshipped. The latter should be boldly and effectually done, and one of the most remarkable conversions in our Mission was due to the impression made by the missionary on the convert's mind, that the God he worshipped, according to the representation of his own sacred books, is a thief. There is a vast difference between saying, You lie, Sir, and, My dear Sir, I am very sorry to see that you are laboring under a mistake. The same difference should characterize an assault upon the false systems that surround us. Both gods and worship can, and should be, riddled without giving offence.

There is another point in this connection not unworthy of notice, and that is to guard against a disposition to undervalue the strength, and in a measure the real worth of the systems with which we have to deal. We are not to despise and condemn them as a whole, because of the large admixture of error which they contain. Some of them are based on grand philosophical truths and possess certain elements of strength and beauty, and instead of regarding them, as we are sometimes inclined to do in our earlier days, and the plenitude of our faith, as unworthy our consideration, much might be accomplished for good by mastering and using them as auxiliaries in our work.

Third.—Avoid controversy as far as possible.

This of course does not embrace honest questions and honest objections. Such should be met at once and with courtesy. Discussions, however, as usually conducted in the streets, are of a very different character, being little more than an intellectual tilt between two minds educated on diametrically opposite principles. Their utility is more than questionable. The matter has had a fair trial in our Mission, and the general conviction seems to be that it is of very little profit; its design,—the farther elicitation and illustration of truth, being seldom attained. The disputant in such cases has no yearnings for the truth, but presents himself for one of two purposes, either for mischief or display. His object is to draw away the attention of the people from the subject-matter in hand by vain babblings and ridicule, or to draw attention to himself by a parade of his own intellectual and dialectic skill. Designing, persistent, and rambling from topic to topic with amazing facility, he is a difficult subject to handle, and if allowed full scope will neutralize every effort for good that may be made. The only way is to get rid of him as quickly as possible, and this can be done generally by firmly declining all discussion till the close of your address. By that time his ardor will have subsided and the object of the preacher been attained. Should this fail, a resolute adherence to the subject in hand; a constant return to it amid all the variations of your opponent, forcing every thing to bend to and reflect upon it, will probably soon tire him out. In the event of this being unsuccessful you have still an appeal to your audience and the pressure of sarcasm. Should the disputant be a Brahman, the repetition of the *gayatri* will probably silence him. This however should be resorted to in extreme cases only, and with caution. One or other of these methods seldom fails to lower the pretentiousness of an opponent, and reduce him to a state of partial or complete collapse. We have known a turbulent disputant to be brought to a condition of quiescence by the simple quotation of a passage that compares the tongue of the babbler to the rapid and useless vibrations of a goat's tail. These are singularly ridiculous as any observer can testify.

Fourth.—Mode of meeting objections.

The great mass of the people of India are in a state of intellectual infancy, and hence, all abstract reasoning or any departure from the strictest simplicity is next to useless. Of logic they know nothing and for argument they care very little. When objections therefore are presented—and there is a stereotyped set for the whole country which the street preacher soon learns, and can often anticipate—instead of meeting them by a long process of reasoning, the most satisfactory and effectual method of disposing of them is the use of some illustration or quotation, which will show them the inconsistency of these objections. For example, there is the most common and frequently urged objection to becoming Christians, viz., “We cannot depart from the customs of our forefathers.” This can frequently be answered by saying, “How is this? Do you not make use of the railroad? Your forefathers never did, and you have no right to, still you do. You get into the train and are carried speedily and comfortably to your destination. This is a physical contrivance for good which you all approve and accept. Now, the same nation that has introduced this physical good among you, has also brought you a spiritual gift in the shape of the Gospel. There is no deception connected with the one, neither is there with the other. You have tried the first and found it of great advantage; now try the second, get into the Gospel train and you will be engineered with speed and comfort into heaven.”

Should it be farther objected, as is sometimes the case,—that our forefathers had no railroad, the reply is obvious,—neither had they the Gospel or they might have accepted that.

Other objections,—“If we only have faith, it matters not whom we worship”—“Since God made us, we are not responsible for sin;” and a variety of others may all be met in a similar manner and generally with satisfactory results; or, at least, with more satisfactory results than any line of argument is likely to afford.

In conclusion it should be remembered that this same style should more or less characterize all our efforts in the streets. The people, as we know, are imaginative and impressible, rather than practical, and must be met by a mode of teaching adapted to their particular habits of mind. In speaking of this, Dr. Duff remarks in his work on Missions, “In attempting to convey spiritual ideas to the mind of such a people, the abstract, the formal, the didactic or intellective style of address must be wholly abandoned.”

Our object in preaching to them is to bring before them the great facts that man is a sinner; that he can never remove his own sin; that he must have a Saviour, even Jesus Christ, and instead of entering into lengthy arguments to prove the various questions that grow out of these statements, we shall find it far more useful as well as economical in point of labor to appeal to their imagination and feelings and by the use of figures, parables, quotations, etc., to bring

the truth in an intelligible manner before their minds. What, for example, will impress more fully upon the minds of the common people the fact that they are sinners than the simple quotation of the sloka :

पापोहंपापकर्माहं पापात्मापापसंभवः।

त्राहिमांकपयादेव श्रणागतवत्सल॥

Just so in regard to idolatry. The repetition of the stanza :

मृच्छिलाघातुर्दावादि मूर्तावीश्वरबुद्धयः।

क्लिश्यंतितपसामूढाः परांशान्तिनयांतिते॥²

will go farther towards showing them the sin and folly of idolatry than an elaborate address of half an hour's length.

Then too there are the parables of our Lord ; the familiar illustration of the debtor and a variety of others,—all of which may be worked into our discourses in a manner which shall be pleasing as well as profitable to our hearers.

Let us persevere in our street preaching with faith, earnestness, prayer, and with a careful adaptation of the truth to the mental habits of the people among whom we labor, and we shall find it a mighty instrument in the hands of God for enlightening and evangelizing the land.

¹ Freely rendered this is, I am a sinner, my deeds are all sinful ; my nature is sinful ; I was born in sin ; oh God, who art full of love towards him who takes thee as his refuge, save me by thy grace.

² The foolish ones who believe that God resides in images made of mud, stone, metal, wood, etc., reap sorrow by their pains. They will never attain bliss.

ART. III.—RIGHTS OF NATIVE CHRISTIANS.

BY REV. L. BISSELL, D. D., AHMADNAGAR.

WHEREVER Christianity makes some progress in this caste-ridden land, the "water question" sooner or later is sure to present itself. If happily the first converts live in a place situated on the bank of a never-failing river, the difficulty may for a time be averted. For even the rules of caste do not deny to a pariah the privilege of slaking his thirst in a running stream. It is enough if he will take the water at a respectful distance down the stream from his high-caste neighbor. But if converts are made in a village at a distance from a river, where the people depend upon wells and aqueducts for their supply of water, this question at once comes to the front.

The rules of caste thrust out the new convert, and assign him a place with the pariah classes. No matter to what caste he previously belonged, he is now an apostate. His rights as a high-caste man are forfeited. He must be content to share with the out-casts, and live on the crumbs of justice doled out to them. So says the "twice-born Brahman." It is useless to point out the injustice of such a course to those who uphold the system of caste. With them the regulations of caste are the "higher law," from which there is no appeal. Truth and justice are minor matters, and if they do not agree with the demands of caste, so much the worse for them. In such a case, if the civil law does not come to the rescue, truth and right will be trampled in the dust.

In some parts of India, the question of the right of native Christians to take water from the public wells, has come before the magistrate, and been decided against the law of caste. The Hindus have been told distinctly, that they are at liberty to observe the rules of caste among themselves if they choose; but they are not at liberty to force their observance upon others, nor to deprive of their civil rights a class of men who have chosen to give up the system of caste, and be no longer bound by its rules. In a word, they have been taught that the civil law is higher than caste laws, and that justice is more important than the figment of ceremonial purity.

Fifteen years ago this question of the right of native Christians to take water from the public wells, came before the magistrate at Ahmadnagar. C. E. Fraser Tytler, Esq., late of the Bombay Civil Service, was then at the head of the Collectorate. He was a man who well understood the strong prejudices of the people with whom

he had to deal, as well as the principles of justice and right which underlie the laws he was called to administer. In a conciliatory, yet firm manner, he met and answered the complaints and petitions of the people, and sustained the rights of the Christians. The management of the case from first to last was so admirable and the final disposal of it so satisfactory, that we propose to give here a brief account of it, with the decisions then recorded by the Bombay Government. There is the more reason for this as we learn that in some parts of India the decision of the magistrate has been such as to degrade native Christians, sending those even who were originally of the higher classes among their people to the pariah wells, and thus virtually giving the seal of Government authority to the unjust demands of caste.

In September 1859, the native Christians at Ahmadnagar having carefully and prayerfully considered the matter, commenced to take water from one of the public reservoirs used by Hindus. It was first taken by those originally of high caste. The act was noticed, and the reservoir abandoned by the people. They also hastened to the magistrate with complaints and petitions, that the converts might be forbidden the use of the public water. Mr. Tytler called some of the leading native Christians before him, and questioned them as to the complaints made against them. They replied that for some years past, the Mission having rented a house in a central part of the city with a reservoir near it, and they living in the vicinity had taken their water from the mission compound; but that now, having become more numerous, and living in distant parts of the city, they were under the necessity of using the reservoirs near their houses; that they always had enjoyed the privilege of using these reservoirs, and they understood the right was not forfeited by their becoming Christians. Mr. Tytler told them they were right, and that he would protect them in the exercise of their rights. He then informed the Hindus who had presented the petition, that he could not comply with their request, as it was clearly contrary to the laws of the English Government; that these laws protected all classes of citizens in the exercise of their common rights; and among these the right to take water was a most important one. They had therefore no just cause of complaint. But he told them he would forward their petition to the Governor for his consideration, and would inform them of his reply. Meanwhile the Christians must not be disturbed in taking water. The deputy magistrate, an intelligent native gentleman, not a Christian, at one stage of the proceedings was appealed to for help. He gave the following admirable reply:—"I cannot receive your petition. To sustain your position you must either rely upon your *shastras* or *usage*. If you are guided by the *shastras*, you must no longer take water with Musalmans. If you rely upon *usage*, then allow the Christians also to use the tanks."

In forwarding the petition Mr. Tytler stated distinctly the point at issue. The petitioners wished Government to forbid to a certain class of men, whose high respectability they could not deny, the common and obvious right of access to the public tanks and wells; and they wished this done for the sole reason that the men had become Christians. A full copy of his remarks, reviewing the petition and pointing out its gross errors, would be too long for insertion here. A few extracts are given:—

“The tanks are public tanks, and the Christians merely exercised a common right in taking water from them. Petitioners might just as well request the authorities to prohibit Christians the use of their lungs, on the ground that the air was thereby polluted.”

“Throughout the petition this question is termed a religious one—and this is repeated every few lines, as if reiteration had power to turn fictions into fact. In no part of the Hindu or Mahammadan religion is it laid down, that Christians shall not use public tanks, and public waters, and that by so doing they pollute them. It is a pure assumption. Petitioners reply, ‘but our tradition teaches us that low caste persons by touching our water pollute it and us.’ This implies another gratuitous and utterly false assumption, one nowhere mentioned in their religion, and existing only among the most ignorant; namely, that Christians are low caste. But it is well known to all who know anything, that they are the highest, the most advanced in science, civilization, and power, the oldest and the largest¹ class in the world. Tradition, therefore, which only prohibits the lowest, and most degraded castes from the use of the public tanks, cannot by any distortion be said to exclude Christians.

“Petitioners are as much in error in the matter of ‘usage’ as on other points. Christian converts have used the city tanks before this when need be. No one objected to Dáji Pánduráng, a Brahman convert, using the public tanks, because he was a Government official. Jews, Mussulmans, Mahárs and Mángs, converts to Mahammadanism, courtesans and prostitutes, all use these public tanks, and petitioners do not consider themselves thereby polluted.

“Petitioners pervert to their own views Her Majesty’s Proclamation, as much as they do their own religion, tradition, and usage. I believe they represent but a small portion of the public at Ahmadnagar, and their remedy clearly lies in building private tanks for themselves, with which no one will interfere. They are not compelled to use public tanks if they deem themselves polluted thereby. They, or men of their stamp, wished not long ago, to debar Christians from Government tuition. I am glad to think that all capable of forming a sound opinion recognize the rights of the Christians.”

The promise of a reference to Government had a hopeful look to the petitioners, and somewhat eased the severity of the decision. It was showing them some consideration—a good deal more than they deserved, indeed—to forward their petition to the Governor. The magistrate might be doubtful about his position, and ready for a different settlement of the question if he could shift the responsibility upon the general Government. They knew that important decisions were often reversed by a higher court, and thus the very idea of a reference suggested a reversal. To those in such a hopeful state of

¹ A note in the margin states that, “Protestant, Roman and Greek Christians number 350 millions—that is, far exceed all the castes of India put together.”

mind, the following caustic reply must have come with a sharp shock :—

“ Bombay, 24th Oct. 1859.

“ Copy of a resolution passed by Government (in the Judicial department) on the petition of Auandrão Babajee Deshpánde and other Hindu inhabitants of Ahmadrnagar.

“ The magistrate may be instructed to inform Auandrão Babajee Deshpánde, that Government will not for a moment entertain so absurd and so insulting an application as that contained in the petition signed by himself and a few other misguided persons at Ahmadrnagar. The petitioners should be reminded that by their own showing the fountains in question were established by Mahammadan kings, and that in the days of those kings no Hindu would have dared to suggest that they were polluted by being used by Musalmans. If they could be used without pollution by any Dher or Máng who embraced the Mahammadan religion, how can they be polluted by the use of Christian converts? The petitioners have forgotten their own Shastras, which declare that the caste of the ruler, whatever it may be, is equal to the highest. And they have perverted the declaration in the Queen's Proclamation which expressly states that *none* shall be molested by reason of their religious faith, into an argument for molesting and insulting those who profess the same faith which the Queen not merely acknowledges, but of which she proclaims herself the Defender.”

In these days when so many political documents are full of ambiguous periphrase, it is refreshing to read one like the above which in terse language rings out the bold truth, and stops. There was no doubt as to the meaning of this paper; it was intelligible even to weak-minded people. We could pity those to whom it was addressed, were it not that their cause was outside of the pale of sympathy.

After hearing this answer to their petition, an attempt was made to frighten the magistrate, not by open opposition, but by a sullen refusal to acquiesce in the decision. For several days most of the shops in the city bazar were closed, and no one could buy or sell the most necessary articles; just as a child will sometimes refuse to eat his dinner, because his pet whim is not gratified. The traders were told by the Brahmans that if any one opened his shop he would be treated like the out-cast Christians. Very soon, however, the people found they were only subjecting themselves to loss and inconvenience, and gradually the shops began to open again. The magistrate remained firm, and law and right were triumphant.

For some weeks it was necessary to station policemen near the principal reservoirs, to restrain the evil disposed from molesting the converts when they came for water. A few weeks later the people in one locality mustered courage to drive them away from a tank, using fists and feet as well as mouths with considerable energy; and braving the policeman with his baton, who on such occasions does not always prove a dangerous antagonist. It was not so easy a matter however to face the magistrate. Twelve of the offenders were mulcted in the sum of fifty rupees each, and a thirteenth who had

exercised his right foot with unseemly freedom paid seventy-five rupees for the pastime.

About the same time one of the missionaries on a tour camped at the large village of Wambori. Some of the villagers fearing their wells would suffer the same fate with those at Ahmadnagar, tried to drive away the "Padri Saheb," by pulling up his tent pegs and beating his servants. The attention of the magistrate in charge of the district having been called to this affair, he fined the four principal instigators, who were wealthy men, the sum of 1,400 rupees. Somehow the impression got abroad about this time that beating the Christians for drawing water, though it might be exciting sport, was in the end an expensive one, and by general consent it was abandoned.

Some months later the leaders of the opposition prepared and forwarded to the Governor another petition, praying that certain reservoirs in the city might be set apart for the use of the Christians, and that they might be prohibited the use of the rest, which would thus remain for the exclusive use of Hindus. They were careful also to avoid in this petition some of the offensive language and arguments, which in their party zeal they had allowed to appear in the first. The petition had at first sight a look of fairness. They were willing to grant the Christians a fair proportion of the tanks, enough indeed, to supply them with water. But its mischievous tendency did not escape the notice of Mr. Tytler, to whom it was referred by the Governor for his report upon it before returning an answer. We cannot be too thankful that the principle was not surrendered, after the battle had been fought and won.

Mr. Tytler's remarks upon the petition were as follows:—

"Petitioners in the present petition advance nothing new. Its tone is better than that of the former one, which was characterized by Government as 'absurd and insulting,' but its drift is the same, namely, that Hindus are polluted by Christians using the public tanks, and that they should be treated as outcasts. Petitioners offer to set aside special tanks for Christians. But such a compromise would be a breach of law, would admit the truth of the insult offered to the true faith and to the paramount power, and would not confer on Christians their true rights. The reply of the native Christians to this offer is, that having had the right to use the public tanks before conversion, they do not lose the right by becoming Christians; and that if this obvious right is denied them in Ahmadnagar, it will be so also in the surrounding towns and villages, where owing to the fewness of the wells special ones cannot be assigned to Christians. It is very easy for petitioners in Ahmadnagar, where public tanks are so abundant, to offer to give up a certain number, which do not belong to them; but will other towns, that cannot afford it (and none but Nagar can,) do this? It is to be feared that if the Christians are denied *in part* their legal rights in Ahmadnagar, they will be denied them *in toto* in all other villages, and the proposed Nagar arrangements quoted as precedent and authority. Any such compromise would greatly complicate this question throughout India, and render future adjustments most difficult. Whereas persistence in the right course, even though it involves some present trouble and suffering at Nagar, will definitively set the question at rest, and disarm all future opposition. The right is one so clear

and obvious, admitted even by all Brahmaus and Hindus capable of exercising a right judgment, that it only requires to be emphatically enjoined by Government in order to its general and ready recognition.

"This is not a religious question. In no part of the Hindu or Mahamadan religion is it laid down that Christians shall not use public tanks and public waters, and that by so doing they pollute them. But supposing that it is enjoined in the Hindu shastras that Christians shall not use public wells and tanks; there are parts of those shastras which are readily waved by the Hindus themselves. Brahmaus are strictly enjoined not to serve, but they readily accommodate themselves to the receipt of numerous service salaries. In the same way Hindus must accommodate themselves to the just and legal rights of the other numerous classes in Her Majesty's dominions, and among these the free use of air and water is the last that should be questioned or denied. The petitioners, as well as most of the inhabitants of Ahmadnagar, often proceed to Bombay for trade, service, and other purposes. And when there, they must do what they declare themselves incapable of doing in Ahmadnagar, namely, use the public tanks in common with Christians and all other classes. The petitioners have not yet accommodated themselves to the orders of Government, simply because they still hope to obtain some modification of the orders passed. It seems therefore necessary that they should be made to feel once and for all, that there is not the slightest chance of Government deviating from its decision. They will then learn to accommodate themselves to law and right, or if by opposing both they bring punishment on themselves, that will be but a consequence of their resistance to what is right and their attempts to oppress and degrade the Christian community."

To the petition forwarded with these remarks of the magistrate, the following answer was returned by the Bombay Government:—

"Bombay Castle, 18th April 1860.

"(Judicial Department.)

"To the Magistrate of Ahmadnagar.

"SIR,—I am directed to forward to you the accompanying copy of the Resolution of Government on the subject of your report 226 of the 3rd instant, and to request that you will be good enough to communicate the decision of Government to Jorawarnull Jooharlull Nuggurken and other Hindu inhabitants of Ahmadnagar, who have been referred to you for a reply to their petition of the 19th March last.

"RESOLUTION.—The Right Honorable the Governor in Council fully concurs in the views stated in the report by the magistrate of Ahmadnagar, and directs that the petitioners be informed that the *Government never will admit that a tank is polluted by being used by Christian converts*. His Lordship in Council sees no reason for any modification of his previous orders, and the intimation now issued must be regarded as final.

"(Signed) H. L. ANDERSON,

"Acting Chief Secretary to Government."

The papers referring to this matter having been forwarded to the Home Government, in due time, the following despatch was sent by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, confirming the decisions of the Bombay Government:—

"India Office, London,

"9th August, 1860.

"SIR,—The proceedings noted in the margin relative to the complaints made by certain inhabitants of Ahmadnagar, that native Christians had commenced to draw water from the public tanks, whereby the water was polluted, have been laid before me in council, and I have to express my

approval of your decision refusing to accede to the application of the complainants for the interference of Government in their favor. The complainants have greatly mistaken the meaning of Her Majesty's proclamation of the 1st November 1858, on which they so confidently rely, but which contains nothing to justify the attempt made by them to molest the native Christians in their use of public tanks.—I have, &c.

“(Signed) C. WOOD.”

As the word “tank” employed in these papers is used with some difference of meaning in different parts of India, the following official statement by the magistrate of Ahmadnagar will be of use in determining its application :—

“In my opinion the word ‘tanks,’ as used in this correspondence, should be held to apply to all public wells and aqueducts which are used indiscriminately by the Maráthi and Musalman inhabitants of Ahmadnagar. There are no ‘tanks’ according to the ordinary acceptation of that word in the town of Ahmadnagar. The town is supplied with water brought from the neighboring hills in masonry aqueducts. These aqueducts discharge into small stone-built reservoirs, of which there are a large number in various parts of the town, and from which all persons without distinction of caste or creed, have a right to draw water.

“These reservoirs are called ‘tanks’ or ‘fountains’ by the European inhabitants, but in reality they are mere openings in the several aqueducts, which have been constructed for the more convenient distribution of the water.

“(Signed) G. NORMAN.”

These rulings of the Bombay Government are of the highest value. They not only decide aright the question at issue, but they also base the decision on right grounds. “Government never will admit that a tank is polluted by being used by Christians.” That is the simple truth, and truth is the engine which like a great battering ram should be played upon the walls of caste till they are leveled with the ground. Why should Government admit such an absurdity? Why admit an assumption made only by the adherents of a system which had its origin in ignorance, arrogance, and falsehood? Rightly does Mr. Tytler characterize such an assumption as “an insult offered to the true faith, and the paramount power” in India. We like the reply of Lord Napier when a native official, apologizing for an act of arrogance on the part of some Brahmans, said, “but they are of very high caste, sir.” “The highest caste in India at present are the English,” said his Lordship. The Brahman was silent. Without any arrogance the English have a right to define their own position in this land. With an acknowledged place in the front rank of civilization and enlightened Government, they have full power to dictate terms to the subject races of India. But discarding the selfish despotism of the rulers who preceded them, they have chosen to give the people the blessings of law and order, of education, and the arts of civilized life. That they have done all that could be done in this line, need not be claimed for them. That they have made no mistakes, or that no evil-minded men in the ruling class have ever hindered the course of justice

cannot be affirmed of them, nor of any other government on earth. But that the country has been governed vastly better by its present rulers than ever before, will be readily admitted by every one acquainted with its previous history, and capable of forming an intelligent opinion on the subject. While the failure to realize more fully the benefits of good government, is largely due to the backwardness of the native races in availing themselves of the advantages offered.

Holding this high relation to the peoples of India, it is no arrogance to say, as Lord Napier did, "the English are the highest caste in India;" or with Mr. Tytler, "Christians are the highest caste in the world,"—meaning thereby not to recognize the foolish system of caste, but using language which the defenders of that system can understand, it says to them, "your claims are absurd fictions; urge them no more here; such nonsense is obsolete, it cannot be tolerated. It is not the silly pretext of having sprung from the mouth of Brahma, which in our day can give one a title to consideration and influence. Intelligence, integrity and nobleness of character,—those alone are the true insignia of high caste, and place a man in the first rank of humanity."

It is only by taking this firm stand that the Government can be true to itself, and can hold the position of dignity which rightly belongs to it. Without this it can neither command due respect, nor maintain the authority of its laws. If with the feeling that something must be sacrificed to pacify caste pretensions, the rulers voluntarily assume a lower position or authoritatively assign it to their co-religionists, the Christians, let them not hope that the Brahmans will be magnanimous enough to ask them up higher. Rather will they chuckle over the homage paid to their waning barbarism, and clutch the pet system with a firmer grasp than before.

These remarks are suggested by our having learned that European magistrates in another presidency, have given decisions just the reverse of that recorded by the Bombay Government fifteen years ago, in the case at Ahmadnagar. The native Christians, no matter of what caste previously, have been excluded from the public wells. Everything was surrendered to caste prejudice. Now what is the plain purport of such a decision? It is simply this,—the magistrate accepts the dictum of caste as law, and in so doing he pronounces judgment as follows:—If a man renounces Hinduism, its debasing idolatry, its tyrannical caste system, and other crude absurdities, and embraces the religion of truth and purity, the religion of Newton, of Milton, and of Her Majesty the Queen, he becomes a worthless out-cast—so mean that if he but dip a cup of water from a well to which Musulmans, Hindus and prostitutes have free access, the whole body of water is polluted, and unfit for use by respectable people! Could truth by any means be more rudely outraged? Could justice more completely stultify itself?

Could an officer of Government offer a greater insult to Her Majesty than is involved in such a decision? To the devout Christian it will seem that a still greater indignity is offered to one "higher than the kings of the earth." It is because the man is called by his name that he is thus degraded. If he had embraced the religion of the false prophet, he might take water freely. It is of no use to say deprecatingly that all these absurdities are not meant. The rulings of caste clearly include them all, and when the magistrate adopts the decision of caste, and robs the Christian of his rights, it is vain to cry out "I mean no harm by this." Is it not time that an end were put to the enacting of such nonsense in the name of justice?

Another point worthy of notice in the rulings of the Bombay Government, and one which greatly enhances their value, is that they make no distinction between Christians originally of different castes. "Government never will admit that a tank is polluted by being used by Christian converts," no matter of what caste they were formerly. This is just as it should be. But it is by no means as high-caste Hindus would like to have it. If they cannot deprive all Christians of their rights, and force them to the condition of outcasts, they would at least prevent those originally of low caste from rising to a position of equal social rights and respectability with themselves. They would still keep the pariah brand upon them. To be consistent they should regard all Christians alike; and if a part were allowed the right of access to the public wells, all should be admitted. As Christians eat and drink together, and intermarry, there is no reason in caste rules why a part should be excluded after others have been admitted. But just here caste is a law unto itself. No matter for the inconsistency. If it cannot get all it asks, it will take all it can get.

Some good friends of native Christians seem to err here. When a pariah having embraced Christianity wishes to enjoy the same rights of air and water with his fellow Christians from higher castes, he is looked upon as reaching after that to which he has no right. Rather should it be said, he is claiming that to which he always had a right but of which he and his people for centuries have been robbed by the oppressive system of caste. It does not follow that the native Christians are unduly clamorous for their rights, because they are more restive than the ordinary pariahs under the disabilities of a low-caste position. The latter have grown up in the belief that their status is an inevitable fate. They were born only half-men, with less than half the rights of men; while the Brahmans seem to them up somewhere in the region of the gods. They have no thought of quarreling with their fate. If they can enjoy undisturbed the modicum of comfort allotted to their position, they are content. When the Bible comes to such men it teaches them, among

other things, that they are full *men* with all the rights of men, and that high-caste people are nothing more. It encourages them to cultivate their minds, to improve their moral and social condition, and avail themselves of the great salvation and the glorious destiny which their creator offers them in the Gospel. Under the stimulus of such teaching it is not surprising that they should be aroused from their torpid state, and begin to look for something better in life than the humdrum drudgery of a pariah's lot. What if they are sometimes too eager to gain the full advantages of their new liberty, and know not how to use them with moderation and meekness? Surely such restlessness, with all its evils, is better than content in the filth and vice of their former state. Let them not be rudely snubbed, and told that they do not know their place, because they are wishing to share the common rights of humanity.

In dealing with caste we should not forget that the whole system is arrogant assumption, and a mischievous lie. Living in the midst of it, and seeing how all recognize its laws, we come unconsciously to give it an honorable place among social distinctions. But in reality it is only carrying out the false and tyrannical principle that "might makes right." In some past age when the high caste man had power, he put his foot on the neck of the pariah, and made him his slave. He has held him down for many centuries, but it is no more right to-day than it was when the first shudra trampled on the first pariah. There are many in the country who would be glad to repeat the process now, and put their present rulers in the place of pariahs. As they cannot do this, they will affix some stigma to those who embrace the religion of the foreigner. It flatters their pride, by continuing the semblance of their former power, if they can thrust out Christians among the pariahs, and deprive them of their rights.

It is no part of the duty of Government, surely, to perpetuate this unnatural tyranny. It may not be possible to root out at once a system so firmly imbedded. But they can avoid encouraging and strengthening it. Above all let them not be led by its smooth tongued fallacies, to stamp its demands with the seal of law and justice. Not only should the rights of Christians, from whatever class they have come, be carefully guarded, but the way should be kept open for others to disregard caste-rules if they choose, without serious annoyance. While on a tour recently, some Christians having taken water from a public well, the authorities of the village surrounded the well with thorns, and forbade the people taking water till it should be purified. The whole town was thus subjected to great inconvenience; but in the face of such an order, with a hedge of thorns to back it, no one, of course, would dare to take water. Had they not been thus intimidated by the leaders, many of the people might willingly have used the well, not caring that Christians had been to it. We think Government officials, thus

using their authority to enforce caste rules, should be liable to punishment.

The Hindu religion—*happily* we may say, in this one case—provides its followers with a loophole of escape from a Government order. It is no stiff, unyielding system, like Christianity, requiring one to die for his principles. As if anticipating the very emergency now before it, a convenient clause in the shastras permits compliance with a Government order which cannot be evaded, even though strictly construed such an act would be contrary to the rules of caste or religion. What wonderful forethought! It is under this absolving clause that the Brahmans at Ahmadnagar have been using water from the same reservoirs with Christians for the last fifteen years, and none of them have lost caste thereby. If there were really any defilement incurred by such use it must before this time be hopelessly diffused through the whole nation. Thousands of the residents here have visited other parts of India, and of course the contagion has spread wherever they went. Thousands from other parts have come here on business, or to visit friends, and without thinking of the danger, have dipped in the fountain where the Christians' eup had been before them. No one can again by any known process become ceremonially pure. Why not then come back to first principles? Since it is all assumption at any rate, instead of assuming that the water is polluted, assume that it is pure. This will not only have the advantage of convenience, but also of truth. It will then follow that the Brahman's well is no more polluted by the pariah taking water from it, than the latter's is when the Brahman drinks of it. Supposing both to be of equal intelligence and virtue there is no more condescension in the Brahman's act of eating with the pariah, than when the latter condescends to dine with the Brahman. Alas, that neither of them will know it till Christianity has taught him. Then "the brother of low degree will rejoice in that he is exalted," and "the rich in that he is made low." And both will rejoice together in the common brotherhood revealed to them by their One Father.

ART. IV.—PROGRESSIVE SANCTIFICATION.

BY REV. T. S. WYNKOOP, ALLAHABAD.

TO a soul renewed by the effectual operation of the spirit of God, assured of the forgiveness of sin and living union with Jesus Christ, there can be no more important or interesting subject than that of sanctification. This is emphatically "the will of God, even "your sanctification." (1 Thess. iv. 3.) For this Jesus died, who "loved the church and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify "and cleanse it." (Eph. v. 25, 26.) For this the Holy Spirit is given to the saints, who are "from the beginning chosen to salvation "through sanctification of the Spirit." (2 Thess. ii. 13.) On this sanctification our own happiness depends; for the divine life can only be a life of peace and joy as it is a life of holiness. Every instinct of the renewed soul is an instinct after holiness. Every means of grace given us is a means to holiness. Every call of the word of God, or of his Spirit in our hearts, is a call to holiness. The ages of the Church in which she has been most earnest in her great work, have been the ages in which she has most cared and sought for holiness. Her best and truest sons and daughters have been those who have attained most of holiness.

Holiness is one of the technical terms of the word of God, one of the infallible tests of the work of God. He is himself the source, the model of holiness. He created man after his own image in holiness; and that image is restored in "the new man, which after "God is created in righteousness and true holiness." (Eph. iv. 24.) The great requirement of the Law, under the old dispensation, was holiness; we hear it again and again repeated and enforced upon the Jews;—"Ye shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy." (Lev. xix. 2.) The Gospel only raised higher and pressed more effectually upon the conscience the same great requirement; "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." (Matt. v. 48.) The Christian life is a life of holiness. The highway that opens out before the Christian pilgrim is "the way of holiness," (Is. xxxv. 8.) Heaven is "the high and holy place." (Is. lvii. 15.) And holiness is the essential qualification for entrance there, for without holiness "no man shall see the Lord." (Hebr. xii. 14.)

It cannot then be out of place, in these days when, beside the old and well-nigh universal teaching of the Church of God, new theories of holiness are being put forth, not without much that appeals to the best feelings and desires of the Christian heart, that we should re-examine this subject in the light of God's word, the only infallible rule of faith and test of experience. We shall not hope to present anything absolutely new or call our readers to tread

in paths other than those marked out for us in the word of God, and trodden in all ages by the saints. But in traversing again their pathway we may be able to make a few things more plain, or at least to gather a few of the fresh and fragrant flowers, the sweet and luscious fruits, which bloom and ripen now as plenteously as when their feet pressed the sod in days of old.

To sanctify (*ἁγιάζω*) is to make holy. Sanctification is not, therefore, properly speaking, holiness; though cause and effect are so intimately and immediately united that both are often denoted by the same word, as in the New Testament *ἁγιασμός* is sometimes used for the more precise *ἁγιάτης* or *ἁγιασμένη*. It is rather that work of the Spirit of God in the soul, the result of which is our holiness. It is our restoration to that image of God in which we were created, but from which we fell; which consists chiefly in knowledge, holiness and righteousness (see Col. iii. 10 and Eph. iv. 24,) the three great elements which together constitute perfect moral excellence, viz.,—right thinking, right feeling, right acting. The whole man, body, soul and spirit, is the sphere of this restoration, or renovation. And the work in its completeness includes our entire cleansing from sin and conformity to the image of God, so that nothing displeasing to him or contrary to his holy will is found in us, and we are in all things “like him.” Our sanctification is, then, that work of the Holy Spirit in our hearts, the issue of which is our complete holiness, our entire conformity to the mind and will of God.

Our subject is, then, in brief, the progress and development of the divine life in the children of God. But what is life? The answer to the question is veiled in mystery. We know life as the cause of certain effects; but what it is that underlies these phenomena and produces these effects who shall say? It will not yield its secret. It refuses to be closely questioned. We touch it ever so lightly, and it is gone to return no more. It is like the wind which bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the sound thereof, but cannot tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth.

It need not surprise us, then that much connected with the divine life in the soul should be mysterious, and that many questions should suggest themselves about it which we shall try in vain to answer. But we are not left wholly in ignorance concerning this life. A devout study of the Scriptures reveals to us at least an outline of doctrine, enough to satisfy our reasonable desires for knowledge, and to throw a clear light upon all questions of duty. This outline of doctrine may be summed up in the following statements: that the life of which we speak is communicated to us by the Holy Spirit of God in our regeneration; that it is, properly speaking, a divine life, in that it is the life of Christ communicated to us, so that we live in him and he in us; that in virtue of this divine life the Christian is “a saint” sanctified as well as justified; that the communication of this life does not

destroy the sinfulness of our fallen nature, which still inheres in us, corrupt and corrupting; that our progress in holiness is the development and growth of the new life, keeping under the whole sinful nature, mortifying the deeds of the flesh, so that we do more and more die unto sin and live unto holiness; that the continuance and progress of this life are secured for us by our union with Christ and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, in and by whom we are enabled to work out our own salvation in a diligent use of the means of grace which God has provided for the nourishment and growth of the divine life in us; and that although by the grace of God we may make very great attainments in holiness, and the new life may prevail over the old nature so that it may seem entirely crucified, we shall nevertheless not be finally set free from it as an indwelling corruption and guilt, and hence not entirely sanctified, until at death the old nature is left to perish utterly and we enter the presence of God where sin can never come. Let us examine each of these statements more fully, and inquire whether or not they are the teaching of the word of God.

1. That the spiritual life of the Christian begins at his regeneration is universally acknowledged, though there are differences of opinion as to the precise nature of the change called regeneration. On this point it is held by the Evangelical theology, in accordance with the Scripture statements, that regeneration is not an external change of the soul's relation to God, nor the removal of the guilt of original sin and the cleansing of the moral corruption of our nature, nor is it a mere change in the ruling principle and purpose of the heart from sin to holiness, but simply the communication of a principle of spiritual life. It is the change of which St. Paul speaks in Eph. ii. 1 and 5, "and you hath he quickened who were dead in trespasses and sins;" where the two emphatic words are the νεκρός and the ἐζωοποίησε, the one describing our State by nature and the other characterizing the work of God in our souls as a giving life to the dead. The unregenerate are just νέκροι, void of spiritual life, dead in sins; the regenerate are quickened, made living, by receiving a life of which they were destitute before. He that has received this new spiritual life is properly said to have been "born ἄνωθεν," from above (John iii. 3); and that, "not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." (John i. 13). To the same purport are the words of Christ in John v. 24, "He that heareth my word and believeth on him that sent me hath everlasting life and shall not come into condemnation; but is *passed from death unto life*," μεταβέβηκεν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν. Observe here the force of the article both in the θανάτου and ζωὴν; from the one definite state of death the believer has passed over and entered into the other definite state of life, and thus ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον, has in present possession eternal life. He was dead, but eternal life has been given to him and he is regenerate, a living soul.

2. This life is, properly speaking, a divine life, in that it is the life of Christ communicated to us, so that we live in him and he in us. The constantly occurring *ἐν Χριστῷ* of all those passages which speak of the relation of the believer to Christ (see Eph. i. 3, 7, 10; ii. 6, 7, 10, as examples of what we constantly meet in all the epistles) points with profound significance to a living Christ as, so to speak, the sphere within which the believer has his life and all its blessings, by virtue of our mystical, central and organic union with him (see Ellicott on Eph. ii. 6). In this mystic union the Church is his fulness, his *πλήρωμα*; and that fulness is "the fulness of him" "that filleth all in all," Eph. i. 23. The Master himself set forth the oneness of life which subsists between him and his disciples under the illustration of the vine and its branches. The life of the branch is not a life *like* that of the vine, nor a life *derived* from that of the vine, but *is* the life of the vine in the branch. Just so the life of the believer is the life of Christ in the believer. This we mean not in the sense of those modern speculative theologians who would make the Christian a partaker of the very substance of Christ, as though his deity and his humanity united in his theanthropic person were perpetuated and transmitted from age to age in the persons of his disciples, receiving from him that very renovated humanity which existed in his person on earth; but in the purely spiritual sense, in which St. Paul knowing that Jesus was in heaven and he on earth, conscious of no blending of his nature with that of his glorified Lord whom he had seen in the Paradise of God as well as by the road that led to Damascus, could yet say, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me," (Gal. ii. 20) And again, "When Christ *who is our life* shall appear,"—"for ye are dead and your life is hid with Christ in God," (Col. iii. 4 and 3.) This is that divine nature, of which St. Peter speaks, of which we are made partakers by the exceeding great and precious promises (2 Pet. i. 4); where the Greek *γένησθε κοινωνοί* shows that our participation in this divine nature is not a future thing nor even a gradual attainment, but was wrought once for all when, as we explain it at regeneration, the life divine was communicated to us. This is again the new man, called from two slightly differing points of view both *καινός* and *νέος ἄνθρωπος*, to distinguish it from the old man *παλαιός ἄνθρωπος*. By these terms more is implied than the explanation of Ellicott and Alford, "our whole sinful condition before regeneration" on the one hand, and on the other, "the holy form of human life which results from redemption." The old man is our corrupt and depraved nature, so called because it is as old as Adam and derived from Adam, born and bred with us. The new man is the new nature implanted in our regeneration—a nature which is pure and holy, made in the image of God and developing more and more in truth and purity and holiness. This new man is charac-

terized in Eph. iv. 24 as τὴν κατὰ θεὸν κτισθῆντα, (see Ellicott) not a form of life created in the case of each individual believer, but a nature created once for all in Christ and then individually assumed. As the old-Adam nature was created once for all, and transmitted by natural generation from the head of our race to each of his posterity, corrupted and depraved as it became in consequence of the first transgression; so the new nature was created once for all in Christ the second Adam, and is communicated by the supernatural grace of the Holy Spirit in regeneration in all its purity and holiness to each of the spiritual seed of God's elect.¹

¹ We cannot forbear quoting here, from one of the great teachers of the early Protestant Church of France, an instructive passage on the first and the second Adam:—

“The Scripture sets before us the person of Adam, and of Jesus Christ, as two different stocks of mankind, or as it were two opposite heads, or principles, of this nature, which we call human. They have this in common, that both have a great number of children, which are issued from them, and depend upon them; and that each of them communicates to his own his being, his form, his life, and his condition, imprinting his image on them which every one bears according to the quality of his extraction. They differ, or rather are opposite, in that the one is earthly, the other heavenly; one has a carnal, vicious, infirm nature, full of ignorance and error, and subject to death and the curse; the other has a spiritual, holy nature, full of light and wisdom, acceptable unto God, immortal and inheriting eternity. The one propagates in his children sin and death; the other communicates to them his righteousness, holiness, and life. The one transmits his nature by a carnal generation; the other imparts his to his descendants by a spiritual generation, and such a one as has nothing in common with flesh and blood. The nature of the one is depraved by the poisoned breath of the old serpent, which creeps on the ground, and lives on the dust thereof; that of the other has been formed and preserved by the eternal and celestial spirit. It is for these reasons that the Scripture calls each of these two persons simply man, because of their advantage, and then holding the first and principal rank, each of them in his kind. For the same reason again, it gives each of these two persons the name Adam; because they are each of them the Adam, that is to say, the father and author of his order; the one of sin and death, the other of righteousness and life. But to distinguish them it calls the one the first man, and the first Adam, the other the second man, and the last Adam (Cor. xv. 45, 47). The former, having corrupted himself by his disobedience, has also infected us, leaving us vice and the curse for an inheritance. The latter, having repaired our fault by his obedience, has given us righteousness, holiness and immortality. Adam is styled the first man, and Jesus Christ the second; because the one's corrupting preceded the other's repairing and reforming. Adam first defiled and poisoned his nature by sin; and then Jesus Christ manifested his, full of grace and truth. It is upon the same consideration that Adam is called the old man, and Jesus Christ the new. Taking in withal, that the first Adam shall be destroyed; whereas the second remains for ever. For it is the custom of Scripture to call that old which is ready to be done away and that new which is firm and lasting. But because each of these two men communicates to those who are his the form and condition of his nature, according to the Scriptural principle, that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit (John iii. 8); Paul, therefore, giving the effect the name of its cause, a figure ordinary in all languages, calls that form and condition of nature which each of us receives from the first Adam,

3. In virtue of this divine life, and through his vital union with Jesus Christ, the Christian is "a saint," both as to state and character. "And such were some of you," says St. Paul, in I. Cor. vi. 11, referring to the wickedness of their old life before conversion, "but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God." Observe the tenses, ἀπελούασθε, ἡγιασθητε, ἐδικαιώθητε. There is no mention here of a gradual work, or a state which is as yet attained by a part only of the Christian brotherhood. It is as true of all believers that they are sanctified, as it is that they are justified. Hence one of the characteristic titles given to them is "the sanctified," "saints;" as in Acts xx. 32, "an inheritance among all them which are sanctified," where it is not simply "them which shall eventually be found fully sanctified," but ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις. Compare with this the salutation of St. Paul to the Corinthian Church, (I. Cor. i. 2,) "Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints," where the τῆ ἐκκλησίας is defined and designated by the ἡγιασμένους ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κλητοῖς ἁγίοις. The explanation of this is found in such passages as Col. ii. 9, 10, "In him dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily, and ye are complete in him" ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι, who of God is made unto us, not only wisdom and righteousness, but sanctification as well, and redemption. (I. Cor. i. 30). The new life communicated to us by the Holy Spirit, being a divine life, the life of Christ, it must be a pure and sinless life. The new man is called "God's workmanship" (Eph. ii. 10); and it is impossible that that workmanship should be other than perfect. How plain and decisive is St. John in his first epistle (iii. 9) "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed," that is, the seed of God, the new nature the life from above, "remaineth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." Here is not only the fact, "doth not—cannot sin," but the explanation of that fact, "because he is born of God." There is a complete impossibility here; an impossibility in the very nature of the case. The life within us is "of God," ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγέννηται, and is by its very nature impeccable.¹ It is the very life of Christ, and must by carnal birth, the old man; and likewise, that form and condition which the faithful receive from Jesus Christ, by spiritual regeneration, the new man.—*Daille on Colossians.*

¹ In I. John iii. 9, "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin" is more generally explained somewhat as follows: The apostle means to affirm that the being born of God is the only way of deliverance from sin, and that holiness is the true and natural result of being born of God. It is added: "He cannot sin, because he is born of God;" that is, it is totally contrary to his nature to sin. As in Mat. vii. 18, "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit," that is, it is contrary to its nature to do so, though it sometimes does. This and similar passages show that "cannot" often means, not that the thing does not or might not occur, but that its occurrence is wholly against the nature of

therefore, be a pure and spotless, a perfect life, *simple*, as the old theologians expressed it, without admixture of evil, like a sunbeam shining in a foul and polluted air, itself pure and stainless light. The new nature is a divine, and therefore a holy nature and this every regenerate soul has.

4. The communication of this new life does not destroy the sinfulness of our fallen nature, which still remains in us, corrupt and corrupting.

What, then, it may be asked, is the meaning of all those verses which speak of the child of God as dead to sin, dead to the flesh, dead to the world? "They that are Christ have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts." (Gal. v. 24.) "By whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world," (Gal. vi. 14.) "Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin." (Rom. vi. 11.) "Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed that henceforth we should not serve sin." (Rom. vi. 6.) "I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." (Gal. ii. 20.) Let it be remarked in the first place about this whole series of texts that they cannot be explained of a gradual process, the completion of which is that we become dead to sin, the world and the flesh; the tenses *ἐσταύρωσαν*, *ἐσταύρωται*, *ἀπεθάνατε* forbid such an interpretation. Nor is there any intimation that these words express an experience which is not equally shared by all believers. We shall find the key to these passages in the 6th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. The apostle is exhorting to holiness of life. And his great argument is, we must not, cannot, continue in sin, because we are dead to sin. Who does not know that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized *into his death*. There is no special emphasis here or in the following verse upon the sacrament of baptism as an outward ordinance, but to the fact that our union with Christ, which we profess in baptism, and in virtue of which we became members of his Church, involves an actual participation in his death on the cross. This is further explained in what follows. So fully and completely was his death our death, and all its results wrought out for us, that we were buried with him, *συνετάφημεν αὐτῷ*, our old man was crucified with him, and we are to reckon ourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God in and through him. Thus all the passages which speak of the believer as dead unto sin, the flesh, the world, point back to the cross of Christ and his vicarious work, which, as done for us and accepted by us through things. "Whoso abideth in him sinneth not" (ver. 6); that is, this is the true and only preservation from sin. "God's seed remaineth in us;" for we are "born again, not of corruptible seed, but if incorruptible, by the word of God." (1. Pet. i. 23).—H. Bonar, D. D., in *God's Way of Holiness*.

If this explanation of a confessedly difficult passage be preferred to that given above, the bearing of the passage upon the matter in hand will not be materially altered.

faith, is imputed to us and its result wrought within us. Our union with Christ is a participation in his death. The world, the flesh, sin, all met their doom upon the cross where Christ met every question of sin for his people and by his one offering perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Our old man was crucified with him, because his death was the destruction of the power of sin over all his people. Hence our glorying is to be only in the cross of Christ, by whom the world was crucified unto us and we unto the world. The cross is all in all to me, because all that was done there was done for me, and so done for me that it is as though I had done it myself. Do I ask when and where I died to sin, the world, the flesh? The word of God gives one answer,—on the cross of Christ. His death is my death.¹ And it is in proportion to the degree in which I enter into the meaning, and appropriate the virtue of that death that I die actually unto those things to which Christ my substitute and surety died for me.

That we are obliged to understand the above passages in the way just indicated, is clearly proved by a very large number of texts and passages which teach that believers though dead to sin are not sanctified and perfect. These passages may be classed under three general divisions, in the first of which this is asserted, in the second implied, and in the third involved in true Christian experience.

First, direct assertions of the word of God that no one upon earth is so dead to sin as to be perfectly sanctified. Nothing could be more plain and explicit than I. John i. 8. "If we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us." It

¹ The apostle says in Gal. ii. 19, "I through the law am dead (died) to the law, that (in order that) I might live unto God." But how or when did he die to the law? How or when did the law slay him? When he became one with Christ in his death. As the law slew his substitute, so did it in that act slay himself. As the power of the law over his substitute ceased when he died and paid the penalty, so did it cease in reference to himself when he became one with him who died. Thus, Paul died to the law in order that he might live unto God. But how, and where, and when did this death of Paul take place? On the cross. In God's purpose, and in the eye of his law, all who should throughout the ages believe in Jesus, are looked upon as gathered into one around the cross, when Jesus was fixed to it, nay, as nailed to the cross with him. Hence Paul, as one of that company, says, "I have been crucified with Christ." Yes, Paul, the whole Paul, was crucified. But Paul, the very Paul, is yet alive. The crucified man lives! He rose with his Surety; with him who was "delivered for our offences" (or rather, "because we had sinned") and raised again "for our justification" (or rather "because we were justified"). There is a change, not in the *person*, for he is still Paul; but in the *nature* of the person. He has got a new life, new feelings, and new capacity of feeling, new sympathies, new sorrows, and new joys, new loves, and new hatreds, and this newness is through an indwelling Christ. Paul is now alive through the vitality of another life than his own; strong through the strength of another; wise through the wisdom of another; holy through the holiness of another. He thinks, feels and acts through the energy of another. Hence the apparent contradiction of the "I live, yet not I," "I, yet not I, but the grace of God that is in me."—Dr. H. Bonar, note in *God's Way of Holiness*.

is not here the οὐχ ἡμαρτήκαμεν of verse 10, but the ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔχομεν of a present state; and no ingenuity of exegesis can explain it away. Alford paraphrases the first clause thus; "in the course and abiding of our walking in light, if we maintain that we are pure and free from all stain of sin," and adds: "St. John is writing to persons whose sins have been forgiven them (Ch. ii. 12), and therefore necessarily the present tense ἔχομεν refers not to any previous state of sinful life before conversion, but to their now existing state and the sins to which they are liable in that state. And in thus referring, it takes up the conclusion of the last verse, in which the outward cleansing power of the sanctifying blood of Christ was asserted: q. d. this state of needing cleansing from all present sin is veritably that of all of us, and our recognition and confession of it is the very first essential of walking in light."

With this verse to guide us, the very profession of a state of perfect freedom from sin, convicts the man who makes it of self-deception. And with this to guide us we learn how to read Jas. iii. 2, "In many things we offend all," and the multiplied statements of the Old Testament as to the universal sinfulness of man—see I. Kings viii. 46, II. Chron. vi. 36, Job. ix. 2, xv. 14, xxv. 4, Prov. xx. 9, Eccles. vii. 20.

But this is not only directly asserted, it is implied throughout the entire word of God, and in every possible way. Sin, the flesh, the world, the old man are living, full of enmity, and we must oppose them and contend with them, and keep them down, at all times and in all circumstances, lest they rise upon us unawares like an enemy from an ambush, and spoil us and carry us away captive to Babylon. We are indeed dead unto sin; yet "These things I write unto you," says St. John in his first Epistle (ii. 1) "that ye sin not; and if any man sin," not to lower the demands of holiness or to connive at sin, but to meet the necessity of our fallen nature, redeemed though it be, he adds that word of unspeakable comfort to every Christian, mourning his corruption and sinfulness, "we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." Our old man is indeed crucified with Christ in order that the body of sin might be destroyed; yet "are we required to mortify our members which are upon the earth, fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, and the like, (Col. iii. 5). Observe, these are called our *members*; members of what, save of the flesh, the old man which still inheres in us? Indeed this old man, though crucified with Christ, is characterized as "corrupt according to the deceitful lusts" (Eph. iv. 22), where the τὸν φθειρομενον marks that inner *process* of corruption and moral disintegration which is not only the characteristic, but the steadily *progressive* condition of the παλαιός ἄνθρωπος. (Ellicott). Hence the necessity to keep under the body, to watch against sin, to practise all holiness with diligence. It should be carefully noted that we nowhere find the

argument, mortify the lusts of the flesh, put on the new man, let not sin reign in your mortal body, *that you may die unto sin and become holy*; but always do these things *because you are dead unto sin, and crucified with Christ, and holy.*

In other words, in regeneration a new nature is communicated to the soul, but the old nature does not cease to exist. "The Christian is thus a complex being; for in becoming a child of God he does not cease to be a child of Adam. The two natures remain in him unchanged. His old nature is not modified or ameliorated by the importation of the new, nor on the other hand, does the new nature become soiled or corrupted by reason of its co-existence in the same being with the old. They remain the same. There is no blending or amalgamation. They are essentially and eternally distinct; and not only so, but 'contrary the one to the other.' The old nature is unalterably and incurably corrupt, while the new nature is divinely pure in its essence, though for the present, if we may so speak, enveloped in a house of clay, surrounded by a 'body of sin and death.'"—(Sermons by the Rev. Denham Smith.)

This doctrine of the two natures is the key to the experience described in the 7th of Romans, where the old nature, corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, is called "the sin that dwelleth in me." We know that the law is spiritual; but I, as to my old nature, am carnal, sold under sin. As elsewhere expressed, "the carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, *neither indeed can be.*" (Rom. viii. 7.) "I know that in me, (that is, in my flesh,) dwelleth no good thing; for to will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not.—For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members."¹ The same experience is

¹ See a beautiful Sermon by McChesney, from Rom. vii. 22-25, in which he says, "When a sinner comes first to Christ, he often thinks he will now bid an eternal farewell to sin. He feels already at the gate of heaven. But a little breath of temptation soon discovers his heart and he cries out '*I see another law.*'"

"Observe what he calls it—'*another law*;' quite a different law from the law of God; a law clean contrary to it. He calls it a '*law of sin,*' (ver. 25;) a law that commands him to commit sin, that urges him on by rewards and threatenings—'*a law of sin and death,*' (Rom. viii. 2;) a law which not only leads to sin, but leads to death, eternal death: '*the wages of sin is death.*' It is the same law which, in Galatians, is called *the flesh*; '*The flesh lusteth against the spirit,*' etc. (Gal. v. 17.) It is the same which, in Eph. iv. 22, is called *the old man*, which is wrought according to the deceitful lust; the same law which in Col. 3, is called *your members*—'*mortify, therefore, your members, which are,*' etc; the same which is called a *body of death* (Rom. vii. 24.) The truth then is, that in the heart of the believer there remains the whole members and body of an old man, or old nature: there remains the fountain of every sin that has ever polluted the world.

"Observe again what this law is doing—*Warring.* This law in the

put in a different form, and more concisely in Gal. v. 17. "For the flesh lusteth against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would." Here are the two natures; one the holy seed that remaineth in the believer, so that by virtue of this seed and in this nature he cannot sin because he is born of God; and the other the carnal mind which is in its essential characteristic enmity against God, and neither is nor can be subject to the law of God. Here is the conflict of the two within the soul of the Christian, so sore and distressing that he cannot do the things he would, and sometimes must cry out of the depths of distress "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" But thank God not in despair, since the new and holy nature is a divine life, and being upheld and energized by the indwelling spirit of God must maintain the supremacy of grace and conquer in the end.

5. What then is, practically, our sanctification? It is the growth and development of the new life which is ours by our vital union with Jesus Christ and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. It is our putting off the old man, and putting on the new man; which, done first when first we were united to Christ by faith, must be done again and again, day by day, and hour by hour. It is the progress of the new nature in its contest with the old, gaining strength, and subduing the faculties of spirit, soul and body, bringing the entire man into conformity to the will of God. It is the babe in Christ, attaining the stature of the perfect man in Christ Jesus. It is the spirit warring against the flesh and keeping it under. It is the child of

members is not resting quiet, but warring—always fighting. There never can be peace in the bosom of a believer. There is peace with God, but constant war with sin. This law in the members has got an army of lusts under him, and he wages constant war against the law of God. Sometimes, indeed, an army is lying in ambush, and they lie quiet till a favorable moment comes. So in the heart the lusts often lie quiet till the hour of temptation, and then they war against the soul. The heart is like a volcano; sometimes it slumbers and sends up nothing but a little smoke; but the fire is slumbering all the while below and will soon break out again. There are two great combatants in the believer's soul. There is Satan on the one side, with the flesh and all its lusts at his command; then on the other side there is the Holy Spirit, with the new creature all at his command. And so 'the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh and these two are contrary the one to the other, so that he cannot do the things that he would.'

"Is Satan ever successful? In the deep wisdom of God the law in the members does sometimes bring the soul into captivity. Noah was a perfect man, and Noah walked with God, and yet he was led captive. 'Noah drank of the wine, and was drunken.' Abraham was the 'friend of God,' and yet he told a lie saying of Sarah his wife, 'she is my sister.' Job was a perfect man, one that feared the Lord and hated evil, and yet he was provoked to curse the day wherein he was born. And so with Moses, and David and Solomon, and Hezekiah and Peter, and the Apostles."

God contending against the world, and overcoming it. It is the work of God in the soul, begun in regeneration and carried on from day to day in the mind, the heart, the will of man.

This work is clearly a divine work, supernatural in its initiation, its progress, and its consummation. From first to last we are "his workmanship," created in Christ Jesus unto good works, maintained and energized in the new life by the continual ministration of the Holy Spirit, and at last brought forth conquerors, and more than conquerors, through him that loved us. And it is, equally clearly, a progressive work. Life means progress, and progress is life. The Christian life is a growth, a race, a warfare. The growth is not complete until we attain the stature of the perfect man in Christ Jesus, and are conformed in all things to his image. The good fight is not fought until the last enemy is vanquished and not another conflict remains. The race is not run till the whole course has been traversed, and we have reached the goal where sits the righteous judge with the crown in his hand. And then we may say with St. Paul, "the time of my departure is at hand." Progress, growth, development is the characteristic, the law, of spiritual as well as of material life.

6. For the symmetrical development and progress of life, nay, for its very continued existence, it must be advantageously placed, it must receive fitting nutriment, and it must find adequate scope for the exercise of its functions. All this is provided for the life communicated and fostered by the Spirit of God within the soul; and the progress of sanctification will largely depend upon the degree to which we use these means of grace and profit by what God has arranged for the development of the new life. For this purpose we are placed by our birth, if we are children of the covenant, and by our baptism, if we enter it from without the covenant, within the enclosure of the Christian Church, that garden of the Lord where the plant of grace, watered from the wells of doctrine, refreshed by the north wind of judgment and the south wind of mercy, bound with the rope of duty, pruned with the knife of discipline, may grow strong and comely, bringing forth abundantly the fragrant spices of devotion and piety. For the nourishment of the divine life, to leave the beautiful figure of the Poet-king, we have the word of God, which is very prominently set before us by Christ and by the apostles as the great means of sanctification, (John xvii. 17 and xv. 3, II. Thess. ii. 13 and I. Pet. i. 22, 23.) the worship and sacraments of the Church, spiritual communion with God in prayer and meditation, the fellowship of the saints unto mutual edification. And for the adequate exercise of the functions of this life we are so placed in the order of the natural and spiritual universe, that all parts of our being may be brought into exercise. We live in two worlds, the material and spiritual. Around us are hosts unseen, but real, with whom we have to do, "for

“ we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places”—*προς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πορνείας*, the spiritual hosts of wickedness. And in the material world we are not shut up in cloisters to a life of mystic contemplation, but sent out to work for Christ to do good to our fellowmen. In the world and in the Church is scope for the whole training of the Christian life, as the battle field and the varied exigencies of the campaign furnish the only training that can make the veteran soldier. To this training all our trials, all our temptations tend. Each prayer offered from the heart, each temptation overcome, each duty performed, each discovery of the loathsomeness of sin, each experience of the preciousness of Christ, each call to sweet charity, each exercise of faith and hope, confirms us in the grace of God and makes our Christian life more vigorous, more complete, more all-pervasive.

This is the theory of the divine life set forth through all the scriptures, under the old dispensation and the new. The lives of patriarchs and apostles alike exemplify it. The precepts of Christ and his disciples, the exhortations and the dehortations of all the epistles require and assume it. The lives of the saints, the voice of the Church in her prayers and her hymns testify to it. The appeal must be made not so much to single texts, ample and abundant as they are, as to the whole tenor of the Scriptures and the whole experience of the Church. The life communicated in our regeneration, must grow and unfold, taking possession of the whole man by degrees, in the use of all the means of grace. This is the prayer of St. Paul for the Thessalonian Christians, “The very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.” This is the being “transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.” This is that being “changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the spirit of the Lord.” The gist and marrow of all is contained in the exhortation in the epistle to the Hebrews (xii, 1, 2), “Let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith.” And still more briefly by St. Peter in the last words he penned for the church of all ages, (II Pet. iii. 18), “But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To him be glory both now and for ever. Amen.”

7. It only remains that we ask when complete sanctification may be attained, what is the end of the old man, and of the warfare which it carries on in the soul. It is plain that we cannot be said to be perfect in holiness, while the old man is still within

us, corrupt and corrupting; for this is our nature, that in which we were born, which comes to us from Adam and is transmitted by us to our posterity. It is not only a cause of actual sin, but it is itself corruption and involves us in guilt. It is not subject to the law of God. It is enmity against him. And this is our self; not our better self, born of God and united with Christ in living union, but still our self. This may be kept down, humbled, subdued. Often for long periods of the Christian experience, we may be so full of God's presence and so raised above the world and self, that we are scarcely if at all aware of its presence and power. But so long as it is in us, we cannot be said to be perfectly holy. There could be no greater mistake than to suppose that because we are not conscious of sin, not living in the practice of sin, we have no sin. So long as the old nature dwells within us, however feebly, so long are we sinful in the sight of God; and if we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves. So long then as we are in the flesh, until at death our old man meets his final doom, we are not, cannot be perfect. In reply to this the question is sometimes put, as though it were unanswerable, Is death then a means of sanctification? Is there a magic power in the ceasing of this earthly life to break bonds of sin that could never be broken before? Is there any special operation of the Holy Spirit which is peculiar to the hour of death? None of these things is affirmed. Our sanctification is complete only at death, because only then are we finally rid of this evil nature, our old man, the body of this death, and at the same time removed for ever from temptation and all occasion of sin. What means that most common feature of the later experience of even the holiest men, that they have their hardest and most desperate battle with sin and doubt and fear just as death approaches, except that the old nature remains with them and in them to the very end? This is not a theory, but a fact, one of the most marked facts of Christian biography. Our old man goes down into the very river of death with the saint, but from those dark waters it never emerges again. Its grave no man has seen. Its doom is death, and death is its end. It has no promise or hope of immortality. Therefore, knowing its hour has come, yet shrinking with awful dread and terror from those waters in which it must perish, it summons all its energies for one last conflict, from which the saint, victorious in the hour of his greatest weakness through Jesus' grace, singing hallelujahs, goes down joyfully into the river, to emerge again beyond, free for ever from this worst enemy to his peace and purity.

Such is the history of the new man, the divine life in the human soul. It is implanted within us by the Holy Spirit, who in our regeneration so unites us with Christ the second Adam that we become partakers of his life. Under the fostering care of the Holy Spirit, in the communion of the church and the diligent use of the means of grace, it develops and expands. Often, alas! thwarted

and hindered, but still advancing on the whole, as the tides creep ever higher and higher on the beach, and advancing with greater steadiness and rapidity in proportion as it is true to its God and diligent in the use of the means of grace; until at length removed from all occasions of sin, set free from its old foe the evil nature, it is received within the Paradise of God to begin there a development higher and nobler than any of which earth could possibly be the scene.

Not that this career of conflict and trial in earth is essential to our sanctification. How often, as in the case of the penitent thief on the cross, has grace wrought its whole work in a single hour of time,—regeneration, sanctification, redemption, all gained in one look of faith upon a crucified Redeemer! What multitudes of infants, living on earth but to utter a single cry, have entered at once the Paradise of God! Were these not sanctified? They entirely mistake the whole object and purport of sanctification who think it a course of mortification of the flesh and attainment of virtue through which we must pass in order to be fit for heaven, as one masters the studies of the public school and upon examination is admitted a student in the university. Sanctification is necessary to enter heaven, but that sanctification every believer in Christ does possess. Our title to heaven is not our character or spiritual attainments, but our vital union with Jesus Christ. The old nature will never enter heaven; it is the new nature which survives the article of death, and that nature is holy because it is the life of Christ in us. Very full of rest to the soul is this. I am not sanctifying myself, perfecting holiness in the fear of God, in order to become fit for heaven; but because by God's grace I am fit for heaven. I am not working *for* life, or *unto* life, but *from* life. Every believer may join with the apostle in "giving thanks unto the Father, which *hath* "made us meet (observe here too the tense τῶ ἱκανώσαντι) to be "partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light." Fitness for heaven is not a matter of degrees, since our only fitness is union with Jesus Christ; but fitness for a high place in heaven is a matter of degrees, since the greater our attainments in holiness here the more shall we be able to enjoy, and the greater will be our reward through grace there.

The bearing of these things upon modern theories of Personal Holiness and Perfect Sanctification, is obvious. These theories differ so much among themselves that it is difficult to group them satisfactorily together, or frame an answer that is adapted to all. This will be the less necessary, if the views of the divine life given above have been proved scriptural and consonant with the experience of the saints, that is, with the work of God's spirit in the hearts of his people. When it is claimed that Christians may and do attain in this life to a state of complete sanctification, in which nothing of sin remains in them, we reply that this is directly con-

trary to the teaching of certain plain passages of Scripture, and to the experience of a multitude of the holiest Christians, who have found that they were not freed from the law in their members, their sinful nature, even to the hour of death; that this theory of the divine life is not that of the Word of God; and that the passages which are relied upon to prove the theory either apply only to the new nature which God has given all believers, or that the perfection of which they speak is to be realized fully hereafter, not here. When they tell us, further, that this complete sanctification is to be attained on the instant, by a special act or exercise of faith, by means of which they enter at once upon a new and higher life of sanctification, as opposed to the former and lower state of mere justification, we reply that the Scripture nowhere sanctions their distinction between justified sanctified and justified unsanctified; or their theory of a faith that justifies but does not sanctify, and another faith that sanctifies the justified. There is in truth no such distinction between a justified state and a sanctified state as is necessary to sustain the theories animadverted upon. And when we are told that this life of perfect holiness is not a thing to be argued or explained, but to be experienced, and they ask us to accept the testimony of their experience, we can only refer that testimony to the word of God. Scripture is the test of a genuine experience, as well as the rule of faith and practice. If experience is not countenanced by the word of God, it must take its place among the fancies of men. That volume of Church history which should treat at length of mysticism and enthusiasm must needs be a very large one, and would include in it the story of many of the most amiable and attractive characters, whose memory the Church will never let die. But whether in early ages or in later, the Church has always rated experience by the teachings of the Word; and we have no other rule now.

While these sheets were passing through the press the attention of the writer was called to an article in *The Witness* of Lucknow, commenting on I John i. 8, under the title "A Misread Verse of Scripture." The object of that article is to show that the usual interpretation of the text, which is that given above, does violence to the context and is therefore inadmissible. We read:—

"John begins his Epistle by presenting the very highest privileges of the believer, speaks of fellowship with the Father and with the Son, of a joy that may be 'full,' and proceeds to say that those who walk in the light shall be cleansed from all sin. But anticipating the answer which wrong-headed men have been prone to make in every age, that they have no sin to be cleansed from, he throws in this parenthetical verse, which is so often wrested to serve quite another purpose, and replies to the misguided 'objector': 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' All have sinned and come short of the glory of God, and hence no one can assume that he has no need of the cleansing blood of Christ."

To the same effect is the answer of John Wesley to those who quoted this text against his views of Perfection:—

“I answer (1.) The tenth verse fixes the sense of the eighth: ‘If we say we have no sin,’ in the former, being explained by ‘If we say we have not sinned,’ in the latter verse. (2.) The point under consideration is not, whether we have or have not sinned heretofore; and neither of these verses asserts that we do sin, or commit sin now. (3.) The ninth verse explains both the eighth and tenth: ‘If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.’ As if he had said, ‘I have before affirmed the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin,’ and no man can say, I need it not; I have no sin to be cleansed from. ‘If we say we have no sin,’ that ‘we have not sinned, we deceive ourselves,’ and make God a liar; but ‘if we confess our sins he is faithful and just,’ not only ‘to forgive us our sins,’ but also ‘to cleanse us from all unrighteousness,’ that we may go and sin no more.”

The interpretation which we are thus asked to accept is in brief that the eighth verse is a parenthesis intended to meet an object or who should assert that he had never sinned and consequently had no need of the cleansing blood of Christ; and that the phrase “If we say that we *have no sin*” means “if we say that we *have not sinned*.” Of this interpretation we have to say:—

1. It is, as stated above, impossible to render the Greek in this way. The *ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔχομεν* cannot by any rule or usage be relegated to past time. The text does not refer to a denial that we have sinned, but to a denial that we do now have sin; and it thereby asserts in the most decisive language that all men without exception are in a state of sin and have constant need of the cleansing blood of Christ. This interpretation is not only confirmed, but required by the tenth verse, where the *ἡμαρτήκαμεν* must in accordance with the proper import of the perfect tense represent the action of the verb as continued up to the immediate present. Thus, as Alford says, *ἡμαρτήκαμεν* answers in time to *ἁμαρτίαν ἔχομεν*; the one representing the state as existing, the other the sum of sinful acts which have gone to make it up. The tenth verse does indeed, as Wesley says, “fix” the sense of the eighth; but it fixes it by confirming, and not by explaining it in a different sense. It is true that sin no more has us, as once it had us in its service and power; but it is not true that we have not sin. If we think that we have it not, the Apostle tells us that we deceive ourselves.

2. Again, the epistle is not addressed to the world at large, but to the Christian Church; and this particular passage to those who say that they have fellowship with God. In considering the context to which our attention is directed, we cannot but observe the antithetic, almost rhythmical structure of verses 6—9. As in the sixth and seventh verses, the Apostle divides those professed Christians whom he was addressing into two classes, the first of which consists of those who say they have fellowship with God and yet walk in darkness, and the second class of those who walk in the light as he is in the light; so in the 8th and 9th verses these same professed Christians are divided into two classes from a somewhat different point of view suggested by the reference in the 7th verse to the blood of Christ that cleanses us from all sin. The first class consists of those who have sin but deny it, and the second class of those who have it and confess it that they may be forgiven. As in the 6th and 7th verses every professed Christian is found either in the one class or the other, and is

walking either in fellowship with God or in darkness; so in the following verses every individual Christian professor is either confessing his sin to God, or, denying his sin, is deceiving himself. Beyond all question the Apostle regards all Christians, himself included, as having sin which ought to be acknowledged and confessed in order to forgiveness. The tenth verse is added to confirm by a still more striking assertion what has already been said. To treat the eighth verse as a mere parenthesis, ignores that very context to which the appeal is made, unbinds the very structure of the sentences, and substitutes for the thought expressed another thought which could not have been in the mind of the Apostle. For observe again,

3. The parenthetical interpretation supposes an objector who asserts that he has never sinned and consequently has no need of the cleansing blood of Christ, "the answer which wrong-headed men have been prone to make in every age, that they have no sin to be cleansed from." But this assertion never has been, and never could be made, by any professed believer in Christ. We do, alas, see some in the Christian Church who say they have fellowship with God, yet walk in darkness; and we do see some who are sinners and ought to confess their sins, who deceive themselves with the idea that they have been entirely cleansed and set free from sin and no more have sin. Among those who reject the Christian teaching and profess to follow the light of reason alone, we sometimes meet those who deny that there is such a thing as sin and consistently refuse to acknowledge themselves sinners. Some such, it may be remarked, indeed persist in calling themselves Christians, even while denying all that is essential in the Christian system. But we do not find any Christian, properly so called, who is such by name only, who will deny that he is a sinner. To deny that we need the cleansing of the blood of Christ, is to deny Christ altogether.

So much for the appeal to the context. The Apostle is writing to professed Christians. He assumes that all have sin, and upon that assumption he urges all to confess their sins and be forgiven, declaring plainly that to deny our being in such a state of sin as to need continually the cleansing by the blood that was shed to atone for sin, is to deceive ourselves and make God a liar.

4. The advocates of the interpretation which we are now examining turn, however, to the assurance that the blood of Jesus Christ does cleanse from all sin those who walk in the light, and to the promise that if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness; and they ask whether these promises and assurances are fulfilled or not, and if they are indeed fulfilled how a person whose sins have been forgiven and who has been cleansed from all unrighteousness can be said to have sin and to be a sinner. But this is quite beside the mark. For the question is whether the cleansing from all unrighteousness and sin which is promised is a *cleansing once for all*, or a *repeated cleansing* as the necessity of cleansing occurs? It appears to us most clear from the verses which we are considering, from the Apostle's whole line of exhortation, and from the analogy of all Scripture teaching upon the subject, that the promise is of repeated cleansing and repeated forgiveness, as our Saviour said to Peter (John xiii. 10) "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every

“whit.” One who has been cleansed in the bath is clean, and yet his feet are soiled by contact with the earth the instant he leaves the bath. Not only so, but soon his whole body will be soiled again by humors exuding through each pore from within, and by the various defilements that it gathers from without. So the believer is cleansed indeed by the blood of Christ; but how shall he meet the requirements of his walk through a sinful world, and the defilement of his own sinful nature? Not by denying that he has sin, but by confession and renewed application to the cleansing blood. He that is washed, says our Lord, has still need to wash his feet. And St. John assures us that if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. Precious assurance; full of comfort to the soul earnestly seeking for purity and holiness, but often distressed by corruption within and temptation without. The fountain is opened. It is no intermitting stream, that flows at one moment and mocks our quest the next; it is no pool like that by the sheep market of Jerusalem, whose waters could avail to heal only for an instant when swept by the angel’s wing. It is ever flowing; and at all times, drawing near to Christ with confession and prayer, we may wash and be clean.

ART. V.—THE LOGIC OF THE VEDANTA.

BY REV. R. STOTHERT, M. A., BOMBAY.

A YOUNG Hindu once remarked to a missionary that the passage appended to one of Cowper’s Letters, containing a criticism of Caraccioli, was the exact counterpart of a discussion between a Vedantist and a Charwak. The poet’s criticism is well worth being transcribed:—

“As a philosopher, Caraccioli refines to an excess, and his arguments, instead of convincing others, if pushed as far as they would go, would convict him of absurdity himself. When, for instance, he would depreciate earthly riches by telling us that gold and diamonds are only matter modified in a particular way, and thence concludes them not more valuable than the dust under our feet, his consequence is false, and his cause is hurt by the assertion. It is that very modification that gives them both a beauty and a value, a value and a beauty recognized in Scripture and by the universal consent of all well-informed and civilized nations. It is in vain to tell mankind that gold and dust are equal so long as their experience convinces them of the contrary. It is necessary, therefore, to distinguish between the thing itself and the abuse of it. Wealth is, in fact, a blessing when honestly acquired and conscientiously employed; and when otherwise, the man is to be blamed and not his treasure. A man might have said to Caraccioli give me your purse full of ducats, and I will give you my old wig; they are both composed of the same matter under different modifications; what could the philosopher have replied? He must have made the exchange or have denied his own principles. Again, when,—speaking of sumptuous edifices, he calls a palace an assemblage of sticks

and stones which a puff of wind may demolish or a spark of fire consume, and thinks that he has reduced a magnificent building and a cottage to the same level when he has told us that the latter viewed through an optic glass may be made to appear as large as the former, and that the former seen through the same glass inverted, may be reduced to the pitiful dimensions of the latter,—has he indeed carried his point? Is he not rather imposing on the judgment of his readers, just as the glass would impose on their senses? How is it possible to deduce a substantial argument in this case from an acknowledged deception of the sight? The objects continue what they were. The palace is still a palace, and the cottage is not at all ennobled in reality, though we contemplate them ever so long through an illusive medium. There is, in fact, a real difference between them. To tell mankind that a palace and a hovel are the same thing is to affront their senses, to contradict their knowledge and to disgust their understanding.”

Caraccioli is here the Vedantist, and his philosophy is Vedantism in a European dress; while Cowper, in his criticism, argues very much as a Charwak or Hindu rationalist would do, in appealing to common sense as opposed to idealism, or rather to a caricature of idealism.

It is well known that when Rammohan Roy began his attempt to reform Hinduism, his first step was to translate into Hindustani and Bengali the writings recognized as the sources of Vedantism, in the belief that the treatise of Vyasa (whom he calls the author of the Vedanta) is a complete abstract of the whole Vedas. Rammohan Roy hoped that the publication of these writings in the vernaculars of India would produce a general acquaintance with the doctrines of the Vedanta, and would lead to an abandonment of the prevailing idolatrous practices. In a preface to an English translation of one of the treatises Rammohan Roy says:—“I expect to prove to my European friends that the superstitious practices which deform the Hindu religion have nothing to do with the pure spirit of its dictates.” He also appealed to the Upanishadas as teaching the unity of God, and the efficacy for salvation of the true knowledge of God as opposed to the rites and ceremonies of idolatrous worship. We make this allusion to Rammohan Roy only for the purpose of observing that this attempt to make Vedantism the religion of India met with fierce and determined opposition from the Brahmans. What offended the Brahmans, however, was not the advocacy of Vedantism, but the condemnation of the Puranas. The Brahmans knew better than the reformer seems to have done, that the system which inculcates the observance of rites and ceremonies can quote Vedic sanction quite as legitimately as the system which enjoins simple contemplation. And, indeed, it is in making out the validity of the succession of the Vedantic system as a true representative of Vedic doctrine that the ingenuity of the Brahmans has found the occasion for its most characteristic exercise. The common way in which the Brahmans represent the matter, so as to impress on the popular mind the belief in the identity of Vedantism with the religion of the Vedas, is to declare

that the system is founded on four great propositions, one from each Veda. These four propositions are contained in the following oracular utterances: It is Brahm, Thou art it, I am Brahm, This soul is Brahm.¹ There can be little doubt that these mystical words are supposed by multitudes in India to contain the substance of the Veda; and it suits the policy of the Brahmans to allow this idea to prevail. In reality, there is nothing in the Vedic hymns to furnish a support for Vedantism except such expressions as savor of the materialism which is common to polytheism and pantheism. The Brahmans, however, have so successfully achieved the amalgamation of the ritualistic and the contemplative system, that Brahmaical ascendancy holds in the case of those who seek to gain heaven by a life of abstraction and contemplation, as well as of those who are disposed to adopt all the practices and observances of idolatry.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to discuss the chronology of the philosophical systems of Hinduism. In the following remarks nothing is assumed on this subject beyond what is implied in the generally received opinion that, as a system, the Vedānta was historically subsequent to the Nyāya. It is universally admitted that the best Hindu thinking is to be found in the writings of the Nyāya. In Gautama's Sūtras, which are the fundamental authority of this system, there is visible, not only the acquaintance with the mind and its processes obtained by careful observation which a system of dialectics implies, but also an acquaintance with natural phenomena which contrasts strongly with the apathy and self-concentration of modern Hinduism. It should be observed that this system of dialectics was made use of in the service of the traditional belief, and in submission to the authority of the Veda. The elaborate detail given in the Nyāya of the method of debate, instead of being a symptom of a tendency to make the authority of the intellect superior to that of revelation, indicated rather a design to keep the intellect by means of a scholastic discipline within the bounds of orthodoxy. Now, it is a significant fact that the Vedānta, like Greek Stoicism, boasts of the strict concatenation of its doctrines, and claims a logical basis for all its conclusions. Not that the Vedānta, any more than the Nyāya, discards the authority of the Vedas, although the Upanishadas are preferred to the hymns, as teaching a contemplative instead of a ritualistic religion. But in the Vedānta, while the orthodox doctrines are still set forth, it is rather as deductions from an intellectual abstraction than as revealed truth, and though the terms in common use are employed, a new significance is given to old forms. Thus Vedantism teaches the existence of God, but adds as an explanation of this doctrine, that God is possessed of no qualities and is to be

¹ Dr. Wilson's *Second Exposure of Hinduism*, p. 25.

known only by a withdrawal of the senses from every external object and by an entire exemption from the influence of passion. We may, perhaps, find that the connection of the Vedanta with logic helps to illustrate the system, and that the character of the Vedanta, whether as a philosophical or a theological system, is determined by the place assigned in it to demonstrative knowledge. The sources of knowledge, according to the Nyaya, are four; perception, comparison, inference, and testimony. In the Vedanta there is an evident tendency to disparage all sources of knowledge except contemplation. To some minds the conclusion seems inevitable that if we are distinguished from the lower animals by the possession of reason, the knowledge which we obtain by the exercise of our reasoning powers must be of incomparably greater value than that which we derive from observation. It is often forgotten by those who come to this conclusion that the value of the results obtained by reasoning depends entirely on the accuracy of the observation which supplies the principles or premises on which the reasoning proceeds. Logic is sometimes said to be the art of thinking correctly. But logic takes it for granted that its pupils have correct thoughts to begin with. It is indeed an instrument requiring to be skillfully used, but it can provide no guarantee that skill will never be employed in the service of error.

One result of this exaggerated estimate of demonstration, as compared with all other knowledge, is that the laws of mind come to be viewed as the laws of all existence, the distinction between the subjective and the objective is lost sight of, and ideas are mistaken for things. In an article on Vedantism in the *Calcutta Review* (No. VII.) we have a detailed account of the doctrines of the Vedanta respecting Brahm and Brahma, *vyasti*, and *samasti* or the presence of God in all things and of all things in God, the *Sthul Sharir* and the *Linga Sharir*, or the visible and invisible body, the three parts of the *Linga Sharir*, the seven regions above, and the seven regions below. Less than this detail will suffice for our purpose, which is merely to show how an error regarding the source of knowledge led to farther error in ascribing real existence to the dreams of fancy. The history of philosophy contains many examples of a similar mistake in modern as well as ancient times, and in the West as well as in the East. An interesting example of a European Vedantist is found in Böethius, the last of the Romans, whose treatise on the consolation of Philosophy is the Western counterpart of the Bhagavad-Gita. Böethius divides the powers of the mind into sense, imagination, reason and intelligence. The knowledge given by the sense is ranked lowest as being material in its nature, while deductive knowledge is the prerogative of the human mind. In harmony with those views we find Böethius condemning Epicurus and the Atomists because they substituted the mere observation of nature for processes of reasoning. The tests of logic are appealed to as the guide

to safe and satisfactory conclusions respecting the laws of the world. Boethius carries out these principles to their legitimate result, when he employs a formal syllogism to prove that as God is happiness and as men become happy by the possession of happiness they become happy by possessing God; and as the possession of virtue makes a man virtuous so the possession of God makes men gods. In the system of Spinoza, too, which is a specimen of Oriental philosophy expressed in Western language, we find that the whole fabric is the work of demonstrative evidence. If we only grant to Spinoza that there is one thing which can be conceived by itself, and that there is only one such thing, we must admit all the doctrines which he infers as deductions from these principles. The Vedanta reduces all things to the two general ideas of Brahm or *Chaitanya* and *Māya* or illusion, and the most important doctrines regarding God, nature, and the human soul are logical deductions from these generalizations. If the knowledge obtained by the senses is *Māya*, then all true knowledge must be the knowledge of Brahm, which must be obtained independently of the senses. And as even reasoning requires for its processes the information of the senses, true knowledge must consist in the most abstract contemplation, and be expressed in the form of negation of all the qualities with which experience makes us acquainted. And as regards man himself, as he must be either *Māya* or Brahm, identification with Brahm must be the essential condition not only of happiness but of existence itself. Now, what is objectionable in this is not the mere generalization; for philosophy must cease to exist unless we are allowed to reduce the variety of objects contained in the world to one central idea, and to view all things in the light which this relation sheds on them. Nor is Vedantism to be treated as if it were nothing more than the system of an idealist like Berkeley. Idealism may always retain a place as a philosophic theory as far as it is a protest against explaining mental phenomena by material analogies, and as far as it is a confession that our knowledge of matter is as limited and relative as our knowledge of mind. We all need to be on our guard against supposing that familiarity with sensible objects necessarily makes us acquainted with their real nature, or that it is any explanation of immaterial things to describe them in terms borrowed from what is visible and tangible. But philosophy has its limits. And a system, however logical, condemns itself when it contradicts any of those natural convictions which, as Dr. Thomas Brown says, are intended to save us from the folly of our own ratiocinations. It is a mistake to think that if we have got hold of one general truth, all we have to do is to sit down and draw out from this single source all true knowledge regarding all things human and divine. This is as great a mistake as that of those who think that the minute examination of the details of material phenomena is the one chief end of life. The more know-

ledge we have the better, provided that we make a good use of it. When we disregard this practical view of the matter, we become proud of our knowledge and so lose it. And when we insist on having everything proved by strict demonstration, it is because we value knowledge for its own sake and not as a means of doing good; for some of the best actions are done on the strength of mere probability. And if we are to have any good hope that the results of our mental action will correspond with the objective reality, we must see to it that we take our method as well as our knowledge from nature and common sense. In intellectual activity we must always be ready to correct our logic by our instinctive beliefs, and by actual experience. An illustration of this contrast between the consecutive or systematic and the intuitive habit of mind is found in many questions under discussion in modern times. Does everything come from atoms or from a germ? Does knowledge come from experience or from intuition? Is conscience original or derived? Is the universe to be viewed as a machine or as an organism? Should we choose as our motto *Quantum est quod scimus*, or *Quantum est quod nescimus*? Practically we find that intellect can as little be independent of intuition as intuition can of intellect. As in morals the duties of one relation are limited by those of another, so in philosophy the sphere of demonstration is limited by the truths obtained from other sources of knowledge. It is natural to think that all knowledge can be reduced to one principle; and the next step is to find that principle in the laws which regulate the action of the mind itself. But if the student of logic learn the main lesson which the study ought to teach him, he will discover how limited the domain of demonstrative knowledge is. Instead of identifying subject and object, and disregarding in the interest of his favorite theory recognized distinctions, he will see that these distinctions, though teaching him his ignorance and incompetence to reduce all things to a single principle, are as justly entitled to be called knowledge as the certainty produced by arguing from the whole to its part, or from the cause to its effect.

Sir William Hamilton used to say that no question emerges in theology which has not previously emerged in philosophy. Accordingly, what has been said here of Vedantism as a philosophical system, will admit of easy application if the system is viewed as rather theological than philosophical. To give to demonstration its proper place is as important a matter in theology as in philosophy. The pantheistic doctrines of the Vedanta have often been refuted. Indeed, they do not seem to require to be treated differently from the ideal pantheism of the West. The great peculiarity of the Oriental system, which consists in the contradictory statements contained in a treatise recognized by the Vedantists as of the highest authority, is fully exposed in Mr. Nesbit's Analysis of the Bhagavad-Gita. It has been objected to this tract that Mr.

Nesbit takes the expressions of the Gita too literally. But this objection leaves out of view the truth that in theology the meaning which an expression would convey to the mind of an ordinary reader is that with which the critic has to do. In considering the logic of Vedantic theology, we are not concerned with the particular doctrines of the system, but have to inquire into the relation of the Vedanta to the Veda or professed revelation. As we have already seen, the Vedanta though exalting one part of the Veda to the disparagement of another, still, as its name implies, professes to be based on the sacred books. Even modern Vedautism, though modified again and again by the individuality of its leading advocates, is embraced within the pale of Brahmanism, which may be called the most comprehensive establishment in the world, if we regard not so much the number of adherents as the variety of opinions tolerated. Vedantism is practically as favorable to the claims of the Brahmans, as was Brahmanism in its earliest form when the literature consisted only of sacrificial hymns and liturgical treatises. The Brahmans, after persecuting and expelling the Buddhists as enemies of the Veda, have at last found a place in their system for those who are really as great enemies of the Veda as the Buddhists were. A German Missionary, Mr. Kies, gives it as his experience that most Hindus, if pressed about their idolatry and mythology, immediately take refuge in the Vedanta; and that very often the most ignorant Hindus make use of some of the more common sentences of the Vedant, in order to shake off the truths of the Gospel preached to them.¹ In such cases we are reminded of the remark of Sir James Mackintosh, who says that very often in India he was struck with the way in which "ingenious and beautiful theories had come in the course of ages to be blended with the most monstrous superstitions, and had descended to men very little exalted above the most ignorant populace, and been adopted by them as a sort of articles of faith without a suspicion of their philosophical origin."² No doubt, the desire for salvation is very apt, in a country with a climate like that of India, to take the form of a desire for release from the pains and troubles of life. And Vedantism meets this desire by its promise of absorption into the divine essence. It is also an additional recommendation of this system that for the ancient sacrifices, entailing, as they did, the slaughter of animals, it substitutes as an equivalent satisfactory to the priests, who ought to know best, a ritual which accommodates itself admirably to those whose great desire in supporting the established system is to be saved the trouble of thinking and examining for themselves, and who, consequently, though unwilling to make a great exertion or to undergo a great expense in their ceremonial observances, will not

¹ Report of the South India Missionary Conference, 1858, p. 217.

² Quoted in Dr. Wilson's *Second Exposure of Hinduism* p. 163.

grudge a trifle in order to conform to custom and to be like their neighbors. Setting aside, at present, what may be peculiar to modern Vedantism, we observe the grand original inconsistency of founding a system of pantheism on the authority of revelation. Pantheism is in its essence the idolatry of intellect, and is, as Dr. McCosh says, the issue reached by a process of philosophical speculation, starting with improper assumptions and conducted in a wrong method. Now, if there is a method in philosophy without which there can be no true philosophical knowledge, not less certainly is there a method in theology without which there can be no true theological knowledge; and if in philosophy the method must be learned from nature, in theology, the fact of a revelation being assumed, the revelation must determine not only single doctrines, but also the method of their exposition. Even supposing the assumptions on which the pantheism of the Vedanta is based to have been found in a revelation, the system must still be viewed as virtually implying the rejection of the authority of revelation. As in its philosophy, so in its theology, the Vedanta identifies the method of thought with the method of knowledge, and in thus putting thoughts for things, the theology is as much opposed to revelation, in the very idea of it, as its philosophy is opposed to nature. In a theology professing to be based on a revelation there is abundance of room for the exercise of the reasoning powers; but there is not room for the construction of a system in which the laws regulating the exercise of these reasoning powers are put on the same level with revealed truth. The laws of reasoning, simply as a mental process, may be reduced to one abstract analytical proposition, and if laws of thought are to be taken as laws of being, we may conclude that the highest intellectual abstraction is identical with the highest existence, or with God. But if this is the method we adopt for the construction of a theology, it is clear that we are independent of any revelation, except perhaps a treatise on logic. Luther says that he who means to philosophize with profit in Aristotle, must first become a fool in Christ. And if it is true as regards Christianity that revelation must supply a method of reasoning altogether distinct from the mere laws of the human understanding, this remark may also be applied generally to any theology professedly revealed. If a theology consists entirely of demonstrative knowledge, little room is left for revelation, and the theology itself must be confined to a select few who have leisure for intellectual pursuits. A theology which reduces the revelation on which it is based to such a small amount as the four professed Vedic utterances recognized by Vedantism, leaves full scope for the unrestrained exercise of intellect in the concoction of a few abstract notions, and results in nothing beyond the mere exhibition of the mental resources of the theorist. A revelation, in order to deserve the name, must supply theology not only with a few categories, but with certain definite relations of

those categories to one another determined by realities external to the mind itself. This revealed order of being must have a regulative and, in some cases, a corrective use as regards the inferences of reason. And as intuitions save the mind from endlessly revolving on itself and direct its progress in natural science, so in theology the intellect is emancipated and raised out of itself by the acquaintance with a life above its own which is conveyed to it by means of the truths of revelation. We are, therefore, entitled in dealing with those who profess to believe in a revelation to demand from them a theology in which demonstrative knowledge is put in its proper place, and confined within its proper limits. And those who are vainly trying to combine a regard to the authority of revelation with the advocacy of speculations, in which the intellect follows no guidance beyond its own, should be made to see the inconsistency in the nature of things between the two methods, both of which they professedly adopt.

That there is room for demonstration in a theology founded on revelation may be illustrated from many passages in the Christian Scriptures in which we find both the method of theology and examples of its use. The writings of the Apostle Paul abound with such examples. Take for instance the passage (II Cor. v. 14, 15) where the Apostle deduces a principle of conduct as a logical conclusion from a fact of revelation: "We thus judge," he says, "that if "one died for all, then were all dead: and that he died for all, that "they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but "unto him which died for them and rose again." The Apostle is not content with an appeal to the moral intuition which enjoins us to love one who has loved us. Instead of this, he uses the particular exhibition of love made known in the Christian revelation as the premise in a logical argument, in which the truth that Christians are bound to love Christ takes the form of a regular logical inference. No better example could be desired of the way in which faith gives direction to the intellect and teaches the mind to use its own natural processes as a means of correcting the misconceptions of pride and selfishness. Throughout the Epistle to the Romans the Apostle constantly employs the forms of necessary thought for the exposition of truth. A few examples will suffice to show to the attentive reader how many might be adduced. We find such conjunctive and disjunctive arguments as the following: If the fact that our unrighteousness commends the righteousness of God proves God to be unrighteous in punishing, God cannot judge the world; but God will judge the world; therefore the fact that our unrighteousness commends the righteousness of God does not prove God to be unrighteous in punishing.—If the law is intended to give the knowledge of sin to those under the law, such persons cannot obtain justification by obedience to the law; but the law is intended to give the knowledge of sin to those under the law; therefore persons under the law cannot be justified by obedience to the law.—

Men are justified either by faith or by works ; but they are justified by faith ; therefore men are not justified by works.—We are either not free from the law of sin and death, or we are under the law of the spirit of life ; but we, as believers, are under this law ; therefore we are free from the law of sin and death.—If it is by the law that men are heirs of the promise, there can be no heirs by faith ; but Abraham was an heir of the promise by faith : therefore it is not by the law that men are heirs of the promise. There is no exercise of any mental power or faculty more intimately connected with human well-being than the reasoning of the simple categorical syllogism, Jesus Christ invites all sinners ; I am a sinner, therefore Jesus Christ invites me. In a contribution by Dr. McCosh to the memoir of Dr. Guthrie he mentions that on once hearing Sir W. Hamilton praise Guthrie as a great preacher he had expressed his surprise that a preacher so popular in his style should have found favor with the great logician ; to which Sir W. Hamilton replied, “ Dr. Guthrie is the best logician, for there is only one step from his “premise to his conclusion.” It is in such brief deductions as opposed to long argumentative processes that demonstration has its main use in theology. As in morals, though the body must not give laws to the spirit, bodily exercise may still be used as a means of cultivating habits of activity and punctuality ; so in theology, while logic must not prescribe the method, it may help us in shunning the exaggerations of prejudice and partiality and in resisting the encroachments of self-indulgence and self-conceit. The ballast must not be allowed to displace useful cargo but may serve to keep the boat steady. The fellowship of the spirit into which we are introduced as believers in Jesus Christ is very different from mere intellectual occupation or speculative absorption. It is contact with the unseen, but with an unseen Saviour and Lord, who is near everywhere and always, and whose presence has a transforming influence upon the character. It is a presence realized by conscience as much as by the intellect. It is the presence of the Saviour with the sinner whom he saves, of the master with the disciple whom he teaches and trains, of the elder brother with his followers whom he is taking to be with him where he is. The spirituality of this theology, with this person as its central object, does not confine it to a certain formal method or refine it into an abstract theory, but rather adapts it to suit every variety of circumstance and experience, and to extend its sanctifying and consoling influence to every position in which a human being may find himself, and to every duty which he may be called on in Providence to perform. God is thus truly seen to be omnipresent when we find everywhere, in the lowliest place and in the most unexpected experience, traces of a wise and loving arrangement, wealth of guidance and government, wealth of love and good-will. The fruit of the tree of knowledge was forbidden to our first parents, and the transgression of this

prohibition brought death into the world and all our woes. In Christ Paradise is restored, and having in him tasted of the tree of life, all other fruits that are good for food and pleasant to the eyes and to be desired to make one wise, are offered freely for our acceptance. We have had, indeed, to give up the ambitious thought that, by our own achievements, we could grasp the sceptre of independent rule, and exercise lordship and sovereignty over a domain of our own, without owning any higher law or bowing to any authority requiring from us implicit obedience and the absolute subjection of mind and heart. We have had to descend from the lofty pedestal of self-confidence, and to confess that we need for the support of our life, not bread that we can make for ourselves, but food bestowed from heaven. Our seemingly inexhaustible resources have run dry; our Eden has become a wilderness, and we have found ourselves perishing with hunger. But returning to our Father's house, where there is bread enough and to spare, a loving welcome awaits us and a feast to last forever is spread for our entertainment. There is bread which is meat indeed, and wine which is drink indeed. And though we can no longer trust in our own hearts or lean on our own understanding, we find peace and rest in learning of him who is meek and lowly of heart.

Thou art the source and centre of all minds,
 Their only point of rest, eternal Word!
 From thee departing we are lost and rove
 At random without honor, hope or peace.
 From thee is all that cheers the life of man,
 His high endeavor and his glad success,
 The strength to suffer and the will to serve.

We are bound to acknowledge that Caraccioli, whom we have called a Vedantist, was a Christian, though perhaps not well instructed. Moreover a combination of rationalism with Christianity has often been met with in recent times. To some minds, theology has its highest interest when viewed as a deep philosophy. Revelation is regarded rather as a discovery of the spiritual element in man than as an intimation of external realities; for the nature of the spirit is to act independently of the material and the external. In the experience of such minds the greatest revelation is that which enables them to discern a loving purpose in the whole course of their own personal history, giving a unity and significance to all the apparently contradictory occurrences in their past life, and bringing into harmony the most jarring discords. The mind thus finds full occupation in the application of this comprehensive view for the solution of all difficulties, and for the removal of all perplexities arising from the endless variety in human character and life. In poetic dress those ideas take the following form:—

Oh my friend!
 That thy faith were as mine, that thou couldst see
 Death still producing life, and evil still

Working its own destruction; couldst behold
 The strife and turmoil of this troubled world,
 With the strong eye that sees the promised day
 Dawn through the night of tempest! All things then
 Would minister to joy; then should thy heart
 Be healed and harmonized, and thou shouldst feel
 God always, everywhere, and all in all.

Many in the impressible season of youth have, without any injury to their religious convictions, been carried away with enthusiastic admiration for such passages in Wordsworth's poems as that in which he describes the effect of natural scenery upon the herdsmen on the lonely mountain top whose spirit drank the spectacle ;

Sensation, soul, and form
 All melted into him, they swallowed up
 His animal being, in them did he live
 And by them did he live, they were his life.
 In such access of mind, in such high hour
 Of visitation from the living God
 Thought was not, in enjoyment it expired.

A believer in revelation may sympathize with such poetic descriptions of a passing emotion, not indeed grounded immediately on revealed truth, but in no way opposed to it. Theology has a human side, and at many points meets the wants and responds to the yearnings of nature. The illustration of any one of these points must be interesting and profitable. But when a system is based on the exaggerated representation of one view of truth, in which other truths of the highest importance are left out of account, and theology is turned into a philosophy, the advocates of such theories require to be reminded that the proper place of demonstration, both in philosophy and in theology, is a subordinate one, and that faith in revelation implies the habitual subjection of the understanding as well as of the will, which is wholly inconsistent with the habit of testing theological truth by the amount of our personal sympathy with it. Dr. John Muir professes to find in the Vedas a conception of the universe which is "at once mystic or " sacramental, polytheistic and pantheistic; everything connected " with religious rites being imagined to have in it a spiritual as well " as a physical potency; all parts of nature being separately regarded " as invested with divine power, and yet as constituent parts of one " great whole."¹ Allowing that there was a certain amount of spirituality in the sublime nature of the effects ascribed in early times to sacred observances, we may give Vedantism the benefit of the supposition that it is an expansion in one direction of the Vedic conception of the universe. But we cannot too resolutely refuse to receive an expansion of a conception of the universe, wherever obtained, as a substitute for a theological system founded upon revelation. We may here refer in passing to some remarks by

¹ *Original Sanscrit Texts*, Vol. V., p. 411.

Colonel Kennedy on Vedantism, quoted by Dr. Wilson,¹ in order to prevent any one's being misled by Dr. Muir's use of the word mysticism in connection with the Vedas. Colonel Kennedy says that he could find no trace of mysticism in the sacred books of the Hindus. He also observes that such expressions as the love and fear of God never occur in those sacred books. The discussion of the relation between Vedantism and mysticism belongs, however, rather to the ethics of Vedantism which we do not at present enter on. Limiting ourselves now to the logical treatment of the subject, we are precluded from examining in detail either the philosophical speculation or the theological doctrines. And though there may be an appearance of coldness in this method of considering matters relating to the highest interests of mankind, this disadvantage is, perhaps, compensated for by the comprehensive character of the method here adopted. Besides, an examination of the particular doctrines of Vedantism is to be found in books which have already been referred to. In addition to the article in the *Calcutta Review* (No. VII), which gives a view of the whole system of Vedantism, the theology of the system is admirably criticized in another article (No. XXXIV), as well as in Dr. Wilson's reply to Narayan Rao. And in further justification of our method, the fact may be adverted to, that a scientific examination of religious opinions has often proved of service for the refutation of error. Hume's objection to the theistic argument from the marks of design in creation, because our experience is limited to this world, so that we are unable to draw a comparison between it and other worlds, is met at once and completely by the scientific consideration, that knowledge does not always consist of the comparison of ideas. So, also, many recent theories which resemble Vedantism in reducing all existence to one substance or one individuality, are satisfactorily answered by the appeal to consciousness, which testifies to the universal conviction in the human mind of separate personality. In conclusion, however, we must take special notice of one particular, in which the inconsistency is apparent between the doctrine of the Vedanta and its claim to be based on the authority of the Veda. In the case of a professed believer in the Vedas, as much as in the case of a believer in the Pentateuch, we are entitled to demand that a place should be given in his theology to the idea of expiatory sacrifice. It is no answer to say that the Vedas are devoted to rites and the Upanishadas to contemplation, unless it is shown how the contemplation can supply the place of the rites and prove equally efficacious for the purposes of religion. If, indeed, we accept the Brahmanical view of sacrifice, the chief difficulty of reconciling Vedantism with its professed origin is removed. Dr. Muir, in the passage already quoted, speaks of "physical potency" as charac-

¹ *Second Exposure of Hinduism*, p. 30.

teristic of the Vedic rites or rather of the Brahmanical description of them. And it would be even more correct to say that this physical potency became in the very earliest times the main ingredient in the Brahmanical idea of sacrifice. Sacrifice was viewed not principally as an expiation, but as a means of material production, and as affecting and controlling the objects and processes of external nature. In consequence of the prevalence of this view, the shedding of blood gradually lost its importance, and the sacrifice came to consist mainly of the prayers or *mantras*, to which, when arranged in a certain symbolical order, a creative power was attributed. By the substitution of these physically potent prayers, in the use of which none but Brahmans were skilled, in the place of the expensive and, in some cases, cruel rites of sacrifice, the Brahmans succeeded both in abolishing barbarous customs and in securing for themselves important advantages. The spiritual element in the ancient sacrifices quickly disappeared, as the observance became more and more a source of emolument to the sacred functionaries. In course of time the glory of the Brahman came to consist in this, that with his mouth the gods continually feasted on ghee and the manes of ancestors on cakes. It became religion to believe that everything belongs of right to the Brahman, and that others are permitted to enjoy life only through his benevolence. It was boldly asserted that a gift to a Brahman is far better than offerings to the sacred fire. When the idea of sacrifice had become so degraded and had so entirely lost its original significance, it is not surprising that it disappeared altogether from the theology of speculative minds. If Vedantism accepts this as the true account of its connection with the religion of Vedic times, it condemns itself by tracing its origin either to the perversion or to the abandonment of an important religious observance. In any case, we are entitled to press on modern Brahmanism and especially on Vedantism the question, What has become of ancient sacrificial rights? The reasonableness of this demand has been fully proved in our January Number, in the article on Sacrificial terms. It is to be hoped that this subject will continue to have its due prominence in the presentation of Christian truth made to the natives of this country. In the Christian answer to the question, What has become of the ancient sacrifice? is contained such a view of Christian truth as will most impressively evince the opposition between the word of God and the imaginations of men. In the teaching of the Bible, which limits to a certain fixed time the institution of sacrifice, we are reminded in the most emphatic way that expiation cannot be effected by any offering which man makes for himself but is the prerogative of Deity, who himself must provide the sacrifice which he is to accept. There is a Priest who takes away the sin of the world. But this Priest sits on the right hand of the throne of the

majesty in the heavens, a minister of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not man. Sin is taken away by sacrifice. But the sacrifice was offered once for all, when Christ, through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God, that his blood might purify our consciences from dead works to serve the living God. We no longer bring bulls and goats to the altar. But we still approach God through a blood sprinkled way. Grateful, child-like obedience is the best sacrifice that we can present. We are encouraged and exhorted to offer ourselves as consecrated to God. But the necessary propitiation for our sins is still provided for us by God himself in the person of Jesus Christ the righteous, who is our advocate with the Father, and whose blood cleanseth us from all sin. The only security against superstitious error is found in the grand truth that God himself provides all the expiation which he requires ; so that sacrifice, equally with creation, is a work of a supernatural and spiritual character. The symbolical institutions appointed by God before the coming of Christ were intended to show that it is only from the word which reveals the will of the creator that we can learn the relation between the natural and the spiritual world, and to prepare for the true interpretation of nature which is to be found in Christ. In early times, heretics were wont to taunt orthodox Christians by asking why, if they believed in the divine authorship of the Old Testament, they did not practise the observances which it enjoins. Augustine, in his reply to Faust the Manichæan, explains with great clearness how Christ came, not to destroy the law but to fulfil it, and how what could not adequately be obeyed in the letter, is now fully complied with in the liberty of grace in the case of those who learn from Christ to be meek and lowly in heart. Perhaps the most important practical way of viewing Vedantism is to regard the fact of its prevalence in India, and of its usefulness as a means of maintaining Brahmanical ascendancy, as a striking evidence of the intellectual superiority of the Brahmans, as compared with other Hindus as well as with the non-Aryan races. This fact of the intellectual superiority of the Brahmans has a direct bearing on missionary work. The Christian education provided should be such as to exemplify the control of religious truth over the whole extent of mental culture. Along with our efforts to evangelize the whole mass of the people we must endeavor to combine such an exhibition of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as shall vindicate its claims to control all the exercise of thought as well as all the activities of life.

ART. VI.—FEMALE EDUCATION IN BENARES.

BY MRS. W. ETHERINGTON.

INDIA needs, first of all, Christianity, and then a system of education based upon sound Christian principles. The former, as it advances, creates the necessity for, and to a certain extent, supplies the latter; the latter is chiefly of use in preparing the way for the former. A purely secular and, therefore, defective education, such as the Government of India imparts, in which not only religious, but even moral instruction is proscribed, is likely to be productive of as much evil as good. It destroys, it is true, belief in the absurdities of false religions, and hence, in effect at least, cannot be neutral; but as it is practically hostile to all religious teaching, whether true or false, it takes away that which, to the Eastern mind, is the only foundation of morality, viz., religious belief. They who have most closely observed the educational policy of Government, in reference, especially, to the effects of the "higher education," cannot fail to perceive that it is rapidly tending to the disorganization of native society, but is laying no foundation for future reconstruction. How far the evil may be allowed to extend without becoming dangerous to the State, let statesmen decide. But, on the principle that education to be worthy of the name means the training not only of the mental, but also of the moral, and, more especially, of the spiritual part of man's nature, and that it is as needful for woman as for man, or even more so, Government education in this country cannot but be regarded as exceedingly defective. Even when successful, to the extent to which success is possible under such a system, it but half educates the man, to the utter neglect of the higher part of his nature, and it may be said to have hitherto ignored the needs and the rights of woman. For what has Government done in the matter of female education? Its educational despatches, it must be admitted, from the time of the great Dalhousie to the late Lord Mayo, and from Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, to the Duke of Argyll, have contained profuse expressions of a "desire for the extension of female education," and repeated acknowledgments "that the Government "ought to give native female education in India its frank and cor-

“dial support.” But when we turn to the annual reports of the several Directors of Public Instruction for evidence that the local Governments have acted in the spirit of these despatches, how great the disappointment! So far as the *direct* extension of female education by Government itself is concerned, its acknowledgments and pledges are almost a dead letter. What are the facts of the case? Out of probably thirty millions of children capable of attending school in India, there were not thirty thousand girls in all the Government schools throughout the country in 1872-73. Indeed, beyond the indirect and often inadequate aid given to mission and a few private girls’ schools, and in some cases under such stringent conditions that the managers of many schools prefer to do without it, there is but little to prove that Government is really earnest in promoting female education.

Would that it were evident that the education imparted by missionaries is adequate to supply the defects of the Government system, or that, from its superior character, it is likely to prove an antidote to the evils that invariably appear when men are taught to value cleverness more than goodness. It is difficult, however, to close one’s eyes to the fact that, in some cases, missionaries seem to be unconsciously, and certainly unintentionally, intensifying the evil they hope to remedy. May not the very faults that are found in Government education be discovered, to a large extent, in much of what is known as “Missionary education?” The mass of the people, the poor, are neglected, are left in thousands around us unable to read in their mother-tongue the Scriptures which we translate and print for them. Our schools and colleges are filled, for the most part, with the sons of those who are comparatively well off, a large percentage of whom might well afford to pay for their own education, but will not do so as long as they can get it for next to nothing. To these we impart a high English education with often no higher object apparently than to prepare them for the University examinations. The success of mission schools is measured by the results of those examinations. The Government is charged with the neglect of primary education; may not the same charge be brought against missionaries? In Government schools the Bible and religion are rejected; in many mission schools they are simply neglected; and this may be the greater of the two evils. This is not done perhaps intentionally in any case; it is the unavoidable result of the unwise competition with Government education into which missionaries have been led through their connection with the Universities. Teachers as well as pupils in mission schools, finding it impossible to keep abreast of those who are concerned with purely secular studies only, when laboring under the additional weight of the Bible and religion, are naturally tempted to throw aside the unnecessary burden. The temptation to do so increases as the University examinations successfully contend against

examining and become more and more a true test of secular scholarship. From not a few missionaries, whose time is wholly given to education, the complaint has been heard that all interest in the study of the Bible is lost from the time that their pupils are promoted to the "Entrance class." That is, just at the time when moral and religious instruction is most likely to prove beneficial, the pupils in mission schools who go up for the University examinations are practically shut out from it. Can it be a matter of surprise that the impression has gone abroad, and is yearly deepening, that mission schools and colleges differ only in name from purely secular or Government institutions? For neither in quantity nor in quality is the religious instruction that is imparted in them equal to what it used to be twenty years ago. The success of mission schools was then estimated by the number of pupils that passed from the darkness of heathenism and Mahammadanism to walk in the light of Christ, not as now by the number that pass the "Entrance," the F. A., or B. A. examinations, to add to the number, already too great, of mere "situation seekers." If the religious training in mission schools be the element that justifies their establishment, it ought surely to enter far more largely into their curriculum than it generally does. To devote men, time, and money in such a disproportionate manner in order to teach so much that is secular for the sake of the very little that is spiritual, cannot be wise, if indeed it be just.

Let it not be supposed that we wish to say a word against education of the right kind. Far from it; we believe that education forms a part, and a very important part, of missionary operations. Especially in India, where the ignorance of the people, next to their vice, is the greatest difficulty we have to deal with, it is folly to say that education is no part of our work. But to be worthy of us, the education we impart must be thoroughly Christian, not nominally so; the Bible must be our chief text-book, and its principles must be constantly brought to bear upon all other studies. Were there more of such thorough training in the Scriptures, and not the mere apology for it that one so often sees and hears of, it would doubtless be a great blessing in which all wise and good men would rejoice. The complaint would no longer be heard, that mission schools and colleges are often the arsenals from which the deadliest weapons against Christianity are drawn. Instead of youths whose English education has served to turn their heads without changing their hearts, who affect a superiority to their missionary teachers in the higher regions of thought regarding God and religion, and who have just enough knowledge of the Bible to see their way into its difficulties, but not their way out of them,—instead of these with their frivolous objections, young men able and willing to converse intelligently and reverently about God and the soul, Christ and his salvation, would frequently meet and glad-

den the heart of the Christian preacher. But till the education that is imparted in missionary institutions becomes more decidedly Christian, and less secular than it generally is, missionaries may claim the honor of having established a system of education "on a par with that of Government as an intellectual gymnasium," but not many will be disposed to acknowledge that it is any longer "its unrivalled superior as a nursery of religion and morals."

This is a long digression from the subject which stands at the head of this paper; but let it pass. It may not be altogether out of place; it indicates at least what some think of what is going on around us.

To extend the blessings of Christian education to the female population of India is one of the most important and arduous duties that the Church of Christ has undertaken in this land. It has from the commencement been attended with many and serious difficulties, and will continue to exercise the ingenuity of all who undertake it for many a year before the people become, in any true sense, educated. The time is still within the memory of living men when female education did not exist in the land, and when all attempts to introduce it were scouted as visionary. So formidable were the obstacles that at once presented themselves, that not only the thoughtless and indifferent, but even earnest Christian men and women, regarded the thing as simply impracticable. A great change has doubtless taken place in the opinions of people, as regards the feasibility of female education in India, owing chiefly to the successful labors of noble Christian women during the last twenty years. But, even now, there is no department of missionary effort that demands such patience, perseverance, and self-denial. Is it too much to say that this is a work which, from its peculiar nature, the Church of Christ alone can accomplish? To Christian women belongs the honor of having begun it, and they alone are qualified to complete it.

Perhaps the chief obstacles in the way of female education arise from the indifference or the prejudice of the people themselves. Many are indifferent to it, because they are incapable of appreciating its blessings; and most are hostile to it, as dangerous in itself, and especially so when directed by those whose motives they suspect in every change that is introduced. But whatever the source or the nature of the difficulties that may arise, they should not deter any who have the good of the people at heart from seeking to raise the condition of those who are to be the wives and the mothers of the future men of India. In the words of the Educational Despatch of 1854, "the importance of female education in India cannot be overrated. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men." It will tend to solve many a problem connected with the right government of the country. Difficulties that

statesmen and philanthropists are now at their wits' end to deal with, will in many cases be altogether removed thereby, and in other cases so modified as to be easily overcome. Female infanticide, child marriage, Brahman polygamy, virgin widowhood, and the cruelty and wickedness arising from these and other evils under which the land groans, can exist only where woman is kept in brutal ignorance that she may be brutally treated.

It may be interesting to some engaged in similar work elsewhere to learn what has been attempted in the way of female education, and with what success, in such a hard and unpromising place as Benares. It is now about ten years since comparatively extensive and systematic efforts to reach the female population of this great city were begun. Before this period, but little that has proved permanent had been undertaken. The Baptist Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, and the London Missionary Society had each a small orphanage for girls, and a few bazar schools for girls had at different times been established. The Church Missionary Society, for instance, in addition to the interesting work carried on among the orphan girls at Sigra, had a school for Hindu girls that was commenced as early as 1850, and another that dated from 1859. But up to the time of which we write these schools seem to have been comparatively small and unimportant. However they continued to live, and are now large and flourishing schools, and a blessing to Benares. The first symptom of a revival of interest in female education here was the arrival of three Irish ladies, sisters, who, possessed of independent means and desirous of doing something towards the emancipation of the women of India, came and settled in a native house in the very heart of the city. The efforts of these excellent ladies, though not altogether unsuccessful, resulted in nothing permanent. Their zeal for, and simple confidence in, the people, far exceeded their prudence and knowledge of native character. The resolve to reside in a native house, in the midst of a dense population, in a city in which sanitary laws were then ignored, however indicative of a self-denying nature, was certainly imprudent, and led, as might have been expected, to the loss of health and the subsequent departure of the sisters from India altogether. Like some of the ladies sent out for similar work by the ladies' societies of Europe and America, they came too late in life to learn to speak freely to the people in their own tongue. This unwelcome truth, which, from its delicacy, is seldom broached by others, and still more rarely learnt of oneself, at last dawned upon the minds of these good ladies, and taken into consideration with the loss of health of two of them, led to the wise resolve to go and serve God in some other part of his great vineyard.

About this time, or in 1867, the ladies of the Church Missionary Society, rightly judging from the partial success of the sisters, that there was an opening for zenana work here, requested the Ladies'

Association in connection with their Mission, to send some one from England to engage in it. The first lady that was sent entered upon her work about the middle of 1867. She acquired a very competent knowledge of both Hindi and Urdu, and was known to be a most conscientious and thorough worker. After three or four years of successful labor, broken health led to her final departure from India. To her belongs the honor of having laid the foundation of zenana work in Benares, which has since grown to such goodly proportions.

Two years later, that is, in July 1869, the Baptist Missionary Society entered upon the same work. The wife of one of the missionaries who had already secured an entrance into a few houses, applied to the Ladies' Association for the support of zenana work and Bible women, in connection with this Society, for aid. Funds were at once voted for the support of an agent in Benares. A lady was found in the country well qualified both in character and attainments for the work, who immediately entered upon it. The number of zenanas under instruction has steadily increased till now there is more work than the two ladies employed by this Society can well accomplish.

It was about this time also, or towards the close of 1867, that His Highness the Maharaja of Vizianagram expressed to his manager of affairs, Dr. Lazarus, his desire to establish schools for high-caste girls in Benares, similar to those that had been endowed by him in Madras and Vizianagram. And it was probably not much earlier than this that the Educational Department of the North-Western Government began to perceive the necessity of doing something for the education of girls as well as of boys in Benares.

In addition to these agencies, spasmodic efforts have been made, at different times by individual native gentlemen to establish private girls' schools, but with no good result. With the exception of a small school for Bengali girls, which is under a committee of native gentlemen, no purely native school for girls, not under European superintendence, has succeeded.

There are then three distinct agencies at work in connection with female education in Benares, viz., missions, the Educational Department of Government, and private enterprise. Missions hold the first place, as the oldest, the most efficient, and, as compared with results, the least expensive. Private enterprise, represented chiefly by the Vizianagram schools, comes next, for the Government girls' schools are as yet inferior not only in point of numbers, but also in the quality of the instruction that is imparted in them, to all others. One fact, however, must be mentioned which will account, in great measure, for the paucity of girls in the Government schools, as compared with the comparatively large attendance in the mission and Vizianagram schools. The pupils in the Government

girls' schools receive nothing for attendance, whereas in the Mission and Vizianagram schools some inducement, whether in the form of money or of clothes, is held out to those who are willing to attend. This paying system was doubtless an unavoidable evil when the work of female education began here; it has recently been greatly lessened, and is gradually passing away. Though it may account for the larger attendance at the schools in which the system still lingers, it cannot be regarded as the cause of their greater efficiency, as compared with the Government or non-paying schools. As a rule, greater intelligence is displayed by the pupils in the Mission and Vizianagram schools, than is seen in the girls in those schools that have not been under European superintendence. The teachers also are better qualified, a sounder system of instruction is insisted upon, and by frequent and careful questioning on the part of those who superintend the work, the native teachers have practical illustrations of what teaching means, and the pupils are trained to think, and to express themselves far more readily than is the case in other schools. Whether Mission boys' schools be inferior to Government boys' schools of the same class may be a question, but there can be no doubt as to the superiority of Mission girls' schools to Government girls' schools in Benares and its district. In the Mission and Vizianagram schools the ideas of the children regarding things in general are far more extensive and correct than those of the children in Government schools, their thinking faculties are brought more into exercise, and their hearts as well as their minds are brought under discipline. It is probable that in Mission girls' schools more time is devoted to the Bible and far more direct religious instruction imparted than in Mission boys' schools. The reason is obvious. Mission girls' schools not being affiliated with the Universities, the ladies who teach in them are not concerned about their examinations, and are therefore not tempted to neglect religious instruction, which they regard as most important, for the sake of imparting mere secular knowledge, which is but a secondary object.

I.—*Mission Schools in Benares.*

1. *Church Missionary Society.*—There were seven girls' schools connected with this Society last year, viz., a normal school, an orphanage, an industrial school, and four city schools, two of which are maintained from the funds of the Ladies' Association in connection with that Mission. The number of pupils on the rolls last year was about 480, of whom 106 were nominal Christians, 320 Hindus, and 54 Mahammadans. Seven ladies, in addition to a staff of 31 native teachers, were employed. Besides the school work, a considerable amount of zenana teaching was carried on by three of the ladies, who are in direct connection with the Ladies' Association. They had last year about 40 zenanas, in which there were about 60 pupils.

The Normal school contains 42 pupils, all nominal Christians, and all unmarried. One of the best features of this school is that it is what it professes to be, a normal school, really answering its purpose. The pupils are drawn from several mission stations in Northern India, and, on completing the period of study, generally return to their respective homes to become teachers. Many who left the school in former years may now be found in different parts of the North-West, usefully employed. The course of study extends over three years, and as the school consists of three classes, each student spends, as a rule, a year in each class. Instruction is given in English, Hindi, and Urdu, and in addition to the ordinary subjects of study, all are taught, practically and theoretically, the art of teaching. There is a preparatory class attached to this school, in which the most promising pupils from the orphanage or other schools are placed until they are sufficiently advanced to enter the Normal school. They are not, however, admitted in any case under twelve years of age. This is altogether an excellent school, and well deserves the support it receives from the Church Missionary Society and from Government.

The Orphanage is one of the few in India in which an attempt is made to train the children to habits of industry and usefulness. While decently fed, clothed, and cared for, they are not allowed to forget that they are poor, and that they must prepare to labor in some way for their living. They are taught to do every thing for themselves, and are not unprepared for the life that is before them by having, as in many orphanages, servants to wait upon them. This is as it should be; the orphans contribute something by their labor towards their support, and are happy because they are kept from idleness.

The Industrial school is a most useful appendage to the Normal school, and the Orphanage. All the pupils of the Normal school, many from the Orphanage, (boys as well as girls), and several girls from the Christian village attend it regularly. Various kinds of work are taught, and all seems to be thoroughly well done. The lace work especially is beautiful, and highly prized by many ladies in India. Many of the women in the Christian village are now able to maintain themselves by the skill and habits of industry they acquired when pupils of this useful school.

Two of the four city schools in connection with this Mission are the oldest in Benares, one of them having been established in 1850, the other in 1859. The former contains 187 pupils, of whom 145 are Hindus, and 42 Mahammadans; the latter has 123 pupils, 112 being Hindus and 11 Mahammadans. They are, probably, not only the largest, but the most efficient also of all Mission girls' schools in this part of India. In each there is a lady Superin-

tendent, with a staff of eight or nine native teachers. The subjects taught, books used, etc., are the same in both; and, as the work is thoroughly supervised, the progress of the pupils is steady and solid. Indeed the only drawback to these schools is the paying system. A fee, ranging from one anna a month in the last class, to five annas in the first class, is given to each pupil.

The other two bazar schools are under the management of the ladies belonging to the Zenana Mission. They are much smaller than those just described, and not quite so efficient. Nearly half the pupils in one of them are women, many of whom (as is the case in several of the schools in Benares) learn with the hope of some day obtaining employment as teachers. All the pupils in these two schools are paid for attending, those in the first class receiving eight annas each monthly, those in the second seven annas, and so on. None of them pay for their books or work materials. The ladies who superintend these schools are also employed in zenana teaching, in which they have met with considerable encouragement. We paid a casual visit to some of them in company with one of the ladies, and were agreeably surprized to find in one house a most accomplished Bengali lady who read and spoke well, not only in her own language, but English, Hindi, and Urdu also. Several books in each of these languages were lying on her table, and she seemed to be at home in them all. We noticed also that she had several kinds of fancy work on hand. It is due to her former teachers to say that she had studied for many years in Calcutta under a lady there connected with some mission. Her husband also used to take great interest in all that she did, and even taught her himself, when he was alive.

2. *Baptist Missionary Society.*—The Ladies' Association in connection with this Mission have maintained a Zenana Mission here since 1869. At present two ladies are engaged in it. They visit 24 houses containing 40 pupils, twice a week regularly; 35 of their pupils are women and five are children; 20 are Bengalis and 20 are Hindustanis. They are instructed in Hindi and Bengali; English is taught only in special cases. The subjects taught are the Bible and Christianity, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history of India, and natural history. All books, materials, etc., are paid for by the pupils, as this Society makes it a rule not to give anything, except in the case of pupils whom they know to be unable to pay for their books, in which case the rule is relaxed so far as *religious* books are concerned. It is a pity that this plan is not followed by all zenana workers. The practice of giving the pupils everything is objectionable, both because natives value little what they get for nothing, and, indeed, are disposed to take it as a right, imagining that everything is provided by the Government, and also because we ought to try, as far as possible, to teach them the duty of helping themselves.

There are two girls' schools connected with this Mission, one in the city, the other in a neighbouring village. In the city school there are about 40 girls, in the village about 20, all Hindus. In the village they receive nothing for attendance, but books are provided. In the city a few pice a month, rising to four annas in the first class is given, out of which, however, they have to pay for books.

There is an Orphanage under the management of the wife of one of the missionaries of this Society. It contains 22 girls, who are instructed in English, in Hindi, and in plain and fancy needle-work.

3. *London Missionary Society.*—There is at present no orphanage connected with this Mission in Benares, nor has any zenana work been undertaken. But the Mission supports two girls' schools, in one of which there are 45 pupils, and in the other 44. There is a larger proportion of Mahamadan girls in these than in any of the schools in Benares, the number of Hindus and Mahammadans in them being nearly equal. They are, moreover, the only schools in which Mahammadan girls are taught in their own vernacular.

It seems that no special effort has ever been made here to reach the Mahammadan females. The zenanas visited are almost without an exception Hindu, and no school, intended exclusively for Mahammadans, has ever existed here that we are aware of.

From what has been said, it will be seen that by the three Missions in Benares, girls' schools of different kinds are maintained, about 65 zenanas are visited, and nearly 750 females are instructed. Constant employment is thus given to 9 European ladies, (not including the missionaries' wives, under whose superintendence some parts of the work come) and a staff of about 40 native female teachers. In this important work the Church Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society receive Government aid. The work of the Baptist Missionary Society is supported entirely from the funds of the Society.

II.—*The Vizianagram Schools.*

The schools maintained in Benares by the Maharaja of Vizianagram are probably the largest schools for native girls in India. They are supported entirely by the liberality of the Maharaja, who has always been foremost among the native aristocracy in seeking the elevation of the female population.

The first Vizianagram school was commenced in 1867 by Dr. Lazarus, who was instructed by the Maharaja to spare no expense

in securing the establishment and efficiency of the school. At the outset many difficulties had to be encountered. Female teachers were not to be had, suitable books did not exist, and it was exceedingly difficult to overcome the natural diffidence of high-caste, and, indeed, of all parents, in entrusting their children to strangers, especially for an object with which they had no sympathy. But money in India is mightier than even caste or custom. The Maharaja sanctioned the payment of one rupee a month to each child as an inducement to attend his school. This acted like magic on the parents and their prejudices. A school was opened on the 5th of December, 1867, in a house belonging to the Maharaja, with a class of ten respectable high-caste girls, varying from six to ten years of age. The second day there were twelve girls, on the third seventeen, and before the school had been open a fortnight, there were sixty-seven names on the roll. The difficulty of obtaining teachers was now severely felt. A kind of normal school was therefore commenced. A respectable pandit from the Government Normal school was engaged to take the general superintendence of the school, and to instruct the women who conducted the children to and from the school. The most advanced women were selected as teachers, and with the aid of the pandit they were able to keep ahead of the pupils. This plan of providing teachers answered well for a time. The number of children continued to increase, and being pressed for room, a second school was opened close to the celebrated temple of Bisheshwarnath, the titular deity of Benares. As early as the 2nd January 1868, that is in less than a month after the opening of the first school, a third one was opened. As teachers became available and the schools were brought into proper working order, the numbers on the rolls continued to increase till there were more than 450 in attendance. This large and rapid growth was not healthy, and was only to be accounted for by the inducement held out to the children in the shape of a rupee a month each.

Some time after this, circumstances with which we are not acquainted, led to a re-action. Two of the schools were closed, and there was a corresponding reduction in the number of girls. From more than 450 they were reduced to less than 200. About this time (November, 1870), at the request of the Maharaja, we undertook the superintendence of the school, on condition that it should be under our sole control, books, teachers, salaries, etc., being left entirely to our discretion. There was now but one school with only 192 girls, all of them still in receipt of a rupee a month. The task before us was both onerous and unpleasant,—to reduce the fees paid to the children, and yet increase the number of schools and the attendance. By careful management and perseverance both objects have been gained, and at the same time a higher tone

given to the schools, which are now well known in Benares. From the first the paying system was regarded as an evil to be tolerated, only because in the present state of things in Benares it is unavoidable. It was resolved to do away with it gradually; and as it was a reasonable subject of complaint among the managers of mission and other schools, that the larger amount paid to the pupils of the Vizianagram school drew away the pupils from their schools, it was determined to reduce the sum at once. Further reductions have been made at different times, so that now the payments range from two annas in the lower, to eight annas in the highest classes, and no child receives anything till the alphabet is mastered. The sum paid for attendance has thus been reduced to about one-fifth of what it formerly was. Formerly books, slates, in fact everything, were provided for the pupils; they now pay for everything. Notwithstanding this large reduction in the payments made to the pupils, the schools have increased from one to three, exclusive of a department in one of them consisting of 40 women, which is practically a normal school, and the attendance has steadily risen from 192 to over 600, with an average daily attendance of over 500. The best books that are procurable, suited to the capacities of the children and adopted to females, are used. Among them are Pandit Ram Jasan's series (prepared expressly for these schools, containing a graduated series of lessons in grammar, geography, history, arithmetic, etc.) Adam's Arithmetic, Clift's Geography, the Bhāshā Bhāskār Hindī Grammar, Arunodaya (Parson's translation of the Peep of Day), Yātra Swapnodaya (Parson's translation of the Pilgrim's Progress), Mrs. Mather's Phulon-kāhar, Katu Mālā, etc. These schools give employment to about 30 native female teachers; no male teachers are employed. There are two young ladies also employed, who are present daily in one or another of the schools, to teach, and to superintend the teaching of the native mistresses. One of them devotes a part of her time to teaching plain and fancy needlework. These schools have been from the beginning *open*, that is, not zenana or "pardah" schools. This was effected with much less trouble than was at first anticipated, and now no objection is made by the parents, the teachers, or the pupils to the visits of gentlemen or ladies, European or native. The Maharaja spends Rs. 700 monthly on this work. This princely liberality in the promotion of female education is certainly not surpassed by any of the native nobles.

There are three other girls' schools in Benares aided by Government, but under private native management. One of them is for Bengali girls, the other two are attended by Hindustani girls. They are all small and elementary, and have hitherto not been in a very satisfactory state. In the three schools there were last year 71 pupils.

III.—*Government Girls' Schools.*

Of these there are 8 in Benares, viz., a female normal school and 7 girls' schools, five of which are in Benares itself, and two in villages in the district. The normal school consists of 10 pupils and 2 native mistresses, and has recently been placed under our own superintendence. The pupils are drawn from the lower division of the North-West Provinces. Some of them are the wives of masters in Government boys' schools. They are received into the school for two years, and during this time receive a monthly scholarship of 5 rupees each. As they know scarcely anything, in many cases absolutely nothing, when they enter, it is not to be expected that they should leave the school as really efficient teachers. They are, however, sufficiently advanced to answer the present demands of the Government girls' schools, most of which are very elementary, everything in fact connected with them indicating that a beginning, and nothing more, has been made by Government in the education of the female population. The seven girls' schools contained last year 144 pupils, 79 of whom were Hindus and 35 Mahammadans. The unsatisfactory condition of these schools is probably to be accounted for partly by the very great obstacles that arise from the peculiar condition of women in India—obstacles which ladies really interested in education are more fitted to deal with than men, however wise or powerful; but hitherto they have had little or nothing to do with these schools. Again, the absence of the paying system, though in itself good, and likely to tell in their favor hereafter, at present tends to keep the attendance low; for, of course, till the value of education is appreciated by the people, children will prefer to go to those schools where they find some inducement to attend. Doubtless also, the system on which they are established is a hindrance to their progress. The plan is to allow so much a month as salary to the mistress, who is expected to provide from it school accommodation, books, in fact, everything required for her pupils. The consequence is that in some of these schools there are scarcely any books, and not one of them is as well provided as it ought to be. The salaries of the teachers do not average more than 7 rupees a month. It is not to be expected that for this sum, which is scarcely more than the average pay of domestic servants, a woman can teach, and also furnish a school with books, slates, maps, and other essentials. What is wanted on the part of Government is a far more liberal support for girls' schools, and the willingness to give that supply which, in this country in the matter of female education, is absolutely necessary in order to create the demand.

The following table will shew at a glance the state of female education in Benares as regards the number of schools, teachers and pupils. Missionaries' wives who superintend schools are not included among the teachers. The numbers represent, for the most

part, the state of things at the beginning of this year; in a few cases, however, more recent statistics are given:—

No. of Schools.	DESCRIPTION.	Teachers.			Pupils.			
		European.	Native.	Total.	Christians.	Hindus.	Maham-madans.	Total.
1	C. M. Normal School...	7	5	96	42	...	...	42
2	C. M. Orphanage. ...		3		64	...	...	64
3	Industrial School. ¹ ...		...		...	...	...	...
4	C. M. City School. ...		8		...	112	11	123
5	Do.		10		...	145	42	187
6	Do.		3		...	35	1	36
7	Do.		2		...	30	...	30
8	C. M. Zenana pupils...	...	...	60	...	60		
9	B. M. School ...	2	2	22	35	...	35	
10	Do.		1		20	...	20	
11	B. M. Zenana pupils..		...		40	...	40	
12	B. M. Orphanage ...	...	2	...	...	22		
13	L. M. School ...	...	2	2	25	18	45	
14	Do.	...	2	...	26	18	44	
15—17	Vizianagram Schools..	2	30	...	619	...	619	
18—20	Private Schools ...	...	5	...	71	...	71	
21	Govt. Normal School..	1	2	96	9	1	10	
22—28	Govt. Girls' Schools...		7		...	79	35	114
Totals...		12	84	96	130	1,306	126	1,562

Compared with other cities in the North-West, Benares is far in advance, as regards female education. In Ghazeepore, last year, there were but 249 girls under instruction, in Mirzapore 255, in Azingurh 284, in Goruckpore 355, in Allahabad, 512 (including European girls in aided schools), and in Benares 1,562.

¹ The pupils of this school are drawn from the Orphanage and Normal schools.

ART. VII.—THE PRESS AND MISSIONARY WORK.

BY REV. B. RICE, BANGALORE.

THE value of the printed page as a means of spreading a knowledge of Divine truth is universally admitted. And now that education is advancing, and the number of intelligent readers is greatly multiplying in India, it becomes more important than ever to utilize to the utmost the advantages which the press places at our command, for the enlightenment and evangelization of this great empire. The tract, or book, may reach, be pondered, and followed with saving results, where the voice of the preacher has rarely, if ever, been heard; and even where it has, the quiet perusal of a suitable book will deepen the impression which the living voice may have already made.

We fully agree in the remarks offered on this subject in the last number of this *Review*. As there pointed out, greater attention needs to be paid to the style of the printing and binding of Christian publications, so as to make them more attractive to the people. In some parts of the country there has, of late years, been a considerable change for the better in this respect; but there is still room for improvement.

It appears to us, however, that there are other things which require attention, if the press is to exercise its due power in this country.

1. The *subject matter* of many of our tracts needs to be amended, and more fully adapted to the present attitude of the native mind.

Of tracts showing the absurdity of idolatry, the delinquencies of the Hindu gods, and the evils of caste, we have perhaps enough. Of dry theological discussions, somewhat in the European style, more than enough. We need a greater number of tracts on such teachings of the Hindu philosophical systems as are most current among the people—answers to objections now brought against the Bible and Christianity—exhibitions of the character of Christ, and proofs of his divinity drawn from the character itself, after the manner of Bushnell, and of Dr. Young, in his “Christ of History.”

Care should also be taken that tracts have attractive *titles*; and that they be not literal translations from English books, but written in as Oriental and interesting a style as possible. There are not many missionaries who are capable of producing good tracts of this description; and when any one discovers a talent in this direction, he should, by all means, be encouraged to exercise it as much as

possible ; and, if necessary, be set free to a large extent from other work, in order to enable him the better to attend to this. Very important aid in this direction may also be obtained from some of our native assistants, who know instinctively what will suit the native mind.

2. There ought to be in our tracts a much *fuller exhibition of the contents of the Bible itself* than has hitherto been attempted.

It seems to have been thought that the circulation of Scripture portions would, in and of itself, suffice to make known the Bible to the people ; and this, no doubt, it does to some extent. But in addition to this, there should be tracts pointing out the composition of the Bible—the relation of its different parts to each other—and presenting *choice portions*, with appropriate explanations and applications. These would be, in themselves, interesting and profitable, and would lead many to go to the fountain head, and study the Bible for themselves with greater intelligence than before.

A theological writer of the present day says, in the preface to one of his Biblical works :—“ It is the deep conviction of my soul “ that no book can be written in behalf of the Bible, like the Bible “ itself. Man’s defences are man’s word ; they may help to beat off “ attacks ; they may draw out some portion of its meaning. But “ the Bible is God’s word, and through it God the Holy Ghost who “ spake it, speaks to the soul that closes not itself against it.” All the readers of this *Review* will endorse this sentiment ; and yet it has too often been lost sight of in our Christian publications. Error has been freely exposed, but *God’s truth in God’s own words* has not been set forth in equal measure.

3. Greater attention ought to be paid to the *Poetry of the country* as a means of fixing Divine truth in the minds and hearts of old and young among the people.

The popularity of this kind of tract, and the interest felt in the contents, mark it out as a means of usefulness which ought to be more employed than it is. Native Christian brethren who are capable of producing such poetical compositions, should be sought out, and stirred up to exercise the gift.

4. Now that English is so extensively studied, and nearly all the more advanced minds among the natives are acquainted with it, a series of tracts suitable to them should be published *in English*.

It is true that in Calcutta, Bombay, and elsewhere, valuable publications of this kind have been issued ; but they have been principally intended for a certain class ; and have been for the most part too elaborate to be purchased and read except by a select few. There ought to be a series of smaller and cheaper tracts in English, suitable to all classes.

The Bangalore Tract and Book Society has lately commenced two Series of tracts in English of the kind here intended, viz., a “ General Series,” and a “ Biblical Series.” Of the “ General

Series," there have been published, No. 1, What is Hinduism? No. 2, The Errors of Hinduism. No. 3, The Origin of Hinduism. No. 4, The Decay of Hinduism and Progress of Christianity. No. 5, A Brahman's Reasons for becoming a Christian. Of the "Biblical Series," No. 1, The Bible. No. 2, The God-Man. (1) His Manifestation. No. 3, (2) The Angels' Song at His Birth. No. 4, (3) Adored by Eastern Sages. No. 5 (4) Receives Testimony from Heaven. These are to be followed by others on other portions of the Saviour's history. Each of the tracts of the "Biblical Series" has a portion from one of the Gospels, with brief remarks illustrating and applying its meaning. It is intended to publish this series also in the vernacular.

5. The *prices* of tracts ought to be very low. It has been found by experience that 1 and 2 pie tracts sell much more freely than others. The prices of the series mentioned above have been fixed at these low rates, and find a ready sale. Tracts at higher rates do not sell so well. As in other countries, the smaller the price the larger the circulation.

6. Much more *energetic means* than at present ought to be adopted for bringing Christian publications to the notice of the people, carrying them to their doors and promoting as extensive a sale as possible.

Where such means have been adopted, they have met with remarkable success; and were a similar course pursued in connection with all Tract Societies and mission stations throughout India, it would lead to a vastly increased dissemination of Christian truth.

The following remarks and experience of one of the native pastors in Bangalore is worthy of regard:—

"It is my firm conviction that the word of the Lord contained in the Scriptures, and embodied in tracts, should find its way among the people more than our own words. Acting on this principle I tried colportage myself, and the success has been greater than was anticipated. During last year, 2,187 Scriptures and 16,898 Tracts were sold; the former for Rs. 60-4-3 and the latter for Rs. 136-10-1. Undecided persons became firm, indifferent people became concerned, and scoffers and open enemies have been turned in many cases to friends. Persons of all ages, sects, and classes, availed themselves of the opportunities afforded them by purchasing a very large number of books and tracts. Hindus, Mahanmadans, and Romanists have purchased; and in several cases called at my house to buy, being led to do so by the books they had previously read. Five heathens, viz., two shopkeepers, two book hawkers, and a school teacher, regularly take books at a discount, and are selling them. It was at first difficult to induce these men to do so, and when they did, it was unsatisfactorily done; but now they readily undertake to sell, and with success. These men should be greatly encouraged, as they can sell more easily than we can, and it is a very cheap system of colportage. Notwithstanding these sales, we yet need other tracts and books, both in English and in the vernacular. The smallest coin of the land should be respected by having tracts, especially in English, for a small price. The tendency among the educated Hindus is to read in English, and much might be effected by supplying them with different kinds of books in English. It may be difficult to meet the demands of all kinds of people who vary in language, habits and requirements, but when we have the commands, 'Go, and teach all nations,' and 'Cast thy bread upon the

'waters, for thou shalt find it after many days,' before us, all objections, however grave they may appear, break down; and no possible endeavor to reach all classes should be spared."

It may be added that, in addition to the above efforts made by the native pastor himself, two colporteurs employed during the last seven months have sold publications to the value of Rs. 237. Were the same system pursued vigorously throughout the country, and attention given to the preparation of books suited to the tastes of the people, the native mind might be stirred up by means of the printed page much more extensively than it has yet been. Query: Would not a *cheap* illustrated religious newspaper, published weekly, find a large circulation, and do much good?

ART. VIII.—FROM THE INDUS TO THE TIGRIS; *a narrative of a journey through the countries of Balochistan, Afghanistan, Khorassan and Iran, in 1872.* BY HENRY WALTER BELLEW, C. S. I. Trübner and Co., London: 1874.

WE some time ago drew the attention of our readers to the Afghans as a nation in which the interest of the English has been more or less excited for the last seventy or eighty years. We have now before us a narrative of a journey through certain portions of that country, by one who has a right to be heard on all subjects affecting the condition of Central Asia, having been an extensive traveller in those regions, as well as a careful student of the manners, customs, and language of the Afghan people—Dr. H. W. Bellew, C. S. I., civil surgeon of Peshawar, now on a special political mission to Yarkand.

There is not a more interesting subject for the consideration of those who are anxious for the spread of Christianity and civilization than the present position of England and Russia with regard to the Mahammadan nations which are situated between the Indus and the Tigris.

"The highly organised and intricate system of European civilization introduced into India, and now being consolidated within the limits of the British Empire there, though not without its advantages, has hardly produced a shadow of effect on the bordering countries lying beyond the region of its control. It stops short at, and with as a clear line of definition as, the natural boundaries of the Peninsula. Cross the mountain barrier limiting the plains of India, and you pass at once from civilization to barbarism, from order to anarchy, from security to danger, from justice to oppression. So much from the side of India.

"From the opposite quarter advances the growing civilization of Russia—a civilization which, notwithstanding its elements of European science and art, is still but little raised in its general character above that of the countries it is so rapidly overspreading, and yet by consequence, less opposed to the

tastes and requirements of their newly-conquered peoples. The steamer, the telegraph, and the railway add consolidation to the new rule in the annexed countries. Order and security are established within the newly conquered area by a sharp and decisive though despotic military rule; whilst commercial enterprise is encouraged with the countries lying beyond and fostered by government patronage. So much from the side of Russia."

To secure a barrier between these two forms of civilization is the present policy of the British Government. "It cannot always remain so. It must sooner or later succumb to the one form or the other."

It is therefore a question which not only affects the politician, but also the philanthropist and the missionary. We cannot agree with our author that Turkey, "the sick man of Europe," has become "convalescent," but we quote his eloquent description of the present state of the Afghan nation with unqualified approval:—

"If Persia is the sick man of Asia, what shall we say of Afghanistan, shut up in his own barbarism, imbued to the core with fanatic bigotry and steeped in the pride of nationality? Verily, he is sick unto death and he knows it. Yet, he refuses, obstinately and suspiciously, the only remedy that can save his decaying constitution from dissolution. Is he to be left to his fate? or will the physician appear in good time and patch up his broken frame? These are questions for serious reflection, because the patient is our neighbor, and his fate cannot be a matter of indifference to us."

Dr. Bellew has succeeded in giving the public a very interesting account of the journey which he made in company with the political mission to Sistan under the leadership of Sir F. R. Pollock. We think many readers who are not particularly interested in detailed information of Central Asian countries, will find some portions of the book dry and tedious. Too much of the journal has been taken up with minute accounts of the places visited; and the numerous Persian, Pushto and Arabic words and phrases will make some parts of the book wearisome to other than Anglo-Indian readers. There are, however, very graphic sketches of the life and habits of the people, which show that the learned doctor's powers of description are not inferior to those of either Elphinstone or Vambery.

The following is an account of a visit to a pool at Pir Chhatta, being one of many instances given of the superstition of the people:—

"At about four miles from the tomb, crossing two or three ridges of conglomerate rock, and a little stream winding between and round them *en route*, we came to the palm grove of Pir Chhatta, and camped on an open turfey spot amongst the trees, and near the spring-head of the stream above mentioned. * * * * * At the spring-head is a hermit's cell, and close by, suspended on the boughs of a tree, is a peal of about thirty small bells, which the *faqir* rattles every now and then to wake up the mountain echoes. The spring on issuing from the rock forms a small pool. We found it absolutely crammed with fish from six to ten inches long. * * * * * These fish are held sacred, and most dire consequences are said to overtake the sacrilegious who should so far forget himself as to violate the sanctity of the Pool of Pir Chhatta by feasting on its protected fish. We threw a few handfuls of grain into the pool. * * * * * Whilst we thus amused ourselves, the hermit, probably fearful of our

annexing a few of the fish for dinner, recounted some wonderful instances he knew of the agonised deaths produced by so rash an act. But he was eclipsed by an attendant orderly, who gravely assured us that a comrade of his—a trooper of the Sindh Irregular Horse—had, on one occasion when passing that way, taken one of these fish, cut it up and cooked it. ‘And what happened?’ angrily asked the hermit. ‘By the power of God’ he answered ‘the wicked wretch was seized immediately after with the most excruciating pains in his internals. He rolled on the ground in agony, and repeated *taubas* and *ustagh jarullahs* (repentances and God-forgive-me’s) without number, calling on ‘all the saints and prophets to intercede for him.’ ‘And he died!’ chimed in the hermit with a triumphant air. ‘No,’ said the other; ‘God is great and such is His merey, he got up and went amongst the bushes, groaning and moaning with agony. Presently he returned quite another being, perfectly well and happy, with the fish alive in his hand, and upbraiding him for his want of faith and veneration and directing its restoration to its own element.’ ‘God’s ways are inscrutable,’ said the hermit; adding with ineffable pride, ‘our pure Prophet heard his prayers, our blessed saint of this sacred spot interceded for him; God the Almighty, accepted his repentance.’”

Well acquainted, as our author is, with the true character of Islamism, his remarks on the effect of the Mahammadan system are valuable. He concludes the story of the pool of Pir Chhatta, with the following comment :—

“The blind credulity of the Mahammadan in all that concerns his Prophet and saints, their sayings and their doings, their precepts and examples, affords an interesting field for inquiry for the psychologist. Such investigation would, I believe, establish it as a fact, that the obstinate yet passive resistance of Mahammadans to the free advance of western civilization amongst them, is owing almost entirely to the spirit of bigotry, created by their religion and cherished by their literature, for the one is a mere reflection of the other.”

Efforts are now being made by Mr. Forsyth and others for the extension of trade in Central Asia, and we hope their attention will soon be directed to the resources of Afghanistan as well as those of Yarkand. Dr. Bellew writes :—

“I was told by a merchant engaged in the trade, that the average export of wool from Kandahar to Karachi for the past ten years has been about five thousand candies (kaodi) annually. Each candy sells at Karachi for from one hundred and fifty rupees, thus giving a profit to the province of from seventy-five thousand to one hundred thousand rupees a year, or £7,500 to 10,000. The trade is capable of considerable extension, for large quantities of wool are still retained for home consumption, in the manufacture of felts.”

The ill-judged conduct of the present Amir of Cabul, in the nomination of his youngest son Abdullah as heir to the throne, has been a subject of discussion in our English journals for some time. We are introduced to the father-in-law of this lad, whose good luck is likely, at no distant day, to disturb the peace of Afghanistan. It is pretty generally believed that this ruler of Kandahar has been the chief adviser of Shir Ali Khan, in the nomination of Abdullah Jan as heir apparent to the exclusion of Yakub Khan.

“Sardar Mir Afzal Khan is a fine specimen of an Afghan noble of the old style. His bearing is courteous and dignified with a tinge of hauteur. He was very well dressed, and mounted on a handsome Arab horse, with trappings of solid gold. At his side hung a scimitar with a gold embossed handle, and

gold ornaments on the scabbard. His head was closely shaven, and covered with a splendid Kashmir shawl, the folds of which were not so closely adjusted as they might have been; for the motion of his horse more than once caused the head piece to rock dangerously, as if about to fall. Mir Afzal Khan is about sixty years old, and wears a short beard dyed red. He has sharp Jewish features, and a very prominent nose, and is said to bear a strong resemblance to the late Amir Dost Mahammad Khan."

At Kandahar they halted four days, and Dr. Bellew once more found himself in the citadel which was his prison-house for thirteen months, when he accompanied Lumsden's Mission in 1857-58. "The demeanor of the crowd was quiet and orderly, and their looks "expressive of good will;" a proof that the feelings of the people are more friendly to the English than our pseudo-ally, Shir Ali Khan, would have us believe.

"The discontent of the people is universal, and many a secret prayer is offered up for a speedy return of the British, and many a sigh expresses the regret that they ever left the country. Our just rule and humanity, our care of the friendless sick, our charitable treatment of the poor, and the wealth we scattered amongst the people, are now remembered with gratitude, and eager is the hope of our return."

Dr. Bellew attributes this earnest desire for a return of British rule to a threefold cause,—the tyranny under which they now groan, their practical experience of our rule in 1838-39, and the glowing accounts they receive from their returning merchants of the prosperity, happiness and liberty that reign in India under the British Government.

The picture of the actual state of Kandahar is far from cheering, and the more so, when we remember that the present "Central Asian Policy" is to keep up this state of things and to allow Shir Ali Khan to act entirely in accordance with his own views of right and wrong.

The people were anxious to represent their grievances to Sir F. R. Pollock, but "sentries were posted round us with strict orders to "prevent the people from holding any communication with us, lest "we should hear their complaints." Such being the case at Kandahar, it is not surprising that objections should be raised to Englishmen visiting Cabul which enjoys the enlightened rule of Amir Shir Ali Khan himself. Kandahar is now governed by "three sets of "rulers," and the consequence of this triangular arrangement is that the people are effectually crushed and bewildered. "They know "not who are their rulers and in vain seek redress from one to the "other, only to find themselves fleeced in turn." And yet the political energies of England are being exerted to keep up a *neutral zone* of independent governments, such as those of Cabul and Kandahar,—whereas it must be of the highest importance to British India not merely by whom Afghanistan is governed, but *how* it is governed. The people of Kandahar, we are told, would welcome any fresh set of rulers, whether British, Persian, or Russian.

The English Embassy appear to have been well treated during their stay, every preparation having been made for their comfort,—the rich furniture of their apartments being the confiscated property of one of the Amir's brothers!

At Giriskh they met an intelligent Afghan ruler who, much to Dr. Bellew's astonishment, appeared to have become acquainted with the contents of his book containing an account of his journey to Kandahar in 1857-58.

"I asked how the book got to Cabul, and learned that it had been taken there by Kazi Abdul Kadir, to whom I gave a copy when he was a Government servant at Peshawar. The Kazi had learnt English at the Mission school at that frontier station, and possessed of my book, was now the interpreter of its pages in Cabul. I attempted to explain that the book was not meant for Afghan readers, and the Saggid very good naturedly helped me out of the difficulty, by saying that his people were now accustomed to the hard words of foreigners by reading the English newspapers and other books brought to the country from India. He expressed astonishment at the freedom of the press, and could not understand how any Government could exist under such uncontrolled discussion of its acts."

During their journey through the country of Kandahar the English guests were placed under the escort of Colonel Taji Mahammad, who is a good specimen of the better side of the Afghan character.

"I was sorry to lose the colonel's society, for he generally accompanied me on my deviations from the beaten track, and proved himself a very agreeable and intelligent character. He obtained his promotion for good service at the siege and capture of Herat in 1863 under the late Amir Dost Mahammad Khan. He is one of the most intelligent and least prejudiced Afghans of his class I have ever met with, and in our rambles together gave me a fund of information regarding his people, and the portions of country he had visited. Like all Afghans he was a keen sportsman, and with a common smooth-bore military musket, of the now nearly extinct Brown Bess pattern, made some remarkably good 'pot shots' at eighty yards, considering his ammunition was home-made gunpowder, and roughly rolled pellets cut from pencils of lead. He took leave of us with many sincere expressions of regret at our separation, and committed us to 'the protection of God,' with all sorts of good wishes for our welfare and prosperity. Towards those he treats as his friends, the Afghan can make himself very agreeable, and in this phase his character is of the most winning kind. His straightforward friendliness, his independent bearing, and freedom from flattery and obsequiousness, coupled with unbounded hospitality and unceasing attention to the wants of his honored guest, are sure to captivate the stranger, and blind him to the fact that he has a dark side to his character, and that a very trivial circumstance may serve to disclose it."

This dark side of the Afghan character is faithfully portrayed in a graphic description of Sardar Ibrahim Khan, the lord of Chakansur.

"He is a thorough barbarian, slovenly in dress, loud in voice, and rough in manner. He has coarse repulsive features, and a very unhealthy sallow complexion, the results of a long life of dissipation and debauchery. His coming out to meet us is, we are told, a great compliment, for he is very proud of his independence, and has never done as much honor to any Afghan king, or other potentate. He is very popular amongst his people on account of his

liberality and courage, but is said to be subject to fits of insanity, brought on by the excessive abuse of *charras*. On these occasions he shuts himself up in a tower of his fort with one of his wives or a couple of African slave boys for a week at a time, his only guards being a number of savage dogs he keeps for hunting the wild boar. The immense quantities of snuff he uses quite muddle his brains in the intervals when they are not deprived of intelligence by drugs."

After they had parted with this horrible specimen of fallen humanity, they discovered that he was the actual murderer of Dr. Forbes, who visited those parts in 1842. It appears that the murder of the unfortunate doctor was quite unpremeditated and was committed in a freak of intoxication.

If the people of Cabul are well up in English news and politics, the reverse is the case with the Afghans on the borders of Sistan.

"Their knowledge of geography was of the scantiest; of history they knew simply nothing: whilst of European politics their ideas were of the haziest kind; 'who are these Pruss who have beaten the French?' said Mardan Khan, 'outside Islam we only know of three nations to the west—the English, French and Russians. But now people talk of the Pruss: who are they? where do they come from? They must be a great nation if it is true that they have defeated the French.'"

The object of the Political Mission was the settlement of a dispute between the Shah of Persia and the Amir of Cabul with reference to the country of Sistan, and some portion of the work under review is devoted to an account of that country. The precise limits of Sistan appear to be difficult to define.

"The old name of Sagestan or Sijistan, it appears, applied to the great basin of the hydrographic system that centred in the ancient lakes, and which is represented by the plains of Kandahar and the valleys connected with it through their drainage. It extends eastward to the vicinity of Ghazni, and southward to the plains of Shorawak; whilst to the northward it includes the valleys of the Arandab and upper Helmand, called Zamindawar, and further eastward those of the Farrah river and the Harut Rud or Adraskand, which drains the Sabzawar, or, as it is commonly written, Ispzar district. The modern name of Sistan is applied only to the actual bed of the former lake that at some remote pre-historic period occupied the south-west portion of Afghanistan."

The writer dwells somewhat tediously upon the definition of the exact limits of Sistan, and as the work is not accompanied with a map the account is almost unintelligible to the ordinary reader.

"The climate of Sistan is decidedly insalubrious and unfavorable to healthy growth and comfort of both man and beast. The natives of the country are of inferior development and their principal employments are agriculture and breeding cattle. The language current in Sistan is a mixed dialect of Persian in which are found many Pushto, Baloch and Turki words.

"In the division of Nadir's empire, Sistan, as much from geographical position as from political necessity, became incorporated with the new kingdom of Afghanistan, and it has since continued to form an integral part of the Durrani monarchy until its recent annexation and occupation by the Persians."

Some efforts have recently been made by philanthropists in England towards measures being taken to suppress slavery in

Afghanistan, whereas the existence of it has been questioned by some of the Indian journals. It of course exists in Central Asia in a much more respectable (?) form than in western Africa, the vile traffic being sanctioned by the Mahammadan religion. Dr. Bellew bears undisputed testimony to the existence of slavery in the dominions of the Amir of Cabul.

"I was informed on reliable authority, that most of the slave girls employed as domestics in the houses of the gentry at Kandahar were brought from the outlying districts of Ghayn."

We confess we can see no difference whatever in the moral phase of the question, whether slavery is tolerated in the Christian plantation of America, or in the Mahammadan harem of Afghanistan, indeed we think it highly probable that the condition of the slave under a Christian master would be infinitely better than that of one under a Mahammadan polygamist. It is surely then a subject for legitimate enquiry why it should be suppressed under one condition, and yet tolerated in the other.

The limits of our *Review* do not permit us to follow Dr. Bellew's interesting narrative in all its details of a journey from the Indus to the Tigris. His account of Persia is not more encouraging than that of Kandahar. The "irksome forms of Persian etiquette" give an appearance of more advanced civilization, but, to quote the words of the old Afghan of Ghazni, "The country is gone. There is neither religion, justice, nor mercy to be found in the land. We (he was a Shia) in Kabul, look to Persia as the centre of all that is good in Islam, but Afghanistan, with all its faults, is a better country to live in."

There was much in the city of Bagdad to present a pleasing contrast to the dreary mud cities of Central Asia.

"We visited the 'City of the Khalifs,' its bazars, and its public buildings, and in the salutations and friendly looks of Jew and Turk, Arab and Armenian, had ample evidence of the popularity of, at least, the British Resident. We witnessed a review of the Turkish troops—splendid men, admirably equipped, and armed with the Snider pattern breech-loader. * * * We were enabled to visit the admiralty workshops, the ordnance stores, barracks, hospitals, and other military establishments. The discipline, organization, and thorough order pervading all departments, took me completely by surprise; but for the red cap everywhere, I might have thought myself in Europe inspecting the barracks of a French or German garrison town. * * * The messing and dicting of the men in barracks and in hospital were assimilated to the European system, and attracted my special attention, as so much simpler than, and superior to, the complex and inefficient arrangements that, subservient to the caste prejudices of the natives, are in vogue amongst the troops of our Indian army. * * * We visited the jail, too, and saw a number of Hamayand and Arab prisoners, brethren of the ruffians through whom we had run the gauntlet scatheless, all heavily laden with chains—veritable chains, weighing sixty or seventy pounds, coiled round their loins and limbs. The light of Western improvement had not yet shed its rays on this department, and we found the criminals savage, uncared for and filthy, crowded together in an open yard, weighed down by the load of their chains, and guarded by military sentries posted on the overlooking walls."

We reluctantly part company with the author as he stands on the banks of the Tigris, contemplating the more advanced civilization of the city of Baghdad. Our selections from this interesting book of travels give but a very meagre idea of the narrative. If the reader is occasionally wearied with the somewhat official character of much of the information, recording as it does the temperature, the height of mountains, the *exact hour* of departure, together with hundreds of unintelligible names of places rendered doubly unintelligible by the new Romanized system, he is more than repaid for his patient toils, by those graphic sketches of Oriental character with which the work abounds. Whatever there may be wanting in the general structure of the narrative, or in its literary style, is doubtless to be attributed to the fact that the work was compiled "at odd hours" "between the duties of an onerous charge in the principal frontier station of India." No one can carefully peruse the pages of the work without feeling that he is travelling under the direction of a safe guide. Truth and common sense have never been sacrificed to increase the interest of a story and yet many of the sketches contain that "romance of real life" which is all the more interesting because it is true.

As we have before remarked the learned author is now just returning from Yarkand, and we may hope soon to have an account of that country also from his able pen.

T. P. H.

ART. IX.—REV. LEVI SPAULDING, D. D.

THE death of the late Rev. Levi Spaulding, D. D., of the Mission of the American Board in Ceylon, was announced in the first Number of this *Review* as occurring on the 18th of June 1873. It may be late for an obituary notice, but the story of such a life, covering more than fifty years of missionary service, can hardly be untimely told.

Levi Spaulding was born in one of the hill towns of southern New Hampshire, in central New England, of parents who traced their lineage directly to the original puritans of Massachusetts Bay. He was one of the youngest of a family of eleven children, ten of whom attained an average age of over seventy-two years, and three of whom, including the subject of this sketch, lived to be more than eighty years old. Their parents reared this numerous family on a farm, supporting them by their own labor, and training them all to a life of hard work in summer and hard study in winter, during the brief three months of free schooling, which even the poorest children of New England may always enjoy, and which often proves the sufficient stimulus to a life of study in after years.

Young Spaulding worked his own way through Dartmouth College and Andover Seminary with but little help from any one. The ringing of the chapel bell, the sweeping of the recitation rooms, the sawing of a tutor's wood-pile, were all the welcome employment of his leisure hours, and each winter found him spending the vacation and a part of the succeeding term, in teaching some village school, in the determined effort to acquire a liberal education. It was not till near the close of his four years' college course that he became a decided Christian. At that time the town and college were the scene of a powerful revival of religion, and Mr. Spaulding always dated at once his conversion and his consecration to the missionary work from that time of general religious awakening.

After completing his course of study in the Theological Seminary, he spent a year or more in teaching, in order to pay off his college debt, and in waiting for the removal of other obstacles to his going out as a missionary to the heathen. At length the way opened before him, and on the 8th of June 1819, Mr. and Mrs. Spaulding embarked for India with Messrs. Seudder, Winslow and Woodward, and their wives, all destined to northern Ceylon where Messrs. Meigs, Poor, Richards and Warren had commenced a mission but three years before. They landed in Calcutta, and, leaving one of their number there for a time with his invalid wife, proceeded to Trincomallee. From Trincomallee they intended to make their way through the jungle to Jaffna, but failing to get conveyance for all, Messrs. Winslow and Spaulding took passage for Colombo, where they arrived

but a short time before Governor Brownrigg left for England. "Father" Spaulding (as he was often called in later years) always loved to dwell upon this special providence. "The missionaries lost no time in calling upon His Excellency, who kindly gave them a passport and leave for them and their associates to labor in Jaffna. Sir Edward Barnes, who was to succeed his Excellency as acting governor, remonstrated with him for allowing them to remain in the island; but Governor Brownrigg replied 'Sir Edward, while I remain in the island I am governor: they have my passport and my sanction to reside in Jaffna, and to Jaffna they shall go.'" "Had the missionaries," the old record proceeds, "found conveyance from Trincomallee, or had they been even three days later in reaching Colombo, the whole reinforcement would probably have been sent away from the island." That this was even more than "probable" is evident from subsequent events. When a missionary printer arrived in the following year in the midst of the rainy season he was compelled to leave the island at once; and for thirteen years from that time no more American missionaries landed in Ceylon.

Armed with this special passport for themselves and their associates, Messrs. Spaulding and Winslow arrived in Jaffna on the 18th of February, 1820. They found the mission enfeebled by the death of Mr. Warren and the ill-health of Mr. Richards, and greatly crippled by the lack of funds. In those early days of difficult and uncertain communication with friends at home our missionaries were often temporarily embarrassed. Houses of credit and bills of exchange were not yet at their command; Spanish dollars brought from America were at a discount and did not last long; borrowing was uncertain and interest high; the local authorities were inimical, and the Secretary of State had not yet given them, as a mission, formal leave to be. But, in the face of all these obstacles they resolved to open at least one new station, and commenced clearing away the rubbish, and cutting the banians from the broken walls at Oodooville. A roof was added and partly thatched, and in June 1820, about a year from the date of their embarkation, and while there was no door nor window nor even any floor, Winslow and Spaulding moved into the renovated walls of an old house once occupied by a Franciscan friar. Meanwhile, Scudder, proposing to fit up a station at his own expense and be refunded when the treasury would allow, was licensed to preach and stationed at Panditeripo, where he repaired the ruins of another Romish church of the Portuguese period.

Mr. Spaulding and his associates now numbered seven men; but two of the seven were in such feeble health that the hostile governor's boast seemed only too well founded in the doctrine of probabilities. The missionaries, however, put their trust in God, and their history is a striking illustration of his faithfulness, and his power to restrain the wrath of man, or overrule it to his own praise.

Sir Edward Barnes ceased to rule in 1830; in 1832 the mission was allowed to ask for help from home; and large reinforcements arrived in the next, and in other subsequent years. Meanwhile, of the men who would "soon die," one passed away just before the ban upon reinforcements was removed; while the rest survived for many years. Indeed, five of the seven attained an average term of service of over forty years, surviving the time of Sir Edward Barnes and the subsequent reinforcement of the mission, and thus the immediate necessity for their preservation in life and health, by an extreme term of forty, an average term of thirty, and an aggregate term of one hundred and fifty years of active missionary service.

The fifty-fourth anniversary of his embarkation at Boston, was the last Sabbath but one of Father Spaulding's life. When reminded of the associations of the day, he told once more the story of the farewell meeting, the setting forth, the novel experiences of the first days at sea, and the closing incidents of the long journey, in feeble tones, but as freshly and distinctly as though each event were of yesterday. Resting a little he added, "I have been thinking of what Sir Edward said, 'Even if these stay, no more shall come and these will soon die and the mission become extinct.' Fifty-three years have passed since then; and we are still here, long after many more have come and gone, and our work goes on. God's Providence has been very good in this."

Father Spaulding resided for a few years at other stations, but his name will always be associated with Oodooville, where he was first placed, and where his life-work was chiefly done. There he lived for more than forty years; and there he witnessed or achieved the manifold results of his long life—the great revivals of 1824 and 1831 and subsequent years; the sad decline and fall of not a few who did run well for a time; the gradual growth of a church of more than a hundred members; the baptisms and marriages and deaths of almost two generations of native Christians; the burial of not a few of his companions; the coming and going of many more;—in fact all the varying phases of fifty years of missionary life; and there at last he himself was laid to rest by a throng of mourning friends, scarcely one of whom had begun to be when he began to work, and very few of whom had ever known him as any other than the venerable Father Spaulding.

This long term of service was interrupted by no severe illness, and by only one visit to America. A strong constitution, a quiet temperament, and a wisely rigid habit of self-control in diet, exercise and labor, aided the special providence of God in preserving the boon of vigorous health to the limit of extreme old age. There was never any display of carefulness in these matters; on the contrary, his appetite and digestion and endurance of exposure were almost notorious. Apparently, eating anything at any hour, never taking exercise for its own sake, rarely carrying an umbrella or

wearing a pith hat,—some may have thought him reckless of the laws of health, an exception to all rules; but there is evidence that he was quite rigid in conforming to the teaching of his own experience in these details. For example, it was his rule “so to eat, “that the intellect will work as clearly after eating as before.” He was careful to keep cool in blood and in temper: “I do not “remember ever to have seen him flustered or to have heard “him fret about any thing or any body,” is the remarkable testimony of an associate for thirty years. Indian missionaries know how much this implies of habitual self-control. Though never seeking relaxation as such, he found it in a daily change of labor. For many years it was his habit to start for the villages at four P. M., and though always keeping some literary work well on hand, he cared most sedulously for every interest of the Church and the station, and watched over each girl in the boarding school, conducting their daily devotions, and teaching them all to pray in his study, and in the school. He believed it to be the missionaries’ privilege and duty to seek and expect a long life even in India; and he well illustrated the maxim that the missionaries’ life, more than that of most other men, is valuable in proportion to its length.

This long life was even more than proportionately abundant in literary labors. With characteristic modesty he left no record of these, and it is probably impossible now to give him credit for all that he wrote; but it is enough to mention some of the well known results of his toil. His English and Tamil, and Tamil dictionaries, in repeated editions, are the standard, if not the only works of their kind to this day; and of them both he left a final manuscript revision ready for the press. What is known as Winslow’s Tamil and English Lexicon owed not a little of its excellence to him. He was prominent in the preparation of the tentative version of the Bible, famous for its elegant Tamil and its transliteration of the name of the Deity. He did much to prepare the way for the recent union version which he accepted that it might be a union version, and of which, though but recently completed, he left a copy carefully revised from beginning to end. His translation of the Pilgrim’s Progress is as notable for its pure idiomatic Tamil, as for its happy fidelity to the form and spirit of the original. These greater works, with more than thirty of the regular series of the Jaffna Auxiliary Tract Society, numerous occasional tracts and hand-bills, many contributions to the local vernacular papers, a Bible Dictionary, a Scripture Text Book, and a Scripture History, more than fifty thousand copies of which have been printed for our schools, and more than fifty hymns, both original and translated, embodied in repeated revisions of the original Tamil hymn-book, are among the fruits of his untiring industry. Nor was he in any sense a superficial student. The permanent popularity of his dictionaries evinces their excellence; in the study of the Scriptures he maintained to the last the

habit of frequently referring to the original of the Old Testament, as well as the New; and his knowledge of the Bible was that of one who for fifty years had read no other book on the Sabbath-day.

But extensive as were his literary labors, they were ever subordinate to what he considered the first duty of the missionary, the preaching of the Gospel. So much did he magnify his office in this, that he would never resign to others the pastoral and pulpit service of the Church at his station, and this not so much from distrust of the native ministry as from a sense of personal duty and privilege. The very fulness of his consecration, the intensity of his devotion to the work of preaching the Gospel to the heathen, as that work was understood fifty years ago, kept him from fully appreciating the modern theory of teaching the natives as fast as possible to depend entirely upon themselves.

He dwelt much upon the direct responsibility of the missionary to the Master rather than to any church or society or secretary at home; and, though never insubordinate, it grieved him to have the dictates of local experience over-ruled by the general maxims of distant theorists.

The history of their struggle cannot be given here, but it is worth remembering that Father Spaulding and his associates first vindicated the American missionary's right to send home his children and go home himself when necessary, in opposition to the old notion of duty to keep his children with him and die on the field.

Though a very gentle man, Mr. Spaulding formed decided opinions, and held them tenaciously, and could stand firmly for what he thought to be right, and rebuke fearlessly what he felt to be wrong; but these were not the prominent traits of his character.

The crowning excellence of this good man was *unselfishness* in the most comprehensive sense of that term, including the natural traits of modesty, gentleness, kindness and generosity, as well as the acquired graces of humility, self-denial and self-sacrifice in the exercise of disinterested benevolence—in a word, the queenly *charity* which Paul describes, the distinctively Christian grace of unselfishness. This includes a great deal, but no more than all who have known Father Spaulding have found in him. This many-sided comprehensive quality was illustrated in almost every phase of his character and incident of his life.

One testifies: "I do not remember his ever asking"—in thirty years—"for any repairs to be made, or mission money to be expended for the promotion of his own personal comfort and convenience. He rarely spoke of himself or his doings, of where he had been or whom he had seen. The most interesting incidents of his work were usually drawn out by questions in our meetings or were mentioned incidentally in his reports."

He was too truly modest to publicly decline the title of D. D.; but out of regard for his feelings and at his special request, his missionary associates refrained from calling him Doctor Spaulding

He never allowed his name to appear on the title page of his numerous works, and seemed really pained by the compliments and attentions in which it is the foible of many really good men to take peculiar satisfaction.

While visiting America, he addressed the students of the Union Seminary in New York, and in deprecating the rivalry of sects at home, unconsciously illustrated in himself the unselfishness of sects: "You have," said he, "in every town, your Baptists, your Methodists, your Episcopalians, your—your—I can't think of the name, I used to belong to them myself before I went out;"—and so evidently genuine was his forgetfulness that it gave the young men a new conception of missionary catholicity.

Indeed the meek and quiet grace of modesty was quite unique in him—almost "the ruling passion strong in death"—shown in the words, "Let no words of praise or blame be uttered over my remains," and in the plan, found among his papers after death, of a grave beneath a palmyra palm with a simple tablet bearing only the brief inscription "Levi and Mary"—"Asleep in Jesus."

Still more remarkable was the subjection of his own preferences to the decision of the Mission. He once said, "I was never truly happy till I was willing to be the little finger of the Mission;" and at another time, "Early in my missionary life I made up my mind that if I could not do any good in the world, I would at least try to do no harm, and that if I could not persuade my brethren to work with me, I would not fail to work heartily with them." "He would never contend with his brethren; if he could not conciliate, he would be silent." His heart was almost broken by the disbanding of Batticotta Seminary and the giving up of all English instruction in our schools, but he did not go home or secede from the Mission, but kept at work uttering his protest, and making the best of it when overruled.

In the Union Bible and Tract Societies, of which he was for many years the honored chairman, and in which men from different missions were sometimes constrained to differ and tempted to dispute, he would always check this tendency by the gentle words, "My young brethren, we must try to work together, there is no other way."

Children choose their friends shrewdly, and they always loved him. In the Sabbath school his pupils were always the little girls from the village schools. The affectionate solicitude with which he watched over each girl in the boarding-school, has already been described. The children of native Christians were as Christ's little ones to him; and the children of missionaries were peculiarly dear. We can never forget the kindly greetings, the coming by messenger of a fruit or flower "from uncle Spaulding," the quaint notes and longer letters with which he was wont to celebrate our birthdays even when far away, and the peculiar affection with which he welcomed back and cherished as his own children those who returned to their

early home. It would be easy to multiply illustrations of this rare unselfishness, but enough has been written to show that he was indeed "as a child set in our midst"—Christ's model for his disciples.

He was also a living illustration of the Gospel paradox of unselfishness. "He that loseth his life shall find it." How fully he "found" in length of days, and health, and great work well done, and honor, and influence, and esteem, must be already evident in some degree. "Some men achieve greatness" for themselves, and whatever their position, or influence, or estimation for ability, it bears the stamp and is subject to the discount of self-seeking and self-finding; but this man, though self-renouncing to the last degree, rather because of his unselfishness, was peculiarly honored and beloved. His hold upon the native community was something wonderful. Even the heathen greatly venerated him and attached a superstitious regard to his favor or displeasure. The news of his final illness spread far and wide, and the rumors of his sleeplessness and suffering moved the whole community. His sick room commanded a view, across the compound, of the high-way along which people were constantly passing; and scarcely one went by without stopping and watching for a glimpse through the hedge and the window of the form of the dying Christian teacher. The Christians claimed the right to a nearer approach, and came in throngs from all parts of the Province for a last interview with their beloved missionary father. He could not see them all, but it was hard to resist their pleading for leave to speak with him for a single moment, or stand and fan him as he slept, or even pass through the adjoining room and look once more upon his dear face from afar. The unwearied devotion of all the native attendants was well proven by such an illness. He died of no acute disease, but simply of old age; it was not the breaking of the pitcher at the fountain, but the loosening of the silver cord. With but little severe pain, with no loss of consciousness or dimming of mental vision, there were increasing weakness, and sleeplessness, and distress for breath, and loss of vital power, until he fell asleep. Twenty days of such symptoms tested well the strength and patience of all concerned. His patience never failed, but it was evidently a trial to him to have his attendants changed, and seeing this a chosen few put from them all offers of assistance and continued to the end denying themselves sleep and exercise, and counting no menial service repugnant that could minister to his comfort.

It is hardly necessary to say more of the esteem in which he was held by those friends of his own race who knew him well, but two of the numerous tributes to his memory called forth by his death shall be quoted here in honor to the grace that made him worthy of such praise. Says one whose words we have already quoted more than once:—

"His was the greatness of service of one who sought not to be minis-

tered unto but to minister. The honor rendered to him was real love and respect with no mingling of envy, jealousy, or fear; and his memory will ever be cherished in affection in all hearts, a memory unsullied by the remembrance of any hasty, unkind, or cutting words, or any deeds not actuated by love."

Another writes from America, whither he returned nearly thirty years ago:—

"I can hardly say that the departure of Brother Spaulding has occasioned the recall of scenes in which we both were engaged; for indeed those scenes have never been for any long time out of my mind. In the frequent conversations which I have had with others on missionary subjects, Brother Spaulding has been eminently prominent. I have quoted his well remembered remarks on various important themes on many occasions as high authority; and very sure am I, that the influence of his mind and character is to be felt in both Jaffna and Madura for generations to come; and that by native preachers as well as by missionaries. I believe there is to be a purer and loftier tone of religion in the limits of the American Tamil Missions, because he lived, than there would have been had he never lived amongst them; and this even if I should suppose that one or two others had been in his place and had done the actual work he accomplished, but with only the average spirit of missionary goodness. I believe this because after so many years in America, I find myself guided and checked at times by the remembrance of advice he gave, or remarks he made. I am confident that I am a better and more useful man from having known Levi Spaulding than I would have been had I never known him; and I take it for granted that others feel the same. A few of the sayings of others among the brethren remain with me in like manner, but I learned more of Bible wisdom from Brother Spaulding than from all the rest."

With these fitly spoken words of praise this sketch must close. It has already transgressed the limits assigned and perhaps the proper scope of this *Review*, but only by a painful process of repression has it been made even so brief as this. Such a life is rare enough to deserve a faithful scanning, and we take it for granted that it will impress others as it did all those who shared it in any degree, and that every reader will be grateful for the impulse it must afford towards becoming "a better and more useful man."

Mrs. Spaulding still survives, having shared nearly every incident of her husband's long term of service. Gifted with a temperament peculiarly complimentary to his, she was indeed an help *meet* for him, and labored with him, his equal in her sphere; and doubtless, no missionary's wife has ever lived longer or accomplished more than she. One daughter and five grand-children in America desire her return; but she naturally feels bound to her life-long home,—and "Where thou diest will I die, and there will I be buried." We rejoice to have it so, and count it a precious privilege to care for one who with rare efficiency has cared for so many in her days of more active service.

ART. X.—NOTES AND INTELLIGENCE.

WE have found it a matter of no small difficulty to collect, from the numerous and widely scattered mission stations of India, the statistical information which should enable us to give even a tolerably correct numerical statement of the actual progress of Christianity during 1873. Missionaries are a busy class; few have the time, and fewer still the inclination to pour over record books and cull from their pages the items asked by our circular of inquiry. There also seems to be an innate unwillingness in human nature to furnish certain kinds of useful information—especially statistical—on demand. This unwillingness our own experience in the present case illustrates in a very satisfactory manner. The original plan was to give, in the last number of this *Review*, not alone the total number of adherents to Christianity gained during 1873 from among the heathen, so far as that could be inferred from the number of adult baptisms, but also to state, with some degree of accuracy, the number of converts coming respectively from the high, the middle, and the lowest ranks of Indian society. Circumstances required the execution of the plan to be delayed until the present time; and the inspection of only a few of the answers returned to the circulars which were sent out made it evident that the last part of the plan must be entirely abandoned. Thanks are due to those gentlemen who sent promptly and fully the information desired; and to many others, who doubtless intended to do so, but forgot it. Free use has been made of mission reports, whenever necessary and possible, as well as of the answers returned by individual missionaries. Yet the returns are incomplete. Such as they are, however, we present them, giving in detail the missions in connection with which over 100 baptisms are reported, and lumping the remainder:—

Gossner's Evangelical Mission, Chota Nagpur,	1,731
Church Mission, South India, adult baptisms 882; increase in communicants, ...	1,091
American Baptist Mission among the Telugus,	708
London Mission, South India and Travancore,	299
American Methodists, North India,	235
Basel Evangelical Mission, South India,	228
American Baptist Mission, Assam,	173
Irish Presbyterian Mission, Guzarat,	154
American Marathi Mission,	116
Indian Home Mission to the Santhals,	108
Other Missions, less than 100 each,	437
	5,280

To this may be added the number reported by the American Baptists of Burma—1,044, which swells the amount to 6,324. We regret that Ceylon is not represented; but judging from the average annual increase in the number of communicants during the decade 1860-70, it may be safe to assume the increase for 1873 as not far from 150.

These accessions are not, *in all cases*, from among the heathen. Some children of Christian parents are included in the above enumeration, but the number is probably not large. Another cause of some slight

error lies in the fact that some mission reports, which were used in preparing the above summary, close with September 30—thus including a part of 1872, and omitting a part of 1873. It must also be remembered that different missions have different standards for judging of the fitness of candidates. While some missionaries are in the habit of baptizing any who seem willing to place themselves under Christian instruction, others demand evidence of an actual change of heart. The above figures do not, therefore, in all cases, although we believe they do in nearly all cases, represent the number of actual conversions from among the heathen; some who have given up their idolatry and have embraced, in an outward manner, the Christian religion, though they are not as yet actual converts, are doubtless included in the summary given. Making allowances both for the errors which have crept into our generalization from the above sources, and on the other hand remembering that some missions are not reported at all, we believe that the actual number of converts to Christianity from among the heathen, during 1873, may be set down as about 5,000; or including Burma and Ceylon, considerably over 6,000.

These results afford opportunity for a few useful comparisons. Newspapers in this country, edited by Hindus, of all grades of respectability, from the *Indian Mirror* down, take occasion to point out, at suitable intervals, the fact of the stupendous failure which has been achieved by Christian missions in India. English papers are found to join in the chorus; and the thing is proclaimed with such vigor and persistency, and with such a lofty disregard of the facts in the case, as doubtless to produce the conviction in some timid and poorly informed minds, that it is true. Now missionaries are as willing and ready as any to acknowledge that the progress of Indian missions is slow. The results thus far attained are far below what Christians have desired—nay even longed for. No one mourns more continually and more truly over the smallness of present results and the slowness of present growth than the Christian missionary himself. Causes may be adduced—perhaps satisfactory; but the fact is confessed, and that by all missionaries. This however is not confessing that our work here is a failure. The great Hoosac Tunnel which has just been completed in Massachusetts is not a failure because it took twenty years to bore through the mountain, or because the work at times moved forward slowly. Rome was not a failure because it was not built in a day. The universe is not a failure because unnumbered eons of time have passed since its foundations were laid. Christianity in India is not a failure because it has not succeeded, in one century of missionary effort—during the first half of which missionary operations were feeble, few and ill-directed,—in destroying a system of religion, in a country so vast as this, and among a population so teeming as that of India, which had become firmly imbedded in the hearts, the literature, the habits and the life of the people, and to which centuries of custom make them cling with true Oriental tenacity. Five thousand accessions, however, in one year, small and insignificant though the number is, yet show that the work is going on—slowly indeed, but none the less surely. But for our comparisons.

During the eleven years closing with 1861, the average annual increase in the number of communicants in the native churches of India, was 938. During the next ten years, closing with 1871, the average annual increase

was 2,784, about three times as great as during the previous eleven years. Our own figures show that the increase last year may probably be reckoned at 5,000, or nearly double the annual average of the last decade, and more than five times the average for the eleven years preceeding that. Or if we turn to the gain in nominal Christians, we find that during the eleven years, 1850-61, the annual average gain was 4,331. During the next decade it was 8,553—about double. Our inquiries do not enable us to state how large the accession of merely nominal Christians was last year. Again—if we inquire into the number of native preachers, ordained and unordained, we shall find that between 1850 and 1861 that number increased from 514 to 1,363; and between 1861 and 1871 it rose to 2,210. The number of Christian congregations, also, rose from 267 in 1850 to 971 in 1861, and 2,278 in 1871. These figures do not include Burma and Ceylon. The number of communicants in Burma, however, in 1861 was 18,439, and in 1871, 20,514. In Ceylon, 3,859 in 1861, and 5,164 in 1871.

We would be the last to claim that these figures denote rapid progress. We contemplate with sorrow the comparatively meagre results—so far as statistics express them—which Christian work has as yet attained in Hindustan. Yet we do claim that these statistics afford reason for encouragement; and that the facts above presented furnish a much better cause for grief to the enemies of Christianity than to its friends.

We have not the slightest expectation, however, that the unfriendly critics of the missionary enterprise will at all cease to proclaim the “fact” of the failure of Christian missions, and to dilate upon the effete, and worn out, and exhausted, and antiquated condition of Christianity generally. We do not give these statistics with the least hope of influencing in the least their manner of speaking on this subject. We do not suppose that they will make any effort to find out what the truth in the matter really is. And if some one should happen to have facts like those we have now presented thrust upon his attention,—and such facts are put forth quite frequently—it is always easy to escape from the conclusion to which they naturally lead, by a course which amounts to saying that the figures are taken from mission reports, and that, when their own work is concerned, missionaries always tell lies. The recent Pastoral from Nagpur affords a most convenient ambush behind which to hide, and from which to send forth another volley of the well-known cry that “missions are a failure.” The class of editors of which we speak have shown their usual alacrity in availing themselves of the opportunity offered.

As the result of a discussion in the Calcutta Missionary Conference, a series of out-door meetings has been lately held in various parts of Calcutta. Missionaries have preached both in English and Bengali. The series began with a meeting in the Maidan, which was largely attended; and this meeting was followed up by others in Bhowanipore, Cornwallis Square, Dalhousie Square, and other places. The attendance has all along been good, and great interest shown by the natives in the movement. It is intended to hold these meetings for a week at a time, at short intervals.

THE Union meetings held during the month of June in Calcutta have already been so fully spoken of in the religious newspapers as to require but brief mention here. They originated in a meeting in the house of one

of the ministers in Calcutta, quite largely attended by missionaries and other clergymen, which was held to consider what steps should be taken to promote a revival of religion in the city, the need of which has been lately very much felt. The desire for such a movement has been evidently increased by the good news of the great work going on in Scotland and elsewhere. After full discussion it was resolved to hold the series of meetings which have since taken place, beginning on June 8th, in the Free and Scotch churches; it was also arranged that the chair should be taken by a minister belonging to the six denominations on each evening in succession. Accordingly, the meetings were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Welland of the English Church, Thornburn of the American Methodist Church, Thomson of the Scotch Kirk, Williams of the Baptist Church, MacDonald of the Free Church, and Johnson of the Congregational Church. The churches opened for the meetings were crowded; it even became necessary to hold a simultaneous meeting at another place, in order to accommodate the large numbers who desired to attend. Great interest was manifested in the proceedings, and deep solemnity prevailed. Some were converted, and all Christian hearts were strengthened and encouraged. So great was the degree of interest felt, that meetings were held for two weeks after the expiration of the time to which they were originally limited. We understand that similar meetings have been started by the Bengali churches in Calcutta, but at the time of writing particulars have not reached us. We learn however that it is proposed to continue them, at the rate of two or three a week for several months. These religious awakenings in Calcutta, Madras, and other parts of India, constitute one of the most cheering of the religious signs of the day. Their effect will not be limited to the European population among whom, in several instances, they have begun, but they will react upon the Hindu community. The missionary enterprise will be greatly aided by means of them. A recent missionary prayer meeting in Calcutta was very largely attended; more so, indeed, than has been the case for years—three hundred persons having been present. This is a fact which we hope may be truly regarded as an evidence of a revived state of religion in the churches, and of a consequent revival of interest in the great work of the churches. May it prove indeed a premonition of a coming blessing.

THE Calcutta Missionary Conference has issued a circular, proposing that occasional preaching tours should be undertaken in India, by able ministers of various denominations in Great Britain. The circular is addressed to the Committees of Foreign Missionary Societies in Great Britain, whose assistance and co-operation in the matter are invited. It is not the design that these visits should be made in connection with any particular mission, or that they should be in any sense official visits of inquiry into the conduct of missionary operations in India; on the other hand, they should be "Catholic and Evangelistic, aiming at the promotion of the spiritual welfare both of those who are true Christians, and of the unconverted." The large towns in Ceylon, Madras, Bengal, the North-West and Bombay, containing as they do large numbers of Europeans, Eurasians and educated natives, would offer an inviting field for the labors of any such foreign visitors, and the plan is fraught with obvious advantages. The Circular points out a few, as follows:—

1. A great spiritual blessing might be enjoyed by the Christian churches, of all denominations, in the towns visited. The visit of Drs. Macleod and Watson, a few years ago, is cited as an instance of this.

2. The educated natives, among whom all possible shades of religious opinion are found, varying from an intellectual conviction of the truth of Christianity and an almost willingness to embrace it, to utter infidelity, would probably attend in considerable numbers on the preaching of eminent ministers from Great Britain.

3. The missionaries themselves would derive great advantage and encouragement from such visits. The spiritual intercourse with brethren from abroad would be a great privilege; and the advice and suggestions which, on many points they would be able to give, would be of value.

4. If all the Societies at home were to unite in this matter, and to send out year by year representatives from each denomination in turn, and if all the denominations in India would unite in their reception, an exhibition would be afforded of Christian unity and love.

5. The good which the visitors themselves might obtain, should not be overlooked.

The circular shows that the necessary expense, especially if the Societies at home would unite in the undertaking, would not be very heavy; from £40 to £70, for one minister, on an average annually for each Society,—or even less, if all the Societies would co-operate. It is suggested, however, that two brethren should always come together; there is work enough for two, since it is important that the visits should not be too rapid and hurried. If the expense of sending out two men annually should be regarded as too great, it would be better to send the two men together in alternate years, rather than one man alone every year. Finally, it is suggested that the American Societies (and why not the Continental?) should unite with those of Great Britain; one minister from each country might be sent yearly, or two men, both from the same country, in alternate years in turn. Thus, there would be a manifestation not only of Christian, but also of national union.

The circular bears the signatures of seven missionaries, representing, respectively, the English Baptist Mission, the two Scotch Missions, the Church, London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies, and the American Methodist Episcopal Mission.

We need not say that the plan thus brought forward seems to us worthy of the most hearty approval. It is every way to be hoped that, at no distant day, it will be carried into effect. For the Churches of Great Britain and America thus to co-operate directly in Christian work in India, would be, not merely to illustrate and manifest, but also to promote, the essential unity of Christians. And not only this, it would serve as an additional bond of union between the Indian Church and her older sisters of the West. The fact of missionary labor carried on in India by those churches is itself a bond of union; yet the missionary, in a sense, fevers his connection with the Church at home, and identifies himself with that of India. The labors in India of men still retaining their full official connection with Churches at home would serve to impress more deeply upon those Churches that they and we are one, since their ministers will thus directly participate in the work which we are doing.

The undertaking thus suggested by the Calcutta Circular has already been tried and found practicable. Besides the visit of Drs. Macleod and Watson above alluded to, the more recent visit of Prof. Seelye, of the United States, is fresh in the minds of many, especially in the Western Presidency. The few and brief days that he spent in Bombay and the neighboring cities were filled up with laborious efforts to influence the English speaking natives of the country. His lectures on religious subjects—four of which have since been published by the Bombay Tract Society—were listened to by many with profound interest; and his private conversation with numerous native gentlemen who called to see him only served to deepen the impression produced by his public utterances. That similar visits and similar efforts on the part of other able men from England and America would be productive of great good, no one can doubt.

A suggestion similar to the one now under consideration is contained in the recent Letter of the Indian Bishops, to which allusion is made on another page of the present Number. We hope that the request of the Indian Bishops will be heeded by those in England to whom it is addressed, and that "men like the Bishops of Peterborough and Derry, and "Canon Liddon" may be "lent" to India for service of the kind contemplated. The more of such efforts that are made the better; and although we cannot hope that any special exhibition of Christian unity will result from this or any other suggestion emanating from the Indian Bishops, yet we shall rejoice to see them laboring successfully by themselves, even if they cannot bring themselves to labor fraternally with others.

WE are glad to hear of the success in Madras of the well-known evangelist, Rev. William Taylor. His addresses are listened to everywhere by crowds. Besides the halls and chapels in which meetings have been held from the beginning of his visit, a large temporary structure has been recently erected in a central position on the Esplanade, and is not only crowded, but surrounded with a body of eagerly attentive listeners, whenever services are held within it. Classes of the community that are commonly very difficult of access have been moved in no inconsiderable degree;—as for instance the European pensioners at Palavaram and the colony of railway employes at Perambore. Tokens of the divine blessing are reported as having been granted almost everywhere. Meetings of the many that have been awakened and enlightened are being held in almost every region of the wide-spread city. It is impossible to doubt that there has been a turning of the hearts of many to the Lord through the instrumentality of Mr. Taylor. It seems not too much to call the influence exerted a genuine revival, though it be true that it is far from having taken hold upon all classes of the community. Many doubtless have scarcely heard the name of Mr. Taylor, or heard of him only through brief notices in the public prints. Many are still in profound ignorance that the arm of the Lord whom they worship is being powerfully revealed in their immediate neighborhood. As happens often, if not always, so here, it is in obscurity that the work is being done which will leave behind it the most manifestly important results not for eternity only, but probably for time as well.

One cannot but lament that a blessing which has visited so many of those in the so-called lower ranks of society, should pass by those who

occupy positions of greater influence and honor; and yet it is a thing that has occurred in history so often that the intelligent Christian will be neither surprised nor dismayed when he observes it again. As in the beginning of the Church's history, the wise, the learned and the powerful were scarcely aware of the mighty revolution that had begun around them, so in all evolutions of that history since, the changes that are most momentous in reality are not the things that most attract or fix the attention of the world, or even the visible Church at large.

Still there is fault somewhere when an evident work of the Spirit is not generally recognized or rejoiced in by the Christian community, nor even by anything like the whole number of those who are living lives of faith upon the Son of God. If only all those in Madras who love the Saviour at heart, and desire to advance his cause, were to throw themselves into the work that is going on, and to assist those engaged in it by cordial sympathy and hearty prayer, how wide and how lasting might we reasonably hope that its effects would be! Their failure hitherto to do this cannot in fairness be set down to mere worldliness or indifference to spiritual things—much as these prevail even over those that are unfeignedly the Lord's. If many such are indifferent to the movement which Mr. Taylor leads, or all but ignorant of its existence, the blame must rest in part on him, as well as them. For instance, we learn with regret that in a city containing so many godly and earnest ministers and missionaries, Mr. Taylor has not invited the smallest co-operation from any of their number. He has expected sympathy from them, and even complained of the want of it, yet has abstained, wholly as we fear, from using the only means by which their sympathy can be evoked. It is not in human nature to be very zealous in behalf of any work from which one is deliberately shut out, and that without even an appearance of necessity. Nor is it wonderful that the most spiritually minded laymen, too, should be slow to see much good in a movement in which those whom they know to be servants of the Lord, and whom they regard as their appointed guides in divine things, are not allowed to take any part.

For ourselves, we recognize, in all we have been describing, the way in which God condescends to carry on even his most precious work by means of imperfect agents, and the way also in which in this fallen world, good and evil are to all appearance almost inextricably entangled with each other. We could wish to see a nobler spirit than Mr. Taylor shows, in one whom God is honoring; but his defects do not blind us to the value of that which he receives grace to do. We do not grant that those who may be called *revivalists* apprehend the whole counsel of God, or have fathomed fully his mighty plan; but anything that leads men to compare eternity with time, the service of God and love with the service of self and sin, will always be received by us with thankfulness to the Giver of all good things. Most heartily do we bid Mr. Taylor God-speed in all that he is led by the Spirit of grace to do.

THE religious awakening among the Syrian and Protestant Christians in Travancore, recently reported by us, still continues. The excitement by which it is accompanied appears, in each particular locality, and in individual cases, to cease in a few weeks, leaving behind solid and most

desirable results. The movement seems rather to have increased of late in the direction of Mârâmana and Iroor, which may be called the headquarters of the reforming party in the Syrian church. Our correspondent visited Mârâmana and other Syrian churches in the neighborhood early in May. Extreme excitement was manifested among the people, the women especially shaking the head, sobbing convulsively, trembling and almost dancing with agitation; yet with all this absurd and distressing scene there was associated almost exclusively the one cry, "God be merciful to me a sinner." The worthy priests of these churches are men in whose libraries are found excellent English works of standard theology, including some of the works of Puritan divines. They are men of good judgment and sound piety; accordingly there was no seeing of visions—no prophesying—no follies such as obtained at Shenkulum, but simply the cry for mercy. The prayers were almost wholly in the vernacular; the ringing of bells during the mass reduced to a minimum or wholly omitted, and simple sermons preached to the people. In some instances extempore prayers were offered and hymns sung with great warmth and feeling.

To aid the Syrian priests in their attempts at preaching, one volume of sermons in the vernacular has just been published, and another volume of sketches of sermons is in the press. One or two of their best men are seeking to control the extravagant excitement of the congregations, yet so as not to destroy the thorough earnestness that is unquestionably exhibited by the people, or the gracious influences which we cannot doubt are resting upon them, and so also as not, by their apparent harshness, to repel those whom they seek to benefit. The young are still largely affected. Even children offer prayer with earnestness and propriety. In these parts about one-fourth of the whole congregation generally has been effected, but of these a very large proportion are females. Some of those formerly regarded as truly religious have been excited to renewed zeal; but a larger number of those hitherto careless have been led to think. The excitement spreads from one to another. Each person is affected one, two or three weeks only; immediately, the insatiable desire is awakened to pray, and to read or hear the Scriptures. Much earnestness is still shown by the people in making known Christianity to the heathen; but as yet few of the latter have been converted. Yet we trust that the ultimate result, to be attained in a greater or less length of time, will be the turning of not a few of the Hindus to Christ.

As other good effects of this revival, note the following: In some of the Mission churches, Christians of different castes have heretofore refused to mingle. This "middle wall of partition" has now been broken down, and all meet together for prayer and public worship. In one Syrian Church the celebration of the mass is omitted on some Sundays, when no one desires to partake of the communion, and a service consisting of only prayers and sermon is held. At Puthupalli during the festival of St. George, in May, the usual heathen acting of scenes from the Ramayana in front of the church was discontinued, and prayers and divine service in Malayalim substituted. Here the number of the "revived" is rather small, but they are very earnest in going about to exhort others.

Thus the excitement and physical manifestations connected with this, as with other revivals, appear to die out, while the permanent results in

increased devotion and Christian activity abide. Could the Syrian Christians but be persuaded to appoint agents for the special work of evangelizing the heathen, and thus enter upon "mission work," great things might be expected. Still, after all, it must be remembered that it is only in a dozen or more churches, representing perhaps a thousand families, that the awakening has yet taken place, and that even in these only a portion of the people have participated in its influence.

A REPORT in manuscript from the pastor of one of the churches in connection with the London Mission in Travancore, which lies before us as we write, presents some interesting facts regarding the past and present status of the Christian population of that State. This pastor speaks for his own congregation, but what he tells us concerning the people of his own charge is doubtless true, in a general sense, of a very large proportion of the Travancore Christians. Most of them were originally of very low caste. "Twelve years ago," says the pastor, "most of my Christians (his congregation numbers nearly 400) were zealous heathen and persecuted slaves." They lived—as Brahmans and other high caste men, and as the government of the "model native State" held that such people ought to live—in huts ten feet long by ten broad, worth about seven rupees each, huddled together in filthy villages, rendered disgusting by the remains of dead animals on which the people fed, and other foul refuse. Carpenters and masons were not allowed to work for them, even if some one, more fortunate than his fellows, evinced the desire of living in a house slightly better than he could build with his own hands, and possessed the means of gratifying that desire. Eleven years ago, one of these men who had become a Christian undertook to employ carpenters in building a decent abode; the Brahmans interfered, prevented the carpenters from working, and put the man in prison for making the effort to better himself, where he stayed until one of the missionaries interposed and procured his release. At another time the wise and liberal Government of Travancore caused several houses of the native Christians to be pulled down, because they were too good for such people to live in. Surely our Christian brethren in Travancore have had excellent facilities for cultivating the grace of humility. But now the times are changing. Last year a native Christian, who was formerly of the class described, erected a mansion of two stories, worth a thousand rupees. This same man, who only a few years ago was prohibited from owning any other property than a wretched mud house, now owns, besides his house, other property valued at over a thousand rupees, and pays rent and taxes to the amount of 250 rupees a year. Another case is mentioned of a man, once "a slave to a cruel Brahman," who now owns a house worth 350 rupees, and other property worth about a thousand. These are exceptional cases; yet the social status of all the Christians seems to have improved wonderfully, as well as their style of living, and they are now building neat houses, in cleanly and orderly villages. It is very encouraging to notice that the Government is beginning to cease its oppressive conduct, and that even the high caste people do not now molest the native Christians in their efforts at improvement. One of the Christians mentioned above received no little aid from Brahmans and other high caste people, both in the shape of loans of money on which no interest

was charged, and also of building materials furnished at a low rate; even his former "master" was ready to help him.

We quote a passage from the report:—

"Most of my people who were twelve years ago persecuted slaves and wretched heathens, are now advanced in their knowledge both of spiritual and of worldly circumstances. They had not then any foot of ground to call their own; but have now bought the lands of their masters by money earned after the abolition of slavery. They have now cattle of their own. Because their masters are unable to cultivate their fields without the assistance of this class of people they leave their lands in lease to these. Some Sudras also work in the lands of those who were once their slaves. The high caste people are neither envious of the civilization of the Christians, nor do they look upon them as polluted. Some years ago they would not enter the villages of these people. If they wanted to call these people to work they would stand at a little distance from the villages and cry out. But now the time is changed. Caste superstition and ignorance decrease day by day. They now freely enter into the houses of the Christians for the purpose of getting their help, a thing which is not considered a source of defilement."

The pastor proceeds to mention other facts showing that the improvement made by his people in knowledge and morals is no less marked and satisfactory than that made in their manner of life. In their former condition it was their custom "to deceive their masters who were Brahmins and Sudras, and to steal their property. If any one wanted to take a woman in marriage for his son, he would not look into the beauty, wealth and education of the girl, but would inquire into her cleverness to steal." Children were taught by their parents to steal,—it was about all the education they had. So lying, quarrelling and the use of foul language, were their firmly fixed and constant habits. These have all been renounced, and several instances are mentioned of self-control under severe provocation, which are very creditable. Drunkenness was another bad practice to which the people from among whom these Christians came are very much addicted. That vice also they are fast learning to abandon. One congregation is mentioned in which a few years ago there were more than a hundred drunkards, but at the beginning of last year only three. The influence of the Christians upon the surrounding Hindu population is most beneficial. Here certainly is an instance in which the native converts *have* acted as "leaven in the lump of their countrymen." Says the pastor:—

"I generally visit the villages of the Sudras and others to preach the Gospel of salvation. The high as well as the low caste people always assemble round me and pay their eager attention to my words. We see the results of our preaching in every direction. In some villages the images that received worship some years ago are now in utter ruin. But I am sorry to find that Satan employs the Government to repair and reconstruct the old and ruined pagodas in some villages of the high caste. Those cruel masters who had as a punishment to their slaves, tied them on one side of the plough with a bullock on the other, and made them pull it, and those who had persecuted the preachers by plucking the books from their hands and by rubbing their sacred ashes on their foreheads are now as meek as lambs. Those wealthy Brahmins and Sudras who had prohibited their lands from being given to the Christians for cultivation do now gladly offer them, knowing that many of the Christians are faithful to their words. Thus though they are not converted to Christianity, they are friends of the Christians."

There is not much cause for surprise, when a *native* Government, professedly Hindu, expends its funds in the repairing of Hindu temples and the maintenance of the Hindu religion. But what shall we say when

we see a Government professedly Christian—as we suppose the local Government of Madras would choose to be considered—superintending, through the Public Works Department, the repair of a Hindn temple, and advancing money for the work, hoping that it will be repaid from the offerings to the idol?

ALLUSION is made, on several pages of the present issue, to the Letters—the one addressed to the home clergy of the English Church, and the other a Pastoral, to the clergy and laity of the same communion in India, recently put forth by the Indian Bishops. The substance of the last named and shorter Letter is this: Christianity is getting on very slowly in India. Protestant Christians number, all told, hardly one in a thousand of the whole population; and even including Roman Catholics and Syrians, the proportion of Christians is not one in a hundred. In Tinnivelly, where the missions of the Church of England have been most successful, the Christian population is but one-thirtieth of the whole. This is only a very small beginning, although we are very thankful for it; there is a vast work still to be done. Upon whom does the duty of doing this work so manifestly devolve, as upon the members of Christ's Church who live on Indian soil, and witness the idolatries and corruptions of the sons and daughters of the land? And especially, what branch of the Church should be more active in this work, than that connected with the English Government, to which India has, in the providence of God, been intrusted as a dependency? Therefore members of the English Church in India are called on to help forward the work of missions by cultivating a high type of personal piety—by cherishing a vivid interest in missionary operations—by subscriptions, especially to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—by gathering information about the work of missionary societies—by showing sympathy—by the instruction of servants and of servants' children in Christian truth—and by observing special seasons of public and private prayer, for which purpose the seasons of Epiphany and Whitsunday are considered especially suitable. These suggestions strike us as exceedingly important and practical, and also exceedingly self-evident; so much so, in fact, that it hardly seems necessary that three bishops should have assembled themselves together in solemn conclave in order to put them forth. And yet people often need repeated exhortation and incitement before they can be induced to do the most evidently proper and necessary things. We must confess, however, our inability to understand why the “seasons of Epiphany and “Whitsuntide” are any more “suitable” occasions for invoking the Divine assistance than other seasons of the year. Has prayer offered then any greater probability of being heard than when offered at other times?

The Letter addressed to the bishops and clergy of the English Church in England is not only a much longer production than the Indian Pastoral, but vastly superior to that in every respect. As a literary work, the Letter presents quite a contrast to the Pastoral, filled as the latter is with pious commonplaces. In both the Letters, however, there is discernible rather more than a trace of that well-known and now rather faded rheto-

ric, in which missionaries of former years were somewhat more prone to indulge than those of the present day, and whose most laudable object it is to excite the emotions of the reader by pathetic descriptions of the woes of India and her idolatrous population. The work of other Churches than the Established Church of England obtains a faint recognition in one of the Letters; yet there is nothing in either Letter which reveals other than a spirit of Christian charity. Would that we could say as much for *all* the utterances of the Indian Bishops, and likewise for their *actions*!

As already intimated, the Letter to the English clergy looks rather too much upon the dark side of Indian missionary work. The successes which have crowned missionary efforts in India are all disposed of in one or two short sentences, and attention is immediately called to the fact that stagnation rather than progress is the chief characteristic of missionary work now. Too much is made of the refusal of educated natives to embrace Christianity. We are as strong as any in our desire to see the current of native thought turned from rationalism or atheism towards the Gospel; we are as fully convinced as any of the great necessity of doing all that can be done to win to the cause of Jesus Christ the educated men of Hindustan. We know the power for good which their talents and acquirements would enable them to exert. Yet Christianity in India is not to be accounted a "lost cause" because they stand aloof from it. We never contemplate their attitude towards the Christian religion without remembering that "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called." We would gladly see all such converted to Jesus Christ and made co-laborers with us in the work of preaching his religion; yet Christianity can be propagated without them, and we are sure that it will be; for "God hath chosen the foolish things of this 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." While therefore we ought to put forth increasing efforts to gain the educated, and to propagate Christianity among the higher classes, we can only remember, in case these efforts prove less successful than we wish, that Christianity has always moved the higher classes *after* it had affected the lower, and that now, as of old, many things are hidden from the wise and prudent and revealed unto babes. We can find no cause for discouragement here.

We doubt, furthermore, whether the Bishops do well to state that "the converts, too often, make such poor progress in the Christian life, that they fail to act as leaven in the lump of their countrymen." Unquestionably this is, in some cases, true, just as it is true of a great many members of the Established Church of England—and just as it is true of some professing Christians everywhere, and always has been. In the Bishops' Letter, however, it is one ground among others on which they base their appeal for more missionaries. Perhaps the "poor progress in Christian life" on the part of the converts may be in some measure attributed to a wrong method of training on the part of their instructors; so that what is really needed, so far as missionaries are concerned, is not so much an increase in their number from England, as an increase of wisdom and among those now here, which shall lead to a more judicious style of

discipline and Christian nurture than we fear always obtains. But we suppose that every missionary knows of many native Christians, frequently men of no education, and who have enjoyed no privileges worth mentioning, whose progress in the Christian life, and growth in grace, even when estimated by standards to which maturer Christians from more favored lands are accustomed, is not "poor;" and who *do* act, most decidedly "as leaven in the lump of their countrymen." Have the Bishops never heard of any such cases? And in presenting "the actual condition of India at the present time," with special reference to missionary work, would it not have been well to mention facts bearing on both sides of the question? The representation of the state of the native Church in India given in the Bishops' Letter, does that Church less than justice.

Defects aside, however, the Letter contains a description of the present state of things in India, which, though necessarily brief, is admirably clear and truthful, and we hope its result will be all that its authors wish. We regret that it is marred by the defects which we have pointed out, and that it does not speak in a tone of greater hopefulness—such as the facts certainly warrant—of Indian Christianity. Possibly the Bishops would do well to act on their own suggestion to the clergy and laity of India, and "gather information" by "reading the reports of the Societies," especially those which are not connected with the Church of England. We have seen an article written by one of the Indian Bishops, which is full of blunders regarding the work of a Society not connected with his own body of Christians, though operating in his immediate vicinity. Perhaps more extensive acquaintance with missionary work, even when conducted by Dissenters, than the authors of these Letters seem to possess, might have enabled them to set forth with greater correctness the "actual condition of India." We have elsewhere alluded to the use which has been made of these Letters by enemies of Christianity.

REPORTS for 1873 of the Panjab, North India, Calcutta, Bombay, Guzarat, Bangalore and Madras Tract Societies, and of the Mission Presses at Lodianna, Lucknow and Mangalore lie before us. Many other missions have presses in connection with them, whose labors are by no means to be despised, but the Societies and Presses we have mentioned are the chief agencies now engaged in the work of providing India with a Christian literature. The following table shows the number of vernacular

publications put into circulation both gratuitously and by sale, during the year under review¹:—

Society.	Sold.	Gratuitous.	Total.
Panjab Religious Book Society	2,593	1,874	4,467
Lodiana Mission	36,065	57,655	93,720
Methodist Mission, Lucknow	3,768	863	4,631
North India Tract and Book Society	37,200	40,152	77,652
Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society..	86,379	20,489	1,05,868
Bombay Tract and Book Society	100,132	81,409	181,541
Guzarat Tract and Book Society	25,271	.....	25,271
Bangalore Tract and Book Society	37,657	32,643	70,300
Madras Religious Tract and Book Society...	Not reported.	Not reported.	376,198
Basel Evangelical Mission, Mangalore ...	10,550	.....	10,550
Total...	339,615	235,385	951,198

The above totals in the first and second columns are not accurate, on account of the fact that the Madras report does not discriminate between books sold and books given away, but lumps the two amounts, as above. It is a well known fact, however, that the sales in the Madras Presidency are larger than in any other part of India. Our table is only for *vernacular* publications. We have carefully excluded all the reports of English sales. It would be interesting, however, to know the extent to which English works on religious subjects are circulated among the English-reading natives of the country. The English language is more and more coming to be used as a medium for missionary work. The recent publication of such books as Professor Seelye's "The Way, the Truth and the Life" at Bombay, of Mr. Vaughan's "What think ye of Christ" and Mr. Dyson's tracts on Brahmic Dogmas at Calcutta, of the series of "Papers for educated Hindus" at Madras and of the new series of cheap English tracts at Bangalore² show this to be the case. The reports before us, however, do not as a rule afford the means for discriminating between imported English books, sold to English residents, and English books prepared in the country for evangelistic purposes, and distributed among the Hindus. The Bombay report merely mentions the sale of 1,765 English books and tracts "not imported" which probably belong to the class described, the Bangalore report speaks, more definitely, of 433 English tracts and 1,268 English handbills "for Hindus" as having been put in circulation during the year under review, and the Mangalore report states that 419 copies of the English books printed at the Mission Press were sold. More, and more particular information on this head is greatly to be desired. In one or two cases the above reports mentioned no other sales than those effected by colporteurs. It is therefore supposed that there were no others.

¹ The table represents a year's work on the part of all the Societies represented. But it may be mentioned that, in the case of the Panjab Society, the year closes October 31st; with the Lodiana Mission, and the Bangalore and Madras Societies, on September 30th. In the case of all the other Societies the year closes December 31st.

² See page 85, above.

The results of the year's work in this department are, on the whole, encouraging. In a few cases there has been a falling off as compared with 1872, but all things considered there has been an advance. The total sales of the Panjab Society, the youngest but by no means the least vigorous of all the sisterhood, were more than twice as great in 1873 as in 1872. The Lodianna report shows that the number of issues from the Mission Press at that place, exclusive of Scriptures, increased about 55 per cent on the number in 1872, and the amount realized from the sale of vernacular books and Scriptures only, increased about 14 per cent. The Methodist Mission in North India reports larger sales in 1873 than in any previous year. The sales of the North Indian Tract Society have been increasing steadily since 1869, when they amounted to only Rs. 53. Last year they amounted to Rs. 1,690. In Calcutta there has been a little decline. We quote from the Calcutta report:—

“The sale of vernacular books and tracts by the means of native hawkers has been carried on during the year. The total number sold has been 69,603. This is a lower figure by about 7,000 than we were able to report for the previous year. It cannot be denied that the hawkers find a less eager demand for our books than they did months ago. This is disappointing, but, when we consider the matter a little, it is not surprising. So long as the effort had *novelty* on its side, it prospered. Our little books with their tempting covers and pictures offered at so cheap a rate naturally commanded a ready sale. But by-and-bye it was found that they were truly *Christian* books dealing with high and solemn and weighty topics and not pandering, like too many native publications, to the corruptions of the natural man. Hence, the growing coolness. It has, moreover, come to our notice that a sort of rivalry has been actually set on foot by native publishers, and that little books somewhat corresponding to ours in appearance though very different in character and sold at almost as cheap a rate, have been for months back disputing the market with us. Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to account for the falling off which we have described.”

The Bombay Society reports the largest issue ever made in one year, but a very large part was of gratuitous tracts, as our table shows. The Guzarat Society reports a slight increase. The circulation from Madras was smaller than in 1872, which was an exceptional year, but much larger than in 1869, 1870 or 1871. The falling off was principally in the Tamil branch, while the issues in Malayalam trebled. The sales from the Mangalore depôt were slightly larger in 1873 than in 1872.

Colportage is evidently attracting more and more attention. In the Panjab, men for this work are not forthcoming, and the work of the local Society is limited in consequence. Nothing is said in the North India Society's report about the employment of colporteurs. In Calcutta, and to some extent in Madras, native hawkers are allowed to buy the books from the Society at a low rate and sell them for the published prices; but we do not know that this system has been attempted elsewhere. In Bombay, Dr. Murdoch's suggestion has been acted upon that the Christian Vernacular Education Society should become responsible for colporteur's salaries, thus enabling the Society to expend more money in the production of tracts and books. According to the new rules, which have been in operation since October last, the colporteur receives a monthly salary of 5 rupees (4 rupees in Madras) from the Christian Vernacular Education Society, 50 per cent of all sales of tracts and vernacular Scriptures, and 25 per cent of the proceeds from sales of school books. It is required, however, that, in the city of Bombay, the average monthly sales should amount to 5 rupees, and in the country districts to 3 rupees.

Some of the district colporteurs find it hard, especially during the rains, to bring their sales up to the required sum. But these rules are only experimental, and may be modified in future. The same system has been adopted in Madras, and to a limited extent in Calcutta.

The results of colportage we have tabulated separately as follows:—

Society.	No. of Colporteurs.	Copies sold	Value of books sold.			Expense of the agency.		
			Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Panjab Religious Book Society ¹	6	1,551	158	5	2	...	...	...
Lodiana Mission ²	8	8,977	173	11	9	342	1	4
Methodist Mission, Lucknow ³	16	3,763	202	11	0	2,591	15	3
North India Tract and Book Society ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Calcutta Christian Tract & Book Society ⁴ .	4	69,603	441	6	10½	...	...	...
Bombay Tract and Book Society	13	No report	...	...	...	...	...	...
Guzarat Tract and Book Society ⁵	4	16,407	318	14	5	...	...	...
Bangalore Tract and Book Society ⁶	1	9,312	73	15	3	...	...	...
Madras Religious Tract and Book Society ⁷ .	1½	46,605	411	6	6	1,136	10	0 8
Basel Evangelical Mission, Mangalore ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

The returns from which we have compiled the above table are so incomplete that we have not presented the totals. The separate facts, however, are not uninteresting, and we hope to be able at some future time to give more accurate figures. The expense of the agency of colportage, in the only instances in which we have been able to state it, indicates something of the difficulties against which our Tract Societies must contend in getting books into circulation. In many parts of India missionaries are trying to get their catechists to sell books, and the effort is attended with very good results. More efforts in the same direction are needed.

We are sorry that we cannot give any complete statement of the literary labors of these Societies. A mere list of the books published would be of slight value. We desired, and have attempted, to obtain brief descriptive notices of the new works issued, feeling sure that such a descriptive list would be of much service. But we have been unable to obtain the assistance of the Secretaries of the Tract Societies and Superintendents of the Mission Presses, which alone would have enabled us to present such a list. Some of the Secretaries very kindly lent us their aid, and furnished the matter

¹ In part connected with branch Depositories.

² About one-tenth of these sales have been effected by catechists and others not regularly employed as colporteurs; such persons are not included in the number of colporteurs, neither was any extra expense incurred on account of their engaging in book-selling.

³ These colporteurs also sold nearly 470 rupees worth of Scriptures during the year.

⁴ Sold mostly by "native hawkers." The four colporteurs are paid by the C. V. E. S.

⁵ Colporteurs are employed by the Irish Presbyterian Mission. A part of the sales reported were by others than colporteurs. These returns however are incomplete.

⁶ Others than colporteurs also sell; the colporteur was at work only during the two last months of the year reported.

⁷ There were also sales by others than colporteurs, *not* here included, as the amount of them is not stated definitely.

⁸ This includes the commission on books allowed to the colporteurs.

asked for, for which we beg to return our thanks. Some of the reports—especially that of the North India Society, present descriptive lists of much value. The Bombay report gives descriptive notices of its new issues. In some cases simply the titles of books published were sent us; and in several instances no notice whatever was taken of our letters of inquiry. A partial list, prepared from such fragmentary materials, would be of little use.

THE Christian Vernacular Education Society continues its good work of training schoolmasters, maintaining vernacular schools, and circulating school books prepared on sound Christian principles. In this latter work it is assisted by several of the Tract Societies; the issues, mostly by sales last year, were as follows:—

Bengal Branch	1,209
Bombay Branch	17,237
Madras Branch	200,138

The sales of the Bengal Branch, as above reported, were wholly by colporteurs, and no others are mentioned at all in the report, though other sales must have taken place from the Society's Depôt at Calcutta. In Madras, the sales by colporteurs amounted to 15,366 copies, valued at nearly 1,500 Rupees.

This Society, in Bengal, supports 136 schools, distributed among 23 "circles," each circle being in charge of a missionary and a Christian inspector. The number of pupils last year was 5,654, and the amount of the Government grants-in-aid was Rupees 433-8. The report of the Madras Branch is still more explicit. In that Presidency 15 schools are maintained, under missionary superintendence, with a total of 657 pupils. Rupees 415-4 were received from Government, Rupees 135-1-1 were paid by the children as fees, and the Society expended Rupees 1,390-12. Thus the total expenditure was Rupees 1,941-1-1, and the annual cost of educating each child was only Rupees 3-3-11, which is certainly cheap enough. The Bombay Branch supports an efficient training school, in connection with the American Mission at Ahmadnagar, and makes grants-in-aid to "indigenous schools in Central India under the supervision of "the Rev. Narayan Sheshadri." About 1,300 children attend these schools, which are under the supervision of three Christian inspectors.

Normal schools are maintained, not only at Ahmadnagar, but also at Amritsar, in the North-West Provinces, and Dindigal in the Madras Presidency.

THE reports of the Bible Societies give the facilities for ascertaining approximately the number of Bibles, Testaments and Scripture portions put into circulation in 1873. We have included in our summary the report of the Mission Press at Lodiana which compares well, as our table shows, with the Societies devoted solely to printing and circulating the Scriptures. In preparing the following table, the exceedingly fraternal relations of the Indian Bible Societies was found to be a source of difficulty, and perhaps of error. The Societies buy of each other, and make large grants to each other. Inasmuch as the Society which

sells or grants the books in the first instance includes the amounts of such sales or grants in its own report—and as the receiving Society reports in its returns any issues of Scriptures thus obtained, it follows that, in presenting a summary of all the reports, there is great danger of reckoning such sales or grants—at least in part—twice over. We have endeavored, however, by carefully comparing the reports with each other, to eliminate the error arising from this source so far as possible; and to include in the table given below no grants or sales made by one Society to another, but only such as were made by each Society, to missionaries, colporteurs and others, with a view to actual circulation among the people. We have also, so far as possible, separated the issues of Scriptures in the vernaculars from those in English and other European languages. Yet some of the reports mention the fact that English Bibles are now getting more and more into circulation among Hindus.

The following is a statement of the work of the Societies during 1873:—

Society.	Issues of Vernacular Scriptures.	Issues of English and other Scriptures.	Total.
Panjab Auxiliary Bible Society	11,889	901	12,790
Lodiana Mission Press	9,625	.....	9,625
North India Auxiliary Bible Society.....	16,364	1,498	17,862
Calcutta " " " 	40,171	2,870	43,041
Bombay " " " 	4,995	1,808	6,803
Madras ¹ " " " 	72,591	9,441	82,032
Total...	155,635	16,518	172,153

These results are, we believe, very nearly the same as in 1872.

NOTICE has before been taken of several recent attempts to stimulate the production of a Christian literature in the vernaculars of India, by the offer of prizes for deserving works. We are glad to be able to chronicle now another effort of the same kind. A circular from the Panjab Religious Book Society, of which the Rev. R. Clark of Amritsar is Secretary, bearing date April 10, 1874, announces the offer of the following prizes:—

" I. Two prizes of Rs. 200 and Rs. 100 for the best works on any doctrinal or practical Christian subject which shall be simple and elementary both as regards style and matter.

" II. A prize of Rs. 200 for the best series of six or more narrative tracts or books on such subjects as the following: Humility, Honesty, Purity of heart and life, Temperance, Truthfulness, Debt, Slander, Idleness, Bad language, Sin, its nature and consequences, Fate.

" III. A prize of Rs. 100 for the best series of from four to six small tracts or books or for one larger book suitable for women.

¹ This Society has branches or auxiliaries at Bangalore, Mangalore and Cotta-
yam; but the issues of all are included in the above statement.

“IV. Separate prizes of Rs. 30 or Rs. 20 for any tract or tracts in II. or III. of special merit.

“V. A prize of Rs. 300 for a good collection of original hymns and songs for children, similar to those of Dr. Watts.”

The limit of time assigned for the presentation of the manuscripts is June 30, 1875. Liberty is allowed to authors to prepare either original works or translations, and any person may compete for the prize. The committee do not bind themselves to give any prize unless the work seems really deserving.

We can only join with the Committee in the hope that the present offer may be the means of extending the Saviour's Kingdom; and that all concerned in the production of these books may be aided by God's Spirit.

WE have received the first number of a New German missionary Magazine, 40 pp. 8vo., entitled “*Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*,” and intended to be issued once a month. It is published at Gütersloh, and is edited by Dr. G. Warneck of the Mission-house at Barmen in the Wupperthal (near Elberfeld), with the assistance of Dr. Th. Christlieb, Professor of Theology at Bonn, and of Dr. R. Grundemann, Pastor in Mörz, and author of the “*Missions-Atlas*.” The number before us was issued in January of the present year. The first paper, by the editor, under the quaint title of “*Dic cur hic*,” consists of an elaborate exposition of the objects which the projectors have in view in adding to the number of missionary periodicals. One of these objects is to awaken sympathy for the missionary cause even in the most cultivated circles; and as indifference to the labors of missionaries is chiefly owing to prejudice and to want of information, this journal will seek to give honest opponents an opportunity of estimating the value of these labors, and to furnish doubters with the material for forming a favorable judgment. With this end in view, it will aim at the most conscientious historical faithfulness in its delineations, and at the greatest possible sobriety in the statement of results; while it will endeavor to avoid those rose-colored views and that sentimental uncritical tone which have contributed to render missionary reports so generally distasteful. The new journal will, however, as a matter of course, bear in mind also the requirements of those who are already the friends of missions, and especially of those who are little interested in “church-tower politics,” but who desire to become more thoroughly acquainted with the progress that is being made in the extension of the kingdom of God throughout the world. As an accurate acquaintance with the history of missions is necessary not only for forming a just estimate of their value but also for creating a genuine interest in their operations, the historical element will form the principal feature in the contents of the *Zeitschrift*; and, in accordance with the title of the journal, a survey will be made not only of the entire mission field, but also of the entire mission period, although special attention will be given to the missions conducted by the Evangelical Church, and to the labors of modern times. While the promoters of the journal are by no means absolutely opposed to “particularism” in the conduct of missions, yet they earnestly desire to see a spirit of union developed among the different laborers in the field, and they cannot shut their eyes to the need for a comprehensive summary, conceived in this spirit, of the work being done among the heathen, that shall be instructive alike for well-wishers and for detractors at home. An attempt

will be made accordingly to furnish annually a trust-worthy and comprehensive bird's-eye view of the mission work being carried on by the different societies in different parts of the world. But in addition to this, detailed memoirs will be prepared, which will give an account of individual labors in all portions of the field, not merely among the heathen, but also among Muhammadans and Jews; and not merely as conducted by the Protestant, but also as conducted by the Roman Catholic and the Greek Churches. The history of the older missions will also receive the attention which it deserves, and be made to yield instruction for the conduct of those of modern times. These historical essays will always contemplate their subject as a whole, and will rather aim at being complete and finished sketches, than occupy themselves with minute details. At the same time, the historical portion of the magazine will not overlook the origin and growth of the mission-spirit and mission-life at home, where are to be found the roots of the tree whose branches promise to overspread the heathen-world. Due prominence will therefore be given to the history of missionary societies, to accounts of their modes of operations, and to life-sketches of the pioneers of the great missionary army. Full and accurate notices will also be furnished of the countries in which and of the peoples among whom the labors of missionaries are carried on. The pages of the new journal will accordingly be open to the discussion of geographical, linguistic, anthropological and ethnological questions, and especially to the discussion of those questions which relate to the state of civilization and the religious history of the peoples to whom missions are sent. Much attention will be paid, for instance, to voyages of discovery undertaken by missionaries, such as those that have made the name of Livingstone famous. Other subjects that will call for treatment are:—the right preparation for mission-work; the training of a native ministry; the educating of converts to independence and Christian activity; polygamy; caste; slavery, etc. Missionary literature will receive due attention, and interesting intelligence will be furnished in correspondence direct from the various fields of labor.

Such is a brief abstract of this elaborate and comprehensive programme which the editor has sketched for his own guidance and that of his fellow-workers and contributors. If the promise which it holds out be at all adequately fulfilled, the journal ought to be one of no common interest. The first contribution, which is by Pastor Grundemann, bears the comprehensive title, "Survey of the Present Position of Missionary Work," and forms the first installment of the promised "annual bird's-eye view." It opens, after a few introductory observations, with an account of the various missions to West Africa, giving interesting notices of what has been done in Senegambia, in Sierra Leone, in Liberia, on the Gold and Slave Coasts, on the River Niger, and in other stations. This is followed by a description of the heathen Kols of Central India, their beliefs and superstitions. The next paper treats of the political and religious position of Islam. Under the title of "A Statesman as Advocate for Missions," Dr. Germann gives a most favorable notice of Sir Bartle Frere's Essay on Indian Missions; and with this paper the number closes. The tone of these papers throughout is such as to make us gladly welcome this latest addition to missionary literature, and commend it to the notice of all who desire to see an increasing interest awakened in the missionary cause.

The price of the journal, we may mention, is 2 Thalers, or 3 rupees, a year; and it is promised that occasionally a map will be furnished for the elucidation of the text.

THE last effort of the Ritualists to maintain an organ of their own in Bombay has met with failure. The *Indian Ecclesiologist*, of which we have previously had somewhat to say, after three issues, has come to an untimely end. The number of subscribers was hardly seventy—as we are informed—and accessions to the number were received so slowly that the paper could not be supported. We regret that such should have been the case, not, as our readers hardly require telling, that we have any sympathy with the distinctive ideas represented by the *Ecclesiologist*, but because it is really of great advantage to the dissemination of a truly spiritual religion, that the plans, efforts and views of those who are seeking to propagate a religion of form and ritual should be plainly and unmistakably set forth. Judging from the three numbers of the *Ecclesiologist* which appeared, it would have been a perfectly honest and out-spoken journal. Any one could see from reading it precisely what was the object at which the Ritualists were aiming. If all the foes of evangelical religion were equally plain in their utterances, it would be a great gain. The question arises, as we contemplate these repeated failures of the High Church party to maintain a paper devoted to their own interests, whether, with the exception of the Bishop of Bombay, and a small number of persons who are swayed by him, people in this latitude after all care very much for Ritualism?

MODESTY is not found among the garland of virtues and graces which adorns the character of our Branchist friends. As an instance of this statement, attention is called to the following unostentatious announcements which are taken from the *Indian Mirror* of June 14:—

“It is the Brahma Samaj which has chiefly contributed to the remarkable fall in the number of conversions in Bengal. The history of that body for the first time clearly showed Christianity in two of its most unfavorable aspects. It proved to the educated community that Christianity, as it existed in India, was a vast net work of contending sects and churches and that when once thrown into it the intellect and the spirit could hardly extricate themselves from its meshes, and it showed conclusively that over and above these theological wranglings there was a higher spirit which the Christian Church had hardly developed to any extent. The system of propagation adopted by the missionaries tended to confirm these impressions * * *

“The Brahma Samaj, by showing at the same time a higher ideal of faith and spiritual development, at once stopped the free growth of Christianity and, indeed, properly indicated to the missionaries the true method to be adopted in the propagation of their faith.”

Christian missionaries are undoubtedly under very great obligations to the Brahma Samaj for thus being taught the proper method of missionary work. Without however giving utterance at the present time to our emotions on this point, we desire to present a statement made by Babu Pratap Chandra Mazumdar. The statement occurs in a letter written by him to the Secretary of the Free Religious Association of America, about a year ago, and was published in the *Mirror* a few months since. We regret that we have not the copy of the paper at hand, in order that we might quote the Babu's exact words, but we shall try to do him no injustice. The Babu undertook in his letter to account for the slow progress

of the Samaj in India. To begin with, we are astonished that he should confess to such a fact. We fear that he does not read his *Mirror* with fidelity. According to that journal Brahminism is advancing—as Mr. Gladstone says—not by strides, but by leaps and by bounds. However, a year ago the Babu humbled himself, put on the sackcloth, and candidly acknowledged that the Samaj was actually getting on rather slowly. Several reasons were adduced. The pernicious influence of John Stuart Mill on the minds of the rising generation was one reason. Coupled with this, if we remember rightly—was mentioned the “godless education” of Government schools. One or two other causes were also assigned. And finally—in the light of the above quotation it sounds rather strangely—the “labors of Christian “missionaries” were referred to as really constituting an obstacle to the “free growth” of the Brahma Samaj. Now how is this? Who has made a mistake? Shall we believe the Babu, or the *Mirror*? Has Christianity hindered the Samaj, or has the Samaj blocked the progress of Christianity?

WE beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following Reports:—

- Circular of the India Conference Theological Seminary, Bareilly, Rohilkhand, 1874.
- Report of the Secundra Church Mission Orphanage for 1873.
- Report of the Ranee Khet Mission in connection with the London Missionary Society, for the year 1873.
- Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the North India Tract and Book Society, Auxiliary to the London Religious Tract Society, for the year 1873.
- The Seventh Annual Report of the Indian Home Mission to the Santhals for the year 1873.
- Report of the American Free Baptist Mission in Lower Bengal, for the year ending March, 1874.
- Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Bengal Auxiliary to the London Missionary Society. 1873.
- Twelfth Report of the United Presbyterian Mission in Rajputana. 1873.
- Forty-sixth Annual Report of the Bombay Tract and Book Society. 1873.
- Christian Vernacular Education Society for India. Bombay Branch Annual Report, 1873.
- Sixth Annual Report of the Bombay Medical Missionary Society.
- Report of the Kolapur Mission, 1873
- Report of the Bombay or Western India Auxiliary Church Mission Society for the year 1873.
- Sixth Annual Report of the American Baptist Telugu Mission, from March 1873 to March 1874.
- Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Madras Religious Tract and Book Society for the year ending 30th September, 1873.
- Fifty-third Annual Report of the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society, for the year 1873.
- Madras Mission of the Free Church of Scotland. Report for 1873.
- Twentieth Annual Report of the Arcot Mission of the Reformed Church in America, 1873.
- Fourteenth Report of the Madras Branch of the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India, 1872-3.
- Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the American Madura Mission, 1873.
- Fourth Annual Report of the Ootacamund Tamil Mission Congregational Fund, C. M. S., for the year ending 31st March 1874.
- Annual Report of the Travancore District Committee in connection with the London Missionary Society for the year ending 31st December 1873.
- Fourteenth Annual Report of the Rangoon Missionary Society, 1873.
- Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Jaffna Auxiliary Bible Society, 1871-3.

ART. XI.—BOOK NOTICES.

EXPOSITORY THOUGHTS ON THE GOSPELS. St. John, Vol. III. ; by Rev. J. C. Ryle, M. A., Vicar of Stradbroke. London: W. Hunt and Co., 1873. pp. 531, small 8vo.

MR. Ryle has now completed this most valuable work, on which he has been engaged for the last sixteen years. We know of no commentary on the Four Gospels which we can more strongly recommend for family and private use. Mr. Ryle is well known as an able Evangelical Divine. He is a scholar of high university standing, having been the Craven university scholar at Oxford where he took a first class in classics some thirty-seven years ago. He has, therefore, a right to be heard on the subject of Scripture exposition. How excellently he has done his work, a careful perusal of the last volume on St. John's Gospel will abundantly prove. The work not only contains expository thoughts calculated to raise the heart of the devout Christian heavenwards, but also difficult texts are considered and objections met in a lucid and satisfactory manner.

The whole is complete in seven volumes which are published in a convenient form and well suited for the Anglo-Indian Christian's Library.

THE RUSSIANS IN CENTRAL ASIA. A critical examination down to the present time of the Geography and History of Central Asia, by Frederick von Hellwald, member of the Geographical Societies of Vienna, Mexico, Paris, etc. Translated into English from the German by Lieutenant-Col. Wingman, LL. B., Trinity College, Cambridge. London: H. S. King and Co., 1874. pp. 332. crown 8vo.

Professor Vambery has carefully considered the great Central Asian question with a strong bias in favor of British interests; Professor von Hellwald has in the work before us given the subject careful thought with such a zeal for Russian interests as to betray him into a censorious and hostile tone and spirit, thus robbing his production of the value which would belong to a book written by a neutral pen, and in a more fair and candid temper. It is however well that both sides of the question should be presented to the English mind and in this respect Professor von Hellwald's "critical examination" of the Geography and History of Central Asia must be ranked as one of the most interesting works which have lately been produced on the subject.

Whilst the author candidly acknowledges England to be the more civilized nation, he is of opinion that the "Russians attain with their much "lower standard of civilization much greater results amongst the Asiatic "tribes, whom they understand how to assimilate in a remarkable manner."

The book is full of inaccuracies which will only be detected by those well acquainted with the subject. There are however whole pages of most unwelcome truth which ought to have the attention of those who guide the destinies of England with reference to Russian progress in the East.

With regard to Russian policy the author tells us in the concluding paragraph of his book, that it "may aim at three different objects in Asia, none of which, however, excludes the others. The first, the conquest of India, is of all the most improbable; the second, the attempt to bring the Eastern question to a solution from the east, is possible; and the third, the striving after the monopoly of commerce in Asia, and the consequent admission into trade of the whole world, is positive."

It will be impossible for us in a short notice of the work to give our readers any idea of its interesting review of British and Russian connexion with Afghanistan and other Central Asian kingdoms. We can do no more than conclude with the list of contents of the chapters:—

I. Russian explorations in Central Asia. II. The countries of Central Asia. III. Deserts and steppes. IV. Countries on the Sir and Amu Daria. V. The Highlands of Central Asia. VI. The nations of Turan. VII. Russia's first advance into Central Asia. VIII. The war with Kokan. IX. Events, in Turkestan. X. The military operations against Samarcand. XI. The operations against Khiva. XII. Events in Afghanistan. XIII. The rivalry between Russia and England in Asia.

A DICTIONARY ENGLISH AND MARATHI, compiled for the Government of Bombay. Second Edition, revised and enlarged by T. Candy. Bombay; Ganpat Krishnaji's Press. 1873. pp. 27—974, quarto.

The first edition of this Dictionary was published in 1847. Its preparation was commenced by Capt. J. T. Molesworth in 1831. Lt. T. Candy joined him in 1832, and they labored at it together till 1835, when the health of both became so impaired that they laid aside the work. By the desire of Government, Capt. Candy took up the work again in 1840 and "toiled at it unremittingly" till the latter part of 1847, when it was given to the expectant public. It was received with favor both by the public and by Marathi scholars. "The gentlemen whom the Government of Bombay requested to report on the work, made a very favorable report; and the learned Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford, in his preface to his English and Sanskrit Dictionary, mentioned it in terms of great commendation."

This second edition is printed and bound in a style very similar to that of the first edition, and our first impression on comparing a few pages was that it is substantially a re-print of that edition. But this contains 974 pp. while that contained 838 and so it appears, (although the page of this is somewhat smaller and contains perhaps a twelfth less matter than a page of that,) that the work has been considerably enlarged. "A good many leading English words have been added, as also new meanings and new renderings, and the names of fruits, flowers, animals and substances, which have no corresponding terms in the Marathi, have been admitted into this edition."

We fully agree with the remark of Major Candy in his preface that "it is a pity that the revision of the dictionary was not commenced earlier, as then it might have been more leisurely carried on and more satisfactorily completed. But, from causes which it is not necessary to detail, the revision was put off till no copies of the first edition remained in store, and till the compiler had been overtaken with old age and

“infirmities.” When using the first edition, we have often wished that the authors had expended less effort in collecting all the Marathi words that might possibly be synonymous to the English word that was to be defined, and that they had expended more in the arrangement of the words selected to define it. The number of words given in a definition, is often astonishing, and the dictionary thus gives the impression that the Marathi language is remarkably copious. These are usually arranged in classes corresponding to the various meanings of the English word. But there is comparatively less endeavor manifested in the order of the words that are “clubbed together because of their having the same general meaning.” Of course each one of these words renders the English word “in some aspect or other.” But some of them are more common and more nearly synonymous than the others, and it is desirable that the Marathi word which most exactly renders the English word in a particular meaning, should come first in order. This has been aimed at to a certain extent and would doubtless have been more generally effected, had more time been allowed for the revision.

This peculiarity unfit Major Candy’s Dictionary for becoming the *vade mecum* of inexperienced students. The “Comprehensive Dictionary, English and Marathi,” by Mr. Baba Padmanji is better fitted for that purpose, as the shades of meaning of the Marathi words given in the definitions are carefully indicated. Major Candy’s Dictionary is like a vast forest filled with most valuable trees and plants and roots, that are carefully grouped and grow in lavish profusion, but as the plants are only partially ticketed, the inexperienced must be cautioned as to their use and told that when he “is ignorant of the power of a particular word, “it will be wise for him to verify it before he uses it.” In Mr. Baba’s compendium, only one or two plants of a kind are allowed, but each is carefully ticketed, so that even the inexperienced may gather and use the products in comparative security from mistake. It is to be hoped that when another edition of the thesaurus shall be published, the shades of meaning in the words given as definitions may be carefully indicated, while the present copiousness is also retained. In the meantime we will use this second edition, acknowledging its great value, and thankful both to its laborious and learned authors, and to Government for publishing it at so cheap a rate.

SACRED SONGS. Published by the American Marathi Mission. 5th Edition, revised and enlarged. Bombay: Education Society’s Press. 1874. pp. 192, 12mo.

This is in appearance a most unpretending little volume, but opening it we find something for which to be thankful; namely, 565 Christian hymns for the use of the Native Christian community of Western India. Most of these, it is true, have appeared before in books published by the American Marathi Mission, or by the Bombay Tract Society. But here we have the cream of the whole in one neat volume.

A glance at the history of Marathi Christian Hymnology will not be inappropriate in noticing a new and improved hymn book. There lie before us a dozen editions of hymn books in the Marathi language, issued at different times in the course of the last sixty years. Some of them are without title page, index, or date, except a look of antiquity and rudeness

which unmistakably dates them in the early years of missionary work in Western India, and tells us of the difficulties which the first laborers here encountered. The earliest date on any of these books is 1835. This is styled "Hymns for public worship, 2,000, printed at the American Mission Press." We are told that there were small collections of hymns printed before this. These were dropped out of use as improved editions became available. A version of the "Psalms of David in Marathi metre," prepared by Rev. C. P. Farrar, of the Church Missionary Society, of Nasik, bears date 1836. Among the earliest collections was one in which the final *a* which is an unwritten vowel in Marathi when joined with a consonant, was also unpronounced! Thus a word of three letters as *ma-ra-na*, even when occurring in the middle of a line, would be pronounced *ma-ran*, a word of two syllables. Whatever other excellences such poetry might lack, it certainly would possess for native hearers the charm of novelty.

The Watts of Marathi Christian hymnology, or the interpreter of Watts, was the late Rev. H. Ballantine of the American Mission, Ahmadnagar; and two-thirds of the hymns in the book under review are from him. These are chiefly translations into Marathi of the best hymns of Watts and other writers of English sacred poetry, in the same metre, and designed to be sung to the same tunes, as in English. The translations generally preserve the happy medium of fidelity to the spirit of the original, and sufficient freedom of expression to suit the idiom of the new language. These hymns have been in use among the native Christians for the last dozen years, and many of them more than twice as long. To these are added in the new edition, translations by others of some of the more recent gems of English sacred poetry—hymns that are embalmed in the Christian experience of thousands. The following are examples: "Sweet hour of prayer," "The old, old story," "The sweetest name," "Just as I am," "Even me," "Go and tell Jesus," "He leadeth me," etc.

Another most noticeable feature of this book, and one which adds greatly to its value for the native Churches, is that about 150 of the hymns are the original compositions of native poets; most of these are by Mr. Krishna Ratnaji Sāngale, a Catechist of the American Mission in Bombay. They are prepared in accordance with the rules of Marathi poetry, and are sung to native music. Most of them have been published before by the Tract Society in the *Gayanamrit*, and other tracts prepared by the same authors; but are now for the first time brought into one volume with the translations of English hymns. There will of course be differences of opinion as to the comparative value of the hymns composed in English and Hindu metres. The missionaries having been accustomed to the hymns and tunes in English, naturally love to meet with the same in Marathi. The natives find their own melodies much easier, and the frequent repetitions and choruses are in accordance with their taste. But they also learn to love the translations of English hymns for the rich devotional thought they contain, and becoming accustomed to the tunes, delight in many of them. The missionaries too, joining in worship with the native Christians, find that many of their earnest words of praise set to native airs, are full of sweetness and promotive of devotion. There seems the best reason therefore for combining both in a hymn-book prepared for the use of the native churches. None of the tunes are given

in this book; but this is a want which is hardly felt by a native congregation, who are accustomed to learn their music by the ear, and not from books.

The neat and compact style in which the book is got up cannot be too highly commended. It was desirable to bring it within as small a compass as possible, that its price might not be above the reach of native Christians. For this purpose small type is used, yet its clearness renders it available for nearly all readers. The book was compiled and carried through the press by Rev. S. B. Fairbank of Ahmadnagar, and Rev. C. Harding of Bombay; what an amount of labor and care the oversight of such a book requires while being printed, those who have tried it know. Others would not understand if told. The printing of an ordinary book with page after page of the same style of type, is nothing in comparison. Here are three or four kinds of English type, and two of Marathi, with figures in both languages employed in the heading of each hymn, and intervening in such a way as to invite frequent mistakes, and yet a typographical error of a letter even is of the rarest occurrence.

The hymns are classified according to their subject-matter under eleven different heads. This is a point of much importance in the preparation of a hymn book, and greatly facilitates the use of it. In the heading of each hymn is given its number, subject, and metre, both in English and Marathi; and when it is a translation, the first line of the original English is also inserted. Thus a glance at the heading suggests all that one most needs to know in selecting a hymn. We congratulate the native churches of Western India on the possession of such a book of praise for use in their worship of the true God.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

ANNOTATED NEW TESTAMENT, in Marathi. Vol. I. Matthew to John. Bombay Tract and Book Society.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH: a manual for Indian Students. Surat: Irish Presbyterian Mission press.

THE UNIVERSAL AND COMPLETE TRIUMPH of the Lord Jesus Christ in the World; an Annual Missionary Sermon, by Rev. T. J. Scott, M.A. Lucknow: American Methodist Mission press.

ESSAYS ON FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS. No. V. The controversies of the Day in their bearing on Christianity; and the Genesis of unbelief. No. VI. Hindooism contrasted with Christianity: Mirzapore: Orphan School press.

BRAHMIC DOGMAS. By Rev. S. Dyson. Part V. Divine Forgiveness of man's Sin is impossible. Calcutta Tract Society.

THE GREAT COMMISSION, and its Fulfillment by the Church. By C. K. Carpenter, Missionary to the Karens. Boston: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1874.

*** *The above works will receive more particular notice in the next Number.*




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