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THE LIFE
OF
ALEXANDER DUFF, D.D., LL.D.

BY
GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D.
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SOCIETIES, ETC

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Dedication.

TO

PETER MACKINNON, Esq.,

OF RONACHAN,

AND MRS. MACKINNON,

THE LIFE-LONG FRIENDS OF ALEXANDER DUFF

AND ALL TRUE MISSIONARIES.

P R E F A C E

THIS work has been too long out of print. Twenty years have passed since two English, one Canadian, and three American editions were published in rapid succession.

In the year 1879 "The Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D.," was first published in London, by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, in two royal octavo volumes. A second English edition appeared in 1880. In 1881 the Canada edition of the two volumes was issued in Toronto by Mr. William Briggs.

In the United States of America, Messrs. A. C. Armstrong and Son issued the first two-volume edition. This was soon followed by a cheaper edition in one volume, for which the late W. M. Taylor, D.D., of New York, wrote an Introduction. In 1881 the American Tract Society issued a third edition, assigning to the author "The George Wood Medal and Premium" because of his "fine transcript of the wonderful life of this devoted and eloquent missionary to India."

For a new generation of readers, at the opening of a new century of missionary enterprise, the publishers are glad to be able to issue this third English edition, somewhat abridged by the author, and brought down to date. The price puts the book within the reach of all classes, and especially of student volunteers and all young men and women whom Alexander Duff sought to draw to the foreign mission field.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE BOY AND THE STUDENT

	PAGE
Alexander Duff's Spiritual Ancestry	1
His Birthplace	3
His Father	5
Celtic Influences—His Dreams	8
His Schoolmasters	10
At St. Andrews University	13
Under Thomas Chalmers	14
Founders Students' Missionary Society	17
Licensed to Preach the Gospel	20

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST MISSIONARY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

Early Missionary Experiences of the Church	21
Dr. Chalmers and Dr. John Inglis	24
Missionary Letter to the People of Scotland	26
Alexander Duff's Answer	27
He Gives Himself	29
Ordained and Appointed Missionary	31
Married	32

CHAPTER III

THE TWO SHIPWRECKS

At Madeira	35
His First Shipwreck	37
The Loss of his Library	39
Rescued	41
His Second Shipwreck	43
He Lands at Calcutta	45

CHAPTER IV

CALCUTTA AS IT WAS

Its Position and Political Importance	48
Rebuilt after Plassey	49

	PAGE
The Great Bengali Families	50
How English Began to be Studied	51
Warren Hastings Founds First College	53
Educational Destitution in India	54

CHAPTER V

THE MINE PREPARED

Duff's Visit to William Carey	56
Formulates his Mission Policy	57
Christianity the Foundation and Spirit	58
Raja Rammohun Roy	59
The Erasmus of India	60
The Duff College Founded	63
The Daily Bible Lesson	64
English and Bengali	66
The First Year's Results	68
The First Rural Mission	69
Political Economy	70

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST EXPLOSION AND THE FOUR CONVERTS

Effect of the Sermon on the Mount	73
The Native City Roused	75
The Cry of "Hinduism in Danger"	76
Projected Course of Lectures	77
The City in an Uproar	78
The Governor-General's Support	79
Robert Burns on the Banks of the Ganges	80
The Native Press and Krishna Mohun Banerjea	81
The Second Course of Lectures	84
The First Convert	85
The Second Convert's Confessions	86
The Third and Fourth Converts	88
Duff's Scheme of a United Christian College	89
His Estimate of his Success	91

CHAPTER VII

THE RENASCENCE IN INDIA.—THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND
THE CHURCH

Lord William Bentinck and Macaulay	92
Sir Charles Trevelyan's Help	94
The Orientalists and Anglicists	95
Macaulay's Minute	96
The Government of India's Decree	97
A Christian Government's Duty	99

CONTENTS

xi

CHAPTER VIII

THE RENASCENCE IN INDIA.—SCIENCE AND LETTERS

	PAGE
Decadence of Hindu Medicine	101
The Anatomists in the Mission College	103
The First Dissection by a Hindu	105
Romanising the Oriental Alphabets	107
Primary Schools	108
The Press in India	109

CHAPTER IX

WORK FOR EUROPEANS, EURASIANS, AND NATIVE CHRISTIANS

St. Andrew's Kirk and its Chaplain	111
Sunday Observance in India	113
The Eurasian Christians	115
Bishop Middleton	116
Lord William Bentinck	117
A New Course of Lectures	118
The Cyclone and the Tiger	119
Anthony Groves and Rhenius	121
The Precious Seed Germinating	123

CHAPTER X

THE INVALID AND THE ORATOR

Home as an Invalid	124
The First Reform Act	125
The First Missionary Meeting	126
Fighting the Committee	127
The Converts and Other Churches	129
"Expect Great Things"	131
Duff's First Oration	133
Immediate Effect of the Speech	137
The Style of his Oratory	139

CHAPTER XI

DR. DUFF ORGANISING

Honoured by Marischal College, Aberdeen	141
The Earl of Fife's Offer	143
In The Ten Years' Conflict	144
Foreign Missions of No Party	145
Creating Foreign Mission Associations	147
First Exeter Hall Oration	149
At Cambridge	150
With Lord William Bentinck	153

CHAPTER XII

FISHERS OF MEN

	PAGE
Drawing Men to be Missionaries	155
John Anderson Called to Madras	157
A Glowing Picture and Appeal	159
Missions in the Light of Christ	161
Vindication of his Method	163
His Appeal to Posterity	165
Native Female Education	167
First Portrait of Duff	169
Dr. Chalmers Endorses his Method	171
Second Farewell to Scotland	173

CHAPTER XIII

EGYPT.—SINAI.—BOMBAY.—MADRAS

Dr. Duff at Alexandria	174
In Egypt and Arabia	177
On Mount Sinai	179
A Sabbath on the Mount	181
With Dr. Wilson in Bombay	183
With John Anderson at Madras	185

CHAPTER XIV

THE COLLEGE AND ITS SPIRITUAL FRUIT

At Calcutta Again	187
Results of his Work	188
The Five Missionaries	189
The College Methods	191
Spiritual Agencies of the College	193
Hindu Widows and the Family	195
The One Failure	197
The Twelve Principal Converts	199

CHAPTER XV

MISSIONARY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

The Heroism of the Disruption	202
All the Missionaries join the Free Church	203
"A Voice From the Ganges"	205
The Property Wrong	207
The Mission House, Cornwallis Square	208
Sympathy of the Evangelical Churches	209
"Light in Darkness"	209

CHAPTER XVI

CONTINUITY OF THE WORK

	PAGE
More Rural Missions	210
Outram and the Scind Blood Money	211
Conversions—Their Relative Importance	215
Bunyan's "Pilgrim" in Bengali	215
Converts from Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism	217
Family and Social Life	219
The First Four Native Ministers	221
Epistle to the Bengali Church	223

CHAPTER XVII

LORD HARDINGE'S ADMINISTRATION.—THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW"

Lord Hardinge's Liberal Measures	224
Sir John Kaye and John Marshman	225
The <i>Calcutta Quarterly Review</i>	227
Duff's Reminiscences	228
Epidemics in the Ganges Valley	229
Andrew Morgan	231

CHAPTER XVIII

TOUR THROUGH SOUTH INDIA.—HOME

Thomas Chalmers and his Successor	233
Tour in Madras	235
The Pagodas, Seringham	237
Schwartz	239
Church in the Hindu Palace	241
The Shepherd in the East	243
With Colin Mackenzie and Dr. Wilson	245
Home Again	246

CHAPTER XIX

DR. DUFF ORGANISING AGAIN

Missionary Economics	248
First Orations to the Free Church	249
Loyalty, Human and Divine	251
His Second Crusade at Home	253
Rousing Young Men	255
Great Britain's Duty to India	256

CHAPTER XX

MODERATOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—BEFORE THE LORDS' INDIA COMMITTEE

Learning and Piety	259
The East India Company's Charters	261

	PAGE
Before the Committee	263
Missionary Methods	265
Lord Ellenborough Answered	266
The Great Education Despatch	267
The Dutt Family	268

CHAPTER XXI

IN AMERICA.—SECOND FAREWELL TO CHRISTENDOM

In the United States	271
The Scots Missionary's Reception	273
Duff's First Oration in America	275
Contemporary American Criticism	278
Farewell to America	280
The Noble Gordon Family	283

CHAPTER XXII

THE MUTINY AND THE NATIVE CHURCH OF INDIA

The Greased Cartridges	287
Dr. Duff Handling His Musket	289
The Centenary of Plassey	291
Death of Henry Lawrence—Delhi	293
Growth of the Church of India	295
Active Loyalty of Native Christians	297

CHAPTER XXIII

LAST YEARS IN INDIA

The Maharaja Sindia	299
Zanana Missions	300
Death of Lacroix, Ewart, and Pourie	301
Agrarian Discontent in Bengal	303
The Bethune Society	305
Calcutta University—Ordered Home	307
Farewells to India	309
Sir H. Maine and Bishop Cotton on Duff	311

CHAPTER XXIV

IN SOUTH-EAST AFRICA.—THE MISSIONARY PROPAGANDA

In South Africa	315
Missionary Enterprise in Africa	317
Among the Kafirs and Zulus	319
John Lawrence as Governor-General	321
Duff's Missionary Propaganda	323
Comparative Religion	325

CHAPTER XXV

NEW MISSIONS AND THE RESULTS OF HALF A CENTURY'S WORK

	PAGE
Missions to Aboriginal Races	327
Missionary Unity	329
Plea for the Ablest Men as Missionaries	330
New Missionaries in India, Kafraria, and Natal	331
Hon. J. H. Hamilton Gordon	334
Dr. Livingstone and the Livingstonia Mission	336
Dr. James Stewart and Dr. Robert Laws	338
The New Hebrides Mission	339

CHAPTER XXVI

DR. DUFF AT HOME

As a Husband	342
His Favourite Authors	343
At Loch Lomond and Ulleswater	345
Death of Bishop Cotton and Sir H. Durand	346
Sir Henry Yule and Sir H. Maine	348
Lord Halifax	349
Lord Shaftesbury and Archbishop Tait	350

CHAPTER XXVII

ECCLESIASTICAL

Catholicity of the Missionary Enterprise	351
Divisions of the Scottish Church	353
Moderator of General Assembly Again	355
Union Approaching	357
Pure Literature	359
His Latest Tours	361

CHAPTER XXVIII

DYING

His Christian Imperialism	365
The Prince of Wales in India	366
The Empress Proclaimed	367
National Intercession for Missions	369
Love for the Peoples of India	371
Last Messages	373
Through Death to Life	375
Mr. Gladstone's Estimate of His Career	376
His National Monument	378

INDEX	379
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CHAPTER I

1806-1829

THE BOY AND THE STUDENT

THE spiritual ancestry of Alexander Duff it is not difficult to trace to Charles Simeon. Heredity, even on its physical side, is a mystery which modern science has as yet failed to explain. Much more difficult is it to discover all that is comprehended in the influences through which the character receives its motive power and peculiar colouring. It was the remark of Duff himself, when, in the fulness of his fame, he congratulated a young friend on a firstborn son, that in nothing is the sovereignty of God so clearly seen as in the birth of a child; the fact, the sex, the circumstances, the bent. To be at all is much; to be this rather than that is, to the individual, more: but to be the subject and the channel of a divine force such as has made the men who have reformed the world, in the days from the apostles to the greatest modern missionaries, is so very much more, that we may well look in every case for the signs which lie about their infancy. In this case these signs are near the surface. It was through the prince of the Evangelicals of the Church of England that, unconsciously to both, grace flowed, at one remove, to the distant Highland boy of the Scottish Church, who became the prince of Evangelical missionaries. And the grace was the same in both, for it was marked by the catholicity of true Evangelicalism.

It was just after that conversation of his which proved to be the foundation of the Church Missionary Society that, in 1796, the accomplished English clergyman who filled the pulpit of Trinity Church, Cambridge, was induced to make his first tour through Scotland along with James Haldane. At Dunkeld, Simeon tells us, his horses were at the door to take him on to the pass of Killiecrankie, with the intention of at once turning back to that gate of the Highlands in order to hurry on to Glasgow. But "I felt myself poorly, I ordered them back and proceeded to Killiecrankie the next day. At Moulin, a village four miles from K., I called to see a Mr. Stewart." In that visit was the seed of Alexander Duff's higher life. Having seen the pass, Simeon returned to assist Mr. Stewart, who was the parish minister, at the Lord's Supper. Their intercourse resulted in an immediate change in the preaching of a man of high repute for amiability and learning, but, like young Thomas Chalmers, "very defective in his view of the gospel and in his experience of its power." From that moment Stewart "changed the strain of his preaching, determining to know nothing among his people but Jesus Christ and Him crucified."

Years afterwards, as Simeon looked back on that visit to Scotland, and saw how in Moulin, at Dingwall, and then in the Canongate of Edinburgh, Dr. Stewart was made a living power to the souls of men and women, he blessed God for the indisposition which had kept him back at Dunkeld, and so had sent him to Moulin. This, and the results of his preaching for Dr. Colquhoun in Leith, led the Evangelical whom the University then despised and his own brethren condemned for preaching in non-Anglican churches, to write, "Amongst the many blessings which God vouchsafed to me in those journeys, there were two in particular for which I have reason to adore His name." After this, Simeon sent out to India the men, like David Brown and Henry Martyn, who, as chaplains and missionaries, formed the salt of the infant empire. He soon saw, also, one of the noblest of evangelising

agencies established, the Church Missionary Society; and he had helped the London Missionary Society, fruitful parent of similar organisations in Great Britain, America, and Germany. But of the far-reaching consequences of that day's work in Moulin he had not dared to dream.

Among Stewart's parishioners, of whom he had told Simeon there are "few real Christians whom I can number in my parish," were two young people, who were not long in experiencing the new electric thrill which showed itself in more than one revival such as a few of the most aged villagers recall with fond memory at the present day. James Duff and Jean Rattray were under seventeen when Simeon preached what he at the time bewailed as his barren and dull sermon. Gaelic was the prevailing language of the district; few knew English. But what the English of Simeon began, the Gaelic of Stewart continued, and James Duff was master of both languages. In due time he married Jean Rattray and took her to the farm of Auchnahyle. There Alexander Duff was born to them, on the 25th April, 1806. Removing thence soon after somewhat nearer Moulin, the boy's childhood was spent in and around a picturesque cottage on the estate of Balnakeilly. No trace remains of the old house of Auchnahyle, a new one having been built on its site. All the missionary's early reminiscences were identified with the cottage at Balnakeilly, still standing and but little changed, among the woods that slope up from the old north road before it enters Moulin from Dunkeld.

And here, as he himself once wrote, "amid scenery of unsurpassed beauty and grandeur, I acquired early tastes and impulses which have animated and influenced me through life." To its natural beauty of hill, wood, and water, on which the artist's eye loves to rest, there is now added the memory of him whose whole genius was coloured by the surroundings, and who, when the shadow of death was darkening over him, delighted to recall the dear father-house. It is the centre of Scotland. Rising gently some two miles to the north-east,

Ben-i-vrackie reaches a height of 2,800 feet. Thence the young eye can descry Arthur's Seat which guards Edinburgh, and in the far north the mightier Bens of Nevis and Macdhui. The house is beautifully placed in an open glade, with a brattling mountain stream on either side, and a wealth of weeping birch, ash, larch, and young oak trees, which, in the slanting autumn sun, seem to surround the cottage with a setting of gold. Twice in after years, with a loving and eloquent fondness, was he led to describe the place and the father who trained him there. When in Calcutta, in 1860, he observed in the *Witness* newspaper an advertisement soliciting subscriptions for a new Free Church for the parish, which the altered times made it desirable to erect in the neighbouring railway town of Pitlochry, he thus wrote in a public appeal:—

“The parish of Moulin, fairly within the Grampians, embraces the central portion of the great and noble valley of Athole, watered by the Tummel and the Garry, with several glens and straths stretching considerably to the north. The great north road from Dunkeld to Inverness passes through the southerly section of the parish, along the banks of the forenamed rivers. About a mile to the north of this road, and wholly concealed from it by intervening knolls and ridges, lies the village of Moulin, in a hollow or basin, once partly the bed of a lake, but now drained and turned into fertile corn-fields, with the ruins of an old castle in the middle of them. Formerly the half, probably the greater half of the population lay to the north, north-west, and north-east of the village. But things are very much altered now. From the enlargement of farms entire hamlets have been removed, and the cottars in most villages in these directions greatly reduced in number; while one glen has been wholly, and more than one to a considerable extent depopulated, to make way for sheep-walks.”

The Pitlochry portion of his native parish he described as “slightly elevated on rolling ridges above the Tummel, which, after its junction with the Garry a little above, flows on to join the Tay a few miles farther down; with

the country all around richly wooded, while free from all marshy ground and cultivated like a garden; encompassed on all sides, and at no great distance, with swelling hills and craggy precipices, and the sharp pointed peaks of the lofty Ben-i-vrackie towering up almost immediately behind it; placed, also, within a mile or two of the celebrated pass of Killiecrankie, which is bounded on the east by Fascal, with its enchanting scenery including the Falls of Tummel, and on the west by the battle-field on which Lord Dundee, 'the Bloody Clavers,' the relentless scourge of Scotland's true patriot worthies, the heroes of the Covenant, and the last hope of the Stewart dynasty, fell mortally wounded in the hour of victory; and which itself furnishes to the true lover of nature's works a variety of views altogether unsurpassed in their combination of the beautiful, the picturesque, the romantic, and the sublime."

The Duff Church, with an epitaph on its walls, now stands in Pitlochry as a memorial of the man who has given a new and higher interest to that portion of the Grampian range than any of its sons. Not far off a Celtic cross towers above the village with a bronze medallion of the missionary, erected in 1889. There is another memorial, a tombstone in the Moulin kirk-yard, "erected as a grateful tribute to the memory of his pious parents . . . by their affectionate son, Alexander Duff." When, early in 1848, he heard in Calcutta of his father's death, he sent to Dr. Tweedie a prose elegy on that cottage patriarch, which, undesignedly, enables us to trace the spiritual influence as it had flowed through Simeon, Stewart, and the good old Highlander to the son, who had been then for nearly twenty years the foremost missionary in India.

"If ever son had reason to thank God for the prayers, the instructions, the counsels, and the consistent examples of a devoutly pious father, I am that son. Though sent from home for my education at the early age of eight, and though very little at home ever after, the sacred and awakening lessons of infancy were never wholly forgotten; and, in the absence of

moulding influences of regenerating grace, the fear of offending a man who inspired me in earliest boyhood with sentiments of profoundest reverence and love towards himself, as a man of God, was for many a year the overmastering principle which restrained my erring footsteps and saved me from many of the overt follies and sins of youth. Originally aroused to a sense of sin and the necessity of salvation, when a young man, under the remarkable ministry of the late Dr. Stewart of Moulin, and afterwards of Dingwall, and the Canongate, my father was led to flee for refuge to the hope set before him in the gospel. And the spark of light and life then enkindled in his soul, far from becoming dim amid the still surviving corruptions of the 'old man' within, and the thick fogs of a carnal earthly atmosphere without, continued ever since to shine more and more with increasing intensity and vividness. In the days of his health and strength, and subsequently as often as health and strength permitted, he was wont to labour much for the spiritual improvement of his neighbourhood, by the keeping or superintending of Sabbath schools, and the holding of weekly meetings, at his own house or elsewhere, for prayer and scriptural exposition. In prayer he was indeed mighty—appearing at times as if in a rapture, caught up to the third heavens, and in full view of the beatific vision. In the practical exposition and home-thrusting enforcement of Scripture truth he was endowed with an uncommon gift. In appealing to the conscience, and in expatiating on the bleeding, dying love of the Saviour he displayed a power before which many have been melted and subdued—finding immediate relief only in sobs and tears—and being equally fluent in the Gaelic and English languages, he could readily adapt himself to the requirements of such mixed audiences as the Highlands usually furnish.

“In addressing the young he was wont to manifest a winning and affectionate tenderness, which soon riveted the attention and captivated the feelings. His very heart seemed to yearn through his eyes as he implored them to beware of the enticement of sinners,

and pointed to the outstretched arms of the Redeemer. Seizing on some Bible narrative or incident or miracle or parable or proverb or emblem, he would 'picture out' one or other of these so as to leave a clear and definite image on the youthful mind. And when he fairly entered on the full spirit of some stirring theme, such as Abraham's offering of his son Isaac, or Jesus weeping over infatuated Jerusalem; or when, piercing through the outer folds, he laid bare the latent significance of some rich and beautiful emblem, such as the 'Rose of Sharon,' the 'Lily of the Valley,' or the great 'Sun of Righteousness,' his diction would swell into somewhat of dramatic energy, and his illustrations into somewhat of the vividness and sensible reality; while his voice, respondent to the thrilling within, would rise into something like the undulations of a lofty but irregular chant, and so vibrate athwart the mental imagery of the heart, and leave an indelible impression there.

"Next to the Bible my father's chief delight was in studying the works of our old divines, of which, in time-worn editions, he had succeeded in accumulating a goodly number. These, he was wont to say, contained more of the 'sap and marrow of the gospel' and had about them more of the 'fragrance and flavour of Paradise' than aught more recently produced. Halyburton's 'Memoirs' was a prime favourite; but of all merely human productions, no one seemed to stir and animate his whole soul like the 'Cloud of Witnesses.' And he took special pains to saturate the minds of his children with its contents. His habit was orally to tell us of the manner in which the Papacy corrupted God's word and persecuted God's people. He would show us pictures of the enginery and processes of cruel torture. He then would give some short biographical notice of one or other of the suffering worthies; and last of all conclude with reading some of the more striking passages in their 'Last Words and Dying Testimonies.' To this early training do I mainly owe my 'heart-hatred' of popery, with any spiritual insight which I possess into its subtle and

malignant genius, its unchanged and unchangeable anti-christian virulence.

“He always appeared to me to realise fully as much of my own beau-ideal of the ancient martyr or hero of the Covenant as any other man I ever knew. Indeed, had he lived in the early ages of persecution, or in Covenanting times, my persuasion is that he would have been among the foremost in fearlessly facing the tyrant and the torture, the scaffold and the stake. Oh that a double portion of his spirit were mine, and that the mantle of his graces would fall upon me!”

This history will show how richly the prayer was answered. But the pictures of the “Cloud of Witnesses” were not all that fired the imagination of the Highland boy. Like Carey with his map of the heathen world, the father spoke to his children from such representations of Jaganath and the gods of India as were rarely met with at that time. On another occasion the son thus traced the specially missionary influences which surrounded him as a child: “Into a general knowledge of the objects and progress of modern missions I was initiated from my earliest youth by my revered father, whose catholic spirit rejoiced in tracing the triumph of the gospel in different lands, and in connection with the different branches of the Christian Church. Pictures of Jaganath and other heathen idols he was wont to exhibit, accompanying the exhibition with copious explanations, well fitted to create a feeling of horror towards idolatry and of compassion towards the poor blinded idolaters, and intermixing the whole with statements of the love of Jesus.”

Another of Alexander Duff’s constant schoolmasters out of school was the Gaelic poet, Dugald Buchanan, catechist in the neighbouring Rannoch a century before, who has been well described as a sort of Highland repetition of John Bunyan in his spiritual experiences. The fire, the glow, of the missionary’s genius was Celtic by nature and by training. The fuel that kept the fire from smouldering away in a passive pensiveness was the prophetic denunciation, varied only by the subtle

irony, of poems like "Latha Bhreitheanais"—*The Day of Judgment*, and "An Claignann"—*The Skull*. The boy's fearful delight was to hear the Gaelic lamentations of Buchanan, which have attained a popularity second only to the misty visions of Ossian, rehearsed by his father and others who had committed them to memory. Buchanan is the man who, when challenged by David Hume to quote language equal in sublimity to Shakespeare's well-known lines beginning "The cloud-clapt towers, the gorgeous palaces," gravely recited the Revelation which opens, "I saw a Great White Throne," when the sceptic, admitting its superiority, eagerly inquired as to its author!

The weird and alarming strains of *The Day of Judgment* so filled the boy's fancy that, when he first left home for the Lowlands, he one night dreamed he saw the signs of the approaching doom. In vision he beheld numbers without number summoned where the Judge was seated on the Great White Throne. He saw the human race advance in succession to the tribunal, he heard sentence pronounced upon men—some condemned to everlasting punishment, others ordained to everlasting life. He was seized with an indescribable terror, uncertain what his own fate would be. The doubt became so terrible as to convulse his frame. When his turn for sentence drew near, the dreamer awoke shivering violently. The experience left an indelible impression on his mind. It threw him into earnest prayer for pardon, and was followed by what he long after described as something like the assurance of acceptance through the atoning blood of Jesus Christ.

The next harvest vacation was marked by another experience of a similar kind, in which those who keep the ear of the soul open for every whisper of the divine, will read a prophetic call in the light of the boy's future. He had not long before narrowly escaped drowning in the more easterly of the two streams around the cottage, having been drawn into it as he was lifting out water from the swollen torrent, and swirled under the rustic bridge. The more peaceful westerly burn was the scene of his second vision. He dreamed, as he lay on its banks

among the blue-berries musing alone, that there shone in the distance a brightness surpassing that of the sun. By-and-bye from the great light there seemed to approach him a magnificent chariot of gold studded with gems, drawn by fiery horses. The glory overawed him. At last the heavenly chariot reached his side, and from its open window the Almighty God looked out and addressed to him, in the mildest tones, the words, "Come up hither; I have work for thee to do." In the effort to rise he awoke with astonishment, and told the dream in all its details to his parents. Not long before his death, he repeated it in this form to his grandson, so deep and lasting had been the impression. Such a call, be it the prevision of fancy or the revelation of a gracious destiny, was a fitting commencement of Alexander Duff's career, and a very real preparation of him for the work he had to do.

The parish "dominie" of Moulin was an exceptionally useless teacher. Amiable, ingenious, and even learned, he divided his time between the repair of watches and violins during school hours when the elder children heard the lessons of the younger, and fishing in the Tummel when his wife heard all read the Bible in the kitchen. A father of James Duff's intelligence and earnestness was sorely perplexed when, in 1814, a friend invited him to send Alexander to a school between Dunkeld and Perth, which the neighbouring farmers, engaged in reclaiming some wastes of the Duke of Athole, had established for their children. After three years of rapid progress, the boy of eleven was placed in the Kirkmichael school, twelve miles from Moulin, though not till his father had visited the teacher with whom Alexander was to board, and had satisfied himself that there was good ground for his great reputation all over the countryside. In time the sluggish Presbytery of Dunkeld awoke to the new educational light, and a deputation of their number found Alexander Duff, as the head of the school, put forward to read the Odes of Horace.

Mr. A. Macdougall was master of Kirkmichael school. In his family and under his teaching Alexander Duff laid

the foundation of a well-disciplined culture, for which, so long as his teacher lived, he did not cease to express to him the warmest affection. Among his fellows was Dr. Duncan Forbes, who afterwards became Professor of Oriental Languages in King's College, London. Such was the teacher's ability, and such his well-deserved popularity, that the thinly peopled parish at one time sent eleven students to St. Andrews.

Before he left Kirkmichael to pass through the then famous grammar school of Perth to St. Andrews University, he was to carry with him from his home another experience never forgotten.

The winter at the end of 1819 was severe, and the snow lay deep on the Grampians. The Saturday had come round for young Duff's weekly visit to his parents. Taking the shorter track for ten miles across the low hill by Glen Briarchan and Straloch, from Kirkmichael to Moulin, he and a companion waded for hours through the snowy heather. The sun set as they got out of the glen, no stars came out, all landmarks were obliterated, and they knew only that they had to pass between deep morasses and a considerable tarn. To return was as impossible as it was dangerous to advance, for already they felt the ice of the moss-covered pools and then of the lake cracking under their feet in the thick darkness. Still going forward, they came to what they took to be a precipice hidden by the snow-drift down which they slid. Then they heard the purling of the burn which, they well knew, would bring them down the valley of Athole if they had only light to follow it. The night went on, and the words with which they tried to cheer themselves and each other grew fainter, when exhaustion compelled them to sit down. Then they cried to God for deliverance. With their heads resting on a snow-wreath they were vainly trying to keep their eyes open, when a bright light flashed upon them and then disappeared. Roused as if by an electric shock, they ran forward and stumbled against a garden wall. The light, which proved to be the flare of a torch used by salmon poachers in the Tummel, was too distant to guide them to safety, but it had been the means of leading them

to a cottage three miles from their home. The occupants, roused from bed in the early morning, warmed and fed the wanderers. To Alexander Duff's parents the deliverance looked almost miraculous. Often in after years, when he was in peril or difficulty, did the memory of that sudden flash call forth new thankfulness and cheerful hope. Trust in the overruling providence of a gracious God so filled his heart, that the deliverance never failed to stimulate him to a fresh effort in a righteous cause when all seemed lost.

The boy spent his fourteenth year at Perth Grammar School, of which Mr. Moncur, the ablest of the students of John Hunter of St. Andrews, and a born teacher, had just been made Rector. The first act of the new master was, in presence of the whole school, to summon the janitor to sink in the Tay the many specimens of leathern "tawse" of various degrees of torturing power, which had made his predecessor feared by generations of boys. With consummate acting, he asked why the generous youths entrusted to him should be treated as savages. He at least had confidence in them to this extent, that each would do his duty; and, being the perfect teacher he was, his confidence was justified. The scene was never forgotten, and it went far to develop in Duff the power which fascinated and awed his Bengali students for many a year, and made his school and college the first in all Asia. Under Moncur, his Latin and Greek scholarship had their foundation broadened as well as deepened. In the favourite optional exercise, now too much neglected, of committing to memory the masterpieces of both, he generally came off first, and thus was trained a faculty to which much of his oratorical success afterwards was due.

He left Perth at fifteen, the dux of the school. Yet we question if he carried away from it anything better than Johnson's "Rambler," which the Rector lent to him for the vacation before the University term, and especially Milton's "Paradise Lost." Often in after years did he refer to the latter as having, unconsciously at the time, exercised a great influence over his mental habitudes. He carried the book constantly in his

pocket, and read portions of it every day. Thus the "Paradise Lost" moulded his feelings and shaped his thoughts into forms peculiarly his own. The Gaelic Buchanan and the English Milton, the Celtic fire and the Puritan imagination, feeding on Scripture story and classic culture, coloured by such dreams and experiences, and directed by such a father and a teacher—these were used to send forth to the world from the bosom of the Grampians a tall eagle-eyed and impulsive boy of fifteen. Presented with twenty pounds by his father, from that day he was at his own charges.

It was a fortunate circumstance that he went to St. Andrews. Of the four Scottish Universities at that time the most venerable was still the most attractive, from the renown of some of its professors. Little, of course, could be said for the schools of divinity anywhere till Thomas Chalmers went to Edinburgh, although Principal Haldane was not without routine ability and goodness, as head of St. Mary's, the theological college which Cardinal Beaton had founded. But the other two, known as the United Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, enjoyed the services of the ripest Latinist at that time in the United Kingdom, Dr. John Hunter, and of Dr. Jackson, whose lectures on natural philosophy were reckoned the most scientific of the day. The reputation and the influence of even these, however, were confined to their generation compared with the intellectual and spiritual ferment caused by the new professor of moral philosophy, which is still working in the lives of men and in the institutions of his country. When Dr. Chalmers almost suddenly disappeared from the pulpit and the hovels of Glasgow, and began the winter session of 1823-24 at St. Andrews with one lecture, Alexander Duff, having carried off the highest honours in Greek, Latin, logic, and natural philosophy, was one of the crowd who sat at the great professor's feet. His Latin had procured for him the most valuable of the rewards which Scotland, with its peculiar mixture of Latin and French theological and law terms, calls

“bursaries.” Especially had he carried off the essay prize offered for the best translation into Latin of Plato’s “Apology of Socrates,” and the Senatus spontaneously dubbed him Master of Arts.

The impetuous spirit of Duff received impressions of the theological deadness of St. Andrews, and of the new life brought to it by Chalmers, which found this expression, when recalled in the distant scenes of India. “The policy and the power of ‘moderate’ ascendancy were comparatively unmodified and unchanged, when, in the spring of 1823, it was suddenly announced that Dr. Chalmers was unanimously elected by the Senatus Academicus to the vacant chair of Moral Philosophy. And when it is remembered that at that time not one member of the Senatus belonged to the evangelical party in the Church, that all were moderate and some of them intensely so, and that Principal Nicoll was even the acknowledged leader of the moderate party in the General Assembly; it may well be imagined how the unexpected announcement was received with mingled feelings of surprise and delight—surprise at the choice of such a man by such an elective body, delight that the choice should have fallen on one so transcendently worthy. Indeed, ‘delight’ is far too feeble and inadequate a term to express the full gust of pleasurable emotion which instantaneously followed the announcement, and speedily diffused itself through the whole community. It was rather a burst of high-wrought enthusiasm. Of some it might truly be said that they believed not for very joy.

“Doubtless the sources of this joy were of an exceedingly varied and mingled description. Visions of temporal aggrandisement already floated before the minds of the townspeople, then sadly steeped in secularity and religious indifference. Without commerce, without manufacture or any leading branch of industrial occupation, their very existence might be said to depend on the University. And in the presence of such a ‘celebrity’ as Dr. Chalmers, they were sharp enough to behold such a nucleus of attraction for

students and strangers generally, that his residence amongst them might fairly be regarded as equivalent to an increase of thousands of pounds to their scanty annual income. Again, many of the inhabitants, alike of town and country, had numberless traditionary local anecdotes and recollections of him as a boy, a student, a lecturer on mathematics and chemistry, and lastly, as the eccentric minister of the neighbouring parish of Kilmany. And to receive him back again amongst them, in the full blaze of an unparalleled popularity, they felt to be like the shedding of some indefinable radiance on themselves. The few, the very few, scattered and almost hidden ones of piety and prayer, hailed the event with feelings somewhat akin to those of him who beheld the cloud laden with its watery treasure rise and swell from the west, after a long and dreary season of parching drought. As for the students, however careless or unconcerned as to purely spiritual interests, they were, without any known exception and with all the honest fervour of youth, enraptured at the thought of having for a professor a man of genius, and the greatest pulpit orator of his age. The dull dead sea of former apathy and inertness was suddenly stirred up from the depths by the rush and impulse of new and unwonted excitement. For many days they could think of nothing else, and speak of nothing. The third volume of 'Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk,' with its portrait and graphic delineation of Dr. Chalmers, obtained from the college library, was well-nigh torn and shattered from the avidity for its perusal. Already did every one picture to himself the form of the man with his pale countenance and drooping eyelids; his mathematical breadth of forehead with its 'arch of imagination,' surmounted by a grand apex of high and solemn veneration and love. Already, with anticipated breathlessness, did each one seem, in fancy, as if he felt his nerves creeping and vibrating, and his blood freezing and boiling, when the eloquence of the mighty enchanter, bursting through all conventional trammels, shone forth in all the splendour of its overpowering glories.

“At length the time of his installation came round. In November, 1823, he delivered his inaugural lecture in the lower hall of the public library, still called the ‘Parliament Hall,’ as there, in 1645, the Covenanting Parliament assembled which tried and condemned Sir Robert Spottiswood and other royalists for their share in the battle of Philiphaugh.” Dr. Hanna has told the rest in the memoirs of his father-in-law.

Such were the professors. And what the students? There had followed Duff to St. Andrews an old school-fellow from Perth, John Urquhart, with whom he shared the same lodgings, and, morning and evening, engaged in the same worship. Urquhart was a Congregationalist, as were also John Adam and W. Lindsay Alexander, who has written this bright sketch of Duff in their student days: “When I first became acquainted with him he was in all the vigour and freshness of early youth, stalwart in frame, buoyant of spirit, full of energy and enthusiasm, impulsive but not rash, a diligent and earnest student, and already crowned with academic distinctions earned by success in different departments of learned and scientific study. His reputation stood high as a classical scholar, and he had gained several prizes for essays in literature and philosophy. Subsequently to the time of which I am speaking, he gained equal distinction as a Hebrew scholar, and his essays in theology commanded the strongest approbation from his professors. Already also as a speaker, he had in debating societies, and subsequently by his discourses in the Theological Hall, displayed that intellectual power and that rare gift of eloquence which enabled him in after years so mightily to sway the emotions, guide the opinions, and influence the decisions of others, in deliberative councils no less than in popular assemblies.”

One of his juniors, the Rev. J. W. Taylor, of Flisk, whose first year at college was Duff's last, writes: “Though outrageously thoughtless I was much impressed by Duff. There was a weight and a downright earnestness about him which everybody felt. He was the boast of the college, and was greatly

regarded by the townsfolk of St. Andrews. His appearance as he passed with hurried step is indelibly photographed on my mind, and is thus put in my 'Historical Antiquities' of the city. 'That tall figure, crossing the street and looking thoughtfully to the ground, stooped somewhat in the shoulders, and his hand awkwardly grasping the lappet of his coat, is Alexander Duff, the pride of the college, whose mind has received the impress of Chalmers's big thoughts and the form of his phraseology. Under Chalmers, he was, in St. Andrews, the institutor of Sabbath schools and the originator of the Students' Missionary Society.'"

The first session was not over when the great Christian economist, the expounder of Malthus and Ricardo, who had transformed the worst wynds of Glasgow, gave himself to the humblest mission work in the more ancient city, and threw his soul into the then despised cause of foreign missions. Duff's young spiritual life, which had been slumbering into formalism, he tells us, was quickened with that burning enthusiasm which glowed the brighter to his dying day. His friends, Urquhart and Adam, took steps to offer themselves to the London Missionary Society for China and Calcutta; and Robert Nesbit went to John Wilson, of Lauder, begging him to break the news to his mother that he was to be sent by the Scottish Missionary Society to Bombay. It is not surprising that these, and such companions as the late Henry Craik, of Bristol, Mr. Müller's colleague; William Tait, son of the godly Edinburgh minister who was deposed in the Row heresy case; and Mr. Scott Moncrieff, late of Penicuik, met with Duff in the session of 1824-25, and founded the Students' Missionary Society. Duff was its librarian, Nesbit its secretary, and R. Trail its president, as having originated an earlier society of divinity students only. Their object was to study foreign missions, so as to satisfy themselves of the necessities of the world outside of Christendom. Not a room for their meetings would the authorities of either college, or the magistrates who had charge of the

city school, allow them, until, some time after, the principal and professors were enlightened so far as to subscribe an occasional guinea. And that in spite of all the influence of Chalmers, who fed the spirit of the students and interested the townsfolk in the cause by lecturing on some portion of the field of heathenism once a month in the Town Hall. This society, noteworthy in the history of Scottish Missions as the fruitful parent of the most apostolic missionaries of the country, met first in an adventure school in a dingy lane of St. Andrews.

The Memoir of Urquhart, who passed away all too early from the work for which he was preparing, reveals at once the depth of Duff's friendship, in the letters and in the preface to the third edition of 1869, and the very practical forms of mission study and prayer followed by the members. When Urquhart, in his concluding address, solemnly announced for the first time his personal dedication to missionary work, and charged every one of his fellows to take this matter into most serious consideration, Duff received a solemn impression. But books, essays, and even the lectures of Chalmers, were not all. In those days the giants of the three early Societies occasionally came home with news of victory in the high places of the field, with plans of further campaigns, with appeals for recruits. When Urquhart startled his companions by that announcement into following his example, he had just returned from a visit to the great missionary, Dr. Morrison, then in London, from whom he had been taking lessons in Chinese.

Dr. Chalmers kept open house for all such in St. Andrews, to which his sympathy with them as well as his fame attracted them. Thus the students saw Dr. Marshman, who was full of the enterprise of 1818, when he and Carey had opened, in Serampore, the first English and Sanscrit College for native missionaries and educated Hindus. Dr. Morrison in due time came north, to plead for Macao and Canton, to which his labours were then confined, to tell of his triumphs in Bible-translating and dictionary-making, and give some

account of the ten thousand Chinese books which he had brought home. And from Calcutta there might be seen, at the lively breakfast table of the renowned professor of moral philosophy, the spare form of that Sanscrit and Bengali pundit, Dr. Yates, alternating between attacks on Church establishments and expositions of Brahmanical subtleties, or listening to the professor's emphatically expressed opinion that religious societies should be managed by laymen, while ministers confine themselves to the more spiritual duties of their office. John Urquhart was right when he wrote that the colleges of St. Andrews, under all these influences, had become like those of Oxford in the days of Hervey and Wesley. Reckoning up the fruits of the influence of Chalmers for five years on the three hundred students who passed through his classes, his biographer exclaims: "More than one missionary for each college session—two out of every hundred students—what other University record can present a parallel!" The six were Nesbit, Adam, Duff and Urquhart, and Mackay and Ewart who followed them.

It was on the 19th October, 1828, that Dr. Chalmers made this entry in his journal: "Enjoyed my last Sunday at the beautiful garden of St. Leonard's: a sad sinking of heart." Duff returned to his last session at St. Andrews to find the light of the University leaving for the wider sphere of Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh. But the disappointed student found some recompense in being asked by Chalmers to write freely to him. The first fruit of a correspondence and a personal friendship which ceased, twenty years after, only with the death of the greatest Scotsman since Knox, was the following:—

"ST. ANDREWS, 20th Jan., 1829.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,—When leaving St. Andrews, you were so good as to request me to write to you during the session, and I promised to do so. I assure you that neither the request nor the promise was for one moment forgotten. I reckoned the request an honour, and you know it is not human nature to neglect what is viewed in this light. . . .

"The Students' Missionary Society is succeeding as well as ever, its numbers in no degree diminished. Even those who were at first disposed to view it with a jealous eye and shrink from any contact with it, as being an institution quite unacademical, begin to regard it more

auspiciously and countenance it with their support. Our meetings are well attended, our books much read; so that I trust the spirit which was suddenly kindled five years ago may long survive in this quarter at least, and demonstrate that it was not an ephemeral effervescence, founded on no principle and supported by no truth. I would rejoice to be enabled to assert the same of the town missionary society. All were prepared for a great change, so that its decrease was not unexpected. Its monthly meetings are truly the wreck of what they were. The animating spirit is gone, and gone with it have most of the attendants. I fear they will find the greatest difficulty in keeping up these interesting meetings, and that the Society will relapse into its original state of inefficiency. . . .

“Sabbath schools have now overtaken almost the whole population. I have personally visited all the lower classes in the town, and did not find twenty children who were not attending some school or other. A very great, if not the greatest proportion appears to be taught by Dissenters—a circumstance which of course grieves Dr. Haldane very much. He is so much annoyed by it that he spends no inconsiderable portion of his time in visiting the parents for the express purpose of requesting them to beware of the arts and beguiling insinuations of the Dissenters, and to remove their children from their schools ere they be tainted with their pestiferous principles. At all events, every Christian must rejoice that ‘by all means’ the doctrine of the Cross is now regularly and systematically taught to nearly all the children of St. Andrews. Dr. Haldane has contrived to muster a class of mechanics, or rather apprentice-lads, to whom I explain an appointed passage of Scripture every Sunday morning between ten and eleven o’clock. I have the conducting of a girls’ school between four and six; and later in the evening I spend an hour and a half or two hours with Messrs. Smyth, Fortune, Watson, and another fellow-boarder, Robb, from Stirling. I prescribe a chapter to be read and studied for the following Sabbath, examine upon it, make remarks and explanations. . . .

“I have been proposed for trials before the Presbytery of St. Andrews, and my first examination takes place on the 11th of February. I almost begin to fear when I think of the awful responsibility of the Christian ministry, and this fear sometimes makes me shrink from the office, as if it were to be tarnished by my presence. Again I reflect, that if my motives are well founded the Lord will sustain me; and if not, it were far better that I desisted in time.”

In the spring of 1829, and in this spirit, Alexander Duff, M.A., was licensed by the Presbytery of St. Andrews “to preach the gospel of Christ and to exercise his gifts as a probationer of the holy ministry.” The man was ready; the work had been long waiting for him.

CHAPTER II

1829

THE FIRST MISSIONARY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

THE work had been waiting for two hundred and seventy years. Alone of all the Reformed Churches the Kirk of Scotland had placed in the very front of its Confession the fact that it was a missionary church. The foresight of John Knox, the statesmanship of the Scotsmen who gave civil as well as religious freedom to the kingdom, has been extolled by secular historians so opposite as Mr. Froude and Mr. Hill Burton. But that foresight saw farther than even they acknowledge, when the Scottish Parliament of 1560 passed an Act embodying the first Confession, which has this for its motto, "And this glaid tydingis of the kyngdome sall be precheit through the hail world for a witnes unto all natiouns, and then sall the end cum." That Confession was the four days' work of John Winram, John Spotswood, John Willock, John Douglas, John Row, and John Knox.

First self-preservation, then the attempt to throw their own ecclesiastical organisation uniformly over England also by political means, and finally the reaction and the indifference which mere policy brings about, succeeded in reducing the Kirk of the eighteenth century to lifelessness. What had, for all Christendom, been a series of crusades against the Turks; and for the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries

in the Indies, West and East, a series of raids by the Latin Church on the native inhabitants, became in the Reformed Church at home a defence of the orthodox faith against popery. But the General Assembly of 1647 had expressed a wish for "a more firm consociation for propagating it to those who are without, especially the Jews." Again do we catch a glimpse of the missionary spirit, when, in sending forth ministers with the unfortunate Darien expedition, the Assembly of 1699 enjoined them particularly to labour among the natives; while its successor added, "The Lord, we hope, will yet honour you and this Church from which you are sent to carry His name among the heathen." In 1743 the Kirk indirectly supported Brainerd, and in 1774 tried to raise up native teachers in Africa. Yet so far did it decline from the ideal of Knox that when the French Revolution and the progress of commercial discovery had roused England, America, and Germany, as little Denmark had long before been stimulated, the General Assembly selected as its Moderator the minister who in 1796 carried this opinion by a majority—"To spread abroad the knowledge of the gospel among barbarous and heathen nations seems to be highly preposterous, in so far as it anticipates, nay, it even reverses the order of nature."

What the Church of Scotland refused to do till 1829, one of the greatest of its sons was for half a century carefully preparing. Charles Grant was a civil servant of the East India Company during the famine which swept off a third of the population of a large portion of Bengal in 1770. From that time, as an evangelical Christian first and a Presbyterian, Baptist, and Episcopalian afterwards, as his position led him, Charles Grant in India, in the Court of Directors, in the House of Commons, in society and in the press, never ceased till he induced Parliament to send out chaplains and schoolmasters, and the Churches to supply missionaries. Before Carey landed at Calcutta and became his friend, Charles Grant had implored Simeon to send out eight missionaries, offering to receive all and himself to bear permanently the cost of two. That was

before Simeon's pregnant visit to Moulin. To Charles Grant and the friends whom he stirred up, like Wilberforce and the elder Macaulay, we owe first the Charter Act of 1793 which conceived, that of 1813 which brought to the birth, and that of 1833 which completed, what we may fairly describe as the Christianisation of the East India Company, opening its settlements in India and China to toleration in the widest sense alike of truth and of trade.

The nearly successful attempt of Wilberforce to get "the pious clauses" of Charles Grant into the charter of 1793, though foiled by the time-serving Dundas, then dictator of Scotland, led Christian men throughout England and Scotland to do what the Churches in their corporate character were still unwilling to organise. The Baptists had shown the way under Carey, in 1792. Presbyterians, Independents, and some Anglican Evangelicals united to found the London Missionary Society in 1795. The year after saw the more local Scottish and Glasgow Missionary Societies. And to the partly colonial, partly foreign agency of the Propagation Society, the Evangelicals of the Church of England added the Church Missionary Society, which, in 1804, sent forth to West Africa its first representatives, who were Germans. By its establishment of one bishop, three archdeacons, several Episcopalian and three Presbyterian chaplains in India, the charter of 1813 compelled the directors of the East India Company "to show our desire to encourage, by every prudent means in our power, the extension of the principles of the Christian religion in India." That language is sufficiently cautious, and the concession shows no advance on the orders of William III., in the charter of 1698. But it was accompanied by the very practical resolution of Parliament, without which much of Duff's career would have been very different, that "a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees (£10,000, at par) in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British

territories of India." The chaplain was thus legalised, the schoolmaster was thus made possible. But it was not till 1833 that the missionary, the merchant, the capitalist, the Christian settler in any form, was recognised or tolerated save as an "interloper"—that was the official term—admitted under passports, watched by the police, sometimes deported and ruined, always socially despised.

The first Scottish chaplain duly balloted for by the Court of Directors, and sent out to Calcutta, was the Rev. James Bryce. He sailed in the same East India-man with the first bishop selected by the President of the Board of Control, Dr. Middleton, who liked neither his Presbyterian brother nor the missionaries sent out by the Church Missionary Society under the same charter. Of a different type was the Rev. John Inglis, D.D. The minister of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh, was the one man of the Moderate party in the Church worthy, as an ecclesiastic at least, to rank with his great evangelical opponents, Chalmers, Andrew Thomson, and Sir Harry Moncreiff. His worthiness lay in the fact that, as Lord Cockburn puts it, he was the only leader of that party whose opinions advanced with the progress of the times.

So early, comparatively for Scotland, as 1812 and 1814 Dr. Chalmers had preached and published two sermons, which, on his death in 1847, led Duff to pronounce him "the leading missionary spirit of Christendom." In these Chalmers laid down the duty and the principles of the propagation of the gospel by Bible and missionary agencies. He reproached Scotland because there, alone of all Reformation lands, "the very name of missionary excites the most nauseous antipathy in the hearts of many, who, in other departments, approve themselves to be able, candid, and reflecting inquirers." But he added the prediction that "in the course of years all this will pass away." Five years afterwards Dr. Inglis preached the sermon in which we find the seed of the mission system of the historic Church of Scotland, and of the call of Alexander Duff. The one glimmering

missionary taper of the Kirk since the beginning of the eighteenth century had been the "Society in Scotland, Incorporated by Royal Charter, for Propagating Christian Knowledge." Although benefiting chiefly the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders, it did spend a few small sums on an occasional missionary at Astrakhan in the East, and among the Indians of the West, while it gave grants to the Serampore and other labourers. To preach the annual missionary sermon of the Society was an honour reserved for the ablest ministers, who generally talked platitudes on education, or kept themselves to formal theology.

But when, on the 5th June, 1818, Dr. Inglis announced his text, the spirit of unconscious prediction moved him. "Is it a light thing," were the words which he read from Isaiah, "that Thou shouldest be My servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel? I will also give Thee for a light to the Gentiles, that Thou mayest be My salvation unto the end of the earth." With triumphant faith in the ultimate universal prevalence of Christianity, he saw in the prophet's message "the most exalted idea both of Divine love and human felicity." In terms only less enthusiastic than those which ever afterwards marked the first missionary whom his Church was to send forth, Dr. Inglis showed how the nature and the divine agencies of Christianity secured its future universal dominion, in spite of its very limited success at that time. Among these agencies he placed education foremost, not because he made the mistake of requiring civilisation to precede Christianity, but because out of unconverted savage races he might thus raise indigenous preachers, and by means of natives endowed with intellectual vigour, and with a capacity of estimating what is just and true, he might secure more abiding and ultimately rapid progress. Pointing to the conquest of the Roman Empire by the Church, he asked why our connection with our commercial dependencies should be less favourable; upon what principle we who raised factories for trade concluded that "establishments for the instruction and

civilisation of our benighted brethren might not be rendered signally effectual." The translation of the Scriptures without comment he urged as equally important with schools. And this was written just before the Serampore missionaries had opened the first Christian college, while the sceptical English and educated Hindus of Calcutta were striving to establish their Anglo-Indian college on non-moral principles.

The General Assembly of 1825 pronounced it desirable to establish, in the first instance, one central seminary of education, with branch schools in the surrounding country, for behoof of the children of the native population, under one who ought to be an ordained minister of the then national church, and at least two assistant teachers from this country. That General Assembly re-appointed the committee upon the propagation of the gospel abroad as a permanent body, with power to raise funds and select masters. It ordered an extraordinary collection in all churches and chapels for the purpose. And on April 26th, Dr. Inglis, as convener of the new committee, issued a letter "to the people of Scotland," apologising for "our forefathers," since perchance their utmost exertions were not more than sufficient for establishing themselves and their posterity in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free; pointing to the recent missionary efforts of other religious communities, and summoning the nation to do its duty. The national letter mentioned schools for the education in English of natives of both sexes, and colleges to train a more select number to be teachers and preachers, as the best means for sowing a great spiritual harvest which may "be reaped by the establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom over the extensive regions of Asia. Yet let it not be inferred from our having said so much about schools and other seminaries of education, that we for a moment lose sight of the more direct means of accomplishing our object, by the preaching of the gospel to the heathen world. . . . It is in subserviency to the success of preaching that we would, in this case, devote our labour to the education of the young."

Alexander Duff's answer to this letter to the people of Scotland was to give himself—not, indeed, to the new committee for a time, but to the Master, to be used as His minister wherever among the Gentiles He might send him. But all his sympathies were with the natives of India. "It was," he long afterwards told his converts when bidding them a life-long farewell, "when a student at college, in perusing the article on India in Sir David Brewster's 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia,' that my soul was first drawn out as by a spell-like fascination towards India. And when, at a later period, I was led to respond to the call to proceed to India as the first missionary ever sent forth by the Established National Church of Scotland, my resolution was, if the Lord so willed it, never, never to return again."

Session after session, as he had returned from the winter's study at St. Andrews to the quiet of his Grampian home, the student had delighted his parents with details of his doings. John Urquhart had always been first in his talk. Especially had his father been struck with admiration at that student's determination to be a missionary to the Hindus. In 1827 the usual budget of intelligence was produced, but as the parents hung on their son's revelations, now with tears, now with smiles, and ever with thankfulness and pride, the loved name of his Jonathan was not once mentioned. "But what of your friend Urquhart?" at last exclaimed the father. "Urquhart is no more," said Duff, and then wistfully added, "What if your son should take up his cloak? You approved the motive that directed the choice of Urquhart; you commended his high purpose— The cloak is taken up." Mother and father were awed into silence at this, the first breaking to them, or to man, of the vow that had already been made to God.

So the missionary mantle fell in circumstances very unlike Elijah's and Elisha's. He knew that they had set their heart upon his being a minister in the Highlands, and that he had a prospect of not being long without a parish. He had therefore considered, before

God, what his course of duty should be towards them, and had come to the conclusion that he ought to have no dealings in such a matter with flesh and blood. Moved chiefly by what he afterwards termed the grand utterance of Christ, "If any man love father or mother more than Me he is not worthy of Me," Duff thus anticipated all remonstrance. At first they were overwhelmed, in spite of all the father's early teaching on the various mission fields, and especially that of India; for they were parents wisely proud of their student son's reputation, and fondly indulging in the prospect of his settlement near themselves. But calm reflection brought them to acquiesce in the deliberate choice of the young evangelist as the will of God.

The case of India came very close to him when, during the subsequent session of 1827-28, Principal Haldane laid before him a letter from Dr. Inglis, who had, thus far, been unsuccessful in inducing any minister or preacher of the Church of Scotland to offer himself for Calcutta, although students like Nesbit and Wilson were preparing to be sent out to Bombay by the Scottish, and others by the London Missionary Society. Dr. Haldane pronounced the third year's student of theology precisely the man that the Church's committee wanted. But Duff declined, from his youth and inexperience, to commit himself to any definite station until his studies were completed. A year after, he thus turned for counsel to Dr. Chalmers:—

"ST. ANDREWS, 12th March, 1829.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,—In redemption of a pledge formerly given, and encouraged by your kind reply, I should now endeavour to communicate whatever local intelligence can be collected since the writing of my last letter. But I trust that, though such communication be deferred for the present, I will be exonerated from the charge of neglect, by a desire to make known without delay the following particulars. Unexpected as they are in their nature, and deciding, as they appear to do, my future destiny in life, I trust you will excuse their exclusive egotism.

"About three weeks ago I was sent for by Dr. Ferrie, who stated that he had received a letter from a cousin of his, asking his advice as to the propriety of going out to superintend the Assembly's scheme for propagating the gospel in India, and that he dissuaded him from going, for, although he was satisfied as to his piety and zeal, yet he knew he wanted several other qualifications that were indispensably necessary. Immediately, he said, I occurred to him as a person well fitted for such a sacred and important station, and accordingly he made the proposal to

me of going to India to take charge of the new establishment. A proposal so weighty was neither to be precipitately rejected, nor inconsiderately acceded to. I therefore assured him I would solemnly deliberate on the measure, would wait for more definite information regarding its precise nature, and in the meantime would make it the subject of prayer. On the subject of missions in general I have read much and thought much, and in regard both to the sacredness of the cause and the propriety of personal engagement, my mind has long been entirely satisfied; nay more, on often revolving the matter, a kind of ominous foreboding mingled so constantly with my thoughts, that it became an almost settled impression that the day was not far distant when I would feel it to be my duty to adopt the decisive step of devoting my life to the sacred cause. In these circumstances, and with these feelings, nought remained in the present instance but to inquire, seriously and prayerfully to inquire, 'whether do I consciously feel myself possessed of the qualifications necessary to constitute the true missionary character,' and 'whether can I accept of the offered appointment, unactuated by any but the proper motives, a desire to promote God's glory and the welfare of immortal souls.' Now, were this a matter which required merely human consultation or advice, you, my dear sir, are the tried friend on whose readiness in giving advice, as well as its soundness when given, I could most confidently rely. But I hope that I acted in accordance with your views, when I concluded that the present inquiry rested almost solely between myself and my Maker. With this view of the case and in this spirit the inquiry was certainly conducted. And the result was, that, weak as is my faith, and secularised as, I must confess, are all my desires, I yet felt I could find it in my heart to devote myself to the service of the Lord, undivided by any worldly tie and uninfluenced by any mercenary motive.

"The inquiry as to the motives being brought to this conclusion, at which may the Lord grant that I have not arrived through any self-deception, the other inquiry, respecting the requisite qualifications, was by no means concluded so much to my own satisfaction. But on further reflection on the subject, the exceeding precious promises of God appeared to rebuke my distrustful vacillating spirit; and I seemed to have the faith—I trust it was not the presumption—to conclude that, if I engaged in the work with full sincerity of soul, by faith accompanied with prayer, God's grace might be sufficient for me, and *His* strength might be made perfect in my weakness. In this frame of mind, therefore, I resolved, if offered the appointment, to accept of it. This offer was not long in being virtually made. On Wednesday, last week, Dr. Ferrie received a letter from Dr. Muir (Dr. Inglis, the convener of the committee, being unwell), which among other things contained the following clauses: 'Dr. Inglis intimated his earnest desire to know from you as soon as possible what may be the determination of Mr. Duff. The Doctor is satisfied by all you have said that he is the very person fitted for the important purpose, and he is therefore extremely anxious to receive Mr. Duff's decision on the side of the offer; as he is not able to occupy himself with the routine of ordinary duty, his mind is exercised with almost a keen feeling of anxiety on the Indian scheme. If you can write to me soon, and especially if you can send me any encouraging intelligence from Mr. D., your letter on the subject will be very acceptable to him.' From this you perceive that the offer was fairly laid at my door, and that a definite answer was required as soon as possible. And having already made up my own mind on the subject, I lost no time in

visiting my friends, in order to justify to them a conduct to which I knew they would feel a strong aversion. I have now returned, after having succeeded in securing their concurrence, and have thus endeavoured to present you with a brief statement of all that has transpired.

“I am now prepared to reply to the committee in the words of the Prophet, ‘Here am I, send me.’ The work is most arduous, but is of God, and must prosper; many sacrifices painful to ‘flesh and blood’ must be made, but not any correspondent to the glory of winning souls to Christ. With the thought of this glory I feel myself almost transported with joy; everything else appears to fall out of view as vain and insignificant. The kings and great men of the earth have reared the sculptured monument and the lofty pyramid with the vain hope of transmitting their names with reverence to succeeding generations; and yet the sculptured monument and the lofty pyramid do crumble into decay, and must finally be burnt up in the general wreck of dissolving nature; but he who has been the means of subduing one soul to the Cross of Christ, hath reared a far more enduring monument—a monument that will outlast all time, and survive the widespread ruins of ten thousand worlds; a trophy which is destined to bloom and flourish in immortal youth in the land of immortality, and which will perpetuate the remembrance of him who raised it throughout the boundless duration of the eternal ages. . . .

“Please present my kindest regards to Mrs. Chalmers and family, and Miss Edie, and I remain, rev. and dear sir, yours with deep feelings of gratitude, ALEXANDER DUFF.”

But he was not the man to yield himself blindly to conditions which might neutralise all that was original or strong in his nature. He required to be assured, in particular, that he should be entirely independent of the chaplains of Calcutta. Alexander Duff in trammels would have meant shipwreck of the mission. The first missionary of the Church of Scotland went out to Calcutta with only one injunction laid upon him, which it became his duty to violate the moment he saw the country and the people for himself. That order was, not to settle in the metropolis itself but in a rural district of Bengal.

The report read by Dr. Inglis to the Assembly of 1829 declared that what the committee had wanted in its first missionary was “nothing less than a combination of the distinguished talents requisite for that office (head of a college), with such disinterested zeal for the propagation of the gospel as could induce a highly gifted individual to forego the prospect of a settlement at home corresponding to his merits, for the purpose of devoting himself to labour in a distant land, without any prospect of earthly reward beyond what

should be indispensably necessary to his outward respectability in the society with which he was to mingle." This subsistence allowance was fixed at £300 a year and a free house, "as the least that could be reasonably proffered," in the year 1829.

The committee then described "Mr. Alexander Duff, preacher of the gospel," whom they had found "after long-continued inquiry and much patient waiting," as "a person possessed of such talents and acquirements, literary, scientific, and theological, as would do honour to any station in the Church; who also combines with these the prudence and discretion which are so peculiarly requisite in the discharge of the duties which will devolve upon him; and is, at the same time, animated with such zeal in the cause to which he devotes himself, as to make him think lightly of all the advantages which he foregoes in leaving his native land." The self-dedication of the young preacher was made a reason for a renewed appeal to the congregations to do their duty. Not half of them—only 400—had subscribed, and that but £5,000 in three years. The response had waited only for the man. Mr. Duff's ordination resulted in the offer, by not a few parishes, of that annual collection which, in the three branches of the Kirk of Scotland, has risen to a gross revenue for foreign missions of £130,000 a year.

The General Assembly of May, 1829, appointed Mr. Duff their first missionary, and his ordination in St. George's, Edinburgh, followed on August 12th, Dr. Chalmers officiating on the historic occasion. From not a few pulpits and platforms before his departure for India he delivered missionary appeals, which roused a new spirit in the country, and have left behind them, in the seventy years since they were uttered, the echo of such a burst of self-dedication as this in the fine old kirk of Leuchars, where, preaching from Romans i. 14, "I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians," he exclaimed—"There was a time when I had no care or concern for the heathen: that was a time when I had no care or concern for my own soul. When by the grace of God I was led to care for

my own soul, then it was that I began to care for the heathen abroad. In my closet, on my bended knees, I then said to God, 'O Lord, Thou knowest that silver and gold to give to this cause I have none; what I have I give unto Thee, I offer Thee myself, wilt Thou accept the gift?' The hearer who recalls this adds, "I think I see him, with tears trickling down his cheeks as he uttered these words. Afterwards I walked from Dundee to St. Andrews, and went to his Sabbath school, when he gave a very affecting address to his class of young people, urging them to remember him in their prayers as he would them in his, and the same God who heard them would hear him in India."

The decision of the General Assembly, and the arrangements which followed it, led him thus to address his father, who had watched with a grateful pride the consecration of the son to a higher than an ecclesiastical bishopric of souls: "Pray with redoubled earnestness that I may be strengthened with all might in the inner man, and with all grace and all divine knowledge, that I may be enabled to approve myself a good and a valiant soldier of the Cross, and not merely a common soldier but a champion. Oh! that I breathed a nobler spirit, and were filled with a more fervent and devoted zeal, and were more humbled on account of my vileness and unworthiness, and were clinging more closely to my Saviour." The natural affection of his mother he thus reasoned with: "Beware of making an idol of me. While you feel all the tenderness of parental love which the faith of the gospel, far from extirpating, strengthens, sanctifies, and refines, be earnest in prayer to God that Satan may not tempt you to raise me to an undue place in your affections, lest God, in His holy displeasure, see fit to remove me not only to India, but to the land of skulls and sepulchres. Think then, ponder, pray over these things, and may God Himself guide and direct you into the ways of peace and heavenly resignation."

Just before Dr. Chalmers ordained the missionary, Dr. Inglis married him, on the 9th July, to Anne Scott Drysdale, of Edinburgh. It was, and was more

than once pronounced by him, when left the survivor but not solitary, a happy consummation. Never had even missionary a more devoted wife. Sinking herself in her husband from the very first, she gave him a new strength, and left the whole fulness of his nature and his time free for the one work of his life. It was on the 19th September, 1829, that they left Leith for London, where Sir John Pirie fitted up a cabin for them in the *Lady Holland* East Indiaman. Dr. Inglis had formally applied to the Court of Directors for permission for Mr. Duff and his wife to sail to India as "interlopers," not in the covenanted civil, military, or naval service of the East India Company, which passport Parliament was soon to declare unnecessary by the charter of 1833. He was, Dr. Inglis reported to the Assembly of 1830, "supplied with letters of introduction and recommendation to the Governor-General, to our countryman the Earl of Dalhousie, to other men of influence at the seat of Government at Calcutta, and to some of our private friends."

The Earl, a Waterloo veteran, who was Commander-in-Chief of the Indian armies, was the father of the great Marquess.* The Governor-General was Lord William Bentinck.

* See *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, p. 275 (John Murray, 2nd edition, 1898).

CHAPTER III

1830

THE TWO SHIPWRECKS

THE vision of judgment seen by the child who had been feeding his fancy on the Gaelic rhapsodies of Dugald Buchanan; the Divine call to the boy as he lay dreaming among the blue-berries on the streamlet's bank; the deliverance of the youth by the flare of a torch when he and his companion were falling into the sleep of death, lost amid the snow-drifts of the Grampians—these foreshadowings were not to cease until the missionary's preparation for his work was completed. He had followed the monition of all three, not blindly, but as explained by John Urquhart's death-consecrated appeal, and, finally, by ordination at the hands of the Presbytery, amid the crowd that filled St. George's, Edinburgh, and after the inspiring eloquence of Dr. Chalmers. Alexander Duff and his wife were still to undergo the experience of the greatest of all missionaries, who wrote, "Thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day have I been in the deep; in journeyings often, in perils of waters."

The *Lady Holland*, having filled up in the Thames with a cargo valued at £48,000, finally set sail from Ryde on the 14th October, 1829. Plunging heavily into a storm outside the Isle of Wight, the ship made for Falmouth. When the gale had abated she passed close to a derelict vessel carrying wood and swept desolate by the waves. Not a trace of the crew could

be found. The sight affected the *Lady Holland's* passengers and sailors, filling not a few with ominous apprehensions as to the issues of a voyage thus begun. Contrary winds did not allow the ship to reach the roads of Funchal till the 7th of November. By that time the twenty-two passengers had taken stock of each other. The great man on board was no higher than a judge in the Madras civil service; but it was a fortunate circumstance that Mr. Lascelles and his party of seven proved to be "decidedly pious." An eighth, and next to Duff himself the most remarkable man on board, was Henry Marion Durand, the young lieutenant of Engineers who was to come second only to Sir Henry Lawrence on the brilliant roll of the Company's soldier-statesmen. He made up a gathering of at least ten who attended daily worship.

The captain, as usual, had intended to remain a week at Madeira, to take in a cargo of wine that it might make the voyage to India to be mellowed for the English market. Sir John Pirie had provided for the hospitable reception of Mr. and Mrs. Duff by his agent. As there were at the time three British frigates in the roads, they found their fellow-guest to be the famous novelist, Captain Marryat, who was in command of one. The week had nearly passed; the agent of the ship gave the usual ball to the captain and passengers on the night before her announced departure, and all were present at the dance save the Duffs and Lieutenant Durand. After midnight westerly gales set in with violence and drove the ships in the Bay out to sea. Three of them missed stays, were driven ashore and dashed to pieces, and not a life was saved. The captains of the frigates and other vessels, being on shore at the ball, were in a sorry plight. Day after day there was a succession of gales, so that nothing was heard of any one of the vessels for upwards of three weeks. Being thus unexpectedly detained, the passengers visited the most interesting sights of the island, amongst others the Curral, in the centre, which is in reality the gigantic crater of a volcano rising to the height of six thousand feet.

Mr. Duff held Sabbath services which were attended by most of the English people in Funchal; and there was no hearer more attentive than Captain Marryat, who used to boast that one of his ancestors was a martyr to the Christian faith. After three weeks one and another of the missing ships began to return, and on the 3rd December the *Lady Holland* set sail in company with one of the British frigates, which had been ordered to the equatorial regions to look after pirates. This necessitated a *détour* to the port of the principal of the Cape Verd islands, where the captain of the frigate had to consult the British Consul, and learn from him all that was known about the proceedings of the pirates. On one morning, within a few hundred yards of the vessel there passed, scudding before the wind, one of the famous pirate ships with at least fifty men on deck, and the British frigate in full pursuit. The *Lady Holland*, thus saved from what otherwise would have been destruction to passengers and vessel, rapidly proceeded on her voyage, leaving the frigate to deal with the pirate. After having been driven by the south-east trade-wind very near to Buenos Ayres, she at last, early in February, approached the coast of South Africa, for the captain intended to call at the Cape of Good Hope. For a whole week the weather had been cloudy and boisterous, so that no accurate observation could be obtained; still, the captain knew that he was within no great distance of the coast.

From the Cape there shoots into the sea, for forty or fifty miles, a sandbank on which soundings may be had, but along which a tremendous current sweeps round. By soundings, on Saturday evening, 13th February, the captain knew that he had entered on this bank. His intention, therefore, was to avoid risks by turning his vessel back to sea about eight o'clock. Having then sounded, his conclusion was that he might safely go on for other two hours. But as four bells announced ten o'clock, and he rose to give the order to turn the vessel back, she bumped with alarming violence upon rocks. The concussion was tremendous,

and from the first moment her case seemed hopeless. It was not upon a precipice, but on reefs of rock over which the billows dashed furiously, so that at once her back was broken and the fore part sank down between the reefs. As in all East Indiamen in those days lights were put out at ten, almost all the passengers had retired to their berths. The violent collision, as it seemed, at once roused them up, and they rushed to the cuddy, wrapped up in whatever they could lay hold of. Occupying one of the backmost poop cabins, Mr. Duff was half undressed when the shock took place. He ran out, met the captain on the deck, and heard him exclaim in agony, "Oh, she's gone, she's gone!"

Seeing that the condition of the vessel was hopeless, the command was promptly given to cut down the masts and then, in case there might be a way of escape, to caulk the seams of the long-boat in the centre of the vessel, in which were forty sheep when it left England. Meanwhile almost all the passengers assembled in the cuddy, but, from the violence of the motion, they could neither sit nor stand without clinging to some object. At first consternation was depicted in every countenance, for all had joyfully made their arrangements to go on shore at Cape Town next forenoon. In one of the cabins adjoining the cuddy there was a captain who was heard crying out in bitter agony, "What shall become of me, I have been such a hypocrite!" The explanation of this was, that he had been married to a godly lady, and while she lived he had tried to pay at least outward homage to the observances of religion, but, after her death, he relapsed into the follies of the world. Mr. Duff was wont to hold a religious service every Lord's-day, which all the passengers attended except this officer, who, to show his contempt, used to pace the poop deck over their heads.

A few of the passengers were God-fearing people, and they were calmly resigned to what seemed to be their inevitable fate. As was often the case in these long voyages, several of them were not even on

speaking terms. To introduce a mollifying element, Mr. Duff was accustomed daily to have a number of them in his cabin, to whom he read portions of the history of India and other works. Now all, oppressed with the conviction that they might immediately appear before the judgment seat of God, became suddenly reconciled. Others thought of the friends whom they had left at home, and gave varied utterance to their feelings. The whole scene, Mr. Duff used to say afterwards, tended to suggest the marvellous revelations which shall take place at the Day of Judgment. In about half an hour, when the first convulsive agonies of feeling began to abate, he suggested that they should join as best they could in prayer to God for deliverance, if it were His holy will, and if otherwise that they might be prepared to meet Him. All responded, while the missionary poured out his soul in fervent supplications.

While such was the scene below, the sailors were eagerly doing their part on the deck. All around the wreck there was one mass of white foam, except immediately behind. The captain had, at the very outset, ordered one of the gig boats hanging over the side of the vessel to be launched. He put three seamen into her, with the order to follow this darker part, and, if possible, get round the mass of white foam to ascertain whether there was any landing place available. For, at the time, it was not known whether the vessel had struck on a sunken reef, on an island, or on the mainland. It was a desperate endeavour. The sea was running mountains high, and it seemed impossible that a small boat could live in it. Three hours had passed, and the boat was given up as lost, when it appeared and the seamen announced that, round the mass of white foam, they had found a small sandy bay, on which, if it could be reached, a landing would be practicable. This intensified the desire to launch the long-boat, but, surrounded as the wreck was by masts, spars and broken bulwarks, it seemed more than doubtful whether this could be done. Every wave was now rolling over the main deck.

The long-boat could not contain above a third part

of those on board; the question therefore was, who should go first. The prevalent desire was, that all the lady passengers should if possible get on board. Then a very striking scene occurred: some of these were married, some unmarried. The unmarried ones went to the married men, saying, "You go with your wives; you are two, we are only one"—because the wives had said that they would not leave without their husbands. Eventually all the ladies and married men got on board. Manned by a few strong sailors, with the gig leading the way, the long-boat at length reached the shallow, sandy beach. The wind after midnight had begun considerably to abate, and all were landed.

It was found that the shipwrecked party had reached an island, of which the only tenants were myriads of penguins which had given forth discordant noises. The penguin is a bird in size intermediate between a duck and a goose, with short flappers which assist it in swimming and in running quickly along the shore. Soon also it was found that, since at that season the penguins laid their eggs in holes burrowed in the sandy surface of the island, there were two Dutchmen on the spot sent from Cape Town to collect the spoil. The passengers bargained with these men for the use of their cooking-pot, and then divided themselves into companies—one, to collect eggs; another, to gather withered grass and sea-weed for the fire; and a third, to remain by the pot and constantly boil the eggs as their only food.

Soon after this a sailor, walking along the beach, noticed an object cast ashore. Going up to it, he found it was a quarto copy of Bagster's Bible and a Scots Psalm-book, somewhat shattered, but with Mr. Duff's name written distinctly on both. The precious volumes had not been used on the voyage out. Wrapped in chamois leather, they had been put with other books in a box, which must have been broken to pieces. The sailor who found the volumes high and dry on the beach had been the most attentive at the service which the missionary had held with the crew every Sabbath. Taking Bible and Psalter to the hovel

where the passengers sought shelter, with a glowing face he presented them to their owner. All were deeply affected by what they regarded as a message from God. Led by Mr. Duff, they knelt down, and there he spread out the precious books on the white bleached sand. What a meaning to each had the travellers' Psalm, the 107th, which he read, as to other exiles, captives and storm-tossed wanderers since the days when its first singers were gathered from all lands to rebuild Jerusalem! What fervent prayer and thanksgiving followed its words, as the band of delivered men and women lifted their wearied faces to the heavens:

“Whoso is wise and will observe these things,
Even they shall understand the lovingkindness of the Lord.”

For the missionary himself the incident had a very special meaning, which influenced his after-life. His letters have shown that when in all the flush of his college successes he anew devoted himself to God, for what was then dreaded as a missionary career, he counted learning as nothing in comparison of winning Christ for himself and for others. As to some of the greatest of the Fathers on their turning from Paganism, Homer, Virgil and Horace had been dear companions, whose lines lingered on the tongue and rang in the ear when their books were not in the hands, so it was to Alexander Duff. He loved these less only because he cared for the old and never to be dethroned queen of the sciences more. He had but half parted with their companionship, and he could never lose the culture they gave him—the sympathy with all literature by which he was marked till his last days when he read to his grandchildren the “Paradise Lost,” which classical associations made more dear to him. So when going forth to found a college, a Christian Institute, like Bishop Berkeley, he had taken with him a library of more than eight hundred volumes, representing “every department of knowledge.” All were swallowed up in the shipwreck save forty. And of these forty the only books not reduced

nearly to pulp were the Bible, in the best edition of those days, solemnly presented to him by friends in St. Andrews on his ordination; and the Psalter with which Moses and David, Asaph and the other authors of the five books of the original Hebrew lays, have ever since fed the Church of God and comforted sinning, penitent humanity. With the books had gone his journals, notes, memoranda, and essays, dear to an honest student as his own flesh. The instinct which had led all the passengers, even the least devout, to recognise in the preservation of the Bible and Psalter a message from God, became in his case a conviction that henceforth human learning must be to him a means only, not in itself an end. That the word of God abideth for ever, was afresh written upon his soul. The man to whom purely secular scholars in the next generation bore this testimony as the highest they could give, that he was afraid of no truth but sanctified all truth, did not cease, even then, his allegiance to learning in every form when of his books and journals he wrote to Dr. Inglis: "They are gone, and, blessed be God, I can say, gone without a murmur. So perish all earthly things: the treasure that is laid up in heaven alone is unassailable."

The land proved to be Dassen Island, in the Atlantic, forty miles N.N.W. of Cape Town and ten miles from the mainland of Africa. From afar they saw the white mist which forms the "table-cloth" of Table Mountain. The shipwrecked people planned to cross the strait and find their way on foot to the town, but the Dutchmen's skiff was too small to do the work of ferrying in less than a month. So the Irish surgeon of the ship set out alone, and in four days a brig of war rescued them, sent by the Governor, Sir Lowrie Cole, although it was just weighing anchor for other duty at Port Elizabeth. The surgeon had sought an immediate interview with his Excellency, who had just finished his dispatches. The gallant soldier, who had been one of Wellington's generals in the Peninsular War, declared, "humanity has the first claim." The weather-beaten party landed in the midst of the British and

Dutch inhabitants, who crowded to express their sympathy.

For weeks the passengers were detained. The next East Indiaman was so full that three of them paid a hundred guineas each to be allowed to swing their cots in the steerage. Furlough rules make no allowance for even shipwreck, and high salaries draw belated officials. Mr. and Mrs. Duff could get a passage in the last ship of the season, the *Moir*, only on payment of 3,000 rupees! From Cape Town he thus addressed Dr. Chalmers:—

“CAPE TOWN, March 5, 1830.

“MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I know your time is precious and I shall not detain you, as my tale may be briefly told: On Saturday night, February 13th, the *Lady Holland* was wrecked off Dassen Island, forty miles north from Cape Town, but not a life was lost, not even a personal injury sustained by any one of the passengers or crew. This is the fact: for a detail of the fact and its consequences I refer you to a communication of this date, addressed to Dr. Inglis as the official organ of the Assembly's committee. You will there have an account of the nature of our danger and deliverance, our severe loss and future prospects. And the object of my writing to *you* separately, is—that a circumstance so calamitous in its aspect may not be permitted to cool zeal or damp exertion, but may be improved, to kindle a new flame throughout the Church and cause it to burn inextinguishably. As remarked in the communication referred to, ‘though part of the first-fruits of the Church of Scotland in the great cause of Christian philanthropy has perished in the total wreck of the *Lady Holland*, the cause of Christ has not perished. The former, like the leaves of autumn, may be tossed about by every tempest; the latter, more stable than nature, ever reviving with the bloom of youth, will flourish when nature herself is no more.’

“The cause of Christ is a heavenly and divine thing, and shrinks from the touch of earth. Often has its high origin been gloriously vindicated. Often has it cast a mockery on the mightiest efforts of human power. Often has it gathered strength amid weakness, become rich amid losses, rejoiced amid dangers, and triumphed amid the fires and tortures of hell-enkindled men. And shall the Church of Scotland dishonour such a cause, by exhibiting any symptoms of coldness or despondency in consequence of the recent catastrophe? God forbid. Let her rather arouse herself into new energy; let her shake off every earthly alliance with the cause of Christ, as a retarding, polluting alliance; let her confide less in her own resources and more in the arm of Him who saith, ‘Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit.’ From her faithful appeals let the flame of devotedness circulate through every parish, and prayers ascend to ‘the Lord of the harvest’ from every family; and then may we expect her fountains to overflow, for the watering and fertilising of many a dry and parched heathen land.

“This is the improvement suggested; and of all men living you, my dear Doctor, are, with God's blessing, the individual most capable of making it. Let the committee be awakened, and, from the awakening appeals of the committee, let the Church be aroused. Who, that has

heard it, can ever forget your own vivid description and eloquent improvement of the magnificent preparation and total failure of the first great missionary enterprise? From it ours stands at an immeasurable distance; but the principle is the same. I fear that much of calculating worldliness is apt to enter into the schemes and preparations of the Assembly. And now Heaven frowns in mercy, and buries a portion of its fruits in the depths of ocean, to excite, if possible, to the cherishing of a holier spirit, and a more prayerful waiting on the Lord for the outpouring of His grace.

“Mrs. Duff desires her kindest remembrance to you, and with kindest regards to Mrs. Chalmers and family, I remain, my dear Doctor, yours most sincerely,
“ALEXANDER DUFF.”

“Sunday sail, never fail,” was the chant to which the sailors lifted the anchor for Calcutta. But the day proved to be no better omen than the derelict which had crossed the bows of the *Lady Holland* in the English Channel. Not till near the end of May did the *Moira* sight the hardy little pilot brig which, far out in the Bay of Bengal but still in the muddy waters of the united Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers, is the advanced post of British India.

The hot sun was blazing with intense power, as the belated East Indiaman was carefully navigated into the estuary of the Hoogly, the most westerly of the so-called mouths of the Ganges. Hardly had she been moored in the rapid stream off the long, low muddy flat of Saugar Island, when the south-west monsoon was upon her in all that splendid fury which the Hindu epics describe with almost Homeric realism. The clouds hid the sun, and gave birth to a storm which soon changed into the dreaded cyclone. It seemed a portentous welcome at the very threshold of India, after the previous wreck at its then outmost gate. In spite of three anchors thrown out the *Moira* was dragged, tossed, and—as we have twice since seen in similar cases—lifted by the wind and the storm-wave on to the muddy shore of the Saugar, the *sagara* or confluence of Gunga with the ocean. The river was of unusually vast volume, the low delta land was flooded. Poised on the very edge of Saugar bank, with some ten feet of water on the shore and sixty or seventy on the river-side, and wedged in this position by the force of the hurricane, the *Moira* worked for herself a bed in

the clay. There is no time for calculation when the genius of the cyclone rides the rotary storm so that no living thing can stand upright. But instinct takes the place of thought, and the love of life develops daring which, in calmer hours, were madness. The vessel was soon found to be very slowly heeling over into the deep water. Nothing could be done, for the great wind of heaven was still loose, and the midnight darkness that might be felt was broken only by the flash of the forked lightning. The captain managed to secure the ship's papers on his person, and waited for the dawn.

The appearance of the river from the cuddy portion of the hull was awful. The wind, in mighty whirling eddies, raised up columns of water which came down like so many cataracts. From the perilous position of the ship it was necessary that all should be put on shore, but that meant deep water. One large tree, however, was espied, and to that the pilot and the natives succeeded in making a hawser fast, by swimming to its branches. Alongside a boat was moored to the tree, and there, on somewhat higher ground, the passengers were "landed" up to the waist in water, at the time rolling in billows. The wind drove all, passengers and crew, inland to a village where caste forbade the natives to give them shelter. The island stretches for ten miles in length and five in breadth, and at that time had a population of some ten thousand persons, who lived by the manufacture of salt, and on the offerings of the pilgrims at the annual bathing festival of the winter solstice, which used to attract a quarter of a million devotees from all parts of India. Denied access to the few huts that were not flooded, the shipwrecked party took possession of the village temple. Thus was the first missionary of the Church of Scotland, with his wife and fellows, literally thrown on the mud-formed strand of Bengal, where the last land of the holy goddess, Gunga, receives her embrace, and many a mother was then wont to commit her living child to the pitiless waters.

When the tidings reached the capital, a hundred

miles up the Hoogly, small boats of the covered "dinghy" class began to appear. In one of these Mr. and Mrs. Duff arrived at the City of Palaces, drenched with mud, and terribly exhausted after twenty-four hours in the temple, following such a day and night of storm. Young Durand, too, found his way to the city, to the palace of the Bishop, where the tall lieutenant for some days excited amusement by appearing in the epicene dress of his kind host. The Duffs were hospitably entertained by Dr. Brown, the junior Scottish chaplain. In due time three steamers dragged the *Moirra* off Saugar shore, sorely shattered, but thus the baggage was saved. It was on the 27th May, 1830, that they reached the scene of the next third of a century's triumphs, having left Edinburgh on the 19th September, 1829, more than eight months before.

The first to visit Mr. Duff the evening on which he landed were his old St. Andrews companion, the Rev. J. Adam, and his afterwards life-long friend and greatly beloved brother, the Rev. A. F. Lacroix, both of the London Missionary Society. Next day came the venerable Archdeacon Corrie, fruit of Simeon's work; also Dr. Bryce, the senior chaplain; General Beatson, and other Christian strangers, who, with the more than freemasonry that has not yet died out of British India, desired to welcome Duff to Bengal. His own letters of introduction, preserved on his person in the two shipwrecks, he duly presented. With his wife he lost no time in calling at Government House on Lady William Bentinck, who received them with genial Christian sympathy. The Governor-General himself spoke encouragingly to him, and at a private dinner fully entered into his plans. Was Lord William not the greatest of the Bentincks, the best of all the Governor-Generals?

Alexander Duff was little more than twenty-four years of age when, a tall and handsome man, with flashing eye, quivering voice, and restless gesticulation, he first told the ruler of India what he had given his life to do for its people. Heir of Knox and Chalmers,

he had to begin in the heart of Hinduism what they had carried out in the mediævalism of Rome and the moderatism of the Kirk of the eighteenth century. He had also to make it a missionary Church. His work was to be twofold—in East and West.

Need we wonder that, when the Calcutta newspapers told the story of the repeated shipwrecks, the very natives remarked—“Surely this man is a favourite of the gods, which must have some notable work for him to do in India?”

CHAPTER IV

1830

CALCUTTA AS IT WAS

MR. DUFF had been forbidden to open his mission in Calcutta. Why, it is difficult to understand, in the absence of all reasons assigned for such a prohibition. So the agents of the Scottish Missionary Society, before Dr. Wilson, had neglected Bombay city, while shut out from the Maratha capital of Poona, and had wasted years in the obscure villages of the Konkan. The example of the Apostles, beginning at Jerusalem, might have sufficed. The first of all Protestant missions and colleges in Bengal had, indeed, been established outside of the capital, but that was because the East India Company's intolerance had driven Carey and Marshman to the protection of the little Danish Government at Serampore. This only had been determined on, that the first Scottish missionary was to open a school or college, just because that line of proselytising work had been neglected by the few other missionaries then in Calcutta. When Duff had seen these at work, in the city and all round it to Carey at Serampore, and twenty-five miles up the river to Chinsurah and the old factory of Hoogly, he resolved to begin his career by disobeying the one order he had received. It was the resolve of genius, the beginning of an ever-growing success, without which failure, comparatively, was inevitable. The young Scot had

vowed to kill Hinduism, and this he could best do by striking at its brain. Benares, Poori, Bombay more lately, might have been its heart; but Calcutta was its brain. Let others pursue their own methods in their own places, he would plant his foot down here, among the then half-million eager, fermenting Bengalis, feeling after God if haply they might find Him with Western help.

Calcutta, with its suburbs, the metropolis of the British Empire in the southern half of Asia, covers an area of 31 square miles, and has a population of 900,000. London had the same population at the beginning of this century as Calcutta now has. To what point Calcutta will reach in the new century, under the same wise and peaceful administration which has made it what it is, he may conjecture who best realises its unparalleled position. It is at once the centre of the most densely packed and fast-breeding rural population in the world; and of a network of rivers, canals, and railways compared with which those that have created Holland are microscopic. It is the focus of our whole political system in Asia.

Itself impregnable by nature and the *entrepôt* of the wealth of Bengal, Calcutta has sent forth triumphant expeditions to Burma, to Java, to Canton and to Peking in the far East. From Calcutta, Mauritius and even the Cape have been started on a new career. Embassies from the palace of its Governor-General, still known simply as Government House, have again and again dictated terms of peace and progress, against the barbarous aggression of Russian and French absolutism, to the Shah of Persia, the Ameer of Cabul, and the Maharaja of the Sikhs, when the Sutlej was still our only frontier besides the sea.

In 1596 this mighty metropolis figures on the rent-roll of the Emperor Akbar as Kalkatta, one of three villages in the district of Hoogly which together paid an annual tax of £2,341. The great temple, still in its suburbs, is that of the black destroying goddess of Kali-ghat. Under "a large shady tree," somewhere between the present Mint and the most orthodox quarter of

Sobha Bazaar, Job Charnock set up the Company's flag and his own zanana. For he had taken to himself the beautiful Sati or Hindoo widow whom he rescued from cremation only to be himself Hinduised. It is significant that the second college which Duff built as the Free Church Institution stands in the great thoroughfare leading down to the oldest burning ghaut, Neemtolla, the place of the neem-tree, which name probably embalms the tradition of that "large shady tree." Many a sati must have taken place within ear-shot of the founder of Calcutta, who used to have his sentences of whipping executed on native offenders "when he was at dinner, so near his dining-room that the groans and cries of the poor delinquent served him for music."

By 1752 the population had grown to 400,000, when the irate Governor of Bengal, Suraj-ud-Dowla, made a swoop upon them from his capital of Murshidabad. Of the English who did not flee to the ships one hundred and twenty-three perished within twenty feet square of the guard-room called, by the soldiers usually confined there, the Black Hole. But the sack and the burning proved only new sources of wealth, when Clive and Watson had chased the tyrant back to his capital, and had defeated him at Plassey. In 1758 a long procession of a hundred boats, laden with seven hundred chests, and then a second fleet, brought to Calcutta the largest prize that the British people had ever taken, or £1,110,000 in silver rupees. From much of that, sent as compensation, the citizens, English, Armenian, Portuguese and Bengali, built the present city of Calcutta and Fort William. The reign of extravagance began; but also that of health, benevolence, education and, gradually, outward respect for religion. There were two thousand Europeans in the new city, many of whom had spent twenty or thirty years in India without once attending public worship. For them a new St. John's arose in the old cemetery. Friends of Cecil, Simeon, and the Clapham men were sent out as chaplains, after Clive had purged the services. He himself invited the missionary Kiernander, when Lally

had broken up the Lutheran settlement at Cuddalor, to instruct the natives and bury the Europeans in Calcutta, after the only chaplain there had perished in the Black Hole. The jungle around the new Fort William was cleared away, and Calcutta obtained that magnificent plain called by the Persian name Maidān, around which are its great public buildings and its Chowringhee palaces. By the close of last century, when the Marquess Wellesley, defying the Court of Directors, planted down on its edge the fine reproduction of Keddestone Hall in Derbyshire, designed by the brothers Adam, which is still called Government House, Calcutta was worthy of the position given it in the days of Warren Hastings as the seat of the central government. By that time it had become the outlet and the inlet for the trade of all Eastern and Northern India up to the Sutlej, so far as the Company's monopolies allowed trade to follow a natural course.

The necessities of intercourse with the natives, diplomatically with the Court at Dacca and Murshidabad and commercially with the capitalists and manufacturers, had early created a class of intermediaries and assistants between the English and the people of the country. Of the former was the Punjabi Omichund, the wealthy intriguer who tried to cheat both Clive and the Muhammadan ruler, whom he had instigated to the destruction of the English, and who was defeated by his own weapons. Of the latter were nearly all the great Hindu families which are still the heads of native society. Lord Clive's moonshi was, to his countrymen, more powerful than the great Governor himself. Raja Nobokissen founded a house like the Barings of England. More famous at the time, though now forgotten, was Clive's dewan, Ramchand. In the year of the victory of Plassey each of these men had a salary of £72; yet on his death, in 1767, ten years after, the latter left a fortune of a million and a quarter sterling. Nobokissen spent ninety thousand pounds on his mother's obsequies. The various ghauts, or bathing places, on both banks

of the Hoogly, from Calcutta to Serampore, commemorate at once the wealth and the superstition of the men who, in those days, lived on the ignorant foreigners whom they assisted, and on their own less educated countrymen whom they oppressed.

The advance merchants through whom the Company made its contracts with the native weavers for their calicoes and muslins, were the first to learn as much English as was necessary for their intercourse with the masters they defrauded. A lower class were the panders and agents whom ship captains were forced to use, and who still, as from the seventeenth century, mislead our sailors to their too frequent destruction. These were termed "dobhasias" or two-language natives, a word used in the earlier commercial transactions at the Portuguese Calicut and the English Madras. Ram Komul Sen, the author of the first English and Bengali dictionary, tells in his preface how the first English captain who sailed to the infant Calcutta sent ashore asking for a dhobasia. The Setts, the Bengali middlemen who helped Job Charnock to buy the Company's piece goods, in ignorance of the word sent a "dhobee" or washerman on board, with propitiatory gifts of plantains and sugar-candy. To that washerman, who made good use of the monopoly of English which he acquired, the native lexicographer ascribes "the honour of having been the first English scholar, if scholar he could be called, amongst the people of Bengal." The mere vocabulary of nouns, adverbs, and interjections, which, for nearly a century, constituted the English of the Bengalis, as it still forms that of the domestic servants of Madras, became improved when Sir Elijah Impey went out to establish the Supreme Court in 1774. Cases like the trial and hanging of Nuncomar for forgery, and the growing business of the Court which included all the citizens of Calcutta in its jurisdiction, while the judges strove to extend their power far into the interior, made the next generation of middle-class Bengalis a little more familiar with English. Interpreters, clerks, copyists, and agents of a respectable class were in demand, alike

by the Government and the great mercantile houses. For a time Lord Cornwallis pursued the illiberal and, as it proved, impossible policy of employing only Europeans. Hence the most enlightened Hindu of the time, Raja Rammohun Roy, did not begin to learn English till he was twenty-two, nor did he master it till he was thirty.

He stood at the head of the leading native families of Calcutta at the time of Duff's appearance there. After winning the gratitude of the Government as "dewan" or principal native assistant to the Collector of Rungpore, he had settled in the city in 1814. Others worthy of note were Dwarkanath Tagore, of the mercantile firm of Carr, Tagore & Co., and his cousin, Prosunno Cumar Tagore, great landholder and lawyer. Ram Komul Sen, already alluded to, was "dewan" of the Bank of Bengal. Russomoy Dutt was at that time "banian" or broker to Messrs. Cruttenden, Mackillop & Co., and afterwards honoured judge of the Small Cause Court. Raja Radhakant Deb was head of the orthodox party. Raja Gopal Ghose was a member of the firm of Messrs. Kelsall, Ghose & Co. These were the principal English-speaking native gentlemen, the most active in the education of their countrymen. We shall see how the Christianity that he brought and applied, in a form adapted to the wants of the time, tested them and sifted their families, and still tries their descendants as a divine touchstone.

One of the Mullik family, when in 1869 reviewing that period of dim twilight, stated in his own English, "that the betrothment of a maid to a youth fit to wear the laurel of Hymen, was chiefly influenced by the capability of the latter in point of his English penmanship, a specimen of which was invariably called for by the parent of the girl." Now the possession of the degree of Master of Arts is the test, a fact that gauges the whole intellectual and social progress which Duff had come to set in motion for far higher religious ends. As the vernaculars of the country were neglected by the British Government for the Persian of its Muhamadan predecessor, so English had to give way to a

vicious orientalism. In 1780 Warren Hastings had founded the Muhammadan College in Calcutta, to conciliate the Moulvies by teaching the whole range of the religion of Islam, and preparing their sons as officials of the law courts. In 1791 Jonathan Duncan, of philanthropic memory, did the same for the Hindus, by establishing the Benares Sanscrit College avowedly to cultivate their "laws, literature, and religion." From Plassey to the charter of 1813 was the most evil time of the East India Company's intolerance of light in every form, so much did it dread the overturning of a political fabric which had sprung up in spite of it. But then the Court of Directors was compelled by Parliament, expressing weakly the voice of the Christian public, to write the dispatch of the 6th September, 1813, which communicated the lakh of rupees order.

In 1827 the directors took a stronger position, when pointing out that the course of education must not merely "produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but that it will contribute to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages." The writer, James Mill, characteristically, could not find "the best security against degrading vices" elsewhere than in "that rational self-esteem" of which his greater son's autobiography gives us such sad glimpses. But that dispatch had hardly been discussed and angrily answered by the orientalistes around the Governor-General, when Duff gave himself to the life task of supplying the only motive power which would secure "the last and highest object of education" to the natives of India.

There were not more than five thousand native children at school in the whole city of Calcutta when Duff landed. Not more than five hundred of these learned English, and that after the straitest sect of secularists of the Tom Paine stamp. Such was the educational destitution of Calcutta, low and high, seventeen years after the Clapham philanthropists had, through Parliament, forced the Court of Directors to promise to educate the natives. Outside of Calcutta the few missionaries had made somewhat fitful

attempts to use English as the best medium for the conveyance of truth. A Hindu who was "almost a Christian," Jay Narain Ghosal, in 1814 left 20,000 rupees to found a college in Benares, which the Church Missionary Society still conducts. In the same year, at Chinsurah, the London Missionary Society's agent, Mr. May, opened a high school, which received the first grant-in-aid. Dr. Marshman established many native schools in 1816; but it was in 1818 that the great college of the Serampore missionaries was projected to do on the Christian side what the Calcutta Hindus were attempting on the purely secular. Unhappily, that was not in Calcutta. There sati, infanticide, and the choking of the dying with Ganges mud were as common as in the time of Job Charnock. Mr. G. Pearce, who landed there three years before Duff, as a missionary of the Baptist Society, was even then required to report himself to the police and to make oath that he would behave himself peaceably. Sunday was blotted out of the calendar. Caste and idolatry revelled under the protection of the Company. Human sacrifices and Thug murder by strangling were common. Only four societies, represented by a dozen foreign missionaries, were at work in Calcutta and all Bengal—the Baptist, the London, the Church, and the Orissa General Baptist. In 1817 there were only nine Baptist and half a dozen Anglican converts in all Calcutta, and of these but a portion were Hindus, and one had been a Muhammadan. This was the fruit of ten years' labour.

Thus far the work of destruction had begun, and Hindu hands had been the first to try to pull down their Dagon of falsehood, while Government officials had been active, more or less unconsciously, in propping it up. Who was to arrest the demoralisation? Who could so check the fermenting process as to work the mass into the leaven which is slowly leavening the whole lump? Who should begin the work of construction side by side with that of a disintegration such as even the nihilists of the Hindoo College had not dared to dream of?

CHAPTER V

1830-1831

THE MINE PREPARED

WITH the exhaustless energy which marked his whole life, Alexander Duff spent the hottest and wettest period of the Bengal year, the six weeks from the end of May to the middle of July, in preliminary inquiries. He visited every missionary and mission station in and around Calcutta. There was not a school which he did not inspect; not one of those thatched bamboo and wicker-work chapels, in which men like Lacroix preached night and morning in Bengali to the passers-by in the crowded thoroughfares of the capital, where he did not spend hours noting the people and the preaching alike. For he had at once begun that study of the vernacular without which half his knowledge of and sympathy with the natives must have been lost. He was especially careful to inspect representative rural villages. He arrived at two conclusions—that Calcutta itself must be the scene of his earliest and principal efforts, from which he could best operate on the interior; and that the method of his operations must be different from that of all his predecessors in India.

With one exception the other missionaries discouraged these two conclusions. He had left to the last the aged Carey, then within three years of the close of the brightest of missionary careers up to that

time, in order that he might lay his whole case before the man whose apostolic successor he was to be, even as Carey had carried on the continuity from Schwartz and the baptism of the first Protestant convert in 1707. Landing at the Serampore College ghaut one sweltering day, the still ruddy Highlander strode up to the flight of steps that leads to the finest modern building in Asia. Turning to the left, he sought the study of Carey in the house—"built for angels" said one, so simple is it—where the greatest of missionaries was still at work. There he beheld what seemed to be a little yellow old man in a white jacket, who tottered up to the visitor of whom he had already often heard, and with outstretched hands solemnly blessed him.

The result of the conference was a double blessing, for Carey could speak with the influence at once of a scholar who had created the best college at that time in the country, and of a vernacularist who had preached to the people for half a century. The young Scotsman left his presence with the approval of the one authority whose opinion was best worth having. The meeting, as Duff himself once described it to us, was the beginning of an era in the history of the Church of India which the poet and the painter might well symbolise.

The young missionary's object was, in the strength of God and the intensity of a faith that burned ever more brightly to his dying hour, nothing less than the destruction of a system of beliefs, life, and ancient civilisation of the highest type, based on a great literature expressed in the most elaborate language the world has seen. Up to that time, missionaries in the less Hinduised south of India had been at work for more than a century, and had been driven to evangelise the non-Brahmanical tribes. The system remained untouched. In the coast settlements of Eastern and Western India, after some twenty years' labour a few missionaries had detached a few units from the mass by ill-taught vernacular schools generally under heathen masters, and by addressing fluctuating and promiscuous groups in the streets and

villages amidst the contempt of the learned and the scorn of the respectable classes. Up to that time the converts had not only been few, but their new faith had not been self-propagating. It had died out with them. The first fact forced on Duff was, that, as against the Brahmanised Hindus, the prevailing missionary method had failed both in immediate results and in self-developing power. The logical, if also anti-spiritual conclusion, was undoubtedly that of the Abbé Dubois, who knew no other method—that it was impossible to convert the Hindus, and needless to try.

We have Duff's own statement of his divine strategy when, ten years afterwards, he told the people of Scotland, "In this way we thought not of individuals merely; we looked to the masses. Spurning the notion of a present day's success, and a present year's wonder, we directed our view not merely to the present but to future generations." Admitting the propriety of the direct policy adopted by his fellow-labourers of every sect in other circumstances, he thus "joyfully hailed" them: "While you engage in directly separating as many precious atoms from the mass as the stubborn resistance to ordinary appliances can admit, *we shall, with the blessing of God, devote our time and strength to the preparing of a mine, and the setting of a train which shall one day explode and tear up the whole from its lowest depths.*" So John Wilson reasoned on independent grounds, and acted on detailed plans adapted to Western India. So, as against the Brahmanical and Muhammadan systems, all the Reformed—now the only aggressive—missions in Northern India, have gradually come to do. In this sense, education, saturated with the Bible, became the most evangelical and evangelistic agency ever adopted against the ancient Aryan faiths.

When reviewing this period in the last weeks of his life, Duff declared that he was resolutely determined on this one thing: Whatever scheme of instruction he might adopt must involve the necessity of reading some portion of the Bible daily by every class that could read it, and of expounding it to such as could not,

with a view to enlightening their understandings, spiritually impressing the heart and quickening the conscience, while the teacher prayed, at the same time, that the truth might be brought home, by the grace of the Spirit, for the real conversion to God of at least some of them. As he read Scripture and the history of the Church, he did not expect that all or the majority of these Bengali youths would certainly be thus turned, for in nominal Christendom he felt that few have been, or are, so changed under the most favourable circumstances. That "many are called but few chosen," however, only quickened his zeal. But he did expect that, if the Bible were thus faithfully taught or preached, some at least would be turned from their idols to serve the living God.

While religion was thus to be in the forefront, his resolution was, from the first, to teach every variety of useful knowledge, first in elementary forms, and, as the pupils advanced, in the higher branches, which might ultimately embrace the most advanced and improved studies in history, civil and sacred, sound literature, logic, mental and moral philosophy after the Baconian method, mathematics in all departments, with natural history, natural philosophy and other sciences. In short, the design of the first of Scottish missionaries was to lay the foundation of a system of education which might ultimately embrace all the branches ordinarily taught in the higher schools or colleges of Christian Europe, but in inseparable combination with the Christian faith and its doctrines, precepts and evidences, with a view to the practical regulation of life and conduct. Religion was thus intended to be, not merely the foundation upon which the superstructure of all useful knowledge was to be reared, but the *animating spirit which was to pervade and hallow all*, and thus conduce to the highest welfare of man in time and for eternity, as well as to the glory of God. These sentiments he was wont to inculcate in the case of all whom he consulted on the subject at that time. All truth, directed by the two-edged sword of the very word of God, was that which was to pierce to the vitals

of Brahmanism, save the Hindu people, and make them instruments of truth to the rest of Asia, even more widely than their Buddhist fathers had been.

It was a directly providential combination of circumstances, which culminated in the Scottish evangelisation of the Hindus by education. These were, the sermons of Chalmers and Inglis in 1812-1818; the call of Alexander Duff in 1828; his wise independence and his wiser disobedience of the only command laid upon him; his unrivalled educational experience as well as spiritual energy; the revolution in belief and opinion begun by the Hindoo College; the official toleration and personal friendship shown by the Governor-General; and, lastly, that to which we now come, the help of the one Hindu whom English teaching had led to find the living God.

In a pleasant garden house in the leafy suburbs of Calcutta, the Raja Rammohun Roy, then fifty-six years of age, was spending his declining days in meditation on divine truth, broken only by works of practical benevolence among his countrymen, and soon by preparations for a visit to England, where, in 1834, he yielded to the uncongenial climate. "You must at once visit the Raja," said General Beatson, when Mr. Duff presented his letter of introduction, "and I will drive you out on an early evening." Save by Duff himself afterwards, justice has never been done to this Erasmus of India.

At the close of the administration of Warren Hastings, when the bleached bones of the victims of the great famine were beginning to disappear, in 1774, a Brahman landholder and his most orthodox wife had a son born to them on the ancestral estate, some fifty miles from Calcutta. Rammohun Roy's father had retired in disgust from the service of the tyrant, Suraj-ud-Dowla; his predecessors had been holy ascetics or sacerdotal lords, till the intolerant Aurangzeb forced one of them to take office at court. Their spirit, withdrawing from worldly wealth and distinction, came out in the young Rammohun, who, though trained in all the asceticism of his mother's breviary, renounced

idolatry at the age of sixteen, when he wrote but did not publish an attack on "the idolatrous system of the Hindus." To this he had been led by too intimate a knowledge of the Bengali and Sanscrit literature, in his own home, followed by a course of Arabic and Persian at Patna, and by the study of Muhammadanism. From Patna the truth-loving theist went to Benares, where he learned that the Brahmanism of his day was a corruption of what seemed to him the monotheism which underlay the nature-worship of the Vedas. Captivated for a time by philosophic Buddhism, he visited Tibet, where its practical Lamaic form disgusted him. Recalled by his father, he tried to influence the old man who died in 1803, and he so succeeded in convincing his mother of the folly of her life-long austerities that she confessed her disbelief in Hinduism before her death. But he had no Divine Saviour to reveal to her. The widow died in the service of the idol Jaganath at Pooi, having declared before she set out on the hideous pilgrimage: "Rammohun, you are right, but I am a weak woman, and am grown too old to give up rites which are a comfort to me."

In a brief autobiography which he wrote in England, he states that he was about twenty when he began to associate with Europeans. "Finding them generally more intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudice against them and became inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants." Finding a livelihood in the service of the English, as his fathers had done in that of the Delhi emperors and their Bengal lieutenant-governors, Rammohun Roy became an example of rectitude to the corrupt native officials who made our name detested, and he won the friendship of his British superiors. At fifty he retired, and became the centre of the Calcutta reformers. But he was far ahead of his timid contemporaries, who while approving the better followed the worse. The English language had introduced him to the English Bible, and the necessity of mastering that

led him to the original Hebrew and Greek. It was all eclecticism at first, for he admired in the law of the Old and the gospel of the New Testament only the same doctrine of the unity of God, which he had held up to his Hindu and Muhammadan countrymen, till they denounced him as *nastik* or atheist. Of this time he afterwards wrote: "This roused such a feeling against me, that I was at last deserted by every person except two or three Scottish friends, to whom and the nation to which they belong I always feel grateful."

In the very year, 1814, in which he took up his residence in Calcutta, he opened the Brumho Sobha, in order to teach and to practise the worship of one supreme undivided and eternal God. At first in his own house, and then in the thoroughfare of Chitpore Road, he and his pundits expounded in the vernacular the purer teaching of the Vedas, once a week, but on each day of the week in rotation in seven years. To the sound of drum and cymbals, guitar and violoncello they sang hymns such as this: "All is vain without the blessing of God. Remember Him Who can deprive you of wife, children, friends, relatives and wealth. He is the Supreme, separate from the triune deity (Brumha, Vishnu, and Siva); to Him belong no titles or distinctions. It is written: 'Blessed is he whose soul dwelleth on Him.'" Again: "Thine own soul is thine only refuge; seek to cherish it in its proper abode composed of five elements, and guided by six passions. Why dost thou mistrust thine own soul? . . . God dwelleth even in thine own heart." Christ was shut out from Rammohun Roy by inability or unwillingness to believe His own revelation of the Father and promise of the Spirit. But he set Him, as a practical teacher, far above all others, when, in 1820, he published anonymously a chrestomathy of the synoptic Gospels which he termed, "The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness."

His attitude to Brahmanism was still that of Erasmus towards Romanism. He believed he could purify the popular religion of its "perversion" while falling back on its early purity. His attacks on idolatry, his decla-

ration of the equality of all living creatures under the moral government of God, and of their duty to worship Him according to the most sacred mysteries of the Veds, roused at once the superstitious fear and the aristocratic selfishness of the orthodox families. They met the Brumho Sobha by instituting the Dharma Sobha, to uphold Brahmanism and all its consequences, such as sati and the denial of civil and religious liberty, of property and marriage to dissidents from idolatry. Thus Bengali society became divided into opposing camps, while the Hindoo College youths formed a third entrenchment in support of pure atheism and libertinism. These were the three powers at work, unconnected by any agency save the influence of English literature in the hands of vicious teachers, unopposed by Christianity in any form, denounced at a distance, and not once fairly grappled with by any Christian man. The Serampore missionaries, indeed, had taken a part in the conflict, and their quarterly *Friend of India* had given voice to Christ's teaching on all subjects, human and divine. But they were not on the spot; and they made the mistake of fighting Rammohun Roy instead of first using him as an ally against the common foe, and then educating him up to the revealed standard.

Having listened to the young Scotsman's statement of his plans, Rammohun Roy expressed general approval. All true education, the reformer emphatically declared, ought to be religious, since the object was not merely to give information, but to develop and regulate all the powers of the mind, the emotions, and the workings of the conscience. Though himself not a Christian by profession he had studied the Bible, and declared that, as a book of religious and moral instruction, it was unequalled. As a believer in God he also felt that everything should be begun by imploring His blessing. He therefore approved of the opening of the proposed school with prayer to God. Then, of his own accord, he added that, having studied the Vedas, the Koran and the Tripitakas of the Buddhists, he nowhere found any prayer so brief and all-comprehensive as that

which Christians called the Lord's Prayer. Till, therefore, Mr. Duff had sufficiently mastered the Bengali and his pupils the English, he recommended him to study and daily use the Lord's Prayer in the Bengali or English, according to circumstances. But he entirely approved of using the English language, and not the Bengali, Persian, Arabic or Sanscrit, for conveying sound European knowledge. This led him also to remark that he disapproved of Government having established a new Sanscrit college in Calcutta, against which, at the time of its establishment, he solemnly protested, on the ground that instead of thereby enlightening the native mind according to the intention of the British Parliament, the authorities were confirming it in error.

Such was his attitude towards Christianity when the young Scottish missionary first made his acquaintance; but he never lost his extreme veneration for the character of Jesus Christ, and his admiration of the supreme purity and sublimity of His moral teachings. Subsequently Mr. Duff and he had many earnest and solemn discussions on the subject. The testimony of John Foster shows that this remarkable Hindoo died believing in the divinity of the mission of Jesus Christ, including His miracles, but had not attained to an assurance of the deity of His person.

Greatly cheered by the emphatic concurrence of Rammohun Roy, Mr. Duff said the real difficulty now was, to get a hall in the native city in which to commence operations; for the natives, owing to caste prejudices, were absolutely averse to letting any of their houses to a European for European purposes. Then, if a suitable place could be got, how could youths of the respectable classes be induced to attend, since he was resolved to teach the Bible in every class, and he was told that this would constitute an insuperable objection. For, at that early period, the ignorant Hindus regarded the Bible with something like loathing, as the great antagonist of their Shasters; to take the Bible into their hands would operate upon them like a magical spell, forcing them to become Christians.

Rammohun Roy at once offered the small hall of the Brumho Sobha, in the Chitpore Road, for which he had been paying to the five Brahman owners five pounds a month of rental. The few worshippers were about to use a new building which he had himself erected before leaving for England, with the honour of Raja, on a mission from the titular Emperor of Delhi to represent certain complaints against the East India Company. As to pupils, his personal friends were sufficiently free from prejudice to send their sons at his request. Driving at once to the spot, the generous Hindu reformer secured the hall for the Christian missionary from Scotland at four pounds a month. Pointing to a punkah suspended from the roof, Rammohun said with a smile, "I leave you that as my legacy."

After a few days five bright-eyed youths of the higher class, mostly Brahmanical, called upon Mr. Duff, with a note stating that these five, with the full consent of their friends, were ready to attend him whenever he might open the school. Having met in the hall with the five on a day appointed, Mr. Duff explained to them, in a general way, his plans. In a day or two several new youths appeared along with them, requesting admission. On every successive morning there was a fresh succession of applicants, till classification and weeding out became necessary. When that had been done, a day was fixed for the public opening of the school, at ten a.m., when Rammohun Roy was present to explain difficulties, and especially to remove the prejudice against reading the Bible. The eventful day was the 13th of July, 1830.

Mr. Duff was ready. Standing up with Rammohun Roy, while all the lads showed the same respect as their own Raja, the Christian missionary prayed the Lord's Prayer slowly in Bengali. A sight, an hour, ever to be remembered! Then came the more critical act. Himself putting a copy of the Gospels into their hands, the missionary requested some of the older pupils to read. There was murmuring of the Brahmans among them, and this found voice in the Bengali protest of a leader—"This is the Christian

Shaster. We are not Christians; how then can we read it? It may make us Christians, and our friends will drive us out of caste." Now was the time for Rammohun Roy, who explained to his young countrymen that they were mistaken. "Christians, like Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson, have studied the Hindu Shasters, and you know that he has not become a Hindu. I myself have read all the Koran again and again, and has that made me a Musalman? Nay, I have studied the whole Bible, and you know I am not a Christian. Why, then, do you fear to read it? Read and judge for yourself. Not compulsion, but enlightened persuasion which you may resist if you choose, constitutes you yourselves judges of the contents of the book." Most of the remonstrants seemed satisfied. Daily for the next month did the Hindu reformer visit the school at ten for the Bible lesson, and frequently thereafter till he left for England, when his eldest son continued to encourage the boys by his presence and their teacher by his kindly counsel.

But all the Christian missionaries kept aloof. On the evening before the day of opening the school, one of them came to his house vehemently to expostulate with him. When his friend saw that he could make no impression on the far-seeing Scotsman, he rose, and, shaking him by the hand, looked imploringly in his face, saying that he was sorely grieved that his coming to India might, by the course he intended to pursue, prove a curse rather than a blessing. The simple remonstrant exclaimed, as a parting shot, "You will deluge Calcutta with rogues and villains."

The school thus fairly started, let us look at its founder at work. The student who had passed out of St. Andrews University its first scholar, its most brilliant essayist, its most eloquent debater; the preacher whose fervent utterances had thrilled the coldest assemblies by addresses which promised a rival to Chalmers himself, and were afterwards hardly excelled by Edward Irving's; the man who had been the stay and the counsellor of all on board the two wrecked vessels, is doing—what? Destitute of assis-

tants, save an untrained Eurasian lad, and despised by his brother missionaries, he is spending six hours a day in teaching some three hundred Bengali youths the English alphabet, and many an hour at night in preparing a series of graduated school-books, named "Instructors," which held their place in every Christian English school in Bengal for the third of a century. Men, wise in their own narrow sphere and unable to comprehend, because unwilling to study, circumstances so different as those of the educated Hindus, ask if the powers of a minister of the gospel are to be degraded by such work. Yet without that sowing of seed the great tree would still have to be planted. Without that humility Duff would have been like the average of his fellows, whose inconsiderate short-sightedness was soon turned into admiration and then imitation. It was the genius of the man, sanctified by the purest self-sacrifice, that led him to begin thus, as his Master taught, in the spirit of a little child.

Increased accommodation was secured, and the next step was taken. The decree went forth that none would be allowed to begin English who could not read with ease their own vernacular. The purely Bengali department was then created, in a bamboo shed with tiled roof erected in the back court. Under pundits carefully supervised by the missionaries, that has ever since formed an essential part of the organisation. But, for the first time in Bengal, the English-learning classes also were required to attend it for an hour daily. This contemporaneous study had two results of vast national importance,—it tended to the enriching of the vernacular language with words, and the then barren literature with pure and often spiritual ideas. This system developed into that study of Sanscrit which, in due time, the University was enabled to insist on in even its undergraduate examinations, with the happiest effects on both the language and the literature. Thus, too, Mr. Duff carried on his own Bengali studies, the rivalry between teacher and taught, and the marvellous aptitude of the taught, adding to his one over-mastering motive a keen intel-

lectual stimulus. That could not be drudgery which was thus conducted, and was in reality the laying of the foundations of the Church of India broad and deep in the very mind and conscience of each new generation.

Thus the first twelve months passed. The school became famous in the native city; the missionary had come to be loved with that mixture of affection and awe which his lofty enthusiasm and scorn of inefficiency ever excited in the Oriental; and the opposition of his own still ignorant brethren was not abated. For this was no gourd to grow in a night and perish in a night; and till vulgar success comes commonplace people do not perceive the gifts of others, as Pascal remarks. Duff now resolved that he must live as well as work in the very midst of the natives. No European had ever before resided there, nor was any Hindu prepared to let a house to one who would pollute it by the consumption of beef, and cast an evil spell on the neighbourhood. Many a week passed in fruitless endeavours to find an abode, when a two-storied tenement, uninhabited for twelve years because of the belief that it was haunted, was with much entreaty obtained in College Square. The locality, fronting the Hindoo and Sanscrit Colleges, was so central, that it was long afterwards secured for the Cathedral Mission College, and the University has been built on the third side of the square. Up to this time he had lived to the south, on the same line of road, in Wellesley Square, fronting the Muhammadan College and close to the site of the future Free Church building. He thus fairly planted himself in the citadel of the enemy, and he was driven from it to another quarter only by the unhealthiness of the house. He subsequently built his first college, and his own dwelling-place—succeeded, in 1843, by another close by—in Cornwallis Square, to the north.

Despairing of inducing the European community to follow him, in order to test the results of his first year's labour he announced the examination of his pupils in the Freemasons' Hall. To remove the prejudice that his work was low and fanatical, he secured Archdeacon

Corrie as president on the occasion. It was an experiment, but Mr. Duff felt confident that the pupils would so acquit themselves as to recommend the school and its system. In this he was not disappointed. The reading of the boys; their acquaintance with the elements of English grammar, geography, and arithmetic; the manner in which they explained words and sentences, and illustrated their meaning by apposite examples; the promptitude and accuracy with which they answered the questions put to them—all took the auditors by surprise and filled them with admiration, seeing that the school had been only a twelvemonth in operation. But what astonished them most of all, in those early days, was the ease with which the Hindus read such portions of the Bible as were named to them, as well as the readiness with which they answered all questions, not merely in the historical parts, but on the principles of the Christian faith and morals.

Altogether the effect produced by that examination was very striking. By those present it was pronounced absolutely marvellous. The three daily English newspapers of Calcutta had their reporters present, who gave such accounts of the examination and the new and felicitous modes of instruction pursued in the school, that European Calcutta talked of nothing else. The opinions of the English residents, official and independent, reacted on the leaders of the native community, till in the second year hundreds were refused admittance to the school for want of accommodation, and the number of European visitors interfered so seriously with the regular discipline of the classes that Saturday was set apart for such inspection. The elder pupils now consented to act as monitors, native assistants pressed their services upon the missionary, and the elementary teaching fell to these as the English classes passed on to collegiate studies in sacred and secular truth. There was another immediate result. Dr. Inglis and the Edinburgh committee had their desire as to a school in the interior. While visitors from all parts of India, including far Bombay, carried away with them the principles of the system to establish schools elsewhere, Mr. Duff was implored to open a

similar school at the purely Bengali town of Takee, fifty miles off.

Dr. Inglis and the Church of Scotland, sorely tried by the disasters which befell the first missionary, and even before they could learn of his safe arrival at Calcutta, determined to pursue their original plan of sending out two colleagues to assist him whom they had appointed "the head master of a seminary of education with branch schools." One was most happily found in a tall, slightly bent and pale youth from Thurso, who, having studied at Aberdeen University, completed his course at St. Andrews a year after Duff, but in time to know well the man whom he ever afterwards worked along with in loving harmony. The Rev. W. S. Mackay, who joined the infant mission in the autumn of 1831, was so accomplished and elegant a scholar that it is difficult to say whether he became more remarkable as a learned theologian, as a master of English literature and style, or as an astronomer. A lofty and intense spirituality marked all his work, and only a robust physique was wanting to him. But even his assistance was not enough, as the school developed into a college, and branch schools like Takee demanded organisation and supervision, while other duties than that of daily teaching denied the missionary a moment's leisure. Competent lay teaching of secular subjects was required, and for this the acute but imitative Bengali intellect had not then been sufficiently trained.

Mr. Duff thus found his first English assistant. Among the passengers of the *Moir* was a Mr. Clift, the son of an English squire, who was going out to one of the mercantile houses of Calcutta. On the failure of the firm, he sought the advice of Mr. Duff, who at once offered him the position of assistant master on sixty pounds a year—the highest salary he was empowered to give, but invited him to his house as a guest. Mr. Clift was sent to the Takee branch school as its first master.

Alexander Duff had been introduced into the practical and theoretical teaching of political science by Dr. Chalmers, who had in Glasgow just before given a new illustration of the meaning and the working of economics in

the highest sense. In his determination to use all truth for the good of the people of India, and through it to educate them to recognise and love the highest truth, Duff projected a manual of political economy more elementary than the writings of Adam Smith and J. R. McCulloch.

Recalling his talk at the cuddy table of the *Moirra*, Duff proposed to Mr. Clift the drafting of such a manual. The manuscript he expanded with new illustrations and vivid contrasts, all leading up to Christian teaching. The book became most popular, as taught in the spirit in which it was written. Thus Mr. Duff's school was the first in which political economy was expounded in a country where indeed the Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis and the famous "Fifth Report" had groped in the dark after a just and self-developing system of land revenue and treatment of land tenures. But the story is not complete. So little had political economy been mastered in the land of Adam Smith and in the Kirk of Thomas Chalmers, that the committee condemned the enthusiastic missionary, when he joyfully reported his success, for teaching a subject which the monopolist Government of the East India Company might confound with politics!

Alexander Duff was not only in the citadel of Hinduism; he had already dug his mine and laid the powder. The fire from heaven was about to fall, as he invoked it in the prayer of Lord Bacon: "To God the Father, God the Word, God the Spirit, we pour most humble and hearty supplications; that He, remembering the calamities of mankind, and the pilgrimage of this our life, in which we wear out days few and evil, would please to open unto us new refreshments out of the fountains of His goodness for the alleviation of our miseries. This also we humbly and earnestly beg, that human things may not prejudice such as are divine; neither that, from the unlocking of the gates of sense, and the kindling of a greater natural light, anything of incredulity or intellectual night may arise in our minds towards divine mysteries. But rather

that,—by our mind thoroughly cleansed and purged from fancy and vanities, and yet subject and perfectly given up to the divine oracles,—there may be given up unto faith the things which are faith's.—Amen.”

CHAPTER VI

1831-1833

THE FIRST EXPLOSION AND THE FOUR CONVERTS

“**T**HROUGHOUT the whole progress of these preparatory arrangements,” Mr. Duff afterwards wrote, “the excitement among the natives continued unabated. They threw open the very doors of our palankeen, and poured in their supplications with a pitiful earnestness of countenance that might have softened a heart of stone. In the most plaintive and pathetic strains they deplored their ignorance. They craved for ‘English reading’—‘English knowledge.’ They constantly appealed to the compassion of an ‘Ingraji’ or Englishman, addressing us in the style of Oriental hyperbole, as ‘the great and fathomless ocean of all imaginable excellences,’ for having come so far to teach poor, ignorant Bengalis. And then, in broken English, some would say, ‘Me good boy, oh take me’; others, ‘Me poor boy, oh take me’;—some, ‘Me want read your good books, oh take me’; others, ‘Me know your commandments, Thou shalt have no other gods before Me,—oh take me’;—and many, by way of final appeal, ‘Oh take me, and I pray for you.’ And even after the final choice was made, such was the continued press of new candidates that it was found absolutely necessary to issue small written tickets for those who had succeeded; and to station two men at the outer door to admit only those who were of the selected number.”

Payment for class-books, and the formal signature by parents and guardians of an agreement to secure regular attendance, struck at the root of two evils which marked all the other schools and colleges in Calcutta. The more severe test of steady attention to the Bible studies was no less cheerfully submitted to, parents being invited to listen to the hour's expounding to the young every day, and to satisfy themselves that Christianity did not act as a spell, although it might in time persuade as a divine force co-operating with the truth-seeking soul; and was in any case a perfect system of moral principles and practice. The Lord's Prayer was succeeded by the master parable of the Prodigal Son, and then came the apostolic teaching to the Corinthians on what our fathers called charity.

“Throughout, all were attentive; and the minds of a few were intensely riveted, which the glistening eye and changeful countenance, reflecting as in a mirror the inward thought and varying emotion, most clearly indicated. At last, when of the picture of charity the concluding stroke was given by the pencil of inspiration in the emphatic words ‘endureth all things,’ one of the young men, the very Brahman who but a few days before had risen up to oppose the reading of the Bible, now started from his seat exclaiming aloud, ‘Oh, sir, that is too good for us. Who can act up to that? who can act up to that?’ A finer exemplification, taking into view all the circumstances of the case, could not be well imagined of the self-evidencing light of God's holy word. It was an almost unconscious testimony to the superior excellence of Christianity, extorted from the lips of an idolatrous Brahman by the simple manifestation of its own divine spirit. It was a sudden burst of spontaneous homage to the beauty and power and holiness of the truth, in its own naked and unadorned simplicity, at a moment when the mind was wholly untrammelled and unbiassed by prejudice, or party interest, or sect.”

Then followed the Sermon on the Mount, which drove home to a people more enslaved by the letter that killeth than even those to whom it was originally

addressed, the lesson of the Spirit. "When on one occasion the question was put, 'What do you mean by Pharisee?' a boy of inferior caste, looking significantly at a young Brahman in the same class and pointing to him, archly replied, 'He is one of our Pharisees'!—while the Brahman simply retorted in great good humour, 'True, my caste is like that of the Pharisees, or worse; but you know *I* am not to be like my caste.'" Nor was this all. From the simple reading of the words that promise blessedness to him who loves and prays for his enemy, one youth was turned to the feet of the Divine Speaker and became the fourth convert of the mission. For days and weeks the young Hindu could not help crying out, "'Love your enemies! bless them that curse you!' How beautiful! how divine! surely this is the truth!" In the more directly secular lessons science came to carry on what grace had begun in the morning and was yet to complete. The explanation of the word "rain" on the Scoto-Socratic method in a junior class, led to the discovery by the lads of its true nature, as neither Indra-born nor from a celestial elephant, according to the Shasters, but the result of natural laws. "Then what becomes of our Shaster, if your account is true?" remarked a young Brahman. "The Shaster is true, Brahma is true, and your Gooroo's account must be false—and yet it looks so like the truth." This was but a slight shock compared with that given on the next eclipse. Mr. Duff was himself as much surprised by the effect of his teaching as his pupils.

The effect of the first year's teaching, Biblical, scientific, and literary, through English and through Bengali, on even the young Hindus, was to lead them into licence before they could reach self-regulating liberty; for the Bengali boy just before or at the age of puberty is the most earnest, acute and lovable of all students. The older lads, "impetuous with youthful ardour and fearless of consequences, carried the new light which had arisen on their own minds to the bosom of their families, proclaimed its excellences on the house-tops, and extolled its praises in the street-assemblies. With

the zeal of proselytes they did not always observe circumspection in their demeanour and style of address, or manifest due consideration for the feelings of those who still sat in darkness. Even for the infallible Gooeroos and other holy Brahmans, before whom they were wont to bow in prostrate submission, their reverence was greatly diminished. They would not conceal their gradual change of sentiment on many vital points. At length their undaunted bearing and freedom of speech began to create a general ferment among the staunch adherents of the old faith. The cry of 'Hinduism in danger' was fairly raised."

The result was seen one forenoon, when only half a dozen of the three hundred youths appeared in the class-room. To the question of the puzzled missionary the only reply was a copy of that morning's *Chundrika*. This paper had been established to fight for the sacred right of burning living widows with their dead husbands. Now, as the organ of the orthodox Dharma Sobha, of which its editor was secretary, it had become the champion of the whole Brahmanical system against an aggressive evangelical Christianity of a very different type from the secularism of the Hindoo College with which it had of late been allied. The decree went forth that all who attended the General Assembly's Institution were to be excluded from caste, and it was urged that a yellow flag should be planted in front of the building to warn the unwary against the moral pestilence. But the Hindu society of the capital had already become too rationalistic in its mode of viewing the national faith, and too selfish in its desire to secure the best education which would lead to official and mercantile appointments. The panic did not last a week. The Holy Assembly had no greater power than public opinion chose to give it. Further diatribes against the missionary and his work revealed only the essential weakness of a body which the earlier reforms of Rammohun Roy had provoked into existence. Mr. Duff went calmly on till the classes became more crowded than ever. The quietness and confidence of an assured faith and an intellectual conviction were

seen in his drawing up, after the experience of the first six months, "the scheme of a complete educational course which might require nine or ten years for its development, with grounds, reasons and illustrations occupying in all about a hundred closely written folio pages." This he sent off to Dr. Inglis as the mechanism of the Christian Institute to regenerate Bengal and light a fire in British India, from which ever since many a torch has been kindled to help in the destined destruction of every form of error.

The college thus securely established in native society, triumphing over the ignorance of his own countrymen and already famous throughout India, Mr. Duff proceeded to use at the same time the two other more immediately powerful weapons of lectures and the press. The minds of not a few leading Hindus had been emptied of their ancestral idols spiritual and ecclesiastical, and were swept and garnished. Into some, thus deprived of even the support which the ethical elements of their old orthodoxy supplied, the new demons of lawless lust and Western vice had entered with the secularism and antitheism of the Hindoo College, so that their last state was worse than the first. Others, saved for the hour from this, were in the temporary attitude of candid inquirers, bold to violence in their denunciation of the follies of which they and their fathers had long been the victims, but timid towards the new faith, with its tremendous claims on their conscience and irresistible appeals to their intellect.

In May, 1829, the teaching of a Eurasian of some genius and much conceit, named Derozio, had begun to undermine the faith of the students of the Hindoo College in "all religious principles whatever," as even its secularist managers expressed it. Outside of the classes, but constantly referred to by the teachers, the favourite book was Paine's "Age of Reason." That book, his less offensive reply to Burke, his "Rights of Man," and minor pieces born of the worst period of the French Revolution, an American publisher issued in a cheap edition of a thousand copies, and shipped the

whole to the Calcutta market. Thus, from the opposite poles of truth, were the two English colleges—the old secularists' and the new evangelical missionary's—brought into collision, as the former retired foiled in its assault on Hinduism, and the latter advanced with renewed trust in the God of truth to fire the train. Unlike the horror-stricken but passive Christian preachers in the vernacular chapels and schools of Calcutta at that time, the young Scotsman threw himself into the breach made in the at last crumbling walls of Hinduism. "We rejoiced," he wrote, "in June, 1830, when, in the metropolis of British India, we fairly came in contact with a rising body of natives, who had learnt to think and to discuss all subjects with unshackled freedom, though that freedom was ever apt to degenerate into licence in attempting to demolish the claims and pretensions of the Christian as well as every other professedly revealed faith. We hailed the circumstance, as indicating the approach of a period for which we had waited and longed and prayed. We hailed it as heralding the dawn of an auspicious era,—an era that introduced something *new* into the hitherto undisturbed reign of a hoary and tyrannous antiquity."

Having by his first year's work of teaching and personal influence carried on this work of preparation for calm inquiry, he took three men of like spirit with himself into his counsels. Dr. Dealtry, who succeeded Corrie first as Archdeacon of Calcutta and then as Bishop of Madras, was at that time chaplain of the Old Church, and was worthy of such predecessors as Martyn and Claudius Buchanan. John Adam had been his own fellow-student at St. Andrews, and was then of the London Missionary Society. Mr. James Hill, also a Congregationalist, was the popular pastor of the Union Chapel. All were eager observers of native progress, and agreed to co-operate in delivering the first course of lectures to educated natives. The subject was Natural and Revealed Religion. The first lecture, on the External and Internal Evidences, fell to Mr. Duff; Mr. Adam undertook the second, on the

testimony of History and Fulfilled Prophecy ; Mr. Hill was to prepare the third, on Christ in the Four Gospels, and the Genius and Temper of His Religion. Dr. Dealtry was to close the course with a statement of the doctrines of Christianity. But to prepare the native mind for unprejudiced inquiry, Mr. Hill delivered an introductory lecture on the moral qualifications necessary for investigating truth. Mr. Duff fitted up a lecture room in his house, which, being still in College Square, was most central for the class invited.

It was a sultry night in the first week of August when twenty of the foremost students of his own and of the Hindoo College took their places in expectation of a novel exposition. With the chastened eloquence which used to attract the Governor-General and his wife to the dissenting chapel, Mr. Hill treated a subject that called forth no controversy, and appealed to admitted but too often neglected principles. In silence the young men separated, looking forward to the real tug-of-war a week after in Duff's lecture on "God and His Revealing." That never took place.

Next morning the news flew like wildfire over Calcutta. Students of the Hindoo College had actually attended, in the house of a missionary, a lecture on Christianity ! Soon the whole city was in an uproar. The college that day was almost deserted. Continuing to rage for days the orthodox leaders accused the Government itself of breach of faith. Had it not promised to abstain from interference with their religion, and now insidiously it had brought out a wild padre, and planted him just opposite the college, like a battery, to break down the bulwarks of the Hindu faith and put Christianity in its place ! Mr. Duff thought it right to seek a private interview with the Governor-General. Lord William Bentinck listened with the utmost attention and patience. At the close of the statement he said in substance : Assuming the accuracy of the facts, which he could not possibly doubt, he felt that Mr. Duff had done nothing to contravene the law, nothing that ought to disturb the public peace. At the same time he added, from his knowledge of the

Hindu character, that it would be well to allow the present tumult quietly to assuage. After a time it might be in Mr. Duff's power more successfully to renew the attempt. So far as he himself was concerned, he could not officially, as Governor-General, in any way mix himself up with missionary affairs, or even officially express sympathy and approval. But he declared that privately, as an individual Christian man, he felt deep sympathy with the avowed object of the missionaries, and approved of the operations of all who carried them on in the genuine spirit of the gospel. He who had been Governor of Madras during the Vellore mutiny, repeated the advice patiently to wait for a seasonable opportunity to recommence what, if Mr. Duff went about it calmly, yet firmly, himself would advance by his private sympathy and support. This answered the purpose; fear and alarm were abated.

Being thus for a time freed from the task of preparing lectures in addition to his heavy school work, Mr. Duff energetically set about mastering the Bengali language. By the end of a twelvemonth he succeeded so as to speak it with tolerable fluency. He wrote out for the sake of accuracy and committed to memory his first sermon in that language. But regular preaching in the vernacular he did well to leave to others, who gave their whole strength to a work specially adapted for a very different class from those who held the inner fort of Brahmanism. Denied lectures, the young men met in debating societies of their own. These, often nightly and in various quarters of the city, he asked permission to attend, and soon an address from him was welcomed as an attractive part of the proceedings. There it was that he first formulated his far-seeing policy on the subject of female education, from which Government directly kept back its hand for the next twenty years.

These were the days when the first echoes of the English Reform Bill agitation began to reach Anglo-Indian newspapers. In the native mind the constitutional progress of the English Whigs came to be mixed

up with the frothy Republicanism of their familiar Tom Paine, and the *sensus communis* of Reid and the Scottish school of philosophy with that writer's favourite name of "common sense." An education which, in the Government colleges, long after continued to fill the memories of the students with the best—sometimes with the worst—passages of the English poets, had made quotation the mark of culture and elegance in a young debater. They had not mastered Shakespeare or Shelley as now, but Sir Walter Scott, Byron, and even Robert Burns were their favourites. "More than once," writes Duff of this time, "were my ears greeted with the sound of Scottish rhymes from the poems of Robert Burns. It would not be possible to portray the effect produced on the mind of a Scotsman, when, on the banks of the Ganges, one of the sons of Brahma—in reviewing the unnatural institution of caste in alienating man from man, and in looking forward to the period in which knowledge, by its transforming power, would make the lowest type of man feel itself to be of the same species as the highest—suddenly gave utterance, in an apparent ecstasy of delight, to these characteristic lines:—

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

How was the prayerful aspiration raised, that such a consummation might be realised in a higher and nobler sense than the poet or his Hindu admirer was privileged to conceive!"

But it was time, after all this experience of the variously mixed material on which he was to work, to come to close quarters with Young Bengal; to build a spiritual temple on the foundation thus cleared and almost crying out, as in a very similar transition state the young and erring Augustine cried, "O Truth, Truth! how eagerly even then did the marrow of my soul pant after thee!"

The traditional idolaters and the liberal inquirers

had become separated farther and farther from each other, by that gulf which even here marks off the love of the true from the tendency to the false. The liberals established their own English journal, well naming it the *Enquirer*. The English of the *Enquirer*, and the Bengali of the *Gyananeshun*, week after week attacked Hinduism and its leaders with a courage and skill that called down on the editors the execrations of their countrymen. But all besides was negative. The Reform Bill was eagerly turned to in July, 1831, for a positive something to rejoice in as the germ of a new reformation which would sweep away tyrants and priests. The Holy Congregation's threat of excommunication was met with this welcome: "Be some hundreds cast out of society they will form a party, an object devoutly to be wished by us"! The man who proved to be a more than worthy successor of Rammohun Roy and sounded those trumpet notes in the *Enquirer* was he who became the staid scholar and the grave minister of the Church of England, the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, LL.D. Then he was a Brahman of the highest or Koolin class, legally entitled to marry all the women who might take hold of him to be called by his name, and with the certainty of becoming, in Hinduism, a Pharisee of the Pharisees.

Duff has himself told the story of the act by which the truth-seeking Koolin formed the party of progress which he desired. Krishna Mohun happened to be absent from a meeting of the liberal party held in his family house on the 23rd of August, 1831.

"If there be anything on which a genuine Hindu is taught, from earliest infancy, to look with absolute abhorrence, it is the flesh of the bovine species. If there be anything which, of itself singly, must at once degrade a man from his caste, it is the known participation in that kind of food. Authentic instances are on record, wherein a Brahman, violently seized by a Moslem, has had such meat forced into his mouth; and though deprived of voluntary agency as much as the veriest automaton, the contamination of the touch was held to be so incapable of ablation, that the hapless, helpless, unwilling victim of intolerance, has been actually sunk along with his posterity for ever into the wretched condition of outcast. Well, in order to furnish the most emphatic proof to each other of their mastery over prejudice and their contempt of the ordinances of Hinduism, these friends of liberty had

some pieces of roasted meat, believed to be beef, brought from the bazaar into the private chamber of the Enquirer. Having freely gratified their curiosity and taste with the unlawful and unhallowed food, some portion still remained, which, after the return of the Enquirer, was thrown, though not with his approbation, in heedless and reckless levity into the compound or inner court of the adjoining house, occupied by a holy Brahman, amid shouts of—'There is beef! there is beef!' The sacerdotal master of the dwelling, aroused by the ominous sound and exasperated at the unpardonable outrage which he soon found had been perpetrated upon his feelings and his faith, instantly rushed with his domestics to the quarter whence it proceeded, and under the influence of rage and horror, taking the law into his own hands, he violently assaulted the Enquirer and his friends.

"Knowing that they had been guilty of an action which admitted of no defence the latter confessed their criminality, uniting in apologies for the past and promises of amendment for the future. But neither confession nor apology nor promise of amendment would suffice. The openly avowed opinions and conduct of the Enquirer and his friends had long been a public scandal and offence in the eyes of their bigoted countrymen; and, short of formal excommunication, they were in consequence subjected to all manner of persecution. But the crisis—the hour of unmitigated retribution—had now arrived. Hundreds speedily rallied around the Brahman, the sanctuary of whose home had been so grossly violated by the presence of the abomination of abominations. Inflamed with uncontrollable indignation, they peremptorily demanded of the family of the Enquirer to disown him in the presence of competent witnesses, under pain of expulsion from caste themselves. Having no alternative, his family then called upon him formally to recant his errors, and proclaim his belief in the Hindu faith, or instantly to leave the home of his youth, and be for ever denuded of all the privileges and immunities of caste. He chose the latter extremity. Accordingly, towards midnight, without being able to take formal leave of any of his friends, he was obliged to take his departure he knew not whither, because he could not be prevailed upon to utter what he knew to be false. 'We left,' wrote he, 'the home where we passed our infant days; we left our mother that nourished us in our childhood; we left our brothers with whom we associated in our earliest days; we left our sisters with whom we sympathised since they were born.' As he and his friends were retiring, the infuriated populace broke loose upon them, and it was with some difficulty they effected their escape and found shelter in the house of an acquaintance."

Recovering from the fever that followed, young Banerjea returned to the assault, but still had no positive truth to lean upon. "I was perfectly regardless of God," he wrote in the confessions of a later time; "yet, as a merciful Father, He forgot not me. Though I neglected Him, yet He had compassion on me, and without my knowledge or inclination created, so to speak, a circumstance that impelled me to seek after Him." It was this. Unwilling to compromise the outcast further, Mr. Duff sent a native friend to

invite him to his house. The confessions continue : "Mr. Duff received me with Christian kindness, and inquired of the state in which we all were. He openly expressed his sentiments on what we were about ; and while he approved of one half of our exertions, he lamented the other. He was glad of our proceedings against error, but sincerely sorry at our neglecting the truth. I told him it was not our fault that we were not Christians ; we did not believe in Christianity, and could not therefore consistently profess it. The reverend gentleman, with great calmness and composure, said it was true that I could not be blamed for my not believing in Christianity so long as I was ignorant of it, but that I was certainly guilty of serious neglect for not inquiring into its evidences and doctrines. This word 'inquiring' was so uttered as to produce an impression upon me which I cannot sufficiently well describe. I considered upon my lonely condition—cut off from men to whom I was bound by natural ties, and thought that nothing but a determination on the subject of religion could give me peace and comfort. And I was so struck with Mr. Duff's words, that we instantly resolved to hold weekly meetings at his house for religious instruction and discussion." In the *Enquirer* he continued with growing boldness : "Does not history testify that Luther, alone and unsupported, blew a blast which shook the mansions of error and prejudice ? Did not Knox, opposed as he was by bigots and fanatics, carry the cause of reformation into Scotland ? Blessed are we that we are to reform the Hindu nation. We have blown the trumpet, and we must continue to blow on. We have attacked Hinduism, and will persevere in attacking it until we finally seal our triumph."

Persecution drove the reformer to a European lodging-house, for not a native dared to shelter him. There, after narrowly escaping death by poison at the hands of their outraged families, his associates found him. And there Duff held earnest conference with them, as they debated the establishment of a Reformation Society, and the only one among them who had

large property of his own offered it for the common cause. But convinced that, without some nobler truths to substitute for the system they destroyed, this would prove only an eradication society, the hot conspirators in the cause of religious freedom agreed to meet in the missionary's house every Tuesday, to study the claims of Christianity to be such a positive and life-giving system as they now desiderated.

Hence the second course of lectures and discussions was carried on with ripe experience on the part of Mr. Duff, who now preferred to keep it in his own hands; and was delivered to really earnest truth-seekers, many of whom had fairly separated from the idolatrous and caste system of their fathers. But still, at first the *Enquirer* declared it had no religious doctrines to promulgate, only "let us have all a fair field, and adopt what reason and judgment may dictate." In a month the weekly discussions had brought its editor to the admission that theological truth is the most important of all, because of its practical influence on life, and that Christianity deserves special inquiry as having civilised a whole continent. "A reverend gentleman of the Presbyterian sect has undertaken the task of unfolding to us the nature of this set of doctrines." From forty to sixty seekers after God listened to each lecture, sat far into the night canvassing its statements, and either returned night after night for further inquiry or wrote out their difficulties for solution. The novelty of the weekly meeting drew many spectators, and some of these professedly calm inquirers proved to be "proud, forward, rude, boisterous, and often grossly insulting." But these were the exceptions, and they only stimulated the ardour without ruffling the perfect courtesy of the apostolic teacher, who had a yearning sympathy with every soul feeling after God, and knew that it is through much tribulation such must enter the kingdom. As the demonstration of the existence and personality of the great First Cause called forth the subtle spirit of the Bengali, steeped in pantheistic polytheism, from its initial rebound into nihilism, the closing exhortations, de-

livered with all that tearful fervour which was soon to summon the Churches of the West to a new crusade, led them up to the great love of Christ and the influence of the Spirit.

Thus passed the cold season of 1831-32 in Calcutta. The work of John the son of Zacharias was done. As his "Behold the Lamb of God!" sent Andrew to Christ, and Andrew "first findeth his own brother Simon . . . and he brought him to Jesus," so was it now. At the conclusion of the discussions, Mohesh Chunder Ghose, a student of the Hindoo College, sent his own brother to Mr. Duff, with this note:—

"If you can make a Christian of *him* you will have a valuable one; and you may rest assured that you have my hearty consent to it. Convince him, and make him a Christian, and I will give no secret opposition. Scepticism has made me too miserable to wish my dear brother the same. A doubtfulness of the existence of another world, and of the benevolence of God, made me too unhappy, and spread a gloom all over my mind; but I thank God that I have no doubts at present. I am travelling from step to step; and Christianity, I think, will be the last place where I shall rest; for every time I think, its evidence becomes too overpowering."

On the 28th August, 1832, the *Enquirer* announced the baptism into Christ of Mohesh himself, in an article which thus closed: "Well may Mr. Duff be happy, upon the reflection that his labours have, through the grace of the Almighty, been instrumental in convincing some of the truth of Christianity, and others of the importance of an inquiry into it. We hope ere long to be able to witness more and more such happy results in this country."

For some unexplained reason this first convert of the General Assembly's Bengal Mission chose to receive baptism at the hands of an English chaplain whom he did not know. It is no cause for regret that the broad seal of catholicity was thus stamped on Mr. Duff's work, when his first son in the faith publicly declared his belief—"in spite of myself," as he said—in the triune God. It was thus that this first-fruit of his toil, in Mr. Duff's house and before many witnesses, after deep silence burst forth:—

"A twelvemonth ago I was an atheist, a materialist, a physical necessitarian; and what am I now? A baptized Christian! A twelvemonth ago I was the most miserable of the miserable; and what am I now? In

my own mind, the happiest of the happy. What a change! How has it been brought about? The recollection of the past fills me with wonder. When I first came to your lectures, it was not instruction I wanted. Instruction was the pretext, a secret desire to expose what I reckoned your irrational and superstitious follies the reality. At last, against my inclinations, against my feelings, I was obliged to admit the truth of Christianity. Its evidence was so strong that I could not resist it. But I still *felt* contrary to what I *thought*. On hearing your account of the nature of sin, and especially sins of the heart, my conscience burst upon me like a volcano. My soul was pierced through with horrible reflections and terrible alarms; it seemed as if racked and rent in pieces. I was in a hell of torment. On hearing and examining further, I began, I know not how or why, to find relief from the words of the Bible. What I once thought most irrational I soon found to be very wisdom; what I once hated most I soon began to love most; and now I love it altogether. What a change! How can I account for it? On any natural principle I cannot, for every step that I was made to take was contrary to my previous natural wish and will. My progress was not that of earnest inquiry, but of earnest opposition. And to the last, my heart was opposed. *In spite of myself I became a Christian.* Surely some unseen power must have been guiding me. Surely this must have been what the Bible calls 'grace,' free grace, sovereign grace, and if ever there was an election of grace surely I am one."

Krishna Mohun Banerjea himself was the next. He desired that the lecture room in the missionary's house, which had been "the scene of all my public opposition to the true religion, should also be the scene of my public confession of it." He sought that there his still Hindu friends, who had been strengthened in their unbelief by his arguments, might witness his "public recantation of all error and public embracing of the truth, the whole truth, as revealed in the Bible." The Rev. Mr. Mackay opened that service with prayer. Mr. Duff addressed and thus interrogated the catechumen: "'Do you renounce all idolatry, superstition, and all the frivolous rites and practices of the Hindu religion?' To this the Babu replied: 'I do, and I pray God that He may incline my countrymen to do so likewise.' The second question was: 'Do you believe in God the Father and Creator of all, in Jesus Christ as your Redeemer, and in His sacrifice as the only means whereby man may be saved, and in the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit?' To this, with emotion, he replied, 'I do, and I pray God to give me His grace to do His will.' These and other questions being answered, Mr. Duff administered the

ordinance in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and then engaged in prayer, the whole company kneeling." Such was the description, in the daily newspaper of Calcutta, of the putting on of the yoke of Christ by the Koolin Brahman who, like another Saul of Tarsus, had made his name known and dreaded among thousands of his countrymen. By a different path from that of Mohesh Chunder, but along the intellectually thorny way of the Trinity from which many of his countrymen fall aside into their old polytheism, Krishna Mohun stumbled on to Him who is the Way, the Truth and the Life. His confessions have a typical interest for more than his own people and the students of ecclesiastical annals:—

"My attention having been particularly directed to the Socinian and Trinitarian systems, I at once felt more favourable to the former than the latter; but not seeing anything in it so great that it might reasonably call for the adoption of such extraordinary measures as those which Jesus employed for its propagation, I could not yield my conviction to it. On the other hand, I understood not aright the doctrine of the atonement; and on grounds of mere natural reason could never believe it to be possibly true. And as the Bible pointed unequivocally to it, I strove to persuade myself, in spite of the most overpowering external evidence, not to believe in the sacred volume. Neither could I be satisfied with the forced interpretation of the Socinians. Socinianism, which seemed little better than Deism, I thought could not be so far above human comprehension that God should think of working such extraordinary miracles for its establishment. Accordingly, though the external evidences of the truth of the Bible were overwhelming, yet, because I could not, on principles of reason, be satisfied with either of the two interpretations given of it, I could not persuade my heart to believe. The doctrines of Trinitarian Christians, which I thought were really according to the plain import of Scripture language, were all against my feelings and inclinations. Socinianism, though consonant with my natural pride, seemed yet so insignificant, as a professed revelation, that I could not conceive how, with propriety, an all-wise God should work miracles for its sake. So that I remained in a state of doubt and perplexity for a long time; till God, by the influence of His Holy Spirit, was graciously pleased to open my soul to discern its sinfulness and guilt, and the suitableness of the great salvation which centred in the atoning death of a *Divine* Redeemer. And the same doctrine of the atonement which, when not properly understood, was my last great argument against the divine origin of the Bible, is now, when rightly apprehended, a principal reason for my belief and vindication of the Bible as the production of infinite wisdom and love."

That baptism took place on the 17th October, 1832. In the same class-room, on a Tuesday evening, the 14th

December, a third catechumen put on Christ. Gopinath Nundi had sought a morning interview with Mr. Duff in his study, and there burst forth in tears with the cry, "Can I be saved?" He told how the last of the lectures had driven him to take counsel with Krishna Mohun Banerjea who prayed with him and sent him next morning to the missionary. At first imprisoned by his family, they cast him off for ever by advertisement in the newspaper; but nothing could shake his faith. Still, before the irrevocable step was taken, his brothers and caste-fellows implored him to desist, then foully abused him, and then offered him all that wealth and pleasure could give, including even the retaining of a belief in Christianity if only he would not publicly profess it. This last appeal was in the name of his venerable mother, whose piercing shriek none who have seen a Hindu woman in sorrow can forget. The scene has often since been repeated, must yet be again and again witnessed before India is Christ's. Nature could not remain unmoved. Gopinath wept, but throwing up his arms and turning hastily away he decided, "No, I cannot stay!" We shall meet the same true martyr's courage in him again, amid the captivity and the bloodshed of the Mutiny of 1857.

Nor was Anundo Chund Mozoomdar long left behind—the youth who in the school had been drawn by the divine power of the Sermon on the Mount. He had been the first to seek more detailed instruction in the missionary's house. He had given up the family and caste and festival idol-worship till a Cashmere Brahman, who had in vain remonstrated with him, naïvely complained to Mr. Duff himself that the gods had been blasphemed by the atheist Anundo. Of a wealthy family, he had declined to be married rather than submit to the ritual of Hinduism. Put out of caste, he only rejoiced in the new-found liberty, when his father, an official in Jessore, visited the capital. His uncle had written a vigorous protest against idolatry, and the father, though an orthodox Hindu of what had now begun to be called the old school, liberally accepted

the position, and wrote to Mr. Duff to receive the persistent Anundo as his son: "Convert him in your own way, and make him your follower." So, in St. Andrew's Kirk, Anundo was baptized, on Sunday, the 21st April, 1833, before the Scottish congregation and many awe-stricken spectators. Whether from the Hindoo College or from his own, it was by "the self-evidencing power of the word of God," that the joyful missionary saw these, his four spiritual sons, brought to the faith.

With new confidence in his own fearless attitude towards truth in every form, and with assured trust in his system which used all forms of truth as avenues by which the Spirit of God might be let in on the hoary superstitions of India, he set himself to perfect his organisation. For the native church which he had thus founded on the one corner stone, and for catechumens, he opened a week-day class to study systematically the doctrines of Christ, and a Sunday class to read the Scriptures and hold communion with the Father in prayer. Having erected a bamboo and wicker-work chapel for vernacular preaching, he held an English service every Sunday evening. For inquirers outside Christianity, who had yet been won from atheism, he conducted successive courses of public lectures on the Bible, on the Socinian controversy, and on mental philosophy, followed by open discussion. Foiled at these, many changed the arena to the Bengali newspaper. But persuing them there, Mr. Duff advertised that he would answer each hostile article in good faith on the next lecture night, a procedure which gave a keen interest to the controversy in native society.

Thus within and without the work went on, while the school was every year developing into the famous college which it became. The administrative, the statesmanlike genius of Mr. Duff, had after its first examination seized the advantage of making it a still more catholic, central and efficient institute, by uniting in its support and management all the Christian sects then represented in Calcutta. For on the practical

ground of economy of energy and strength of aggressiveness, as well as on the highest of all, he ever desired unity. He found an agency in the well-known Calcutta Missionary Conference.

Mr. William Pearce, the generous and catholic-minded son of the Rev. Samuel Pearce of Birmingham, had, as the head of the extensive Baptist Mission press, been in the habit of inviting the few Protestant missionaries to breakfast on the first Monday of every month. The meeting grew into a more formal conference after breakfast, with devotional exercises before that meal, according to the early hours and pleasant hospitality of Indian life. The nomination of a secretary, to take notes of the papers and conversations, further gave the gathering that permanence and utility which it has enjoyed now for nearly a century. To this body Mr. Duff submitted his plan of a united college. For a fee of ten shillings a month he declared his willingness to receive the best vernacular pupils of the various missions and give them the highest Christian education. All approved, and the Conference appointed a committee to work out the plan in detail. But, as has often happened since, the divisions of the Western Church were fatal to the growth of that of India. We survey with pain the outlines of so stately, so Christlike a prospect for the Christianising and civilising of the millions of our subjects in Bengal, when we reflect that what was easy then has still to be attempted. As Charles Grant's proposals of 1792 fell to be made facts by Duff, in 1830-33, so Duff's have yet to be realised, in Northern and Eastern India, by the divided Churches of the West. Principal Miller, C.I.E., has made them a fact in the Madras Christian College.

Rarely if ever in the history of any portion of the Church at any time since apostolic influence ceased with John the Divine, has one man been enabled to work such a revolution in opinion and to sow the seeds of such a reformation in faith and life, as was effected by the first missionary of the Scottish Church in Bengal in the three years ending July, 1833. Taking the form

of an experiment as to the subordination of education to evangelical religion, Duff's work was watched, criticised and narrowly weighed, not only by benevolent men but by officials of all kinds throughout India. We find his own humble estimate of the results, but far-reaching statement of an unconquerable faith, in a letter to Professor Ferrie :—

“*Feb.*, 1834.—Our only encouragement is the hope of being able to induce a certain proportion of those who enter as boys to remain with us till they reach the age of puberty, and consequently attain that maturity of judgment which may render knowledge, through God's blessing, operative and impressions lasting. And were there no reasonable hope of securing this end, I would without hesitation say, ‘The sooner you abandon the school, the better.’ I, for one, could not lend myself as an instrument in wasting the funds of the benevolent in Scotland in teaching young men a mere smattering of knowledge, to enable them to become more mischievous pests to society than they would have been in a state of absolute heathenism. On the other hand, if out of every ten that enter the school even one were to advance to the higher branches of secular and Christian education; were he to become in head and in heart a disciple of the Lord Jesus; and were a number with minds thus disciplined, enlarged, and sanctified, to go forth from the Institution, what a leaven would be infused through the dense mass of the votaries of Hinduism! And what a rich and ample reward for all one's labours, what a glorious return for all the money expended!”

In all this warfare of the young apostle against the hoary citadel of Brahmanism, and in the retreat of the foremost of its men into the slough of theoretical atheism and practical immorality, or of vague theism and dead ethics, we have seen the divine influence at work. To Calcutta and Bengal, as once to Jerusalem and Syria, Christ was being manifested to destroy the works of the devil. We must now look more closely at the human instrument He had chosen through which to pronounce the wonder-working spell, not only in the native city and for that generation, but over all India and Southern Asia and for the ages to come. It was the Greek tongue and the Roman order in that which was to all the race the fulness of the ages. In India the set time came with the English language, with the legislation and the administration, the commerce and the civilisation of the British people. The Missionary had, thus far, done his work. The Governor-General in Council must now do his.

CHAPTER VII

1833-1835

THE RENASCENCE IN INDIA.—THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND THE CHURCH

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK was ready. He had enjoyed what some call the drawbacks, but all true men pronounce to be the real advantages, of being a younger son. The second son of the third Duke of Portland, he filled positions in which he developed for the good of humanity those virtues and that ability which had made Hans William, the founder of the house, second only to his friend William III. as a benefactor of Great Britain. It was one of the many merits of George Canning that, during his too brief term as Prime Minister, he sent Lord William Bentinck to govern all India.

It was well that to the work of Duff and the legislative and administrative measures of Bentinck, there were added the indispensable co-operation and the supreme sanction of the British people through Parliament. For the first fruit of the Reform Act of 1832 was the East India Company's charter of 1833. That charter withdrew the last obstructions to the work of Duff and of every settler in India, missionary or journalist, merchant or planter, teacher or captain of labour in any form. It added a law member to the Governor-General's council or cabinet, then of five, and created a commission to prepare codes of law and procedure such as have come next only to Christianity

itself, from which they spring, in their humanising and elevating influence.

The eloquence of the young Macaulay in carrying the Reform Act resulted in his appointment as one of the commissioners, and then as the secretary, under Lord Glenelg and along with Sir Robert Grant, of the Board of Control. He was the master of the Court of Directors for eighteen months, and they for some time opposed his nomination as the new law member. Was not the charter of 1833 his doing, and was he not, at thirty-three, in their eyes an intolerably conceited person? Six years older than his countryman and fellow Highlander, of whose doings he could not help being officially cognisant, little did he think that without himself the revival of letters and of faith, brought to the birth by the young missionary, could not be perfected. So it is that God works by many and apparently incompatible instruments. For Macaulay was ever the apostle of the old Whig neutrality in religion, whether in India or in Ireland, although his whole boyhood had been steeped in the discussions of his father, of the Clapham men and Hannah More on the evangelisation of the Hindu and the Negro alike. It was not till June, 1834, that Macaulay reached Madras to join the Governor-General, then at the Nilgiri hills, while he sent his sister on to Calcutta, there to be the guest of Lady William Bentinck. Duff had just left India stricken down by disease, when in sultry September the Law Member of Council took up his abode, under a salute of fifteen guns, in what is still the best of the Chowringhee palaces, the Bengal Club. But none the less, Macaulay's greatest work—greater than even his penal code—was to be the legislative completion of the young Scottish missionary's policy. Yet Macaulay was never happy during his brief Indian residence of three and a half years. He did not know the magnitude, he had not his father's faith to realise the consequences, of the educational work between which and a re-reading of nearly all the best Greek and Latin authors he divided his leisure.

There was a third official, the warm personal zeal of whose co-operation drew him closer to Duff than the

two rulers, without whom his energisings could not have been either so abiding or so imperial in their consequences—Macaulay's brother-in-law, Charles Trevelyan. He had not been a week in Calcutta when, in 1831, he threw himself into the different movements originated by Duff. In their first interview the two young men soon found themselves absorbed in this question of all others—the advantage, the positive necessity of using the English language as the medium of all Christianising and civilising, all high educational and administrative efforts by its rulers to reach the national aristocracy and leaders of the people, and through them to feed the vernaculars and raise the masses. Duff's plans, his experience, his success, were not only accomplished facts, but had been then for twelve months the talk and the imitation of every thoughtful and benevolent Englishman in the far East. Trevelyan told how he himself, at Delhi, had been for four years speculating on the advantages of thus using the English language.

The orientalists, being in power on the spot, had the unchecked administration of the money allowed for public instruction. In spite of Rammohun Roy, notwithstanding the expressed desire of the natives themselves for English, although the vernaculars were barren and the classical books printed and taught were not touched by one native who was not highly paid for submitting to learn them, the British Government persisted in its folly.

When Trevelyan came to the support of Duff, and adopted his plans as well as his principles as the only policy for Government, the Brahmanising five in the Government committee were these : the Honble. H. Shakespear was a colleague of the Governor-General, and only as such was dangerous. Mr. H. Thoby Prinsep and Mr. James Prinsep were brothers. The latter, an uncovenanted officer of the Mint, was the greatly lamented scholar who fell an early victim to his too eager researches into the inscriptions on coins and rocks which he deciphered. The former was one of the secretaries to Government at that time, was a greater scholar in Arabic and Persian than his brother, was after-

wards director, member of Parliament, and member of the Secretary of State's council, and died at eighty-six the day before Duff. William Hay Macnaghten was a Charterhouse boy, who from the day he landed in India, first as a cadet and then as a civilian, mastered the several languages of south and north, proved the most extraordinary scholar in the classical tongues ever turned out by Fort William College, and was trusted by Lord William Bentinck beyond any other secretary. His evil policy and sad fate in Cabul made his end most tragic. These, with the zealous secretary of the committee, Mr. T. C. C. Sutherland, made the orientalist very formidable antagonists.

The Anglicists were no less strong, however. Foremost among them was William Wilberforce Bird, who afterwards acted as Governor-General, on the recall of Lord Ellenborough. Mr. J. B. Colvin was he who died in Agra Fort during the mutiny, Lieutenant-Governor. Sir Charles Trevelyan atoned for the routine efficiency of Messrs. Saunders and Bushby, who always voted straight. We must in justice to these two main parties add a third, whom we may describe as Vernacularists. Allying himself with the Serampore men then left, with Dr. Marshman and his son in the *Friend of India*, Mr. Brian H. Hodgson, long the first authority on Tibetan Buddhism, advocated the foundation of a normal vernacular institution to manufacture good teachers, reliable translators and pure books. English, he urged, would be as bad as Persian, Arabic and Sanscrit, which had "proved the curse" of India, "not so much by reason of the false doctrines they have inculcated as by reason of the administrative mystery they have created and upheld."

But Hodgson could not see that while the natives themselves desired English, while it was administratively necessary as well as politically desirable to give them facilities for mastering the English literature as well as language, no body of truth, scientific, historical or ethical, not to say Christian, could be conveyed to the natives through their then barren vernaculars or sealed classical tongues. The Government, like the missionaries, must

begin at both ends : at the vernacular that the people might at least read and write their own language intelligently, and at the higher or English end that thence their own teachers might convey the material and even the terms of truth to them through the vernacular ; and in time to the learned through the Sanscrit, Arabic and Persian. Writing of this period Duff declared : " I saw clearly and expressed myself strongly to the effect that ultimately, in a generation or two, the Bengali, by improvement, might become the fitting medium of European knowledge. But at that time it was but a poor language, like English before Chaucer, and had in it, neither by translation nor original composition, no works embodying any subjects of study beyond the merest elements. As a native of the Highlands I vividly realised the fact that the Gaelic language, though powerful for lyric and other poetry and also for popular address, contained no works that could possibly meet the objects of a higher and comprehensive education. Hence those who sought that found it in English colleges, and returned as teachers and preachers to distribute the treasures of knowledge acquired through English among the Gaelic people."

Just when, in 1834, Duff's success, Trevelyan's earnestness, and the increasing urgency of the dispatches from the Court of Directors had produced a deadlock in the Committee of Public Instruction, Macaulay was appointed its president. But he declined to act until the Government, of which he was a member, should have decided the question of policy in its executive capacity. And to him, as law member, the preliminary duty was assigned of declaring whether the Governor-General in Council could legally apply to English education the grant ordered by the Parliament of 1813, and hitherto reserved for a so-called orientalism. On the 2nd February, 1835, he submitted to Lord William Bentinck that minute which, while as striking a specimen of his written style as even the passage on Burke in his "Warren Hastings" pronounced by his biographer "unsurpassed," proved to be the first charter of intellectual liberty for the people of India, the

educational despatch of 1854 based on Duff's evidence before a Parliamentary committee being the second. In twelve pages like this he then proceeded to prove that, being "free to employ our funds as we choose, we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing; that English is better worth knowing than Sanscrit or Arabic; that the natives are desirous to be taught English and are not desirous to be taught Sanscrit or Arabic; that neither as the languages of law nor as the languages of religion have the Sanscrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed." It was not only English that Macaulay persuaded the Government to teach, but the recognition of the equality of children of all castes in the public schools, from which the Brahmanising orientalisists had weakly excluded all but the Brahmans. It was only Duff and the Christian missionaries who had up to this time disregarded caste and idolatrous festivals alike in their schools, and who had begun not only to ask but to receive fees for the secular instruction, such as the respectable poor could pay and as would make them value aright the instruction they received. But it was much that the Government should at that time follow the same just and tolerant course.

Having, as a colleague of Macaulay, endorsed his opinions in a minute, as Governor-General in Council Lord William Bentinck thus issued the decree of the 7th March, 1835, which fitly closed the long list of services to the people of India and his own country such as the former had immortalised by the statue with its inscription fronting the Town-hall of Calcutta, and as the latter has expressed through the eulogium penned by Macaulay:—

"1st. His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

"2nd. But it is not the intention of his Lordship in Council to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the native population

shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords; and his Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But his Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effects of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions, and that when any professor of oriental learning shall vacate his situation the committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

"3rd. It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council, that a large sum has been expended by the committee on the printing of oriental works; his Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

"4th. His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language; and his Lordship in Council requests the committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose."—

(Signed,) "H. T. PRINSEP, *Secretary to Government.*"

Duff's criticism of the last act of Lord William Bentinck will be found in that which is, historically, the most important of his many pamphlets, his "New Era of the English Language and English Literature in India."

Let the Government, he urged, use the Asiatic Society of Sir William Jones and James Prinsep as the official organ for dispensing its patronage of standard oriental writers and their translations. But for the true education of the learned themselves, as well as for the elevation of the illiterate millions, the vast ocean of oriental literature deserves Firdusi's satire on Ghuzni in all its glory: "The magnificent court of Ghuzni is a sea, and a sea without bottom and without shore. I have fished in it long, but have not found any pearl." "Is it not one thing," asked Duff, "to regard a literature as an inexhaustible field for literary, scientific and theological research, and quite another to cherish it as the sole nursery of intellect, morals and religion?" Nor was one who knew the relation of the English to his own

Gaelic vernacular so enthusiastic for English as to dream that it could ever supersede the mother tongues of millions, or do more than give them a new wealth and power. He thus concluded his vindication of the enactment, and proceeded to show where it fell short of his own ideal:—

“Our maxim has been, is now, and ever will be this:—*Wherever, whenever, and by whomsoever Christianity is sacrificed on the altar of worldly expediency, there and then must the supreme good of man lie bleeding at its base.* But because a Christian Government has chosen to neglect its duty towards the religion which it is sacredly bound to uphold, is that any reason why the Churches of Britain should neglect their duty too? Let us be aroused, then, from our lethargy, and strive to accomplish our part. If we are wise in time, we may convert the act of the Indian Government into an ally and a friend. The extensive erection of a machinery for the destruction of ancient superstition we may regard as opening up new facilities, in the good providence of God, for the spread of the everlasting gospel, as serving the part of a humble pioneer in clearing away a huge mass of rubbish that would otherwise have tended to impede the free dissemination of divine truth. Wherever a Government seminary is founded, which shall have the effect of battering down idolatry and superstition, there let us be prepared to plant a Christian Institution that shall, through the blessing of Heaven, be the instrument of rearing the beauteous superstructure of Christianity on the ruins of both.”

Thus was begun, first practically and then legislatively, that revival of letters in India, of which, referring to the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Macaulay had written in his famous minute: “What the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India.” So Duff had reasoned years before that was written: What the Christian Reformation did for Europe through the Greek tongue, the Roman law and the Bible in the vernaculars, it will similarly do for India and Further Asia through the English language and the British administration. It is difficult to say whether he showed more genius in instinctively seizing the position in 1830, in working out the parallel down to 1835, or in influencing the Indian Government and the British public by his heaven-born enthusiasm and fiery eloquence.

CHAPTER VIII

1833—1835

THE RENASCENCE IN INDIA.—SCIENCE AND LETTERS

THIS bringing to the birth again in faith, in philosophy, in philology, was no less remarkable in science. The Vedic system, which had given the West the knowledge of numbers and of the stars, down even to the nine numerals, incorrectly ascribed to the Arab middlemen who only revived their use, was the first to teach the healing art. The regulation of the sacrifices required alike astronomical observations and anatomical practice. The victim was carefully dissected that its different parts might be assigned to the proper deities. Each part had its distinctive name. In the Atharvan, one of the four great Vedas, we find songs addressed to diseases and to the herbs which heal them. Even in Alexander's time his companions praised the Hindu physicians, and ascribed to them that specific for snake-bite which has so perished, that all the researches and the science of Sir Joseph Fayrer and the old medical service of India have failed to re-discover it. To medicine the Hindus assigned a secondary scripture, the Ayur Veda, or "science of life," and derived it, like the four Vedas, directly from the gods. Their first historical writers were Charaka, at the head of all surgery, and his disciple once removed, Susruta, chief of all physicians before Galen. The number of their medical works and authors Weber

pronounces "extraordinarily large," and the sum of their knowledge he declares to have been "most respectable."

But the oppressive and corrupting influences of the sacerdotal Brahmans soon extinguished the dim light of scientific observation and practice in Southern and Eastern Asia. Gifts to themselves took the place of natural remedies. All knowledge, every form of truth they laid upon their own bed, which was narrower than a man could stretch himself on. Happily for the millions whom they have thus deluded for centuries, from Cape Comorin to Java and from Lhasa to Peking, the scientific falsehood became easily manifest at the first touch of the senses honestly applied. Disintegration began when Duff demonstrated the cause of the first eclipse which took place after he opened his school. Every day's teaching, even apart from revealed truth which shows the divinity of its origin by concerning itself only with man's spiritual nature, hastened the process.

Moved by the purely utilitarian consideration of providing native doctors or dressers for the army hospitals, Government established the native Medical Institution in Calcutta in 1822, under an English doctor and native assistants. Hindustani, the *lingua franca* of all India, was the language of instruction, and the scientific nomenclature of the West was rendered into Arabic. Four years after, medical classes were opened at the Sanscrit College to read Charaka and Susruta, and at the Madrissa to study Avicenna and the other Arabic writers. Thus the orientalist dreamed they could give the people of India the blessings of the healing art as developed in the West.

Duff was roused, by his own principles and his daily experience in the school, to protest against such folly. If his teaching were of force that all truth is a unity, and that for the Hindus of that generation truth could be got only through the language of their rulers, of Shakespeare and Bacon, and the English Bible, it was of force in every branch of learning, scientific and

practical as well as other. "Only use English as the medium," he declared, "and you will break the backbone of caste, you will open up the way for teaching anatomy and all other branches fearlessly, for the enlightened native mind will take its own course in spite of all the threats of the Brahmanical traditionists." In 1833 Lord William Bentinck, not less attracted by the controversy than compelled by the deplorable state of medical education, appointed a committee to report on the whole subject. For twelve months did it take evidence and deliberate, having submitted to the combatants on both sides from forty to fifty detailed questions.

Duff supplied the old solution—*solvitur ambulando*. The commission visited his school, in common with all in which English was taught, but he did not forewarn the youths of their coming. Taking the senior class, which had been nearly four years under English instruction, into a small room by themselves, he invited the visitors to make any inquiries in any way they chose. Timidly and after a roundabout fashion did the Apothecary-General approach the dreaded subject of dissection, for the first thing he learned and indeed saw was that the lads were chiefly Brahmans. He thus began: "You have got many sacred books, have you not?" "Oh yes," was the reply, "we have many Shasters believed to be of divine authority. Some are very old, and others have been written by Rishis (holy sages) inspired by the gods. They are upon all subjects, literature, science such as it is, chronology, geography, and genealogies of the gods." "Have you not also medical Shasters, which profess to teach everything connected with the healing art?" "Oh yes," they said, "but these are in the keeping of the Bhoido or physician caste; none of us belong to that caste, so that we do not know much about them." "Do your doctors learn or practise what we call anatomy, or the examination of the human body with a view to ascertain its real structure in order skilfully to treat wounds, bruises, fractures, etc.?" "We have heard them say that anatomy is taught in the Shasters,

but it cannot be like your anatomy." "Why not?" "Because respectable Hindus are forbidden by imperative rules of caste to touch a dead body for any purpose whatever; so that from examination of the dead body our doctors can learn nothing about the real structure of the human body." "Whence then have they got the anatomy which, you say, is taught in the Shasters?" "They have got it out of their own brains, though the belief is that this strange Shaster anatomy must be true or correct, it being revealed by the gods; but we now look upon this as nonsense." "What then," said the commissioner, "if the Government should propose to establish a medical college for Hindus under European doctors like the medical colleges in Europe, would you approve or disapprove of such a measure, or how would it be viewed by the natives generally?" "We certainly who have been taught European knowledge through the medium of English would cordially approve, but our ignorant orthodox countrymen would as certainly disapprove." "Well then, were a college of this kind established, would any of you be disposed to attend it; or would there be insuperable objections in your minds against your doing so?" "Not at all," they said. "If we were not already otherwise committed to some course of life which would prevent us, we would be very glad to attend." "What!" said the commissioner, "would you actually be prepared to touch a dead body for the study of anatomy?" "Most certainly," said the head youth of the class, who was a Brahman; "I, for one, would have no scruples in the matter. It is all prejudice, the old stupid prejudice of caste, of which I at least have got rid." The others heartily chimed in with this utterance. The commissioners were highly gratified. The result of their inquiry exceeded their most sanguine expectations. They thanked the young men for the promptness of their response, and promised to report their liberal disregard of hereditary prejudice to the Governor-General. His Excellency's surprise did not prevent him from completing the case by consulting the orthodox pundits. These reported

that the prohibition against touching a dead body was most stern, but they did not find it anywhere expressed in the Shasters that Hindus are forbidden to touch the human subject for anatomical purposes. Yet both these and the Muhammadan Moulvies stirred up the community to petition the Government to remain satisfied with the study of the Sanscrit and Arabic treatises.

Nor was Duff alone in this. David Hare of the Hindoo College, seems to have been equally zealous. The Governor-General in Council embodied the unanimous conclusions of the special committee in an order dated 28th January, 1835, abolishing the Medical Institution and classes, and creating a new college under the Committee of Education for "the instruction of a certain number of native youths in the various branches of medical science." The new class was declared open to all classes of natives, without exception as to creed or caste, who could read and write English and Bengali, or English and Hindustani. Eurasians and Europeans were afterwards included. The English language and the Western scientific standards were declared the medium and the test of instruction. On the 1st of June, 1835, the classes were opened in an old house in the rear of the Hindu College, only to be removed by Lord Auckland to a building then pronounced "magnificent," but long since too small for the thousands who form what has proved to be the largest medical school in the world. Dr. Bramley, the first principal, died soon after, and the early success of the great experiment is associated with the name of Dr. Henry Goodeve. With him were the Danish botanist of Serampore, Dr. Wallich; the Irish professor of Chemistry, Dr. O'Shaughnessy, who gave India the electric telegraph, and two others. David Hare was secretary. Nobly, not less effectually than Duff's ardent enthusiasm predicted, has the Bengal Medical College, with its hospitals, under the ablest members of the Indian medical service and Bengali professors who have risen from the students' benches, realised what Lord W. Bentinck's committee aimed at

when it laid down for it a curriculum "ample, comprehensive, and worthy of a great Government, not intended merely to supply the wants of the State but of the people, and to become a moral engine of great utility and power."

How did Duff's Brahman students and those of the Hindu College stand the test when the hour came for the first dissection? Following his professor, Modosoodun Gopta, of the Bhoido or physician caste, was the first native to handle and plunge his knife into the subject provided for that purpose. Rajendranath Mitter followed, and their fellow-students quickly imitated this moral courage. Thus, nearly three thousand years after Susruta and his loathsome instructions, the study of practical anatomy by the natives of India was established. So fast did it spread, that a purely Hindustani class and then a Bengali class were opened, to meet the need of subordinate assistants in the military and civil hospitals, and of the cities and villages of the country. From sixty in 1837 the number of subjects for the dissecting rose to above five hundred in 1844, and now must be five times greater. Dwarkanath Tagore and Dr. H. Goodeve soon took four students to England to seek a British diploma; of these two were Christians and one was a convert of the General Assembly's Institution. Ever since, Duff's college has sent some of its ablest converts as well as Hindu students to take the highest honours in the medical faculty of the Calcutta University. Several have entered the covenanted service by competition with Scottish, English and Irish graduates. The tale of what the medical colleges of India—for others sprang up in imitation of Bengal at Bombay, Madras, Lahore, and Agra—have done for humanity, for the sciences allied with medicine, and for enlightenment throughout the peninsula since Duff began his apostleship, would form one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of progress.

In yet a third field did Duff and Trevelyan, aided by Dr. Yates, meet the orientalist party. The committee of the Calcutta School Book Society had succeeded in

supplying pure English literature to the natives on mercantile principles, while the Government Oriental colleges had their shelves groaning under expensive works which no native would take as a gift, unless also paid to read them, and at which true scholars laughed. In 1833 Mr. Thompson, a Government teacher at Delhi, sought the patronage of the society for an English and Hindustani dictionary in the Roman character only, designed to assist the natives of the upper provinces in the acquisition of English and Europeans in the study of Hindustani. Dr. Yates, as secretary, recommended the purchase of two hundred copies. Mr. James Prinsep condemned the use of the Roman alphabet by any but Europeans as "ultra-radicalism." Sir C. Trevelyan wrote:—

"It was proposed to extend to India the advantage which Europe enjoys of making one character serve for many different languages and dialects, whereby it might be at once seen how far they agreed or differed, and a tendency might be created towards a common Indian language and literature, of which English would be the connecting link, and the Christian religion the principal source of inspiration. Eastern writing is thoroughly phonetic; that is, the due relation of sign and sound is consistently maintained throughout, so that a simple transliteration into the Roman character gives a correct representation of the sounds in all the native languages; and during the long period which has elapsed since the invention of printing the typography of these letters, with all its accessories of punctuation, capital letters, italics, and other mechanical helps, has been so improved that they have become a much more efficient and economical medium for expressing the languages of the East than the various alphabetical systems in actual use there. This would also be the salvation of the native languages, which have a hard struggle in their competition with the all-powerful English, freighted with so many substantial advantages, and it would have a highly salutary political effect by intimately associating our nation with the growth of the new Indian literature, and by removing a serious practical obstacle to satisfactory mutual intercourse. The undertaking might have been strangled in its birth if Dr. Duff had not given it his strenuous support. The turning point of the controversy was marked by the publication of three papers by Dr. Duff, in the first of which the 'possibility,' 'practicability,' and 'expediency' of substituting the Roman for the Indian alphabets was discussed, and in the last two a practical scheme for that purpose was worked out in detail, and objections were answered. These papers gave a high idea of the logical powers and critical acumen of Dr. Duff. They settled the system on its present basis, and may be read to this day with interest and advantage.

"It was impossible to work, as I did, with Dr. Duff, without having his character clearly unfolded before me, and I must be allowed to indulge my feelings by briefly saying what I think of it. He combined childlike simplicity and sincerity with intellectual powers of no mean

order, and his fervid Celtic nature imparted warmth and energy to everything he undertook. His disinterestedness, and freedom from selfish motives of all kinds, appeared to me to be perfect. His whole being seemed to be engrossed in the one great object of his life, compared with which all merely personal motives were of secondary consideration. He was a truly lovable character. My feeling towards him is compounded of affection and respect, and I should find it difficult to say which of these predominates."

Thus far the battle begun and carried on by Duff had been for the people. Through the natural heads and respectable castes of the Hindus he determined that Western truth and English benevolence should reach the masses and fertilise the literature of their mother tongue. Hence the Bengali department in his school, and the simultaneous teaching and reaction on each other of English and the vernacular. Without that the taunt of the barren orientalists might have had some justification. English might have become only another official jargon like court Persian, to be used by the initiated few for the oppression of the many, and the widening of the gulf between alien rulers and ignorant ruled. From that memorable day when the Highland lad opened his school with our Lord's Prayer in Bengali, to the day just after the Mutiny, when he introduced the Christian Vernacular Education Society into Calcutta, and down to his last effort for India, having put English in its right place chronologically and educationally, he sought to have India covered with primary schools worthy of the name.

Here, also, the Government of Lord William Bentinck came to his help and did its duty. The same ever to be remembered months in the opening of 1835, which legislatively brought to the birth the medical college and English language decrees, saw the first official step taken in the application of both to the varied vernaculars of India. On the 20th January "W. Bentinck" wrote the minute which sent Mr. W. Adam, for seventeen years a missionary and then editor of the *India Gazette*, to visit and report on all the existing vernacular schools in Bengal. The minute began with the "universally admitted axiom that education and the knowledge to be imparted by it can alone effect the moral regeneration of India." At a time "when the

establishment of education upon the largest and most useful basis is become the object of universal solicitude," the minute wisely declared it essential to ascertain the actual state of education as carried on for centuries entirely under native management. It deprecated interference with these before Government knew the facts, and direct inquiry by officials as certain to excite distrust. Hence the appointment of Adam, whose three reports, the more that they prove his intelligent philanthropy and administrative wisdom, reflect severely on the stupid apathy of the Committee of Education, which shelved them and drove him to resign in disgust.

He showed that, as Duff put it, 92¼ out of every hundred children of school-going age in Bengal were destitute of all kinds and degrees of instruction. That is, on the basis of the under-estimated population of that time, six millions of such children were wholly uneducated. Yet not for twenty-two years thereafter would Government do anything for Bengal. Not till Dalhousie was Governor-General was anything done for Upper India save by the missionaries. So the evil round goes on under the system which breaks the continuity of progress in India—the five years term of high office. A Bentinck takes his seven years ripe experience with him, to be followed by a reactionary Auckland. Missionaries like Duff in Eastern, Wilson in Western, and Caldwell and Miller in Southern India alone remain immortal till their work is done!

In all his work and at every stage of it Duff felt that he had a more powerful ally and instrument than even Lord William Bentinck as Governor-General,—and that was the Press. From the outset of his career writing went hand-in-hand with teaching and public speaking. The relation of his new ideas to the few native papers, English and vernacular, according as they opposed, misrepresented or advocated them, and his plan of replying by public discussion to the attacks of their correspondents, we have seen. The Serampore missionaries had, before him, filled the breach, alike by their quarterly *Friend of India* and by Mr.

Marshman's establishment of the first Bengali newspaper. So that, whereas in 1814 there was only one English periodical and not one native in all Bengal, and in 1820 five English papers and still not one Bengali print, in 1830 there were eight native papers. But Duff had not been twelve months in Calcutta before he saw the necessity of establishing a Magazine to represent missionary and philanthropic operations of all kinds, and to bring Christian opinion to bear upon Government on the one hand and the educated natives on the other. Hence in June, 1832, appeared the first number of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, "edited by Christian ministers of various denominations." The signature "D" marks the authorship of the introductory programme. Besides the sectarian periodicals then in Calcutta, he sought "something unconfined by any trammels of party or of sect—something that will embrace with impartial and comprehensive view the wide domain of Catholic Christianity." He desired to produce a periodical which should do for religion in the East what James Prinsep's *Journal of the Asiatic Society* accomplished for science and the *Calcutta Magazine* laboured to effect for literature. The six divisions of the Magazine he mapped out as theoretical and practical theology, Biblical criticism and translation, missionary operations, European and native institutions and events, reviews of books, intelligence of progress of all kinds, amid controversy and resistance, for only eventually may "the great Christian temple, like its material prototype of old, be raised with noiseless harmony of design and execution."

The *Observer* became, under Duff's influence and that of his colleagues during his absence from India, all that he thus desired; while from 1835 to 1875 the *Friend of India*, changed by Mr. J. C. Marshman into the powerful weekly newspaper which it long continued to be, applied the same Christian principles in a more purely political and broadly imperial way to the elevation of the country. The coarse licence of *Hicky's Gazette*, the first English newspaper published in India, in 1780, followed by that of the *Bengal Journal*, led the

Company's authorities, in 1794, to deport the editor of the latter, Mr. William Duane, because of an inflammatory address to the army. During the war with Tippoo, Lord Wellesley established a formal censorship of the press, which, made still more severe in 1813, continued till 1818, when Lord Hastings practically abolished it. George Canning, when President of the Board of Control, suppressed a severe condemnation of this act by the Court of Directors. But when Mr. John Adam became interim Governor-General, he gratified the bureaucratic instinct against criticism by reviving the censorship. The weak Lord Amherst put Adam's most severe restrictions in force against Mr. Arnot of the *Calcutta Journal*, and warned the *Bengal Hurkāru*.

When Lord William Bentinck's financial reforms reduced the military allowances known as *batta*, he was covered with abuse which might have tempted other men to crush the self-seeking critics. But he knew and he loved the principles of freedom which his great-grandfather, Hans Bentinck, had helped William III. to consolidate in England. He went further, declaring that the liberty of the press was necessary to the good government of the country, as supplying "that lamentable imperfection of control which, from local position, extensive territory and other causes the supreme council cannot adequately exercise." Most happily, however, it was left to a Bengal civilian and pupil of Wellesley to atone for the high-handed folly of an otherwise estimable administrator like John Adam. Charles Theophilus, first and last Lord Metcalfe, when acting as Governor-General, deliberately risked the permanent appointment, by the Act XI. of 1835, which Macaulay wrote, repealing all restrictions on the press throughout India, and leaving it, like all other institutions and persons, to the ordinary law of sedition and libel. Vernacular as well as English literature in India took a new start. Thus the birth of the Renascence was completed. Thus the name of Metcalfe is linked with those of Macaulay, Trevelyan, Bentinck, and Alexander Duff.

CHAPTER IX

1832-1835

WORK FOR EUROPEANS, EURASIANS AND NATIVE CHRISTIANS

SO early as the beginning of the year 1832, while Mr. Duff was steering his apparently frail boat in the very trough of the sea of Hindu society, with no assistance and little sympathy from their own countrymen, he was called to minister in St. Andrew's kirk to the Scottish residents, and to help the Eurasians and the native Christians in their earnest struggles after toleration for themselves in the eye of the law and a good education for their children. Thus early he began the afterwards lifelong labours which ended in the establishment of the Anglo-Indian Christian Union, and in the creation of the Doveton Colleges of Calcutta and Madras.

St. Andrew's Kirk—in 1813 the fruit, like its fellows in Bombay and Madras, of much talking in obscure Scottish presbyteries, and much petitioning of Parliament by synods and general assemblies since 1793—had never justified its existence. Dr. Bryce had resolved to take furlough home. Believing that he could help the new mission by reporting its success, in which he had always sympathised, he quietly proposed to throw on the missionary the whole duty of preaching in St. Andrew's pulpit and taking pastoral oversight of the large Scottish community. Thus modestly and in this brotherly spirit did Duff reply to the first suggestion on

the 30th November, 1831: "I should have rejoiced to have been able to have rendered more frequent assistance on Sunday; but I really find every moment so engrossed, and the personal fatigue often so harassing from the miscellaneous calls on my daily avocations, that I have little time and generally still less strength to spare for pulpit duties. In the event, however, of your twelvemonth's trip being resolved upon, I would be ready to do my best, or to enter into the adoption of any measure which might secure regular service for the good folks of St. Andrew's. This, however, is a subject for further consideration." The next information which Duff received was in the form of a letter, sent back by the pilot from the Sandheads, as the mouth of the Hoogly is called, in which Dr. Bryce announced his sudden departure with his invalid wife. With no stock of prepared sermons (for all his manuscripts had gone down at Dassen Island), with his daily college duties, and his weekly evening lectures, the sudden call made even Alexander Duff hesitate. But having reason to believe that if the kirk were once shut Government would put difficulties in the way of opening it again, bemoaning the condition of his own countrymen as sheep without a shepherd, and meeting at every turn the evil effect of their lives on the observant natives, he threw himself into the breach.

Never before had Calcutta seen such a preacher and pastor. He went into the pulpit the first Sunday to find a score of worshippers lost amid the eight hundred chairs. The sight he described as that of "a void and huge wilderness." The session registers gave him the names of not a few who had continued to preserve their latent rights by paying seat-rents, and with these he determined to begin. He found his purely pastoral calls welcomed. The Sunday solitude of the kirk gradually became a respectable crowd. The ministrations during nearly all 1832 resulted in the creation of the good congregation which the new chaplain found on his arrival. The results on the morals and the higher life of European society became marked.

Bishop Turner, who followed Dr. James, the short-lived successor of Heber, had been grievously vexed by the utter absence of all signs of a day of rest, Christian or national, when he landed. Government as well as mercantile offices were open daily without intermission, as they had been since the first settlement of the British in India. The bishop's attempt to reform society by privately asking the less godless to sign a voluntary pledge to abstain from business, and from compelling the natives to attend office on the Lord's-day, brought down on him the fiercest bigotry. Duff, a little later, found his opportunity just before Daniel Wilson landed as the next bishop.

A prosperous young Scottish merchant asked the officiating minister of St. Andrew's to baptize his first-born. The father was met by a kindly exposition of Presbyterian discipline, and was recommended to delay until he himself should, by attending church at least, and then by observing family worship, show some honest regard for the Christianity he professed in name only. Resentment, under Duff's persuasive kindness, soon gave way to the confession that he was a junior partner of a firm which employed five hundred natives, that his senior was in England, that he had to supervise the men on Sunday as on other days and could not possibly attend church. The minister's further intercourse with him and his wife led him to try the experiment of shutting the office for one day in seven. Summoning his operatives on the Saturday, he explained that for the next month he would not require their attendance on Sunday, but would not on that account lower their wages. If he found that the four or five days' holiday led them to work more zealously, he would be able to make the arrangement permanent. They could not believe the statement at first, and it soon formed the talk of the neighbourhood and of the surrounding villages to which they belonged. It was found that not one was absent on Monday morning, and that that month's tale of work exceeded the out-turn of each of its predecessors, while a new feeling of cheerful loyalty and confidence had been born

between the employed and their employer. The change, and the baptism which followed, became the beginning of a new life to more than to his family. It was long till society became outwardly transformed. But that was the dawn of the social as well as spiritual improvement which has made the Christian day of rest, observed by Government order and European opinion, a boon and a teacher to the thousands of toiling Hindus and others who rejoice in its physical advantages, and are sometimes led by it to higher thoughts, though, undoubtedly, the viciously inclined abuse the rest as all good gifts may be abused. The English Sabbath is not the least of the blessings conferred by the British Government on India, and, as usual, the missionaries pointed the way.

Not till he had been for six months thus building up the congregation did Mr. Duff announce the intended communion of the Lord's Supper. A young American waited upon him next day to declare that, being from Boston, he had been brought up a Unitarian, but had failed to find any real comfort in his religion. Expecting an impulse to a higher emotional life at least from the celebration of the sacrament after the simple Scottish form, he sought permission to sit down at the table with friends who were already members of the Kirk. Having expounded the true nature of the divinity of Jesus Christ, very much as he had done to inquirers like Krishna Mohun Banerjea, and pointed to the only source of all the privilege of His memorial sacrifice, Mr. Duff recommended further study of Scripture. The youth consented, and at the same time courteously offered his counsellor the books of Dr. Channing, which were at that time new to England and India. As the American, with the assistance of no little intercourse with Duff, was gradually being led upwards from Jesus of Nazareth to the Emanuel Who was wounded for our transgressions, a wasting sickness seized him, and he was sent to sea, to the health-giving breezes at the Sandheads. In the pilot brig he died, but not before the full glory of the Incarnation entered his soul, and he charged the captain, as he died, to tell

Mr. Duff that he had found Jesus to be his all-sufficient because Divine Saviour. Such cases may be taken as typical of the work done among his own people in that year memorable to many. Thus, as ever after, there worked side by side in Duff's career the evangelising of the Hindu and the recalling by the evangel of many who had forgotten their baptismal, their national, their personal birthright in Christ.

Daniel Wilson's arrival in 1832, as fifth Bishop of Calcutta, brought together two men of the same evangelical spirit, though separated by ecclesiastical forms. "A visit to Dr. Carey at Serampore," writes the bishop's biographer, "elicited many interesting reminiscences of the early Christianity in India. A friendly conversation with Dr. Duff furnished important information on the subject of native education." Daniel Wilson's episcopate was to last nearly as long as Duff's apostleship in India. Duff had won his first four converts, and the revolution he had begun was so fermenting that the bishop wrote in March, 1833: "A most interesting moment is dawning on India. The native mind is at work. A beginning of things is already made."

Europeans and Americans constituted only one-half of the professing Christian or born Christian community in India. The Eurasians (Europe-Asia) or East Indians were strong in numbers, the offspring of English fathers and native mothers. In 1833 Duff developed into a system his labours for them.

That community has given India and England some of its best men and women, whose virtues were nursed on self-reliance and the fear of God. In 1823 the Eurasians of Calcutta united to found a joint proprietary school, catholic within the limits of Protestantism, for the higher education of their children. Their fine ideal they somewhat stiffly expressed in the name they gave to what became the germ of the Doveton Colleges, the Parental Academic Institution.

For the Eurasians as for the Native Christians and all who were not either Hindus, Muhammadans, or European British-born subjects, Duff was in the front of those who fought the battle for the rights of conscience,

which Lord William Bentinck partially and Lord Dalhousie and Lord Lawrence long after completely secured to all classes. The result was the Regulation, which provides that no one shall lose any rights or property, or deprive any other of rights or property by changing his religion. Lord William Bentinck had previously thrown open the public service to all the natives of India, including the outlawed Native Christians, enacting that there should be no exclusion from office on account of caste, creed, or nation. The development of an enlightened legislation under Macaulay, Peacock, Maine and Stephen, has now given the varied creeds and races of India better codes than any country possesses, and, save as to the rights of minors and age of majority—not yet settled in England—nothing more is needed, except in the Feudatory States.

Of the social life of Mr. and Mrs. Duff at this period we have one significant glimpse. The accession of William IV. to the throne was marked by an official ball at Government House, to which they were duly invited. Perplexed, the Scottish missionary took counsel of a chaplain, who assured him that, viewing the invitation as a command, he was in the habit of going to Government House on such occasions, of making his bow to the Governor-General and his wife and at once retiring. This compromise did not commend itself to Mr. Duff, even although he had not remembered the memorable experience of the first Bishop of Calcutta. On the occasion of the trial of Queen Caroline, a witness for the defence attempted to justify her presence at an indecent dance by the assurance that he had seen Bishop Middleton and his family at a nautch in Government House. A reference made to Calcutta elicited the fact that Dr. Middleton's family were present but not himself; and the Marquess of Hastings sent the explanation to the Lord Chancellor, that the movement of a woman's feet while she sings cannot be called dancing. This, however, was not a nautch, but an official ball for Europeans only, such as that from which, at a later period, Lord Elgin I. carefully excluded native nobles, who were liable to misunder-

stand the motives of English ladies on these occasions. Mr. Duff frankly stated, in a letter to the private secretary, the reasons why he could not conscientiously obey the most kind and courteous command of the ruler of India. After long delay he received the Governor-General's cordial approval of his spirit and action. Soon after his Excellency begged the missionary and his wife to meet him at dinner in one of those frequent gatherings where the two men discussed, in a like spirit, the highest good of the people and the government of India.

Lord William Bentinck left India after sickness had driven Duff home for a time. He was a statesman and a philanthropist worthy to be associated in the spiritual as well as intellectual reformation of India with the man to whom, in his absence and when bidding all the missionaries goodbye, he made this reference, after answering those who would use the force of the conqueror and the influence of the state-paid bishop to induce the profession of Christianity: "Being as anxious as any of these excellent persons for the diffusion of Christianity through all countries, but knowing better than they do the ground we stand upon, my humble advice to them is, Rely exclusively upon the humble, pious and learned missionary. His labours, divested of all human power, create no distrust. Encourage education with all your means. The offer of religious truth in the school of the missionary is without objection. It is or is not accepted. If it is not, the other seeds of instruction may take root and yield a rich and abundant harvest of improvement and future benefit. I would give them as an example in support of this advice, the school founded exactly upon those principles, lately superintended by the estimable Mr. Duff, that has been attended with such unparalleled success. I would say to them finally, that they could not send to India too many labourers in the vineyard like those whom I now have the gratification of addressing. Farewell. May God Almighty give you health and strength to prosecute your endeavours, and may He bless them with success."

To his own college teaching and school supervision Mr. Duff added a constant attention to the aggressive work of the Bengal auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society and of the Religious Tract and Book Society. His Sunday evenings were given up in 1833-34 to a new course of lectures and discussions, contrasting Christianity with Hinduism and Muhammadanism. For these public controversies he purchased an excellent bungalow in the native city, at a point where four main thoroughfares met. Night after night for a long time eager inquirers, earnest disputants and curious spectators crowded the place almost to suffocation. Every year was adding to the intelligence of the native public, the purely spiritual and moral suasion of Christianity was coming to be understood, and this last course proved the most popular of all. Even Muhammadans attended and took part in the grave quest after divine truth, and the crowds spread the story not only over the city but into many a rural village where the Christian missionary had not been seen.

But what of the man himself who, for four years, did not cease to burn thus incessantly the physical energy he had brought from the Scottish Grampians? He had received his first warning in the great cyclone of May, 1833, but heeded it not. Prematurely came the rain that year, marshalled by the rotary hurricane which, revolving within itself, as if the destroying counterpart of the harmony of the spheres, moved rapidly over the land. From the Bay of Bengal, the mighty waters of which it dragged in its devastating train, over island and mainland, forest and field, village and town, the wild fury of the cyclone rolled itself north and west. Here the storm-wave and the wind bore inland for miles to some rising ground a full freighted Indiaman of 1,500 tons, among the hamlets of the peasantry, where for months after it lay a marvel to all. There it swept into sometimes instant but more frequently lingering death hundreds of thousands of human beings and their cattle, whose vain struggles to cling to roofs and trees and the floating wreck of their desolated homes suggested thoughts of a greater flood and prayers

for the bow of mercy. Most graphic of all was this incident, which we tell as Duff himself told it to the writer. His authority was the Badenoch fellow-countryman who, on that dreadful day, was superintending the clearing of the jungle on Saugar Island.

For several weeks before his party had been annoyed by the night attacks of a tiger of unusual size and ferocity. It carried away some of their animals employed in agricultural operations, as well as two or three human beings. When the cyclone prevailed and the water continued to rise over the island, as many natives as could swim went to the Scotsman's bungalow for shelter, until it was greatly overcrowded. At last, while watching the flood rapidly rising to a level with the floor, at a distance, driven before the tempest along the mighty torrent of waters, he noticed the famous tiger evidently aiming at reaching the house. Happily he had a double-barrelled gun loaded and ready. The tiger reached the bungalow, laid hold of it, leaped into it, worked a way trembling through the dense mass of human beings, and did not stop till he got head and nose into the remotest corner, where he continued to lie still, quivering like an aspen leaf. The Scotsman concluded that though, under the influence of terror produced by the violence of the tempest, he was then quite tame, if the bungalow escaped and the storm abated the genuine nature of the savage brute would return, and all the more speedily from the exhaustion it must have undergone swimming and struggling to reach the bungalow. So he very coolly took the gun and pointed the barrel to the heart, resting it on the skin, which he afterwards showed to all Calcutta as a trophy of that cyclone. Thus mingled were the terrors of the tempest, which has often since recurred, especially in 1876, even more horribly.

The effect on the survivors was for a time quite as deadly. Many who escaped the flood fell by the pestilence which it brought when the waters subsided and the cold season of 1833-34 came round. Malarious fever, bred by the rotting carcasses and vegetation, spread a blight over the fairest portions of the rice land.

Inexperienced in tropical sanitation, and bound to discharge the duty of inspecting the prosperous branch school at Takee, Mr. Duff, his family with him, set off by native boat for the place, which is fifty miles due east of Calcutta. It was November, and the country was only beginning to dry up. Scarcely had they left the city when they came upon a mass of putrid bodies, human and animal, through which they had to work their way. All was beautiful to look at in the green jungle forests of the Soonderbuns, but the abundant fruit from which the Bengalis take their proverbial word for "hypocrite" symbolised the reality. Mr. Duff plucked the tempting *rakhalee* only to find it filled with nauseous slime. The return journey, by palankeen, was even worse, and the missionary was laid low by his first illness, jungle fever in its deadliest form. His fine constitution showed that robust elasticity which often afterwards resulted in rapid recovery, and after tossing amid the sea breezes of the Sandheads for two or three weeks he was once more in the midst of his loved work. But with the heat of April, 1834, a remittent fever came on which his vigour of will resisted so far as to take him, and again in that weather, to Takee.

On his return he found as his guest the good Anthony Groves, surgeon-dentist of Exeter, who gave up all he had for a mission to Baghdad, and was the first and best of the Plymouth Brethren. The romantic and very pathetic story of that mission to Muhammadans under a Government which punished apostasy with death, the experience of Francis W. Newman and Mr. Parnell and the young Kitto—this is not the place to tell, as Groves told it in the sympathising and sometimes amused ear of Alexander Duff, in 4, Wellington Square, Calcutta. For when the two widowers, Groves and Parnell, and the young bachelor, Newman, left Baghdad, they could not leave behind them their one convert, the lovely Armenian widow of Shiraz, Khatoon, nor could she travel with them save as the wife of one of them. They cast lots, and the lot fell on John Vesey Parnell, graduate of Edinburgh University; and when he succeeded his father, the first Baron, in 1842

she became Lady Congleton. So we have seen more recently, but according to their regular custom, the lot fall on the Moravian who, having descended from the snowy solitudes of Himalayan Lahoul to receive the brides sent out by the followers of Zinzendorf, married one and conducted the others to his expectant brethren. Duff must have smiled when his guest, of high, even childlike spirituality, gravely told him how when Parnell had invited the British Resident at Baghdad and the European assistants to dinner, he applied Luke xiv. 13 literally by calling in some fifty of the poor, the maimed, the lame and the blind to share the feast.

Having come round by Bombay and Tinneveli, where he renewed an old friendship with Mr. Rhenius, and was charmed by the primitive simplicity of the native church there, as Bishop Cotton was thirty years after, Mr. Groves found himself in a new world when among the young Brahmans who were searching the Scriptures diligently. After a general survey of the whole school and college he was closeted with the highest class, and left to examine them on the Bible, on theology, and in detail on the evidences of Christianity. Himself an excellent scholar, Mr. Groves was astonished at the intelligence and promptitude of the replies. But the whole force of his loving nature was drawn out when he came to examine these Hindus on the design and effect of the sacrifice of the Son of God on the Cross of Calvary. His questioning burst forth into an appeal which pressed home on their conscience the knowledge they had shown, while he wept in his fervour, and the eyes of the young men glowed with reflected inspiration. Then turning suddenly to Mr. Duff he exclaimed, "This is what I have been in quest of ever since I left old England. At Baghdad I almost daily exhorted the *adult* natives, but in the case of even the most attentive I always painfully felt there was a crust between their mind and mine. Here I feel that every word is finding its way within. I could empty the whole of my soul into theirs. How is this?" Duff's answer was to open the door into the large hall and

point to the busy scene, to the children in the infant gallery lisping the English alphabet. "There," he said, "is the explanation. Well do I remember how I would have loathed such employment, not only as insufferably dull, but as beneath the dignity of the clerical office. But on coming here I soon found that this, with a specific view to the systematic attainment of higher ends, was imperatively demanded as auxiliary to the ultimate renovation of India. On the principle of becoming all things to all men and new things in new circumstances, there four years ago did I teach A B C. Pilloried though I was at the time, in the scorn of some, the pity of others, and the wonder of all, the work was persevered in. And you have seen some of the fruits. The processes that followed the alphabetical training tended, in a gradual and piecemeal way, to break up and remove that very crust which interposed an impassable barrier between your instruction and the minds of your auditors. Was it not worth while to begin so low in order to end so high?" "Indeed," replied Groves, "this throws new light on the whole subject. I frankly confess I left England an avowed enemy to education in connection with missions; but I now tell you as frankly that henceforth, from what I have seen to-day, I am its friend and advocate."

That was Duff's last day, for a long time, in his loved Institution. Even the agony of dysentery had begun, and its prostration, more terrible mentally than physically, soon followed. A generation was to pass before the specific of ipecacuanha was to be used to charm away the bloody flux which used to sweep off thousands of our white soldiers. Four physicians failed to heal the visibly dying missionary. The good Simon Nicholson had just been succeeded by Sir Ranald Martin, who was called in. He pronounced the case desperate, but asked permission to try an experimental remedy which had saved one or two of his patients. The result was that, after a long and profound trance as it seemed to the sufferer, he woke up to consciousness, to revival, to such a point of convalescence that he could be carried on board the

first Cape ship for home. The devoted Groves had slept beside him day and night, nursing him with a brother's tenderness. For he was not the only invalid. On the day that the stricken family were laid in their berths in the *John M'Lellan*, bound for Greenock, with Groves as their fellow-passenger, a son was born, to whom the name of Groves, as well as his father's name was given. From Mrs. Duff's letter communicating the departure to Dr. Chalmers we learn that, even when thus rescued from the very gates of death, the ardent missionary implored the doctors to send him on a brief voyage short of Great Britain. "I devoted myself to the Lord," he pleaded, "to spend and be spent in His service in this land." Ranald Martin's stern reply was: "In the last nine months you have suffered more from tropical disease than many who have passed their lives in India. Let not a day be lost." As the Greenock Indiaman dropped down the Hoogly his boy was taken to comfort him. But he would have been still more cheered had he known that at that very time, in July, 1834, his old friend, David Ewart, was being ordained as the third missionary of the Church of Scotland and would soon after arrive to help Mr. W. S. Mackay.

Thus closed the first five years since Duff had been sent forth from St. George's, with the charge of Thomas Chalmers ringing in his ears, ordained to preach the gospel in India. Thus ended the first period of his Indian service since he opened his famous Institution. That lustrum is entitled to rank with the most memorable eras when human progress has taken a new start to the enlightening and the blessing of a whole continent. As the missionary is borne to the life-giving breezes of ocean from the sweltering heat of a Bengal July, the precious seed he has been sent to sow is germinating and growing up night and day, he knoweth not how.

CHAPTER X

1835

THE INVALID AND THE ORATOR

HAVING successfully founded and to some extent built up the mission in Calcutta and Bengal, Mr. Duff is summoned, though he knows it not, to do the equally necessary work of creating a living missionary spirit in the Church at home. The apparently dying apostle is really being sent on that parallel or alternating service which divided his whole career into two indispensable and co-operating sets of activities in East and West. Having set the battle in array in front, and fought for years at the head of his scanty forces, he had then to leave the post of danger to colleagues of his own spirit, for the less honourable but not less necessary duty of looking to his reserves and sending forward his ammunition. Thus it was that he became at once the missionary worker, the unresting civilising force in India, and the missionary organiser, the unmatched Christian orator and preacher at home. He led two lives, and in each his splendid physique, his burning enthusiasm, his divine call and support, enabled him to do more than the work of many men together.

The invalid was just able to land at Cape Town, and with the assistance of a friendly arm walk to church, where Dr. Adamson, his host five years before, baptized the child born on the day they had left

Calcutta. When the ship entered the Firth of Clyde it was Christmas-day. The sea breezes had done their best for five months, and the apparently restored missionary rejoiced in the strong frost which greeted him as from his own Grampians. When he landed at Greenock he found the whole country in the excitement of the general election under the first Reform Act. The time of freedom in Church as well as State had begun—the conflicts which ended in the disruption of the Kirk and the abolition of the Corn Laws ten or twelve years after. In such circumstances who, in kirk or public meeting, would listen to the tale of a triumph so remote and so obscure as that which Mr. Duff had modestly to tell? Yet the tale was really one of a spiritual revolution affecting millions, compared with which the Reform Act, the policy of Sir Robert Peel, and the training of Mr. Gladstone were but single events in a constitutional series!

The first member of committee and personal friend on whom Mr. Duff called was Dr. Chalmers, then redeeming the fame of the University of Edinburgh in its theological faculty. Most courteous and even enthusiastic was the greeting of the greatest Scotsman of his day, who added to all his other gifts that large-hearted friendliness which is the rule of his countrymen scattered abroad. The hour sped rapidly in a fire of question and answer about the progress of the mission and the state of things in India. But where was there another Chalmers or one worthy of him at that time in Scotland? Dr. Inglis, the founder of the mission, was gone. Dr. Brunton had not then been appointed his permanent successor. He and the other members received the ardent advances of the astonished Duff with a polite indifference, or replied with congratulations on the fact that so good a conservative statesman as Sir Robert Peel had been placed at the head of affairs, as if to save and even to extend the Kirk which had been for years furiously assailed by the Voluntaries. More than once was the young Highlander stung into the warning that for the Kirk to trust any secular statesman, however respectable, was to lean on a

broken reed. The transcendent interests of a great spiritual institution like the Church of Scotland, he said, must be placed on Christ Himself, its living Head.

There was one minister, besides Chalmers, who had watched the work done in Bengal and had genius enough to appreciate it. He at once invited Mr. Duff to begin his crusade in Falkirk. That was John Brown Patterson, the marvel of the High School of Edinburgh, whom Pillans took with him to the University; the student who had there gained the hundred pound prize proposed by the Government commissioners on the universities of Scotland for the best essay on the character of the Athenians. The result of Duff's preaching in Falkirk, and of a public meeting with formal resolutions to advance the Bengal mission, was not only a collection of money which surprised all in that day, but the lighting of a flame which Duff was to fan and spread till it covered the land, and fired America and many other parts of Christendom. The glad report of this, made formally to the committee, was received with respectful silence. Nor was the bitterness of Mr. Duff's heart assuaged till, about the same time, two theological students called upon him for information regarding his mission. The interview gave him a new confidence for the future, for he reasoned that if any number of the divinity students were like these, the India mission would never lack men worthy of it. His young visitors were the saintly Murray M'Cheyne and Alexander N. Somerville.*

Somewhat dubious now as to the attitude of the committee, Mr. Duff received, with hesitation, the next invitation to tell the public of his work. Dr. A. Paterson, who had been driven out of Russia by the intolerance of the Czar Nicholas, asked him to address half a dozen godly folks who met once a month in the Edinburgh house of Mr. Campbell, of Carbrook, for prayer for foreign missions. On finding the drawing-room crowded by a large audience he remonstrated, and refused to remain. But explanation showed that

* See *A Modern Apostle* (2nd Ed.), chap. i. (John Murray, 1891.)

no endeavour had been made to summon the audience, whom he therefore consented to address. The result was, such an impression in many circles, outside as well as in the Kirk, that an English visitor who had been present rode down to Portobello next morning to make a large donation to the mission, and Mr. Duff was formally summoned, for the first time, to meet the committee in the rooms in the University which Dr. Brunton occupied as librarian. Marvelling what the sudden cause could be, but delighted that at last he would have an opportunity of giving an account of his stewardship, Mr. Duff hurried to the spot with that punctuality for which, like all successfully busy men, he was ever remarkable.

It was thus he used to tell the story:—Entering the room he found that nearly all the members of committee were present. After prayer the acting convener rose, and standing in the middle of the floor, in substance spoke as follows:—He had thought it right to summon a meeting to settle and determine the case of Mr. Duff, who, in these days of agitation, turmoil, and revolutionary tendencies and irregularities of every description, had taken it upon him to hold not exactly a public, but at the same time a very large meeting in the house of Mr. Campbell, of Carbrook, with the view of addressing it on the subject of missions. Now he regarded this as a very unwarrantable and irregular proceeding. Mr. Duff had given him no intimation of his intention to hold such a meeting, nor had he any means of knowing what might be the leading subject of the address. He thought it therefore right to consult his colleagues to induce them to lay down rules to regulate Mr. Duff's proceedings on such matters in future, as it would never do, in unsettled times like these, to allow the agent of a responsible committee to adopt what measures he chose.

Immediately Mr. Duff stood up, and taking possession of the middle of the floor, respectfully admitted that he was the agent of the committee, but of a committee guided by moral and spiritual influences and considerations. While in one respect therefore he was their

agent, in another respect he must be considered on a footing of religious co-equality, co-responsibility with themselves; but not to insist further on this, he would soon bring the matter to a decisive issue. When he went to India originally he declared that he would not go if hampered by any conditions which his own conscience did not approve; that, entering upon an entirely new field, full discretion must be allowed him within the limits of reason and sobriety to follow what courses he might deem most effective for the ends which the committee and himself had alike in common. This reasonable concession was at once cheerfully yielded by Dr. Inglis and his committee; and now when he, Mr. Duff, had returned, after several years of multiplied experiences, he thought that full discretion should be allowed him to adopt what course might seem best for awakening an interest in the Church's mission, so long as he was ready to take any counsel or advice which the home experiences of members of committee friendly to missions might suggest. He then explained how the recent meeting had not originated with him; though when he came to understand it he fully approved of it, and thought that the successful result sufficiently proved its providential legitimacy. Of course, if the committee had any work for him to do of any kind anywhere, he would at once relinquish all other duty for the sake of taking up that; but beyond this he could not possibly go. He was an ordained minister of the gospel, and therefore supposed to be endowed with ordinary ministerial gifts, graces and attainments. He was in all respects therefore the free-man of the Lord; free to carry out whatever his blessed Master might indicate as His most gracious will. That liberty he would not and could not relinquish. Having so spoken he sat down. Instantly, all present, without any one of them uttering a word, went out precipitately, leaving Mr. Duff and the convener alone in the middle of the floor to look at each other in a sort of dumb amazement. "Probably," said the former with great calmness, "we have had enough of the subject for this day."

After Falkirk the next call came from Dr. Wilson of Irvine. Dundee followed, led thereto by a visit which Mr. Duff had paid to all its ministers on his way north to Moulin to visit his father and mother. Meanwhile his correspondence shows how active he was in educating the new convener and committee in the progress of the mission, much of the history of which had passed away with Dr. Inglis. A letter from the Rev. W. S. Mackay on the work in Bengal called forth these "running notes" on the converts:—

" March 20, 1835.

" If these had not been so specially referred to by Mr. Mackay I should be silent. Many in Calcutta know, and none more than my dear colleague, how much I was called on to do for these, and how much to bear from them during the time of their infidelity and the progress of their inquiries after truth; God only is witness of all I had to do and endure, how I had to toil and struggle and travail in soul for them. It may easily be imagined then how peculiar must my feelings towards them be. When the two first joined the English Church I was not much surprised, owing to the very satisfactory reasons stated by Mr. Mackay. And if the ground of their reasons had not been removed (as it happily now is), I should not have expected any talented young man who burned with zeal to be employed in rousing his countrymen, to remain with us—indeed I could not ask any. If the Church of England offered to ordain and support them as missionaries, and we could not, then for the good of India would I say, 'rather than remain unemployed, or betake yourselves exclusively to secular professions, by all means join the Church of England or any other Church of Christ that will engage to send you forth as effective labourers into the missionary field.'

" The obvious remedy for such defections from our Church, though not from the Church of Christ, is (1) the power of ordaining and supporting qualified labourers. (2) The supporting promising young men, when cast off by their friends on account of their specially devoting themselves to the work of preparation for the Christian ministry. (3) The erection of a higher Institution for the communication of the more advanced branches of knowledge, literary, scientific and theological. The first of these is now granted; the two last are yet wanting; and till these be granted too it is utterly impossible for the Assembly's missionaries in India to be responsible for the continued adherence of well-educated pious young men to the communion of the Church of Scotland.

" When Gopinath Nundi was appointed at my own recommendation to the school at Futtehpore, it was not in connection with any Society. The Surgeon of the station, in his application to me, expressly stated that the school was founded and would be supported by the British residents of the place. Its being taken under the patronage of the Church of England Missionary Society was altogether a subsequent event. We could not obviate this, as we had no disposable funds to offer which might secure the permanency of the institution." . . .

Gopinath was afterwards ordained by the American Presbyterian Church. Anundo had been induced by

Mr. Groves to accompany him to England, in the same ship with Mr. Duff. On his return to India he became a catechist of the London Missionary Society, and died in 1841. Whatever may have been the motives which actuated those who induced Duff's first two converts to leave their spiritual father, all must rejoice in the fine catholicity which marked his own action and has ever since made his college the nursery of evangelists for all the Protestant agencies of Northern and Eastern India. He at least never grudged the Church of God what his own committee were unable to utilise.

In April, 1835, after making the *amende honorable*, the convener submitted to Mr. Duff a letter from the clerk of the Presbytery of London, expressing profound interest in the India mission of the Church of Scotland, and inviting the missionary to address each of the congregations, which were ready to begin a system of contributions for the good cause. There was only one dissentient in the Presbytery, as it proved, and that solely from ignorance. He was the Rev. John Macdonald, who, when he heard the good news of God from Bengal and understood how an educational agency like Duff's was the most evangelistic of all as directed to cultured Hindus, gave himself to the same service, resigning his London charge for the Calcutta mission.

Duff had now a work to do, and to do at once, compared with which his crusade in Bengal had been pleasant. The opposition there was what he had counted on; it had inspired him with eagerness for the battle, and he had been successful. In his own land he had just experience enough to sound the depth of ignorance, and consequent indifference to India and the state of its people. The few who were of the spirit of Dr. Inglis, removed by death; Simeon, near his end; Dr. Love, removed to Glasgow after founding the London Missionary Society; John Foster, Charles Grant and Wilberforce, gathered round the societies, leaving the Churches, as such, colder than before. Just ten years had passed since the General Assembly

had been induced with difficulty to invite a general collection for the proposed India Mission, by the assurance, prominently published, that it was "not to be repeated," yet not fifty out of its thousand churches made any response. Dr. Inglis was so delighted by the consent of the Presbytery of Edinburgh to make an annual collection, even in 1831, that he announced it to Duff as a triumph, and declared he would now fix the maximum revenue for the mission at £1,200 a year. From the front of the battle in all its heat and vastness, the missionary had replied, "Not £1,200 but £12,000, and do not stop at that." How had that been received? When, before the Assembly of 1835, Duff was reading up the meagre records of the committee, he found that a leading member had written on the margin of that reply, "Is the man mad? Has the Indian sun turned his head?" When he pointed out the query, its writer, now himself convener, tore it off and threw it into the fire, exclaiming, "No more will be heard on that subject." But, in high and low, this was the want of knowledge and of faith which the first Scottish missionary who had returned from India was called to meet. And the return of the old fever of the rice swamps of Bengal, following his London campaign, had made him once more a gaunt invalid.

Physicians and friends tried to dissuade him, and the list of business that year, which followed the ecclesiastical reforms of 1834, was so large that it was doubtful if time would be found for even the India Mission. What was all the administration of Lord William Bentinck, or all the codes and the essays of Macaulay, to a general election? what was the evangelisation of Bengal to the presbyters of Auchterarder? But Duff knew that this was his time; that if he died he must yet deliver his soul and tell his tale. He could have no prosperous mission in India without Scotland, and every Scottish man, woman, and child could be reached best through the reports of the General Assembly, which the reforms of 1834 had made the most popular of parliaments.

Casting himself on the promise to Paul, the first and greatest of missionaries, that the grace of God would

be sufficient for him, yea, would be perfected even by his weakness, Mr. Duff resigned himself passively into the Divine hands. In those days he did not commit a speech to writing, but conned over the materials of it, leaving the expression to the time when he should stand eye to eye with the crowd. The reforming party in the Kirk had established the *Scottish Guardian* as their weekly newspaper in Glasgow, and the editor, the Rev. George Lewis, had formed a volunteer staff of reporters of the Assembly's proceedings. Brother of one who was a warm friend of Mr. Duff—Dr. James Lewis—and himself one of the few interested in the subject, he instructed his staff to take down as full a report of the missionary's speech as possible. Monday, the 25th May, 1835, had been assigned for what had hitherto been the purely formal duty of presenting the annual report of the India Mission. The Assembly met in that most unecclesiastical large box called the Tron Kirk of Edinburgh. Though just risen from a sick bed, Mr. Duff testified often after, that never during his whole life did he more thoroughly experience the might of the Divine saying, "As thy day so shall thy strength be." At first it seemed as if he could not go beyond a few sentences, and he was conscious that many were gazing at him, apprehensive, as they afterwards said, that he would soon drop on the floor. But, leaping by one effort into the very heart of his subject, he became unconscious of the presence of his audience save as of a mass which was gradually warming to his heat. Advancing from stage to stage of what was, for him, "a brief exposition," he whispered out his at that time unmatched peroration with an almost supernatural effect, and subsided drenched with perspiration as if he had been dragged through the Atlantic, to use his own expression. Then for the first time he marked the emotion of his hearers, many of them callous lawyers and lords of session, cool men of the world or antipathetic "moderates."

With the unconsciousness of the highest art their first India missionary at once planted the General Assembly beside him in Bengal, as he set himself to

“the conversion of a hundred and thirty millions of idolaters.” Step by step he hurried them on from the first attempt, on the old system, to influence the educated Hindus, through the statement of the evidences of Christianity, of miracles, prophecy, and the demand for the proof of the missionary’s authority, till this conclusion was reached: “The power of conveying the necessary knowledge seems to me to be the only substitute we possess instead of the power of working miracles. But it is surely one thing to say, that a sound liberal education is greatly advantageous towards the establishment of the evidence and authority of the Christian revelation, and, consequently, towards securing a candid and attentive hearing, and quite another to say, that it is indispensably and universally necessary to the heart reception of the gospel remedy. The former position we do most firmly maintain, but in the solemnity of apostolic language, we exclaim, God forbid that we should ever maintain the latter! Instead of demanding your authority for the truth of Christianity, the Brahman may challenge you to invalidate, if you can, the claims of his system. You soon find that there is no common ground in logic, and you turn to the experimental principles of physical science to find the cataclysms of the Hindu cosmogony exalted against the petty, the recent learning of the West. You turn to theology proper, only to find that the Vedic Shasters sanctify and render infallible all Brahmanism, secular as well as sacred. Do then,”—exclaimed Duff, after pleading for the supply of missionaries, “qualified to silence the intellectually proud as well as to edify the spiritually humble”—

“Do then let me again crave the attention of this venerable court to the grand *peculiarity*, that if in India you only impart ordinary useful knowledge, you thereby demolish what by its people is regarded as sacred. A course of instruction that professes to convey truth of any kind thus becomes a species of *religious education* in such a land—all education being there regarded as religious or theological. Every branch of sound general knowledge which you inculcate becomes the destroyer of some corresponding part in the Hindu system. It is this that gives to the dissemination of mere human knowledge, in the present state of India, such awful importance: it is this that exalts and magnifies it into the rank of a *primary* instrument in spreading the seeds of reformation

throughout the land. I ask not, whether sound useful knowledge be universally necessary, either as the precursor or friendly ally of that which is divine. Such is neither my own impression nor belief. But, seeing that the communication of useful knowledge becomes, in the circumstances described, such a tremendous engine for breaking down the accumulated superstitions and idolatries of ages, I do ask, in opposition to those who decry and denounce useful knowledge, not in the abstract but as totally inapplicable to missionary purposes,—I do ask, with humble but confident boldness, as in the sight of Heaven, ‘Who is it that will henceforward have the hardihood to assert that the impartation of such knowledge has nothing to do with the christianisation of India?’”

But the European, the foreign missionary to the educated Hindus soon comes to discover further, that if the gospel is to be extensively preached with power it must be by natives themselves, whom it is his task to duly qualify. Appealing to the Highland ministers among his audience, the speaker used the same old analogy of the Gaelic and English which he employed with such effect against the orientalist of Calcutta:—

“Oh, there is that in the tones of a foreigner’s voice which falls cold and heavy on the ear of a native, and seldom reaches the heart!—whereas, there is something in the genuine tones of a countryman’s voice, which, operating as a charm, falls pleasantly on the ear, and comes home to the feelings, and touches the heart, and causes its tenderest chords to vibrate. Doubtless there have been, and there may be now, individual cases of foreigners having in some degree, or even altogether, surmounted this grand practical difficulty. But these rare cases form such palpable exceptions from the general rule, that they can scarcely be counted on, in providing a *national* supply of preachers of the everlasting gospel. Thus, again, is the *comparative* inefficiency of *European* agency, when put forth *directly* in proclaiming the gospel, forced upon the mind; and the necessity of having recourse to *native* agents in the work is once more suggested with a potency that is irresistible. They can withstand that blazing sun, they can bear exposure to that unkindly atmosphere, they can locate themselves amid the hamlets and the villages, they can hold intercourse with their countrymen in ways and modes we never can. And having the thousand advantages, besides, of knowing the feelings, the sentiments, the traditions, the associations, the habits, the manners, the customs, the trains of thought and principles of reasoning among the people, they can strike in with arguments, and objections, and illustrations, and imagery which we could never, never have conceived. How glorious then must be the day for India when such *qualified native agents* are prepared to go forth among the people, and shake and agitate, and rouse them from the lethargy and the slumber of ages!

“It is for reasons like the preceding, that a man of fervent piety, going forth with the fullest intention of doing nothing but *directly* and *exclusively* preaching the gospel in the native tongues, often finds himself, in such a country as India, constrained to think of other and more effectual means of ultimately accomplishing the same work, and hastening the same consummation.”

Then followed a graphic description of the speaker's own mode of overcoming such difficulties; a pathetic picture of the separation of his third convert from father and mother, from brothers and friends, for ever; and a contrast, which time has unhappily only proved at once a prediction and a justification, in the political results of the system which the Government of India alone of all ruling powers, civilised or barbarous, pursues—public instruction carefully divorced from all religion:—

“If in that land you do give the people *knowledge without religion*, rest assured that it is the greatest blunder, politically speaking, that ever was committed. Having free unrestricted access to the whole range of our English literature and science, they will despise and reject their own absurd systems of learning. Once driven out of their own systems, they will inevitably become infidels in religion. And shaken out of the mechanical routine of their own religious observances, without moral principle to balance their thoughts or guide their movements, they will as certainly become discontented, restless agitators,—ambitious of power and official distinction, and possessed of the most disloyal sentiments towards that Government which, in their eye, has usurped all the authority that rightfully belonged to themselves. This is not theory, it is a statement of fact. I myself can testify in this place, as I have already done on the spot, that expressions and opinions of a most rebellious nature have been known to drop from some of the very *protégés* of that Government which, for its own sake, is so infatuated as to insist on giving knowledge apart from religion. But as soon as some of these became converts to Christianity, through the agency already described, how totally different their tone of feeling towards the existing Government! *Their* bowels yearned over the miseries of their countrymen. *They* now knew the only effectual cure. And their spontaneous feeling was, ‘Ah! woe be unto us, if the British Government were destroyed and the Hindu dynasties restored! The first thing would be to cut us off, and what would then become of our poor degraded country? We pray for the permanence of the British Government, that, under the shadow of its protection, we may disseminate the healing knowledge of Christianity among our brethren,—that knowledge which alone can secure their present welfare and immortal happiness.’ In like manner, and for the same reason, there are not more loyal or patriotic subjects of the British crown than the young men that compose the more advanced classes in our Institution. So clearly and strongly did this appear to many members of the present Government in India, that instead of regarding us with jealousy and suspicion as enemies, they looked upon us as the truest friends of the British Government, the staunchest supporters of the British power.”

The adoption of English as the language of the higher education, the abolition of foreign Persian as the official medium, the use of the vernaculars for giving knowledge to the millions, the spread of the

higher education from Calcutta to the great cities and feudatory states of Upper and Central India, and the duty of Scotland through its Kirk, all the more since the death of Inglis, carried the orator to his climax, which became a model of rhetoric for many a year after:—

“Whenever we make an appeal in behalf of the heathen, it is constantly urged that there are enough of heathen at home,—that there is enough of work to be done at home, and why roam for more in distant lands? I strongly suspect that those who are most clamorous in advancing this plea are just the very men who do little, and care less, either for heathen at home or heathen at a distance. At all events, it is a plea far more worthy of a heathen than of a Christian. It was not thus that the Apostles argued. If it were, they never would have crossed the walls of Jerusalem. There they would have remained contending with unbelieving Jews, till caught by the flames that reduced to ashes the city of their fathers. And if we act on such a plea, we may be charged with despising the example of the Apostles, and found loitering at home till overtaken by the flames of the final conflagration. But shall it be brooked, that those who in this Assembly have so far succeeded to their office, should act so contrary a part? Let us pronounce this impossible. I for one can see no contrariety between home and foreign labour. I am glad that so much is doing for home; but ten times more may yet be done both for home and for abroad too. It is cheering to think of the overmastering energy that is now put forth in the cause of church extension in this land, as well as in reference to improved systems of education, and model-schools, and more especially the enlightenment of the long-neglected and destitute Highlands.

“I know the Highlands; they are dear to me. They form the cradle and the grave of my fathers; they are the nursery of my youthful imaginations; and there is not a lake, or barren heath, or granite peak that is not dear to me. How much more dear the precious souls of those who tenant these romantic regions! Still, though a son of the Highlands, I must, in my higher capacity as a disciple of Jesus, be permitted to put the question, Has not Inspiration declared, that ‘the field is the world’? And would you keep your spiritual sympathies pent up within the craggy ramparts of the Grampians? Would you have them enchained within the wild and rocky shores of this distant isle? ‘The field is the world.’ And the more we are like God,—the more we reflect His image,—the more our nature is assimilated to the Divine,—the more nearly will we view the world as God has done. ‘True friendship,’ it has been said, ‘has no localities.’ And so it is with the love of God in Christ. The sacrifice on Calvary was designed to embrace the globe in its amplitude. Let us view the subject as God views it—let us view it as denizens of the universe—and we shall not be bounded in our efforts of philanthropy, short of the north or south pole. Wherever there is a human being *there* must our sympathies extend.

“And since you, here assembled, are the representatives of that National Church that has put forth an emphatic expression of faith in the Redeemer’s promises; an emphatic expression of expectation that all these promises shall one day be gloriously realised—and in these troublous times this is a precious testimony—I call upon you to follow it up with deeds proportionate. ‘Faith without works is dead.’ Let you,

the representative body of this Church, commence, and show that the pulse of benevolence has begun to beat higher here, and if so, it will circulate through all the veins of the great system. Let the impulsive influence begin here, and it will flow throughout the land. Let us awake, arise, and rescue unhappy India from its present and impending horrors. Ah! long, too long has India been made a theme for the visions of poetry and the dreams of romance. Too long has it been enshrined in the sparkling bubbles of a vapoury sentimentalism. One's heart is indeed sickened with the eternal song of its balmy skies and voluptuous gales—its golden dews and pageantry of blossoms—its

‘fields of paradise and bowers,
Entwining amaranthine flowers,’—

its blaze of suns, and torrents of eternal light:—one's heart is sickened with this eternal song, when above, we behold nought but the spiritual gloom of a gathering tempest, relieved only by the lightning glance of the Almighty's indignation—around, a waste moral wilderness, where ‘all life dies, and death lives’—and underneath, one vast catacomb of immortal souls perishing for lack of knowledge. Let us arise, and resolve, that henceforward these ‘climes of the sun’ shall not be viewed merely as a storehouse of flowers for poetry, and figures for rhetoric, and bold strokes for oratory; but shall become the climes of a better sun—even ‘the Sun of righteousness’; the nursery of ‘plants of renown’ that shall bloom and blossom in the regions of immortality. Let us arise and revive the genius of the olden time: let us revive the spirit of our forefathers. Like them, let us unsheathe the sword of the Spirit, unfurl the banners of the Cross, sound the gospel-trump of jubilee. Like them, let us enter into a Solemn League and Covenant before our God, in behalf of that benighted land, that we will not rest, till the voice of praise and thanksgiving arise, in daily orisons, from its coral strand, roll over its fertile plains, resound from its smiling valleys, and re-echo from its everlasting hills. Thus shall it be proved, that the Church of Scotland, though ‘poor, can make many rich,’ being herself replenished from the ‘fulness of the Godhead’:—that the Church of Scotland, though powerless as regards carnal designs and worldly policies, has yet the divine power of bringing many sons to glory—of calling a spiritual progeny from afar, numerous as the drops of dew in the morning, and resplendent with the shining of the Sun of righteousness—a noble company of ransomed multitudes, that shall hail you in the realms of day, and crown you with the spoils of victory, and sit on thrones, and live and reign with you, amid the splendours of an unclouded universe.

“May God hasten the day, and put it into the heart of every one present to engage in the glorious work of realising it!”

The long-drawn sigh of the hearers relieved the suppressed emotion which lighted up every face. Dr. Gordon was called on to lead the devotions of the Assembly in praise and thanksgiving to God. When the tumult of emotion was thus chastened, one after another of the leaders of the house, on both sides, rose to give expression to his feelings. Among these was the venerable Dr. Stewart, of Erskine, who thus

spoke:—"Moderator, it has been my privilege to hear Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt speak in the House of Commons, that grand focus of British eloquence, when in the very zenith of their glory as statesmen and orators. I now solemnly declare that I never heard from either of them a speech similar, or second to that to which we have now listened, alike for its lofty tone, thought and sentiment, its close argumentative force, its transcendent eloquence and overpowering impressiveness."

The General Assembly ordered the publication of the address, and two editions of twenty thousand copies, following the newspaper, spread it abroad over Great Britain, America, and many parts of the continent of Europe. In Scotland, as in India, the first battle of the campaign had been won. But only the first. For it was natural and advantageous that this, the earliest adequate statement in the West of what has since been called the educational system of missions, should excite discussion and bring down on its advocate the charges now of overlooking other agencies and then of being an innovator, now of departing from apostolic precedents and again of not sufficiently recognising the difference between the state of the British and that of the Roman empire.

Never did public speaker in any assembly think less of himself or of the form of his oratory, and more of the message which he believed he was charged by his Master to deliver to the Church and to the country, than did Duff. Hence the immediate influence on those who heard him, and the abiding power of the printed report of what he said, although that fell far below the reality in days when verbatim reporting was unknown. He spake as a prophet, not as a carefully prepared rhetorician. This redeemed his orations from the dangers of the florid style which was the fashion of that period of literature. More nearly than any of the speakers of the first half of the nineteenth century, Duff thus realised that which Mr. Gladstone has pronounced the supreme influence of the speaker, the power of "receiving from his audience

in a vapour what he pours back on them in a flood." But, while eschewing the mechanical or formally rhetorical preparation which would have cramped while it polished his utterance, Duff did not neglect the careful and admiring study of the masters of English eloquence, from Chatham and Burke to Erskine and Canning. A little collection of their master-pieces published in 1827 seems to have been, at one time, his constant companion. It is carefully marked at such speeches as these—Mr. Pitt, in vindication of his father, Lord Chatham; Mr. Fox, in respect to the Government of India; Mr. Grattan, on moving for a committee on the claims of the Roman Catholics; and Mr. Brougham on the slave trade. From these was the form of his oratory unconsciously derived; but not more from these than from Chalmers—his St. Andrews lectures on moral philosophy, emancipation speech and sermons, such as Mr. Gladstone declared to be equalled only by the very different "reasoned homilies" of John Henry Newman.

Duff, too, was at once as fortunate and unfortunate in his principal theme as his greatest models. For if the India of popular fancy casts a glamour over the imagination, the novelty of its names, customs, and beliefs repels the mind which desires the passive enjoyment of eloquence in proportion to the earnestness, the fulness and the accuracy of the speaker. On India showy platitudes tell where authoritative knowledge, even when expressed in the chastest rhetoric, fails to attract. Duff's first Assembly address was precisely what Sheridan's celebrated Begum of Oudh speech had been—unexpectedly magical in its effect on the hearers, but lost to a great extent in the report. It was India that revealed Burke as the orator he became. The knowledge which he gained in the select committee of 1780 fed his imagination with events even more distant and new than the terror of the French Revolution. Into that imagination the malicious Francis dropped the spark which caused it to explode into the five great speeches on the impeachment

of Warren Hastings. After Sheridan had failed in that year, so that, like a more recent statesman of the same type, he exclaimed to Woodfall, "It is in me, and it shall come out," India enabled him to make the speech which led the House to adjourn, from the impossibility of debating judicially after it. Burke, Fox and Pitt united in declaring that the most extraordinary effort of human eloquence, ancient or modern, just as Stewart of Erskine said of Duff's that it surpassed the finest efforts of Fox and Pitt, yet these speakers were second only to Burke in the higher flights of the imagination, in the *abandon* which resulted from absorption in their subject. Wilberforce did not mean to praise Canning when he said that that speaker never drew you to him in spite of yourself, as Pitt and Fox used to do, yet he was a more finished orator than either. Canning had wit and humour inconsistent with *abandon*, but as precious in themselves as they are rare. Duff manifested powers of sarcasm and scathing indignation when he rose to the heights of his prophetic message and was called to demolish opposition or expose hypocrisy in the name of his Master. For it was not India only, but India for Christ, that was the source of his inspiration.

CHAPTER XI

1835-1836

DR. DUFF ORGANISING

FAR more effectually than even the speaker had dared to dream, the first Assembly oration of the first missionary of its Church set Scotland on fire. The excitement of the general election, which for the hour made Dr. Chalmers so much of a Tory as to call forth the remark in his broadest Fifeshire accent, "I have a moral loathing of these Whugs," had spent itself. The new spiritual life which was to work itself out in the disruption of 1843 had asserted its power in the General Assemblies of 1834 and 1835. Even Dr. Inglis had declared just before his death, "The kingdom of Christ is not only spiritual but independent. No earthly government has a right to overrule or control it." Chalmers, with such disciples as the young Thomas Guthrie, had begun to go forth on his evangelical mission of church extension throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. Side by side and in loving co-operation with that, as Chalmers had always taught and he himself had again enforced, Duff proclaimed and established the claims of foreign missions. The whole people were ready to receive the missionary; almost every parish competed for a visit from him. Zealously anticipating St. Andrews and the other universities, Marischal College, Aberdeen had hardly met for the autumn session of 1835 when

it honoured itself and surprised the young divine, still under thirty, by presenting him with the diploma of Doctor of Divinity.

The most embarrassing and even annoying form taken by the popularity thus suddenly acquired and steadily increased for many a year, was that of the patrons of church livings, and the then few congregations who had the right to call their own minister, persecuting Dr. Duff to settle amongst them. He must effectually clear this obstacle out of his path before entering on his first home crusade. What to some would have seemed a flattering recognition of their merits was to him humiliating. Dr. Inglis was gone. Dr. Anderson, his colleague, soon followed him, and the attractive city charge of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh, was pressed upon Dr. Duff. On the very morning when he was to open his crusade in the country, he was stopped by a deputation offering him the living. When he showed some impatience under the long catalogue of weighty reasons which they advanced for his closing with their urgent request, they thought that they would secure him by the temptation of preaching for the rest of his days amid the grandest ecclesiastical and historical associations, and in the pulpit of his old friend Dr. Inglis. Hardly had he reached the Highlands, when the South Church of Aberdeen tried to lay hold of him.

The third among many other temptations put before Dr. Duff was of a different and, in an ecclesiastical sense, still higher kind. It was nothing less than this, that he might save the Church of Scotland from being rent in two by the conflict for spiritual independence which had now entered on its life-and-death stage. The famous Marnoch case, with all the Strathbogie scandals, was in its early stage, having succeeded the first assault of the civil courts, made in the Auchterarder case, on the spiritual independence in purely spiritual things guaranteed by Scottish Acts of Parliament, the Treaty of Union and the Revolution Settlement. Marnoch is a small parish on the Deveron, nine miles south-west of Banff. The Earl of Fife was

patron of the living, which fell vacant after the Act of the Assembly restoring to communicants their spiritual and historical right to veto the patron's appointment of a minister of whom they disapproved. The earl, who had settled down in Duff House, was indifferent to the Veto Act, but he did not wish the annoyance of fighting his own tenantry on such a question. In the days of his dissipation as boon companion of George IV., he had allowed his brother, General Duff, to promise the living, when it should be vacant, to one Edwards, long a tutor in the family. But the old minister would not die, while the Veto Act represented an earnest change of popular opinion on the traffic in livings which had once already rent the Kirk, having degraded the nation ever since Queen Anne's days. The earl, having sobered down, at first tried to induce his brother to release him from the promise to Edwards. Failing in this, the puzzled and somewhat penitent patron put in Edwards as the old minister's assistant, half hoping that the now sapless "Dominie Sampson" might be accepted by the people for pity's sake. Alas! for the earl, the tutor proved so prodigious a failure that the little parish came to hate him, and the kirk became emptier than ever. Again the earl appealed to his ruthless brother: "John Edwards had been fairly tried and found wanting; would he accept this fact as sufficiently redeeming his promise to the unhappy tutor, which should never have been made, and agree to another plan?" This was, to ask their clansman, Dr. Duff, to accept the nomination to Marnoch, which had now become vacant, in the certainty that he would be unanimously called by the people under the Veto Act.

On this the earl asked his own minister, Mr. Grant, of Banff, to plead with Dr. Duff, to whom the nomination was offered as a mark of the earl's good will, as some recognition of his high deserts, as the only means of delivering the patron from a terrible dilemma and of preventing a local scandal; but, above all, as a sure bulwark against the tide of schism and anarchy which might sweep away the Kirk itself and destroy even its

Bengal Mission. Dr. Duff was implored to be the Curtius who would thus close up the gulf for ever. It was all in vain. Poor Edwards was forced on the three hundred heads of families and thirteen heritors against their solemn dissent, against the law of the Kirk and of the land till Parliament altered it, and against the rising clamour of the whole country. He was invited by only one heritor besides the earl and his brother, and one parishioner, "Peter Taylor, the keeper of the public-house at which the presbytery were wont to dine." No man knew and no minister proved better than Dr. Duff that Marnoch, like Auchterarder and Lethendy, was but a symptom of a disease to be cured only by leaving the Church to the laws of Christ in word and conscience, a loyal ally of the State but independent in the purely spiritual sphere. Dr. Duff respectfully declined what was undoubtedly intended to be a liberal and generous offer. The earl replied in a letter expressing admiration of the consistency and self-sacrifice of the missionary. But the old companion of the worst sovereign England has seen, turned to the law courts, where a majority of the judges, to the grief of men like Jeffrey and Cockburn, helped him and his reverend presentee to drive every member from the kirk, to worship God, like their forefathers in persecuting times, in a hollow in the winter's snow.

How was not only the Church but all Scotland to be organised for the permanent and the progressive support, by prayer and by knowledge, by men and by money, of missionary work in India? That was the problem which had occupied the thoughts of Duff on his homeward voyage, "when rocked amid the billows of a tempest off the Cape of Good Hope," and again as he paced the deck on the return of health. His resolution was formed before he landed, only to be intensified by the early indifference of the committee which his first speech had dissipated; and by the return of the fever which had fired his spirit anew. It was "the favourite plan of visiting and addressing all the presbyteries of the Church in detail" which had thus forcibly seized his mind, and had been elaborated and prepared

for during the first six months of his recovery. Generally preceding Chalmers in the church extension movement at home, with a thoroughness and over an extent of country possible only in the case of one who devoted to it his whole strength and unique experience, Dr. Duff went far to anticipate the great triumph in Christian economics, the Sustentation Fund for the ministers. The parallel, the necessary balance and support of that fund, is the system of congregational associations under similar presbyterial supervision for the missionaries abroad.

But the essential preliminary to all success had to be made known—foreign missions are of no party. They are the care and the corrective, the test and the stimulus of all parties in the Church. The missionary who, as such, takes a side in ecclesiastical warfare, may gratify his own personal bias, but he imperils the cause in which he ought to be absorbed. The missions of the Scottish Church, above all, originated in pure catholicity, and have, even through the disruption, been directed by Christlike charity. Dr. Inglis, their founder, was a moderate by association, and an evangelical in spirit, as we have seen. When he sought and found the first missionary he wrote to the most pronounced of the moderate party—"As to his *side* in the Church I have made no inquiry." And it will be well at this stage to ponder the fact, as the key to much of his future action, that that missionary thus early declared the superiority of himself, because of his work, to all party. Thus he became the peacemaker, in one sense of the beatitude, at home, as in the higher sense his work in India of reconciling men to God won himself abundantly the peacemaker's blessedness. As a question of mere statistics he raised the annual income of the foreign missions scheme from £1,200 to £7,589 in 1838.

Having settled his family in the old mansion-house of Edradour, within a mile of Pitlochry, he recruited his energies there during June, 1835. Meanwhile the Rev. Dr. Gordon, as secretary of the committee, was putting in force the short Act passed by the General

Assembly recommending all presbyteries to give Dr. Duff a respectful hearing at meetings called for the purpose, and to form a presbyterial association to create in each congregation an agency for prayer and the propagation of intelligence regarding the evangelisation of the world. This Act had been drawn up by Mr. Makgill Crichton, of Rankeillour, in the back-room of the publishing house of Waugh and Innes, next the Tron kirk, to give practical effect to the enthusiasm created in the Assembly by the great speech, and had been unanimously passed.

Beginning with the presbytery of Meigle, the first in Strathmore to the east of Perth, Dr. Duff proceeded during the rest of the year in regular order to the north, zigzagging over Forfar, Arbroath, Brechin, Montrose, Aberdeen, the valleys of the Dee and the Don, Old Deer, Peterhead, and Fraserburgh; then west through Strathbogie, along the Spey, and through Banff, Elgin and Forres to Inverness. At the last he spent a week, but he generally addressed three presbyteries, including the large congregations, every week. He then went northwards to the presbyteries of Chanonry, Dingwall, and Tain. To Tongue in the Reay country he went direct across Sutherland. A friend conveyed him to the manse at the lake Lairg, where he remained one night, and met there young Mr. MacGillivray, minister of Strathy, who had come a distance of nearly a hundred miles to convey him to Tongue. There they arrived in the midst of a snowstorm. But the hearts of the people were warm. Nowhere did he meet with a more hearty reception. From Tongue he proceeded eastward along the coast of Thurso, stopping one night with Mr. MacGillivray to address his people. On that occasion one of the old peculiar class called "the Men" spoke a few words at the close, and as he was speaking down came a heavy pour of rain which pattered very strongly against the windows. For a moment the speaker paused, and looking gravely at the people said to them with much earnestness in Gaelic: "My brethren, they are the heavens that are weeping over the sins of the people," but in Gaelic the phrase was

much more expressive than any translation of it into English can be. After addressing the presbyteries of Thurso, Wick, and Dornoch, as well as large congregations connected with these places, Dr. Duff returned to his temporary home in the Vale of Athole in order to recruit from the exhaustion of six months' incessant itinerating and public speaking.

If Dr. Duff was surprised by the enthusiasm which he called forth in his first tour, the result of the second exceeded even that. For, to the fame of his Assembly speech there was now added the bruit of his eastern and northern triumphs. And he opened the campaign of 1836 in his own county. Repeated attacks of his old fever forbade the physicians to allow him to think of returning to India. Very vividly are the impressions of his first visit to Perth pictured by two of his audience at the time, the late Mrs. Barbour, then a child, and her mother, Mrs. Stewart Sandeman, of Bonskeid, in the neighbourhood of Moulin. These are some of the lines written by Mrs. Sandeman in 1836 upon Dr. Duff:—

“ He crossed o'er our path like an angel of light,
The sword of the truth in his grasp gleaming bright ;
O'er mountain and valley unwearied he flew
Imploring our aid for the poor lost Hindu.

“ The rich gorgeous East with its dark Indian grove
Was the land that he pled for—all pity and love ;
But we caught the swift glance and the dear mountain tone,
And claimed him with reverence and pride for our own.

“ Yes! dark Ben-i-vrackie, all rugged and wild,
And fair vale of Athole, ye welcome your child,
For oft have his thoughts turned in fondness to you,
While he toiled for the soul of the darkened Hindu.

“ And shall we not aid him with heart and with hand
To ope fountains of truth in that desolate land ?
Nor break the witched charm that he over us threw
While in anguish he pled for the erring Hindu.”

“ The arrival of Dr. Duff in the county town of his native Perthshire was a memorable event to most of the dwellers in it. It was doubly memorable to the children who got a holiday to go and hear him in the East Church on a week-day. Some days before, the carriage had been watched as it conveyed the invalid

missionary to the crescent facing the North Inch, and stopped at the house of the Rev. William Thomson, for whom he was to preach in the Middle Church. Reports of his suffering state had come before him. Mrs. Stuart, of Annat, then residing in Edinburgh, had been at the communion in Lady Glenorchy's church. She came home enraptured with the table-service, at which a stranger had presided. His voice had seemed like one from heaven, and he looked so ill, as if he might have passed away while he broke the bread. It was Dr. Duff who had arrived from India.

“It was no wonder that the deep galleries of the old Middle Church of St. John's, Perth, always full, were on that morning crowded. Even the seats behind the huge pillars were eagerly seized. The text was, ‘Be not conformed to this world.’ While the preacher cut right and left, root and branch at the worldliness in the Church of Christ, he described how men and women carried it into God's house, and could be seen stepping down the aisle with a look so proud as might make an archangel blush. Next came the week-day address on the claims of India. Mr. Esdaile, the scholarly minister of the East Church, followed by the presbytery and other ministers, accompanied Dr. Duff to the pulpit steps. Some had made a tedious journey to be there. Even the children in the multitude that day assembled were breathless listeners. The gaunt figure in the pulpit, soon rid of the gown, was seen beneath the coloured window which was wont to come between little people and weariness when Mr. Esdaile's erudite and polished discourses went beyond them. And now the eloquent descriptions of the far-off land began. Snow-peaks, dense forests, aromatic gardens and Ganges waters were the background. The hideous image of idolatry arose before the mind's eye like the monster of Nebuchadnezzar's vision, Brahmans, fakeers and soodras in thousands swarming at the base. Each arrowlike sentence of appeal for help was barbed with reproach to the selfish Britons who had come home rich without doing anything to enlighten the natives of ‘poor, pillaged, ravaged, unhappy India.’

When all was over the missionary sank back exhausted, and had to rest half-way down the pulpit stairs. One at least of the young who had heard him had to seek shelter in bed on returning home, to hide the marks of weeping, ready to join on the morrow in the project of a school companion whose emotions had taken the practical shape of a penny a week subscription."

By this time the effect of Dr. Duff's work in Scotland had spread across the border, influencing churches and societies in England. When in the midst of his organisation of associations in Perthshire, he was pressed by many and repeated invitations from the great missionary and religious societies in London to address them in the coming month of May. Even those who had most ignorantly objected to his Assembly oration of 1835, that it did not represent the operations of other Christians in India, had by this time discovered, alike from his provincial addresses and the representations of their agents in Bengal, the catholicity of his spirit and the extent of his zealous co-operation with all the Protestant missionaries in Calcutta and the neighbourhood. Especially was this the case with the Church Missionary Society, whose representatives in Bengal, Dealtry, Corrie and Sandys had been his most intimate fellow-workers. His response to that Society's earnest appeal to address its annual meeting in May was the beginning of a relation which became closer and more loving on both sides till the end. Never before had the directors deemed it expedient to go out of their own episcopal circle to find speakers, till Dr. Duff was thus enabled to return, on a wider scale, the kindness of Dealtry and Corrie to himself when he first landed in Bengal. When the meeting was held in London he found himself on the platform seated between the Bishops of Chester and Winchester. When the latter had spoken the young Presbyterian apostle rose, and so addressed them that the interest and emotion of the vast audience continued to increase till he sat down amid a tempest of enthusiastic applause. We have no report of this effort beyond its effect, which the Bishop of Chester indicated when,

following Dr. Duff after a long pause, he declared with characteristic gravity that he had waited until the gush of emotion excited by the preceding speaker had been somewhat assuaged. When all was over, among others the godly Mr. Carus, one of the deans of Trinity College, Cambridge, introduced himself to Dr. Duff, and at once exacted the promise that the missionary would accompany himself in a day or two on a visit to the University.*

Other circumstances apart, the peculiar interest of this visit to Cambridge lies in the meeting for the first and last time of the aged Simeon and the young Duff. Simeon was within a few months of his death, but even after half a century's labours for the Master, in England and Scotland and for India, he was apparently in health and vigour. He and Dr. Duff had what the latter afterwards described as "a very prolonged sederunt." He was full of questions regarding India and its missions, for which he had done so much all that time. And we may be sure that, among the other topics which occupied that memorable conversation, the Moulin revival was not forgotten. The Baptist Carey, the Anglican Simeon, the Moderate Inglis, and the Evangelical Chalmers, united with such Congregationalist contemporaries as Urquhart and Lacroix to link Duff into a truly apostolical succession, divided by no party and confined to no sect.

As the guest of Carus at Cambridge, Dr. Duff occupied the rooms in which Sir Isaac Newton made many of his most remarkable discoveries in optics. The old St. Andrews student revelled in associations in which no college in the world is more rich. For Trinity, which Henry VIII. founded and his daughters enriched, had been the nursery not only of the Church's most learned prelates and theologians, but of Bacon as well as Newton, of Cowley and Dryden and Andrew Marvell. When dining daily in the common hall with the professors and students, he had much converse with Whewell. But what interested him most of all, after

* See Mr. Eugene Stock's *History of the Church Missionary Society*, 1899. Vol. i.

the living Simeon, was the collection of the Milton MSS. in the museum of the college. Ever in the midst of his absorbing talks with Simeon and Carus about missions, Dr. Duff was constrained by the *genius loci* to think of Milton. When walking by the Cam, on one occasion, he expressed surprise that no regular Cambridge student had then offered his services as a missionary. Carus, in reply, drew his attention to the exceeding beauty of the spot; to the loveliness of the grounds and their adornments; to the banks of the Cam with their grotesque variety of flowers, the willow trees overhanging the stream, the umbrageous shade cast by other trees on the footpaths along the lawns, seats to invite the student to enjoy his favourite books; to the exquisite order in which all things were kept. All this, said Carus, tended insensibly to act on human nature, and produce an intensely refined and luxurious state of mind, with corresponding tastes and predilections from which it would be difficult to wean the student so as to induce him to become a voluntary exile to distant shores teeming with the abominations of heathenism. The remark, Dr. Duff replied, had some force in it, in the case of the old nature. But this ought not to present difficulties to the child of God, who professed to act by faith and not by sight. Whoever was resolute of purpose as a son of God, would find divine grace more than sufficient to wean him not only from the academic illusions of Cambridge, but from all the world besides. But then, turning to the river at their side, he exclaimed in the lines of the exquisite "Lycidas," the memorial poem which Milton wrote on the death of Edward King, his fellow-student at Christ's College:—

"Next, Camus, reverend sire, went footing slow,
His mantle hairy and his bonnet sedge,
Inwrought with figures dim, and on the edge
Like to that sanguine flower inscribed with woe.
'Ah! who hath reft,' quoth he, 'my dearest pledge?'"

From Cambridge Dr. Duff went to Leamington, where he gained some advantage from the treatment of the then celebrated Dr. Jephson. Having avoided

the excitement of the General Assembly of 1836, he thus spent the summer in England. But on his return to Scotland in autumn, to complete his organisation of the presbyteries and congregations, he was sternly ordered by the physicians to rest at Edradour. Rest for him was impossible. He induced them to wink at occasional raids, made for three or four weeks at a time, in different directions from that centre. Thus the months passed till the General Assembly in 1837.

During all his wanderings north and south, Dr. Duff kept up a close correspondence with his colleagues, Messrs. Mackay and Ewart, in Calcutta, and with other friends of the mission there. He was a keen observer of public affairs in the closing days of Lord William Bentinck's administration, and the opening promise of that of Lord Metcalfe, whom the jealous Court of Directors refused to appoint permanent Governor-General. Of how much that was most brilliant and abiding in these times could we not say that he had been a part?

“LONDON, 22nd June, 1836.

“MY DEAR EWART,—I cannot possibly describe to you the *intensity* of interest which our mission now excites in our native land. The eyes of all Scotland are now upon you. Oh, that God in His mercy would pour out His Spirit and seal home the truth to the hearts of numbers, yea, thousands of the perishing heathen! I had once cherished fondly the hope that this summer I would be retracing my steps to India. This, however, I find to be an impossibility; the truth is, that the labours at home, into which I was impelled for the sake of arousing the Christian public, have retarded the progress of my recovery, and reduced me to the lowest state of exhaustion. From this it will require some time to recover, and yet my work at home is not ended. The only thing that reconciles me to the detention of my native land, is the assured fact that God has been pleased to employ me as an humble instrument in stirring up the slumbering zeal of our Church, and that the instrumentality has been crowned with a success which I never, never, never anticipated! Thanks be to God for all His undeserved mercies.

“I now understand the mystery of Providence in sending me from India. What between vile politics and fierce voluntarism *our* cause was well nigh being entirely engulfed in oblivion. *At first* I could scarcely get from any one or in any place a patient hearing. Now, if I had a thousand tongues, they might simultaneously be raised in a thousand pulpits. ‘The spirit is willing,’ but, alas, ‘the flesh is weak.’ Pray for me—that after having left a flame burning behind me, I may be speedily restored to you.”

Dr. Duff did not leave London, on this occasion, without spending a forenoon with Lord William Bentinck. After breakfast the two philanthropists enjoyed the fullest and freest converse regarding the conduct and policy of the Government in India, past and present. Relieved of the responsibilities of Governor-General Lord William was able to criticise most frankly the anomalous constitution of the East India Company, of the Board of Control created to enable the Crown to check and overrule the Court of Directors, and of the administration in India itself in all its branches. The critic commended some institutions and persons, but exposed the faults and weaknesses of many more. Of that priceless experience, as of the still riper knowledge which the Marquess of Dalhousie and Earl Canning took with them to a premature grave, there is as yet no detailed record.

CHAPTER XII

1837-1839

FISHERS OF MEN

IN the two and a half years after his return home at the beginning of 1835, convalescent from the dysentery of Bengal, but subject to the recurrence of its jungle fever, Dr. Duff had nearly completed his work of organisation. Only the fervour of his zeal, and the power of recovery from exhaustion due to a splendid physique which marked his whole life, had enabled him to visit and address seventy-one presbyteries and synods and hundreds of congregations all over Scotland. This he had done during the rigours of winter and the heats of summer, when as yet the canal boat, the stage-coach, and the post-carriage were the most rapid means of conveyance. Twice he had visited London and some of the principal cities in England on the same mission. But that mission was not merely or ultimately the establishment of associations to collect money, nor even the diffusion through the Churches of a missionary spirit. These were but means to the great end of discovering and sending out men of the highest faith and scholarship to carry on the work he had begun in Bengal, to extend it to Madras, and to strengthen Bombay. For, with his delighted concurrence, the General Assembly of 1835 had received under its superintendence the Scottish Missionary Society's stations in Bombay and Poona,

then under the care of Dr. Wilson, Mr. Nesbit and Mr. J. Mitchell. The Kirk's Bengal Mission, with its one missionary of 1829-31, must, according to Dr. Duff, grow into the India Mission, to christianise the progress which was radiating out from all the great British centres in the East.

Hence the most fruitful result of his first Assembly speech and of those which followed it, in Scotland and in England, was in drawing men to give themselves to India. The whole religious biography of the former country relating to that period, is coloured by his influence or bears traces of his persuasive power. We have already told how his early visit to the London presbytery had converted the Rev. John Macdonald from an opponent of his system into such an advocate of it that the minister of Chadwell Street, Pentonville, threw up his home charge and took his place beside Mackay and Ewart in Calcutta. He was the son of Dr. Macdonald of Ferintosh, who was worthy of the name he bore, of "apostle of the Highlands."

We have seen how young M'Cheyne and Somerville were moved by the interview which they sought with the returned missionary. Duff never lost his hold on M'Cheyne, who soon after formed one of the Church's mission of inquiry into the condition of the Jews in Palestine and Eastern Europe. In April, 1836, the saintly young preacher wrote in his journal: "Went to Stirling to hear Dr. Duff once more upon his system. With greater warmth and energy than ever. He kindles as he goes. Felt almost constrained to go the whole length of his system with him. If it were only to raise up an audience it would be defensible, but when it is to raise up teachers it is more than defensible. I am now made willing, if God shall open the way, to go to India. 'Here am I; send me!'" His biographer, Dr. A. Bonar, remarks that "the missionary feeling in M'Cheyne's soul continued all his life. Must there not be somewhat of this missionary tendency in all true ministers?" Yet the only members of the old M'Cheyne band who practically answered this question, besides William Burns, of

China, were John Milne, of Perth, for a few years Free Church minister in Calcutta, and Dr. A. N. Somerville, who made a memorable tour in India. Macdonald's resignation of a home charge for a missionary's apostolate caused so much excitement as to irritate him into putting the question to the degenerate Church—"Why is not such an event commonplace?"

Edinburgh and St. Andrews had sent their best students to the field; it was now the turn of Glasgow, which had been doing much for Kafraria, to inquire. The ripest scholar in its university proved to be the most devoted student of theology. James Halley, A.B., was the favourite disciple of Sir Daniel K. Sandford, who, having imbued him with the very spirit of a reverent Hellenism, introduced him to the Edinburgh Professor of Greek as "the man who beat Tait," Archbishop of Canterbury. He promised to be the ornament of his university and of the Church, when death prematurely closed his bright career. He hurried through from Glasgow, with James Hamilton, afterwards of Regent Square, to hear Duff's speech in the Assembly of 1835, and arrived only in time to witness its effect. He describes it as "a noble burst of enthusiastic appeal which made grey-headed pastors weep like children, and dissolved half the Assembly in tears."

Another who was then a youth of promise, and became the first secretary of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, was profoundly impressed. We find Dr. Coldstream, who had just settled in Leith as a physician, thus writing in 1837: "The missionary sermon and lesson of yesterday, by Dr. Duff, were most impressive. I have no words to express their thrilling effect. . . . I think I never felt so strongly the delightful influence of the bond of Christian love. The very spirit of love seemed to move with electric fire through the great assembly, knitting heart to heart, and kindling sparks of holy zeal. It is a day much to be remembered."

The report of the speech of 1835 found its way to

the retreat, near Dumfries, of a young licentiate of the Kirk whom sickness had laid aside. John Anderson had passed through the eight years' studies of the University of Edinburgh among the first men of his set. Like John Wilson at an earlier time, he had come under the influence of Dr. Gordon, who to his labours in pulpit and parish added the duties of secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee. Having refused the office of assistant to a minister, John Anderson was altogether despairing of health, and was already thirty-two, when that happened which he himself shall describe—"We well remember the time when, on his return from India, the Rev. Dr. Duff, emaciated by disease and worn out with the strenuous exertions of the first five years of his missionary life, delivered his first speech on India Missions. . . . Its statements flew like lightning through the length and breadth of Scotland, vibrated through and warmed many hearts hitherto cold to missions, and tended to produce unity among brethren standing aloof from each other. Never will we forget the day when a few of its living fragments caught our eye in a newspaper in our quiet retreat on the banks of the Nith, near Dumfries, when suffering from great bodily weakness. It kindled a spirit within us that raised us up from our bed, and pointed as if with the finger to India as the fold of our future labours." Already had Anderson, as a tutor, been able to train men like Sir John Cowan, Bart., of Beeslack. But his indomitable will and untiring energy were now called to found and build up in Madras the General Assembly's Institution, which has since expanded into the great catholic Christian College of Southern India. Ordained in St. George's, Edinburgh, by Dr. Gordon, Mr. Anderson visited the Calcutta Mission before setting up his own on its model, and was soon after joined by such colleagues, also the fruit of Duff's appeals, as Messrs. Johnston and Braidwood from the same university. Aberdeen at the same time joined her sister colleges in the high enterprise, by sending Dr. Murray Mitchell to Bombay. The harvest, for that season, was finished by

another missionary from Edinburgh, Dr. Thomas Smith. The opening of the Central India Mission in Nagpore, a few years after, by Stephen Hislop, followed by the two brothers Hunter, completed the Indian organisation of the missions of the Church of Scotland, established and free. All, directly or indirectly, are to be traced to the living seed sown amid so much weakness but yet with such power in 1835-36.

After a rest at Edradour, all too short, Dr. Duff went up to London at the beginning of May, 1837, to take part in the anniversary of the Church of Scotland's Foreign Missions, held by the London Presbytery in Exeter Hall. Though weak, he was no longer the fever-wasted man who had excited the alarm of the Assembly of 1835. By unrivalled experience in both England and Scotland he had learned the defects of the home Churches and of the best stay-at-home Christians in relation to the missionary command of Christ. And so, as he mused on the contrast between the profession and the reality, as he listened to the rhetorical periods of bishops and clergymen, of ministers and professors who talked but did nothing more, the fire of indignation burned forth into glowing sarcasm. Nothing short of a reprint of the twenty-five pages of that rare address could do justice to this vein of the impassioned orator. Severed from the context, without the flashing eye, the quivering voice, the rapid gesticulation, the overwhelming climax, the few passages we may now reproduce seem cold and formal indeed. But we must premise the orator's own explanation of the satire—"These expressions are in allusion to certain tropes and figures that have actually flourished amid the exuberant rhetoric of Exeter Hall."

Beginning, in the highest style of his art, this modern prophet congratulated London, and especially its Scottish residents, on the reception of the appeal lately sounded in their ears "in behalf of our suffering countrymen in the Highlands and islands of Scotland. Nobly and righteously, and in a way worthy of the wealthiest metropolis in the world, has the appeal been

responded to. But why is it that we should be affected even unto horror at the melancholy recital of mere temporal destitution, while we are apt to remain so cold, callous, and indifferent to the call of spiritual necessities that is rung in our ears, loud as the cry of perishing multitudes which no man can number?" Then after skilfully picturing the horrors of famine and pestilence among our own countrymen and within the narrow limits of our island, and asking if imagination could conceive aught more harrowing, he replied: "No! not to the natural feeling, even although such a death is by the hands of a mysterious Providence. To the higher order of spiritual sensibility, however, something may be presented more harrowing still. I know a land where earth, sea, and air conspire in favour of its inhabitants—a land so gorgeously clad that it has been emphatically styled 'the climes of the sun.' And truly they are 'the climes of the sun'; for there he seems to smile with exuberant bounty, and causes all nature to luxuriate in her rich magnificence. There the glowing imagery of the prophet seems almost literally to be realised. The trees of the forest seem to clap their hands, and the valleys seem to rejoice on every side. All bespeak the glories of a presiding Deity and to recall to remembrance the bowers of Paradise. But oh! in this highly favoured land—need I say I refer to India?—which for beauty might be the garden of the whole earth, and for plenteousness the granary of the nations,—in this highly favoured land children are doomed to see their parents and parents their children perish—perish, not because there is no meat in the field, no flocks in the fold, no cattle in the stall, but because they are goaded on by the stimulants of a diabolical superstition to perish miserably by each other's hands."

Then followed word-pictures of that which may still be seen along the Hoogly—"sons and daughters piously consigning a sickly parent, for the benefit of his soul, to the depths of a watery grave"; of "the putrid corpse of the father and the living body of the mother" burning together, in every feudatory state at

that time, and only in 1828 prohibited in the East India Company's territory; of the sacrifice of children by their mothers to the waters of Gunga and the jaws of the alligator; and of the systematic murder of female infants by the Rajpoot castes from Benares to Baroda. Rising from one scene of pitiful horror to another, every one of which an audience even of 1837 knew to be living fact and not old history as we now happily do, thanks to Missions and Christian appeals, the rapt speaker reached the highest of all in the spiritual destitution and debasement which had made such crimes inevitable; and in the means which he had taken, through sacred and secular truth harmoniously united, to give India a new future. A far-seeing demand for pure English and vernacular literature, beginning with "the Bible, the whole Bible, the un mutilated Bible, and nothing but the Bible," for those whom both State and Church were educating, brought Dr. Duff to the practical object of his address—the duty of every Christian man, woman, and child in Great Britain.

"Hark! here are a few blasts from a trumpet that has often pealed, and pealed with effect, at our great anniversaries. The missionary's life? Ah! 'an archangel would come down from the throne, if he might, and feel himself honoured to give up the felicities of heaven for a season for the toils of a missionary's life.' The missionary's work? Ah! 'the work of a minister at home, as compared with that of a missionary, is but the lighting of a parish lamp, to the causing the sun to rise upon an empire that is yet in darkness.' The missionary's grave? Ah! 'the missionary's grave is far more honourable than the minister's pulpit.' After such outpourings of fervent zeal and burning admiration of valour, would ye not expect that the limits of a kingdom were too circumscribed for the range of spirits so chivalrous? Would ye not expect that intervening oceans and continents could oppose no barrier to their resistless career? Would ye not expect that, as chieftains at the head of a noble army, numerous as the phalanxes that erewhile flew from tilt and tournament to glitter in the sunshine of the Holy Land, they should no more be heard of till they make known their presence, by the terror of their power, in shattering to atoms the towering walls of China, and hoisting in triumph the banners of the Cross over the captured mosques of Araby and prostrate pagodas of India? Alas, alas! what shall we say, when the thunder of heroism that reverberates so sublimely over our heads from year to year in Exeter Hall, is found, in changeless succession, to die away in fainter and yet fainter echoes among the luxurious mansions, the snug dwellings, and godly parsonages of Old England!

"Listen to the high-sounding words of the mightiest of our anniver-

sary thunderers on this platform, and would ye not vow that they were heroes, with whom the post of honour was the post of danger? Look at the astounding contrast of their practice, and will not your cheeks redden with the crimson flush of shame, to find that they are cowards, with whom the post of honour is, after all, the post of safety? Ye venerated fathers and brethren in the ministry, whom I now see around me, of every denomination—to you I appeal. I appeal in the spirit of faithfulness, and yet in the spirit of love, and ask: Is this the way to awake the long-slumbering spirit of devotedness throughout the land? Is this the kind of call that will arouse the dormant energies of a sluggish Church? Is this the kind of summons that will cause a rush of champions into the field of danger and of death? Is this the kind of example that will stimulate a thousand Gutzlaffs to brave the horrors of a barbarous shore?—that will incite thousands of Martyns, and of Careys, and of Morrisons, to arm themselves on the consecrated spots where these foremost warriors fell? I know not what the sentiments of this great audience may be on a subject so momentous; but as for myself, I cannot, at whatever risk of offence to friends, and of ribaldry from enemies,—I cannot without treason to my God and Saviour,—I cannot but give vent to the overpowering emotions of my own heart, when, in the face of England, Scotland and Ireland I exclaim, ‘Oh that my head were waters, that mine eyes were a fountain of tears, that I could weep over the fatal, the disastrous inconsistencies of many of the most renowned of the leaders of our people!’”

“Archangels,” he said, “cannot leave their thrones; but where are the learned and the eloquent, the statesmen and the nobles,—where is one of our loud-talking professors ready to do more than shrivel their little services into the wretched inanity of an occasional sermon, or a speech, easily pronounced and calling for no sacrifice? . . . What! expect one and all of these to descend from their eminences of honour and go forth themselves content with the humble fare and arrayed in the humble attire of self-denying missionaries? Is not this the very climax of religious raving! Gracious God! and is it really so? . . . Are we in sober seriousness determined to contract the calculus of eternity within the narrow dimensions of the arithmetic of time? Do I now stand in an assembly of professing Christians?” Then the sacred orator, turning from sarcasm and irony, from reproach and prophetic ridicule, thus closed with his entranced audience in the presence of Him who gave Himself:—

“With deep solemnity of feeling let me ask:—‘Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?’ It is the Man who is Jehovah’s fellow. It is Immanuel, God with us. But who can portray the undervalued, the incomparable excellences of Him, in Whom

dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily? In this contemplation we are at once lost in an immeasurable ocean of overpowering glory. Imagination is bewildered; language fails. Go take a survey of the earth we dwell upon. Collect every object and every quality that has been pronounced fair, sweet, or lovely. Combine these into one resplendent orb of beauty. Then leave the bounds of earth. Wing your flight through the fields of immensity. In your progress collect what is fair and lovely in every world, what is bright and dazzling in every sun. Combine these into other orbs of surpassing brightness, and thus continue to swell the number of magnificent aggregates, till the whole immense extent of creation is exhausted. And after having united these myriads of bright orbs into one glorious constellation, combining in itself the concentrated beauty and loveliness of the whole created universe, go and compare an atom to a world, a drop to the ocean, the twinkling of a taper to the full blaze of the noon-tide sun;—then may you compare even this all-comprehending constellation of beauty and loveliness with the boundless, the ineffable beauty and excellence of Him who is ‘the brightness of the Father’s glory,’ who is ‘God over all, blessed for ever!’

“And yet wonder, O heavens, and rejoice, O earth; this great, and mighty, and glorious Being did for our sakes condescend to veil His glory, and appear on earth as a Man of sorrows, whose visage was so marred more than any man’s, and His form more than the sons of men. Oh, is not this love!—self-sacrificing love!—love that is ‘higher than the heights above, deeper than the depths beneath’? Oh, is not this condescension!—self-sacrificing condescension!—condescension without a parallel and without a name? God manifest in the flesh! God manifest in the flesh for the redemption of a rebel race! Oh, is not this the wonder of a world? Is not this the astonishment of a universe?

“And, in the view of love so ineffable and condescension so unfathomable, tell me, oh tell me, if it would seem aught so strange—I will not say in the eye of poor, dim, beclouded humanity—but in the eye of that celestial hierarchy that caused heaven’s arches to ring with anthems of adoring wonder when they beheld the brightness of the Father’s glory go forth eclipsed, mysteriously to sojourn on earth and tread the wine-press alone, red in His apparel and His garments dyed in blood? Tell me, oh tell me, if in their cloudless vision it would seem aught so marvellous, so passing strange, did they behold the greatest and the mightiest of a guilty race, redeemed themselves at so vast a price, cheerfully prepared to relinquish their highest honours and fairest possessions, their loveliest academic bowers and stateliest palaces; yea, did they behold Royalty itself retire and cast aside its robes of purple, its sceptre and its diadem, and issue forth in the footsteps of the Divine Redeemer into the waste howling wilderness of sin, to seek and to save them that are lost?

“Ye grovelling sons of earth, call this fanaticism if you will; brand it as wild enthusiasm;—I care not for the verdict. From you I appeal to the glorious sons of light, and ask, Was not this, in principle, the very enthusiasm of patriarchs, who rejoiced to see the day of Christ afar off, and were glad? Was not this the enthusiasm of prophets, whose harps, inspired by the mighty theme, were raised into strains of more than earthly grandeur? Was not this the enthusiasm of angels that made the plains of Bethlehem ring with the jubilee of peace on earth and goodwill to the children of men? Was not this the enthusiasm (with reverence be it spoken) of the eternal Son of God Himself, when He

came forth travailing in the greatness of His strength, to endure the agony and bloody sweat? And if this be enthusiasm that is kindled by no earthly fire, and which, when once kindled, burns without being consumed, how must the hopes of the Church lie sleeping in the tomb, where it does not exist? Oh! until a larger measure of this divine enthusiasm be diffused through the Churches of Christendom, never, never need we expect to realise the reign of millennial glory—when all nature shall once more be seen glowing in the first bloom of Eden; when one bond shall unite and one feeling animate all nations; when all kindreds and tribes and tongues and people shall combine in one song, one universal shout of grateful ‘Hallelujah unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever!’”

The General Assembly of 1837 is of interest here because of Dr. Duff's “Vindication of the Church of Scotland's India Missions,” in reply to the misunderstandings and misrepresentations which had arisen out of his speech of 1835, to which, as an oratorical effort, it comes only second. The local reporters wrote: “This eloquent address produced, amidst the profound silence with which it was listened to, occasional bursts of enthusiasm which were irrepressible: and the peroration at its close called forth an expression of emotion in the Assembly such as we have rarely witnessed.” The Assembly ordered its publication. He said:—

“So strong are my own convictions of the vast importance of useful knowledge in the great work of reforming India, that, were this venerable house to forbid the diffusion of it in connection with its own mission, I, for one, would feel myself, however reluctantly, constrained at once to relinquish the honourable position which it has been pleased to assign to me. But such, and so overwhelming, are my convictions of the immeasurably superior importance of that higher knowledge, which unseals the fountain of Immanuel's love, that—sooner than consent wilfully to withhold it for an hour from the famishing millions of India, or of any other land, in deference to the noxious theories of certain propagandists of the present day—I would lay down my head upon the block, or commit this body to the flames!

“I feel assured, however, that, so far as this house is concerned, it will never fall into either of these extremes. Notwithstanding the charges of religious bigotry that have been so profusely heaped upon it, this house, like its noble reforming ancestry, has been, is now, and, I trust, ever will be, the consistent, the enlightened advocate of all really useful knowledge throughout the wide domain of families, schools and colleges, whether in this or in other lands. And, notwithstanding the charges of secular convergency that have been as abundantly levelled at it, this house, like its noble reforming ancestry, has been, is now, and, I trust, ever will be, the intrepid, the unbending advocate of a thorough Bible instruction, as an essential ingredient in all sound education, whether on the banks of the Forth or on the banks of the Ganges. Yea, may I not be permitted with emphasis to add, that, sooner than consent

to surrender this vital principle, which is one of the main pillars in the palladium of the Protestantism of these realms, this house is prepared, as in times of old, to submit to dissolution by the strong arm of violence?—and its members, like their fathers of the Covenant, prepared once more to betake themselves to the dens and caves of the earth—to wander by the lonely shore or over the desert heath, to climb the mountain-steep for refuge, or secretly assemble to worship in ‘some deep dell by rocks o’ercanopied’?

“Let it, then, ever be our distinguishing glory to arbitrate between the advocates of untenable extremes. Let us, on the one hand, disown the bigotry of an unwise pietism, by resolving to patronise to the utmost, as in times past, the cause of sound literature and science—lest, by our negligence, in this respect we help to revive the fatal dogma of the dark ages, that what is philosophically true may yet be allowed to be theologically false. And let us, on the other hand, denounce the bigotry of infidelity, or religious indifference, by resolving to uphold the paramount importance of the sacred oracles, in the great work of christianising and civilising a guilty world. Let us thus hail true literature and true science as our very best auxiliaries—whether in Scotland, or in India, or in any other quarter of the habitable globe. But, in receiving these as friendly allies into our sacred territory, let us resolutely determine that they shall never, never be allowed to usurp the throne, and wield a tyrant’s sceptre over it.”

The foresight and the faith, the culture and the self-sacrifice of that passage, reveal the height and the breadth of the speaker’s Christian statesmanship. Every year since he spoke it has only given new force to its truth, new reason for regret that the Church and the Government alike were not wise in time to seize the golden opportunity. Dr. Duff went further. The spiritual reformation of the varied peoples of India he saw must be effected by themselves, when foreigners had thus handed on the divine torch to “the Luthers and the Calvins and the Knoxes of Hindustan” :—

“Our object, therefore, is not local or partial, individual or temporary. It is vast and all-comprehensive. It is nothing less than intellectually and spiritually to reform the universal mind of India; and not merely so, but to embody the essential spirit of the reformation in improved institutions, that shall perpetuate its blessings to latest ages. But, has it ever been heard of, that a great and permanent reformation, in any land, has been the work of a day, or a year, or even a single age? Never, never. A great reformation is not merely the pregnant cause of innumerable happy effects :—it is itself but the aggregate effect of innumerable predisposing causes, that may have been accumulating for centuries, ere they became ripe for explosion. Viewed in this respect, the Reformation of Luther has been well compared to the rapids of a river, in its precipitous passage from some mountain range to the level plains below. Now, for India we not only contemplate a religious reformation, as effective as that of Luther in Europe, but a reformation still more pervasive, and more thoroughly national. I, for one, am cheerfully willing to toil on,

for years, in feeding, if it be but one of the little rills of awakening influence,—though I should never live to behold their confluence into the mighty stream of sequences, with its rushing cataract, and waving harvest gladdening its after-course. And, as regards the ultimate realisation of the magnificent prospect, I would, even on a dying pillow, from a whole generation of doubters confidently appeal to posterity."

When fairly restored to health, towards the summer of 1839, Dr. Duff prepared himself for the consolidation of all the work he had been doing during the previous four years towards making the historic Church of Scotland permanently a Missionary Church. He sent out a third missionary in addition to Mr. John Macdonald and Dr. Murray Mitchell; he broadened the movement for female education in the East; he spoke his farewell counsels to the country through the General Assembly; he left his lectures on "India and India Missions," to quicken the missionary spirit in his absence; and he made the final arrangements for giving Bengal a central college worthy of the higher Christian education. In all he had the constant support of Dr. Chalmers.

In St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, on the 7th March, 1839, Dr. Duff himself presided at the ordination of his young colleague, Thomas Smith. Dedicated to all students of divinity in Scotland, "with many of whom the author has enjoyed much general converse," the discourse and the charge to the youthful missionary still form not only the most remarkable as it has been the most popular of Dr. Duff's writings, but a model to be studied by all candidates of theology of whatever Church. The missionary apostle himself described it as "a plain letter of instructions which might prove really useful to a young and inexperienced but beloved brother." The epistle has just enough of an autobiographic element to give it a fascination which every year will increase as the events of the decade ending 1839 are thrown farther back in the history of India and of its Church. "Missions the Chief End of the Christian Church, also the Qualifications, Duties, and Trials of an Indian Missionary," as the publication of 1839 was entitled, should be edited for republication in its completeness. Many a

missionary has that little epistle and charge sent to India, China and Africa from other Churches.

At the end of April, 1839, Dr. Duff addressed the annual meeting of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. After a faint attempt to report the rapid rush of his eloquence, the newspaper of that most zealous and successful body declares: "The rev. gentleman sat down, amidst great applause, in a state of extreme exhaustion, from the ardent exertions he used in the delivery of his speech. The fervour and eloquence with which it was delivered and the cheers of approbation and sympathy which it elicited cannot be described verbally." The Rev. Thornley Smith, who was present, thus writes: "The effect of that speech on the audience I can never forget; in my own mind, and in that of other students, it fanned the flame of missionary zeal, and made us long to stand on foreign soil. That year I sailed for South Africa, and I took with me a copy of Dr. Duff's 'Missions the Chief End of the Christian Church.'"

The education of the women of India was begun by young ladies of Eurasian extraction, in Calcutta, under the Baptist missionaries, led by Hannah Marshman,* so early as April, 1819. Mrs. M. A. Wilson followed, in the same city, in 1822. But Bombay, if later, soon distanced the rest of India, because of the absence of caste among the Parsis, the greater freedom of the social life of the Marathas than that of the Bengalis, and the readiness of Mrs. Margaret Wilson to take advantage of both. Hence, in 1837, a Bombay officer, Captain Jameson, began in Scotland the formation of the Ladies' Society for Female Education in the East. Still it was long till, in any part of India, it was possible to bring girls of respectable and caste-bound families under Christian or even secular instruction.

Dr. Duff's address at the first annual meeting of the Scottish Ladies' Society not only sketched the position of women in the East under Hindu and Muhammadan law and practice, but outlined a policy, applicable to Calcutta and Bengal, which he lived long enough to see in full fruition. "From the unnatural constitution of

* See *Twelve Pioneer Missionaries*. (Messrs. Thomas Nelson & Sons.)

Hindu society, the education of females, in a national point of view, cannot possibly precede, cannot even be contemporaneous with the education of males. The education of the former, on any great national scale, must, from the very nature of their position, which those only who have been in India can at all adequately comprehend, follow in the wake of the enlightened education of the latter. In a word, a generation of educated males, *i.e.*, educated after the European model, must be the precursor of a generation of educated females."

Should nothing, then, be done? On the contrary, elementary education among the few who may be induced to attend a public school, and during the brief time before marriage and re-absorption into their own idolatrous system, should be zealously prosecuted. Christian philanthropy will care especially for the out-cast and the orphan, and the growing class of native Christians must be provided for. "But there is another and far more rapidly increasing one, that must annually swell the aggregate of those friendly to female improvement; the multiform class that aims at the acquisition of European literature and science, through the medium of the English language. From various concurrent causes thousands of native youths have now begun to flock to Government and the Missionary Institutions, there to enter on the career of English education; and, if the future keep pace proportionately with the past, these thousands will ere long be multiplied tenfold, and ultimately a hundredfold. Now, it may safely be laid down as an undoubted axiom, that every individual who receives a thorough English education, whether he become a convert to Christianity or not, will, with it, imbibe much of the English spirit, *i.e.*, become intellectually Anglicised; and hence, will inevitably enrol himself in the catalogue of those who assert the right of females to be emancipated from the bondage of ignorance. This is not a legitimate inference only, it is a statement of the results of past experience."

The elementary or direct method has not only rescued thousands of girls from destruction, aiding

Government in famines and providing wives for Christian homes; but it has, on the normal school method, trained devoted vernacular teachers who were ready to enter the znanas, and to teach the select caste schools, the moment that the indirect influence had prepared the next generation of women to be taught. What Dr. Duff predicted in 1829-39 came to pass. We shall see how this policy has led to the caste school and the znanana instruction.

When residing with Dr. Gordon, that zealous secretary suggested to him the delivering of a series of popular lectures in so central a place as St. Andrew's church. Dr. Duff attracted overflowing crowds in the four weeks of April to hear those gorgeous descriptions, novel expositions, and thrilling narratives which he published for the benefit of the funds of the committee, to whom the book was dedicated, under the title of "India and India Missions: including Sketches of the Gigantic System of Hinduism both in Theory and Practice." The work soon reached a second edition, and has still a historical value, although it may be said that oriental scholarship has come to exist only since the translations of Sir William Jones and the essays of Colebrooke were followed, chiefly after 1839, by the publication of the researches of Burnouf and Lassen, Prinsep and John Wilson, H. H. Wilson and Weber, Monier-Williams and the brothers Muir. Nor were Duff's lectures confined to Edinburgh. We have traces of him in Liverpool, both in the Philanthropic Hall and in the Collegiate Institution, where Dean, then Principal, Howson, induced him to deliver one described by a critic as "of remarkable brilliance and power."

The General Assembly of 1839 brought with it, for Dr. Duff, the duty of saying farewell. As a member for his native presbytery of Dunkeld he spoke again, but with fresh power and new facts, "on the subject of your great missionary enterprise." The contrast between the past and the present in the highest court of the Kirk was so striking that he recalled the time when the venerable Erskine cried out, "Rax me the Bible," that he might prove to his brethren in the

ministry the duty of preaching the gospel to the heathen. Against that memorable incident, only a generation past, he set the record of converts and Hindus about to become themselves missionaries. Saddened for the moment that he was leaving no eyewitness behind him to feed with facts and appeals the home machinery he had organised, he said, "Public meetings alone will never answer our end. We must descend to the mass and permeate with vitality its humblest and most distant atoms. Without this all our missionary, educational and church extension schemes must flag and fail. You must get the young on your side," he said; "give me the school books and the schoolmasters of a country, and I will let any one else make not only its songs and its laws, but its literature, sciences and philosophy too! What has made Brahmanism the hoary power it is but its Shasters? What has sustained the force and passion of Islam for centuries but the Koran" read in every school and college from Gibraltar to the Straits of Malacca? So must Christians use the Press.

All that, on leaving Scotland, Dr. Duff would consent to, of a personal nature, was the publication of his portrait, painted by William Cowen, and engraved, in mezzotint, by S. W. Reynolds. The original is now in Calcutta. He who had stood alone in Calcutta in 1830 now saw eight other missionaries from the Church of Scotland in India all working on his system with an enthusiasm fired by his own. And he did not stop there. Dr. Guthrie had been called to the church of Old Greyfriars in Edinburgh which he himself had refused, and had been there only two years when he wrote: "I had Duff and some others dining with me the other day. Duff was keen for me to go out to India. Dunlop declared that Lord Medwyn would take out a prize warrant, seeing that he is risking some five or six hundred pounds in the new church (St. John's), on the understanding that I was to be the minister thereof." Ten years after, when Guthrie broke down from overwork, Duff thus wrote to him from Calcutta: "The whole of your remarkable

career during the last few years I have been following with intense delight; your Manse scheme and Ragged School have been bulking before my mind's eye in a way to fill me with wonder, awe and devout gratitude to the God of heaven for having so extraordinarily blessed your efforts. From my own experience I find that a season of affliction and inward humiliation usually precedes some development of spiritual energy in advancing the cause of the Lord."

Puzzled by his refusal of any personal recognition of his services at home, friends on both sides of church politics begged that Dr. Duff would at least meet them at a public dinner or banquet. With his answer many who have been victims on such occasions, alike in giving and receiving honour, will sympathise: "Farewell dinners," he said, "were never to my taste. I have always shunned them in the case of others, and I will not myself be the object of honour. They are generally attended by a mass of stereotyped phrases intended to be flatteries but without honest meaning. But hold a religious service, and ask Dr. Chalmers to give me his fatherly counsel and admonition." And so it came about that, though the great preacher's ordination charge to Duff had not seen the light, we have his matured opinion on the Scottish missionary system, from the economics of which he received many a hint for his own Free Church creation three years after.

"Ten years ago," said the divinity professor of sixty to the already experienced missionary of thirty-three who stood before him above a vast crowd in St. George's, Edinburgh, "in the work of setting you apart to your office I expatiated on the nature and evidence of conversion to God. 'As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God: God will establish it for ever.' Christianity is the manifestation of truth by the Spirit to the conscience. It is on some such moral evidence that the philosophy of missions is based. As we have heard, so have we seen: then may it be understood how, without a sensible miracle, there may arise in the mind a well-founded belief in the truth of Christianity."

Thus had the first missionary of the Church of Scotland devised his plan and carried out the divine policy, "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God."

"By a device of admirable skilfulness and correspondent success, you have brought many of the most influential families of Hindustan within reach of the hearing of the word of God. You have instituted a school mainly of scriptural lessons and scriptural exercises. You have practised no deceit upon the natives, for all is above board, and it is universally known that the volume which forms the great text and substratum of your scholarship is the book of the religion of Christians. But you, at the same time, have studied to multiply the attractions of this school; you have not only instituted a lectureship on the evidences of Christianity, but, for the purpose of engaging the attendance chiefly of the higher classes, you have pressed into the service both the physical and the mathematical sciences, and, what might startle some, have super-added the doctrines of political economy, and all that the votaries of science might be lured within the precincts of sacredness. It is thus that many of India of all ranks, and especially of the upper orders of society, have passed through your seminary in successive hundreds, familiarised with the language and seasoned with the subject-matter of inspiration. It is thus that many have heard with the hearing of the ear, and at least been disarmed of all hostility to the gospel, and some of these, many, have been made to see, and been converted, and become the declared friends and champions of our faith. It delights me, sir, to know, as the fruit of my intimate converse and of my acquaintance with your principles and your thoughts, that while you have done so much to obtain an extensive hearing for the gospel of Jesus Christ in the most likely and promising quarters of human society, you are at the same time fully and feelingly aware what that high and external quarter is whence alone the seeing comes, and that unless a blessing, to be evoked only by prayer, shall descend from the sanctuary above upon your enterprise, all the labour you have bestowed upon it will prove but a vain and empty parade. Let me earnestly recommend the continuance of this sacred and fruitful union, a union between the diligence of ever-working hands and the devotion of ever-praying hearts. Men of various moods and temperaments, and different tastes of spirituality and intellect, will be variously affected by the spectacle. Those of shrewd, but withal of secular intelligence, will think lightly of your supplications, perhaps even speak contemptuously of those outpourings of the Spirit on which, I trust, you will ever wait and ever watch with humble expectancy. Those of serious, but withal of weak and drivelling piety, will think lightly of your science, and perhaps even speak with rebuke of your geometry, and your economics, and your other themes of strange and philosophic nomenclature, as things that have in them a certain cast of heathenish innovation, prejudicial to the success, because incongruous with the simplicity of the gospel. But amid these reproaches on the right hand and on the left, persevere as you have begun; and whether, on the one hand, they be the cold rationalists who assail you with their contempt, or, on the other hand, they be the fanatical religionists who look on you with intolerance, continue to do what all men of sense and of sacredness have done before, and you will at length reap the fulfilment of the saying, that wisdom is justified of her children."

Having thus put his imprimatur on the system in language as strong as even Dr. Duff's when the missionary vindicated his evangelism alike against "the bigotry of an unwise pietism" and "the bigotry of infidelity," Dr. Chalmers spoke with an almost predictive reference to his own coming scheme of Free Church economics, when he said, "You were the first, I believe, to set the example of passing from parish to parish, and from presbytery to presbytery in behalf of your own cause, and it only needs to be so carried forward in behalf of other causes as to fill the whole length and breadth of the land, in order to reap a ten-fold more abundant harvest from the liberalities of the people than has ever yet been realised." Referring to his special work of home missions as not a competing but a co-operating cause, he uttered a truth which his successors have generally though not always remembered: "Our two causes, our two committees, might work into each other's hands. Should the first take the precedence and traverse for collections the whole of Scotland, the second would only find the ground more softened and prepared for an abundant produce to itself. It acts not by exhaustion—it acts by fermentation." And with this glimmering of the certain glory, he a second time sent forth his favourite disciple and now beloved brother; referring to "the singularly prophetic aspect, not merely of the days in which we live, but of Christendom, that region you are about to leave, and of Eastern Asia, that region of ancient idolatry whither you are going; for we can notice on that distant horizon the faint breakings of evangelical light which, like the dawn of early morn, may perhaps increase more and more till the drying up of the Euphrates that the way of the kings of the East may be prepared."

We find this in a note written to Dr. Chalmers before the address: "I cannot express the gratification, the comfort, the invigoration of spirit which I have experienced in the very prospect of *your* giving me a parting address on Thursday, for to *you* I feel more indebted, as an instrument in the hands of God, for the

impulse that carried me to heathen lands, than to any other in the form of mere man."

Dr. Duff preached his farewell sermon to his own people, in the Moulin parish kirk of his childhood, from the text, "Finally, brethren, farewell." The services, Gaelic and English, lasted for five hours, and the crowded audience were in tears. On the subsequent Monday evening he met with them again, and, after a short address, shook hands with the minister in the name of all the country people, who had flocked in from the vale and the hillsides of Athole. Then followed the living martyrdom of Indian exile, the parting of father and mother from their children.

CHAPTER XIII

1839-1840

EGYPT.—SINAI.—BOMBAY.—MADRAS

THE Overland Route had just been made a fact when, in the autumn of 1839, Dr. and Mrs. Duff went forth to India for the second time. He had to find his way first to Bombay, at the request of Dr. Wilson, that he might counsel his colleagues there after the keen excitement caused by the baptism of the first two converts from Parsiism. His most rapid course thus lay from Harwich to Antwerp and Brussels, south by Paris to Marseilles, and thence by steamer to Syra, there to join the mail steamer from Constantinople to Alexandria. As a traveller Dr. Duff always showed more than the apparent restlessness of the Anglo-Indian. By reading and conversation with those who had gone over this route, he prepared himself for the intelligent enjoyment of new lands and peoples. To the ardour of the boy he added the endurance of manhood and the broad culture of the genial student. Nothing sacred or secular escaped his observation, but his letters, while they delighted those who were less travelled, fell far short of his conversation, under the occasional stimulus of cross-examination. Then his talk was at its best, whether he told of the political condition of a country like Italy, of the benevolent enterprises of the Protestants of France and Switzerland, or of the numerous mishaps of a tour in the wilds of Scandinavia.

The Marseilles steamer then called at Malta, passed within a hundred yards of the precipitous headland of Cape Matapan, and dropped anchor at Syra, the port of Europe which is nearest to India. The filth and the vice of a Levantine albeit Greek centre contrasted painfully with the glories of Homeric and even later days. The steamer from Constantinople had Colonel Hodges, the new British Consul-General for Egypt, on board, and also the Rev. Mr. Grimshaw, rector of Bedford, and known in his day as the author of a life of Cowper the poet. On reaching Alexandria they found that the last act of the departing Consul-General, Colonel Campbell, would be to lay the foundation stone of the first English church, of St. Mark, which used to adorn one corner of the great square. Dr. Duff learned that the ceremony was to be of a purely civil character, in this Muhammadan city, with its memories of Pantæus and Clement, of Origen and Athanasius, and sought an explanation of the anomaly. Colonel Campbell was a great favourite with the enlightened Muhammad Ali, the irresponsible ruler of Egypt. Being religiously disposed, the Consul-General had felt the need of a Protestant place of worship in a city like that of Alexandria, which was daily becoming a greater thoroughfare between the West and East than it had been since the time of its founder. Though himself a Presbyterian, he did not want it to be exclusively Presbyterian: he knew that members of all Protestant Churches would often be passing through and there be detained for days. What he wanted was a Protestant Church on a purely catholic basis, so that he might freely invite any minister of any Church to conduct divine service there. He had repeatedly therefore asked his friend the Pasha for a piece of ground, outside the walls of Alexandria, on which such a church might be erected.

Muhammad Ali frankly declared that personally he had no prejudice on the subject, but the religious heads of Islam at Constantinople would resist the attempt. At his farewell interview with the Consul-General, however, he said, with a smiling countenance: "Colonel

Campbell, you and I have always been fast friends. You have often greatly helped me with your counsel, and in other respects have done me good service. You know that in the East the custom is for the ruler to make his friend a present of a piece of land, commonly called 'jagheer,' to be in perpetuity his own property. I want to give you a small portion of the space occupied by the great square in Alexandria, very near its centre. It is my parting gift to you, only you must ask me no question as to what use you may make of it, as that may involve me in official trouble. But I tell you plainly, you may use it for whatever purpose you think proper." Colonel Campbell thoroughly understood the Pasha, thanked him with all his heart, and soon made over the land to a committee of the English residents as the site of the first English church. Muhammad Ali went further. He could not himself be present, but he sent his chief officers of state and his body-guard to honour his friend on the occasion of laying the foundation stone. All the consuls, all Alexandria, were to be present. How could a religious service be attempted in such circumstances?

Colonel Campbell came to see that, even in Oriental eyes, the dedication of a site for the worship of God without the recognition of the presence of God would be a scandal, or a cause of suspicion. Accordingly on the 14th December, Dr. Duff—described in the *Globe* newspaper of the time as "a missionary of some celebrity in India, who happened to be present in Alexandria—performed the religious part of the ceremony, in which he was followed by the Rev. Mr. Grimshaw." Since that occasion Dr. Yule has raised a Scottish church near the square, and M. de Lesseps has had his canal cutting blessed by prelates of all the Eastern Churches side by side with Muhammadan Moulvies. But never before or since has Egypt of Fatimite caliphs and Turkish pashas heard publicly read in its greatest *place* Solomon's dedication of the first Temple and the prayers of Protestant ministers from West and East. "It was quite remarkable to note," wrote Dr. Duff, "the stillness, respectfulness, and earnestness

with which the whole mass of surrounding Mussalmans, only a few of whom could understand English, listened to the prayers, the reading, and addresses, and then quietly dispersed. Such was the noble catholicity of the Protestant Church, as projected and practically established by Colonel Campbell." In two interviews with Muhammad Ali thereafter, Dr. Duff pressed upon the famous Pasha the importance, for industrial as well as other reasons, of attracting the Jews back to Palestine, for the Pasha was at the time master of that part of Syria.

By *dahabieh* up the Mahmoodieh canal, excavated in 1820 by forced labour, and slowly up the Hoogly-like Nile of the Delta, Cairo was reached, only to find that there were sixty passengers to fill the twelve berths of the small steamer to Bombay. This gave Dr. Duff a whole month, in which he not only visited the pyramids of Gizeh and Sakkara, and explored Memphis from the ancient cemetery, of which Sir G. Wilkinson's Arabs were busily laying bare the mummy pits, but carefully studied the condition of the unhappy fellaheen of Egypt, and afterwards went to Mount Sinai. Familiar with Bengal and with the British financial and administrative systems, the far-seeing missionary formed impressions regarding the rule of Muhammad Ali very different from those which were popular at the time.

Dr. Duff could not be in Egypt without studying the most degraded of all Christian Churches except its Abyssinian offshoot, the Coptic. Very tender is the sympathy, very eager the hope, which he expresses in its case. Then the only missionaries in all Egypt were Messrs. Lieder and Krusé, the former and his wife long the benefactors of its people, and the friends of all Christian travellers who sought them out. Now American Presbyterians as well as the Church Missionary Society have done the same work among Copts, Arabs, and Sudanese that Dr. Duff had been doing among Hindus and Muhammadans.

From Suez, Dr. Duff alone went on to Sinai, while his companions returned to Cairo, not however without having exacted from the sheikh a new pledge, drawn up

by the English vice-consul then just established at Suez, to bring back in safety the foolhardy missionary!

The silence of the desert of Sinai for the next fortnight proved a time of refreshing to the spirit of the solitary traveller, as he passed from the toils of the West to the labours about to be renewed in India. Bible in hand, he rode day by day along the track of the children of Israel, as they had marched, noting the wells, the palm-trees, the acacias, the camel tracks, and the desert landscape. As he left the Red Sea for the great plain at the foot of the Mount of the Law, he followed the eastern central route and returned by the south-western, that he might cover as much ground as possible. It was evening when he came to the outer border of the great platform of the wilderness of sandy rock. The rays of the setting sun fell slantingly on the stupendous masses of grey granite which form the Sinai range, as it stretches for forty or fifty miles along the sea and rises to a height of between 8,000 and 9,000 feet. To his imagination the sight was that of a mighty fortress on fire, of blazing battlements and flashing towers. On the morrow at sunrise, while the ground was still bound by frost, the disintegrated granite seemed a mass of orient pearl and gold, and the plain looked as if strewed with the manna from heaven, which melted away as the sun rose in the sky. Since that time many a scientific explorer and, finally, the Ordnance Survey have revealed the physical appearances of the wilderness of the wanderings, only to leave the question of the actual peak from which God talked with Moses as unsettled as ever. Dr. Duff's experiences, as often told to his children and grandchildren down to his last years, have an interest of their own.

The broad valley running along the north side, opposite the eastern portion of the Sinai range, is the Wady es-Sheikh. The wady runs eastward for some distance, then turning to the south it enters the centre of the great range, and proceeds westward to the foot of Jebel Musa, the traditional Mount Sinai. This undoubtedly, Dr. Duff used to say, is the route that would be pursued

by any great caravan or large company of travellers, and more particularly by such a host as that of Israel. From the central point in the Wady es-Sheikh there is a pass which rises on the right to a considerable elevation, and runs straight to Jebel Musa. Following this, Dr. Duff was struck by the appearance of the precipitous mountains on both sides. It looked as if the mount some time or other had been cleft asunder. As he ascended, the air became exhilarating in a way scarcely to be conceived. When the summit of the pass was reached, a lofty, perpendicular, conical-looking mountain suddenly rose up some miles in front. Immediately the whole of the Arabs dismounted and began to shout out, "Jebel Musa," "Jebel Musa," showing the veneration they had for the mountain. Then the traveller entered on a very remarkable gently sloping plain, the slope being downward to the foot of the mountain, but the surface as smooth as if it had been artificially prepared. Here was a plain quite capable of holding the entire encampment of the Israelites, for it should never be forgotten that their ordinary tentage must have occupied very little space, somewhat like that of the Arabs now. This plain seemed a gigantic nest in the centre of the range, for all round on every side it was bordered by craggy precipices. The solitude was profound. Proceeding onwards he reached the base of a high peak. Here the first thing which astonished him was the literal truth of the Scripture passage which speaks of the mount that might be touched, and when the law was given with such awful solemnity from its summit, declares how means were used to prevent the people from touching it. As a native of the Grampians, he had been wont from infancy to gaze at and climb hills. Then when he read this in the Bible about Mount Sinai, he wondered what it meant; for if any one had told him, as a youth, of any Scottish or Grampian mountain that it might be touched, or that means might be taken to prevent its being touched, he would at once have inquired—for instance of Schehal-lion, Ben Lawers, or Ben-y-gloe—"Where is the beginning of the mountain?" Now when he saw

Mount Sinai itself, the literal truth of the whole description flashed upon him.

A mile or two up the wady, on the east side of the mountain, is the celebrated convent, Justinian's St. Catherine. He had left Suez on Monday morning, and it was Saturday forenoon when he reached the convent. The stately building is an irregular fortress, with apparently no entrance into it. For the sake of protection from the Arabs it is surrounded by a massive wall, forty feet high. In the centre of the eastern wall was a cupola, with a windlass inside. Dr. Duff was hoisted up into the convent, and was fairly installed as a guest in all that is left of what was once the great episcopal city of Paran, and a mountain of Greek hermitages to which pilgrims flocked from all parts of the Christian East.

How to communicate intelligibly with the superior and the monks was the Indian missionary's first difficulty. They were ignorant of Latin, but their first evening service, followed by a reading of the Gospels, suggested to Dr. Duff that he should try Greek. After he had been taken round the traditional sights of the convent, including the legendary site of the burning bush, he visited the superior, who was walking on the terrace. Having heard of the convent garden, every inch of the soil of which had been carried from Egypt on camel-back, Dr. Duff said to him, "You have a garden," using the word *paradeisos*. To him, examining the little spot, the superior said, "You are going to India," as the Patriarch's certificate stated. "Yes," said Dr. Duff, "I am returning to it." "Do you speak the Indian language, then?" "In India," Dr. Duff replied, "there are many languages." On this the superior sent for a monk who had spent several years in India, and the man came into his presence exclaiming, "Bahout, bahout salaam, Saheb." The familiar Hindustani thenceforth became his medium of communication. The old monk was a Russian by birth. As a pedlar he had worked his way through the great Khanates of Central Asia and Afghanistan to the Punjab, and thence had gone as far as Calcutta, where

he had resided for some time. Such wanderings are still not unusual on the part of semi-Eastern races at a low stage of civilisation like the Russians, and of our own hardy Muhammadan and Sikh merchants. Sikhs and Hindus of Western India have been settled in St. Petersburg; there are traces of them in the marts along the Danube, and we have met them at the Nijni Novgorod fair on the Volga.

Having set his heart on climbing to the top of the Mount of Moses before the sun rose on the coming Sabbath, Dr. Duff persuaded his new friend, in spite of all dissuasions, to call him in time and give him a younger guide with food that he might there spend the day of rest and worship. Excited by the prospect he could not sleep, any more than Tischendorf when, four years after this, that scholar spent Whitsun morn on the peak of Jebel Musa, during the memorable visit when his casual discovery of forty-three leaves of the Septuagint among the waste paper intended for the oven of the convent, led to his acquisition of the only complete Uncial MS. of the Bible. Descending from St. Catharine, which the Ordnance Survey places at an elevation of 5,020 feet, while Jebel Musa rises to 7,359, the impetuous missionary mounted upwards with a speed that alarmed his guide. The summit was reached just before the first rays heralded the sun's approach, always rapid in the south, and the sky was clear without a cloud. Dr. Duff's heart was filled with gratitude to God for the favour with which He had thus visited him, gazing at the first red ray of light which shot and then streamed over the whole range, turning its peaks for the moment into a succession of glowing furnaces. Then rose the glorious luminary of day in all the fulness of its majesty, calling out from the dark waste of mountains an infinite variety of tints and colours.

Several times during that memorable day did Dr. Duff read aloud, amid the awful silence of the mount, the Ten Commandments. To him the desolation and the barrenness around marked the hopeless state of man under the law which condemns. In desire he turned

to the mount in Jerusalem where the great sacrifice for sin was offered, and heaven was opened for the Pentecostal effusion which is yet to bless the whole earth. "The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ," the words he had first joined the monks of St. Catherine in reading, rang in his ears as his guide took him to the legendary spots where since Justinian's days it had been taught that Jehovah passed by revealing the skirts of His glory, while farther on the Arabs show the footprint of Muhammad's dromedary on the night-journey from Mecca to Jerusalem.

The little Bombay steamer arrived at Suez the morning after his return, with news of the progress of an evil policy in Afghanistan. Sir John Keane had marched up the Bolan Pass to the capture of Kandahar and Ghuzni, where the young lieutenant of Engineers who had forced the gate was his old companion, Durand. But till he learned this Dr. Duff had doubted whether there might be a British India to go to, so fatal did the policy which sacrificed Dost Muhammad seem.

When early in February, 1840, the Suez steamer entered the harbour of Bombay, Dr. Wilson was waiting to receive Dr. and Mrs. Duff, whom he at once installed in what was then the centre of all his operations, the mission-house of Ambrolie. The two missionaries to Western and Eastern India, from the Scottish border and the Grampian highlands, from the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews respectively, met for the first time. Robert Nesbit, too, was there, and Dr. Murray Mitchell, who had not long before arrived from Aberdeen. All were still young men: Wilson was just thirty-six, and Duff was nearly thirty-four years of age. Their experience of India had not been the same, for they had been separated by distance, by race, by language, and even by social differences more widely than France from Russia. Like a bracing wind from the north, Dr. Duff brought with him all the news of national and ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland—of the widening gap in the Kirk, of the work of

Chalmers and the toil of Welsh, of the devotion of Gordon, and, on the other side, of the kindly zeal of Brunton; of the coming men like Guthrie and Candlish, some of whom he had vainly summoned to higher work in the East; of the missionary spirit of presbyteries and congregations all over Scotland, soon to be checked for a time by internal disruption, but only to burst forth in home and colonial and educational movements as well as foreign missions, along the lines first marked out, as Dr. Chalmers had said, by Duff himself. Nor was the talk only of Scotland, for the Calcutta missionary had visited Bombay to consult about that new mission from the Presbyterian Church of Ireland to which he had given a mighty impetus after Wilson had invited it to Kathiawar.

Dr. Duff embodied his month's experience of Bombay and Poona in a long letter. The pamphlet of thirty-six pages forms an artistic picture of Western India, its physical aspects, its varied races, its different civilisations existing harmoniously side by side under the shadow of the Christian Government, its proselytising and other benevolent agencies, and especially its Scottish mission and missionaries. The report, written as he doubled Cape Comorin on the way to Madras and Calcutta, has a peculiar value from the contrast which it suggests rather than works out between the conditions of Western and Eastern India as fields for the agencies of Christian philanthropy.

Very precious were the sympathy and the counsel of Dr. Duff at this time. Of Nesbit, his old St. Andrews companion, he wrote, "With commanding talents of an intensive rather than discursive character, there is no subject on which he is led to concentrate his powers which he is not sure to master in a style of surpassing superiority. Hence, as a philosophical linguist and practical Marathi scholar, he is generally allowed to be unrivalled." After descriptions of Dr. Wilson's scholarship, the fruits of which he enjoyed in the study of the Cave Temples, and of his influence in society, native and European, Dr. Duff thus testified to his wisdom in the battle for toleration: "Dr. Wilson,

who took the lead in the whole proceedings, conducted himself throughout with a manliness of Christian energy which must for ever endear him to all sincere friends of the missionary enterprise." How the great Bombay missionary valued this visit he has told in a remarkable letter of the 28th February, 1840.* Of Panwel, where they parted in apostolic fashion, after reading the 20th chapter of the Book of the Acts and prayer, he wrote: "My memory will often visit the hallowed spot whence we moved asunder."

The only communication between the western capital and the metropolis of India then was by teak-built sailing vessels round the peninsula. Dr. and Mrs. Duff were the only passengers. Hugging the picturesque coast of Malabar, the ship passed native town and feudal castle, pirate stronghold and busy harbour, till, leaving Goa to the north, it dropped anchor for a day and night at Mangalore in the Canara county of Madras. This once dreaded roadstead of Hyder Ali, scene of alternate Portuguese intolerance and Mussalman ferocity, of General Matthews's victory and of the East India Company's treaty with Tippoo, had been occupied by the self-denying Basel missionaries in 1834. It has been ever since their greatest as it was their earliest Christian settlement, having now some 1,200 church members out of the more than 6,000 gathered in at other stations. In Hebich, the eccentric German then stationed there, Dr. Duff found a friend of kindred spirituality and earnestness. With him and his colleagues the Scottish missionary spent the night in delightful converse till within an hour of the dawn. Frequently did Samuel Hebich recall the talk of that night, especially to the many sepoy officers and civilians of the East India Company, whom his fearless appeals and holy self-denial led to Christ.

Cape Comorin—too low to be seen save where the Western Ghats abruptly end some miles inland—and Ceylon were then successively rounded, when the ship came to anchor in the swell of the Madras Roads for five days. These days were busily spent in an inspec-

* *The Life of John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S.* (Second Edition, 1879), p. 161.

tion of the Mission, and in stirring addresses to both natives and Europeans. Mr. Anderson and Mr. Johnston, fruit of the General Assembly address of 1835, had organised out of the St. Andrew's school, opened by the Scottish chaplains in Madras in that year, the nucleus of what has under Dr. Miller, C.I.E., since become the great Christian College of South India, representing all the evangelical missions there. Just three years before, on the 3rd April, 1837, Mr. Anderson had begun the new Institution in a hired house in Armenian Street, with fifty-nine Hindu youths. His early success, in the baptism of highly educated Hindus who became missionaries to their countrymen, had, as at Calcutta in 1830, and Bombay in 1839, so alarmed the native community as to produce this remark, "Some of our best youths have been forcibly carried off or withdrawn against their will." Yet, when on Monday, the 20th April, Dr. Duff visited the infant college, this was his impression: "It was wise on the part of Mr. Anderson and his coadjutor to make the Bible itself—as in Bombay and Calcutta—not only the principal book of the Institution, but to bestow upon the teaching of it the largest measure of their time and attention, so long as this could be done without occasioning that desertion of pupils which the more successful prosecution of general literature and science in other native seminaries must inevitably insure, if there be not a correspondent progress in such studies in the Mission seminaries. And certainly in the Bible department, which has been chiefly cultivated, there is much, very much, to excite admiration, delight and thanksgiving to God. Nowhere have I met with young men of the same age and standing who evinced a more intelligent grasp, a more feeling comprehension, of the divine truths which they had learned from God's holy oracles. In some cases, there is every reason to believe that vital and saving impressions have begun to be made. And even should all be renounced in a day, what has been done will not, cannot be lost. Talk and dream who will of not being able, *directly* and *formally*, and in the home sense, to preach the gospel in our Indian mission seminaries, I

do mostly solemnly aver for myself, that never, never, when addressing an audience of fellow-Christians in my native land, had I a more sensible consciousness of reaching the understanding and the heart than I experienced when pouring out my soul on the theme of man's lost and ruined state by sin, and of man's redemption through a crucified but Divine Redeemer, in presence of the assembled youth of the General Assembly's Institution, Madras." On the other side, we have this official record by Mr. Anderson of the visit of the founder of the Scottish missionary system in the East: "He left an impression behind him on the minds of our youths which nothing will ever efface. It was quite thrilling to see how he set them on fire by the truths which he exhibited to them in touching and graphic figures, with an energy of manner altogether his own. Their bright eyes seemed to say, as they sparkled with delight, 'This man loves the natives, especially native boys.'"

After a stormy voyage from Bombay of nearly seven weeks, Dr. and Mrs. Duff were received under the hospitable roof of the nephew of Dr. Patrick Macfarlan, of Greenock, who was chief magistrate of Calcutta.

CHAPTER XIV

1841-1848

THE COLLEGE AND ITS SPIRITUAL FRUIT

WHEN Dr. Duff landed at Calcutta to begin the second period of his work in India, even he was astonished at the outward signs of progress which ten years of English education under really enlightened British administration had brought about. No one could doubt that, in the great cities and intellectual centres at least, as in Italy of the first three centuries, and again of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Renaissance was a fact.

The first object that had caught his eye on landing was a signboard on which were marked in large characters the words, "Ram Lochun Sen & Co., Surgeons and Druggists." Not six years had passed since the pseudo-orientalists had declared that no Hindu would be found to study even the rudiments of the healing art through anatomy. But here, scattered over the native town, were the shops of the earlier sets of duly educated practitioners and apothecaries who had begun to find in medicine a fortune long before the chicane of law attracted the educated natives to our courts.

"When I gazed at the humble, yet significant, type and visible symbol before me of so triumphant a conquest over one of the most inveterate of Hindu prejudices—a conquest issuing in such beneficial practical results—how could I help rejoicing in spirit at the reflection that, under Divine

providence, the singular success of your Institution was overruled as one of the main instruments in achieving it? Oh! that a like energy were put forth—an energy like to that which characterised the Divine Physician—for the healing of the spiritual maladies of the millions around us! Holy Spirit! do Thou descend with a Pentecostal effusion of Thy grace. Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live. Blessed be God that the better cause is neither wholly neglected, nor without promise.

“After passing the Medical College itself, the next novel object which in point of fact happened to attract my attention as I approached Cornwallis Square, was a handsome Christian church, with its Gothic tower and buttresses, and contiguous manse or parsonage. And who was the first ordained pastor thereof? The Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, once a Koolin Brahman of the highest caste; then, through the scheme of Government education, an educated atheist and editor of the *Enquirer* newspaper; next brought to a saving knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and admitted into the Christian Church by baptism, through the unworthy instrumentality of him who now addresses you; and, last of all, ordained as a minister of the everlasting gospel by the Bishop of Calcutta, and now appointed to discharge the evangelical and pastoral duties of the new Christian temple which was erected for himself! What a train of pleasing reflection was the first view of this edifice calculated to awaken! . . .

“What is the main design of all our Christian schools and missionary colleges? Is it not, in humble dependence on the blessing and fruitful increase of God’s Holy Spirit, to raise, and rear up, and multiply a superior race of natives who, like the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, shall be prepared to originate and perpetuate the mighty process of gospel propagation through all the cities and provinces of India?

“After passing the new church, which stands out to the eye so pleasing a monument of the incipient progress of Christian influence in this heathen metropolis, I came full in view of the Assembly’s new Institution and Mission-house, on the opposite side of Cornwallis Square. Gratifying as some of the preceding spectacles were, this to me was the most gratifying of all. What a change since May, 1830, and how different the thoughts and feelings of the spectator! Then, almost the only thing determined on was, that Calcutta should not be my headquarters and fixed abode;—now, I saw before me my headquarters and permanent residence. Then, the precise line of operations to be adopted was not only unknown, but seemed for a while incapable of being discovered, as it stretched away amid the thickening conflict of contending difficulties;—now, there stood before me a visible pledge and token that one grand line of operation had long been ascertained, and cleared of innumerable obstacles, and persevered in with a steadfastness of march which looked most promisingly towards the destined goal. Then, I had no commission, but either to hire a room for educational purposes at a low rent, or to erect a bungalow at a cost not exceeding £30 or £40;—now, there stood before me a plain and substantial, yet elegant structure, which cost £5,000 or £6,000. Then, it was matter of delicate and painful uncertainty whether any respectable natives would attend for the sake of being initiated into a compound course of literary, scientific and Christian instruction;—now, 600 or 700, pursuing such a course, were ready to hail me with welcome gratulation. Then, the most advanced pupils could only manage to spell English words of two syllables, without comprehending their meaning;—now, the surviving remnant of

that class were prepared to stand an examination in general English literature, science, and Christian theology, which might reflect credit on many who have studied seven or eight years at one of our Scottish colleges. Then, the whole scheme was not merely ridiculed as chimerical by the worldly-minded; but as unmissionary, if not unchristian, in its principles and tendencies, by the pious conductors of other evangelising measures;—now, the missionaries of all denominations resident in Calcutta not only approve of the scope, design and texture of the scheme, but have for many years been strenuously and not unsuccessfully attempting to imitate it to the utmost extent of the means at their disposal. Yea, so strong has the conviction of some of them become on the subject, that in some instances, they have laboured to promote the object not only without the sanction, but almost in spite of the declared sentiments of the home committees of the parent Societies; and, as one of the number (who has devoted the last fifteen years exclusively to Bengali preaching, but who has gradually become an enthusiastic admirer and advocate of our scheme, as one of the mightiest engines for the dissemination of the gospel in India) again and again declared to me, in the presence of other missionary brethren, the main argument employed by them in writing to, and expostulating with, their home committees, has been an appeal to the model, example and palpable success of our Institution. Then—not to multiply more contrasting parallelisms,—it was my lot to stand alone, without any actual assistance or practical co-operation whatever,—alone, yet not alone, for I was driven the more urgently to look to God as my helper and my counsellor, my fortress and my tower;—now, I was to join four beloved brethren, one in spirit, one in mind, one in purpose, one in resolution, able, willing, ready mutually to assist, mutually to co-operate in carrying out the great generic principles of the Mission into their full and legitimate development.”

By 1841 Dr. Duff's return enabled him to reorganise the Institution in all its departments, rudimentary school and college, English and Oriental. While the ecclesiastical doctrine and practice of Presbyterian parity, of the equality of ordained elders lay and clerical, governed the presbytery and the kirk in all purely spiritual things, organisation required something more for the efficient working of a great college and a growing mission. All the gifts and varied energies of the five men must be utilised and directed to the one spiritual end of the immediate conversion of the students, as the test of a system which aimed at far more, even the ultimate subversion of the whole Brahmanical system and the substitution of an indigenous Christian Church. Dr. Duff's earliest act was to propose the formation of a missionary council to meet regularly for consultation and prayer under the senior, or whomsoever the Church at home might

recognise as the senior, on account of peculiar fitness for the presidency of a Christian college. The machinery thus established within the Presbyterian ecclesiastical system, has ever since worked as well as in any divinity or university Senatus in Scotland. Men who are not only gentlemen, but gentlemen of the highest type—the Christian, will find no difficulty in such cases save when a mistake is made in adding to their number. The *odium ecclesiasticum* is a sure gauge of the diminution of the love of Christ, not a proof of intelligent earnestness for the truth. For one Athanasius there are a thousand like Paul of Samosata. Certainly, with the exception of the two sacerdotal parties of the Church of Rome and in the Church of England, foreign missions or missionaries have ever testified to the Churches which sent them forth, that in Jesus Christ there is neither party nor sect, that the devil is a common enemy strong enough to require all the unity of the evangelical forces.

To nothing, when in Scotland, had Dr. Duff devoted more of his little leisure than to the careful inspection of all educational improvements in school and college made during his absence in India. These he now proceeded to adapt to his Bengali circumstances. He had the buildings, the library, the philosophical apparatus for scientific and technical training—everything but the assistant native teachers. In all India there was not a normal school at that time. The Mission had raised its own subordinate masters, but on no regular system. He saw that his first duty was to devote part of the strength of his increased staff to the systematic training of native schoolmasters. He had introduced the gallery system, as it was called, into India for the first time. Every Saturday the Institution was crowded by visitors to see the novel sight of some three hundred boys from six to twelve exercised after the most approved fashion of David Stow, beginning with gymnastics and closing with an examination on the Bible. Here was his practising department. Daily, since he lived in the grounds, did Dr. Duff himself induce all the native teachers to remain for an

hour, when he taught them "Paideutik," with results which soon showed themselves in the increased efficiency of the school. Not only so, but he was continually called on to surrender his best teachers to other Missions and to Government, while he was consoled by the consciousness that he was thus extending a Christian, as well as educational influence, far and wide. To utmost Sind, as it then was, as well as far eastern Burma, the college sent forth teachers of other schools, as well as officials for the many subordinate and sometimes higher appointments of the State, so that the little leaven was gradually leavening the whole lump.

The General Assembly's Institution at that time was strongest in the two allied, though too often divorced subjects, of physical and mental science. The missionaries themselves were fresh from the highest honours in the classes of Chalmers and Jackson, Leslie and J. Forbes, Brown and Wilson. Of the five, four were masters in the field of mathematics, pure and applied. Dr. Duff's special delight lay in the exposition of psychology and ethics, leading up through natural religion to the queenly theology of revelation. A native student of that time,* afterwards professor in a Government college, bears this testimony to the intellectual and scientific training of a period when "cram" was unknown, when competition had not learned at once to stimulate and to poison the higher education, and when physical science was taught as the handmaid of faith. "Duff did not think that a boy had thoroughly caught hold of an idea unless he could express it in his own words, however inelegantly. We therefore took no notes of explanations given by the professors; indeed, no notes were given in the class, under the apprehension that they might contribute to cramming. How just that fear was must appear evident to every one who observes the mischievous consequences arising from the practice of giving notes now adopted in all the Indian colleges. The students of the present day never open

* The late Rev. Lal Behari Day, professor of English Literature in the Government College, Hoogly.

their mouths in the class-room—unless, indeed, it is to make a noise. They take down the professor's words, commit them to memory—often without understanding them—and reproduce them in the examination hall. A copying-machine would do the same. Another feature in the educational system pursued in the General Assembly's Institution was the judicious mixture of science with literature. At the present day the cry in India, as in Europe, is—physical science. And many people think it is a new cry. But thirty-five years ago Duff took his pupils through a course of physical science, in addition to a high literary course. Mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics, astronomy, the principles of the steam-engine—the text-books generally being of the science series of Lardner—were taught in the college classes. A course of lectures on chemistry was also delivered, accompanied with experiments; the youthful and fascinating science of geology was studied on account of its bearing on theology; while we were so familiar with the use of the sextant, with Norie's 'Navigation,' and with the 'Nautical Almanac,' that some captains of ships, after examining us, declared that some of my class-fellows could guide a ship safely from the Sandheads to Portsmouth. The Bengal colleges of the present day have not yet advanced so far as the General Assembly's Institution did, under the guidance of Duff."

In all this, however, again as in the solitary time of his founding the Mission, the intellectual was directed above all things, and excluding all other immediate ends, to the spiritual. A new creation in Christ Jesus was what the founder and the four colleagues of like spirit with himself sought to make every student, while they were sustained by the divinely given consciousness that they were working for ages yet to come, under the only Leader with Whom a thousand years are as one day, against a system which would not fall, as it had not risen, in a night.

So when the reorganisation of the college was complete, several directly and exclusively spiritual

agencies were called into play. First, the public offices being now shut on the Sabbath-day, Dr. Duff opened a class for the systematic study of the Bible by thoughtful Bengalis, who were occupied as clerks all the week. Many of that large class were in the habit of visiting him and the other missionaries, as inquirers, in the evening. Every Sunday morning, at seven o'clock, saw a goodly number of young and middle-aged Hindus, of the higher class, gathered in the mission-house. Dr. Wilson was doing similar work in Western India. Never, probably, since Pantænus, the first Christian missionary to India, and his successors in the great School of the Catechumens, evangelised the lands of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean from Alexandria, had there been such searching of the Scriptures. The result of that three years' work was that the majority of the Hindu inquirers expressed an intellectual conviction of the truth of Christianity. Only the Spirit of God, in direct, irresistible and expanding influence, was wanting so to touch their hearts as to make them dare the renunciation of father and mother, caste and kinship, for Christ. "God is a sovereign God," Dr. Duff once said of these busy years, "and at that time, so far as I could judge, the grace of God's Spirit operated effectually on only one soul, to whom it brought home with power the whole truth of gospel salvation through Jesus Christ." We shall come to him and to others, and we shall see how the seed bore good fruit of different kinds secretly and openly.

For another class, students who had left college for the world, but still desired at once the elevating influence of companionship with the missionaries and the continuance of their studies, Dr. Duff opened a week-day evening lecture in his house. There they read, in a critical spirit, those master-pieces of literature in which were most apparent suggestions of good thoughts and spiritual ideas drawing the reader to the higher life. Such were Guizot's *History of Civilisation*, a history of the Renaissance and Reformation, which had gained the first prize offered by the

French Academy, and John Foster's Essays. This, too, proved most popular. The older men had yet to be cared for, Hindus who had left college just before or at Dr. Duff's arrival, who remembered the lectures of 1831-34, and desired to renew their investigations. For such he delivered a weekly lecture in a side-room of the Institution, on the leading points of a complete system of mental and moral philosophy, leading up to religion, natural and revealed. Here his remembrance of the famous series of Chalmers at St. Andrews, in which he had been the foremost man, stimulated the missionary. He brought his large audience of thoughtful hearers to the utmost confines of psychological observation and the ethical reason, and then pointed them to "the higher calculus of revealed truth."

At this time, too, he saw the first streaks of the dawn of that day which he had anticipated ten years before, when the educated natives would demand educated wives, and the increasing community of Christians would seek the means of instruction for their children. The orphan refuge for girls was developed into an efficient school, and from that in later days, in its two branches, many young women have gone forth to be zanana teachers, even university graduates, and the happy wives and mothers of a prosperous Christian community. He was no less active in procuring the removal of legislative obstructions to the freedom of women within legitimate limits. In an official letter of 16th September, 1842, he expounded in detail the two evils of infant betrothal and early marriage—before puberty, often—and of the prohibition of widow marriage. The characteristic disbelief of Hinduism, in common with all systems except Christianity, in the continence of man and the purity of woman, makes widows for life of the infant girls whose betrothed have died. These, growing up despised, ill-treated and overworked, become the centre of the household and village intrigues which fill the records of the criminal courts of India, and the mainstay of the thousand great shrines to which pilgrimages are made from vast distances and amid

incredible hardships all over the peninsula. Weary of life and dissatisfied with herself, allowed a freedom unknown to the wife and frequently never herself a wife, the Hindu widow vainly seeks peace at the hands of the touting priest, who strips her of her all—even of what honour she may have left—in the name of the Vaishnava deity. Or she courts rest at the bottom of the village well. Add to this the state of wives who are no wives, of the Koolin Brahman's hundreds of wives, some of them whole families of mother and daughters, and we have an idea of the moral and spiritual problems which Christian education faced in even orthodox Hindus. With satisfaction did Dr. Duff observe the discussion of these in the vernacular newspapers, and the formation, so early as 1842, of "a secret society among the educated Hindus for privately instructing their young daughters and other female relatives."

On the other side he had, before this, described his administration of the ordinance of Christian baptism to the first boy of his third convert, Gopinath Nundi: "The Christian Hindu father stood forth, in the presence of his countrymen, some of whom had formerly been either his pupils or companions, holding in his arms the infant whom he desired solemnly to consecrate to his God and Saviour. Beside him stood the Christian Hindu mother, holding by the right hand her firstborn, a little girl of three years. And there, in the presence of God and man, did both parents unite in taking upon themselves the most sacred vows and obligations to bring up their little one in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Thus, in the heart of the Brahmanism of Bengal, there was growing up the sweet plant of the Christian family. And the agitation against the legal prohibition of widow marriage, begun in these years, bore its fruit in the Act which, just before the Mutiny, removed all legal obstructions to the marriage of Hindu widows.

To a careful study of the reforming Hindu sect of the Kharta-bhajans in Nuddea, with the view of founding a mission among them, Dr. Duff devoted the college vaca-

tion of 1840-41, and again of 1841-42. As the guest of the Church missionary, Mr. Alexander, he was at the headquarters both of the sect and of Christian operations. In discussing vernacular education, helping to spread village schools and frequent meetings with both the Christians and the Kharta-bhajas, two months passed away. He signalled his farewell by a simple feast to the Christians of one station. Five hundred squatted, oriental fashion, before piles of curry and rice and the fruits of the cold season, which were spread out on the soft green leaves of the plaintain-tree, and deftly conveyed to the mouth with two forefingers and thumb. So the Rishis ate on the ancestral Aryan tableland. But here were also women and children, and glad sounds of praise arose to the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Dr. Duff was intensely human, rejoicing as much in the social feast of the lately christianised families, in its way, as in their solemn acts of pure worship. Desirous to concentrate his mission on the left bank of the Hoogly, Mr. Alexander urged his Presbyterian guest to take possession of Kalna, opposite, once the great port of fertile Burdwan, and still a pilgrim town of 50,000 inhabitants, where the perpetual lease of a piece of ground had been secured. After inspecting the place, Dr. Duff dropped down the Hoogly to Ghospara, now three miles from the railway station of Kanchrapara. There, in a mango grove, he visited the Gooroo of the Kharta-bhajas. Surrounded by his disciples, the son of Ramchurn made a statement of his faith to the missionary sitting upon the simple "charpoy" or low couch-bed of the East, and willingly granted him, in perpetuity, a lease of land for a Christian school and church. From the fifty thousand pilgrims who twice a year crowd to the "cold sea" or pool whose waters had healed the wife of their Gooroo, and to the sacred pomegranate-tree under which she was buried, he thought to gather many to Christ.

But where were the missionaries for the rural stations, thus increased to three—Takee, Kalna, and Ghospara? In the first, Mr. Clift had been succeeded by Mr. W. C.

Fyfe, sent out from Scotland as an educationist and subsequently ordained. Happily the college in Calcutta, which, in 1830, had begun with the Lord's Prayer in Bengali, the English alphabet, and the slow spelling out of the Sermon on the Mount, and had given its first four converts to the Anglican, American Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches, was producing the ripest spiritual fruit. Established to sway towards Christ, and by Christ, the whole revolution of thought and feeling which the English language and the British administration had set in motion and were hurrying away from all faith and morals, Dr. Duff felt that his college would be an immediate failure if it did not bring in individual souls and raise an indigenous missionary ministry. Before all other agencies for educated Hindus, his system had, in 1830-34, accomplished both results. Nor had it ceased to do so in his absence, while his return gave it a new impetus. Whether we look at the spiritual or the intellectual character of the young men; whether we consider what they sacrificed for Christ, or what He enabled them to become in His work, we may assert that no Christian mission can show such a roll of converts from the subtlest system of a mighty faith and an ancient civilisation as Dr. Duff's college in the first thirteen years of its history.

We begin with the one failure—let the truth be told, but tenderly. In 1837, Dwarkanath Bhowe, at the age of seventeen, was baptized. No convert witnessed so good a confession as he, if persecution be the test. He was the Peter of the band. Thrice carried off by his bigoted family, chained and imprisoned till Mr. Leith's services in the Supreme Court were necessary to enforce toleration, he clung to his convictions. So bright a student did he become that he was one of the four Bengalis selected by the Government to complete their medical studies in London. Was it there that, like not a few of his countrymen since, he found the temptations of a great city, in which he was alone, overpowering? With the highest professional honours he returned to practise in Calcutta, where he fell a

victim to the vice which our excise system has taught the educated natives of India, when it plants the licensed wine-shop beside the Christian school. We visited him in his fatal sickness. Who shall say that, like Peter also, he did not rise, ever so little, from his fall?

The bloom of the Mission, intellectually and spiritually, was cut off by an early death—two converts who lived and worked long enough to become the David and the Jonathan of the Church of India, Mahendra Lal Basak and Kailas Chunder Mookerjea. Mahendra had entered Dr. Duff's school in 1831, at the age of nine, but was removed to the Hindoo College because of the direct Christian teaching of the former. Returning he became so thoughtful as to alarm his friends, who tried to seduce him to sins which, they thought, would make even the missionaries shun him. It was in vain. He rose to be the gold medalist of the college, and his demonstrations of some of Euclid's problems were so ingenious as to call forth the eulogy of Professor Wallace, of the University of Edinburgh. But his intellectual power was dedicated to the office of the Christian ministry. Baptized in 1839, after renewed opposition from his father, he became the first divinity student of the college. The same year saw him joined by a Koolin Brahman, Kailas, who had gone through the six years' course of the college. When on the way with his family to an idolatrous service, his conscience so pricked him that he fled to the mission-house. Gentle and confiding, he was deluded by solemn pledges into leaving its protection, when he was kept in durance for three months. On escaping he was publicly baptized in the college hall. After systematic theological training, the two friends were appointed catechists.

These were the men, Mehendra and Kailas, who were placed in Ghospara as missionaries to their countrymen. Within a few weeks of each other, in the year 1845, they passed away, after services which Dr. Ewart and Mr. Macdonald recorded in Memoirs of them. So, also, the amiable Madhub Chunder Basak died ripe for heaven. Dr. Duff longed for hundreds

like them, and he did not pray in vain. Passing over the baptism of another Brahman, of Kalichurn Dutt, and of Dr. Duff's converts baptized by other Churches, we come in 1841-43 to the conversion of the four remarkable Hindus who lived to be ordained ministers of the Free Church of Scotland. The Rev. Jagadishwar Bhattacharjya, a Brahman of the Brahmans, above eighteen, whom a mob attempted to tear from the mission-house, lived to win the gratitude of his peasant countrymen, alike by his spiritual and his temporal services to them, having saved many in the time of famine. Such were his knowledge and influence, that he was selected by Lord Northbrook to give evidence before a Commons committee. The Rev. Prosuono Koomar Chatterjea, once of the same highest caste, long presided over another of the rural missions in Bengal. The Rev. Lal Behari Day, a successful English author and Government professor, has told the world his "Recollections" of the missionary who was one of his spiritual fathers. Last of all we linger over the name of the Rev. Behari Lal Singh, the Rajpoot who died the only missionary in India of the Presbyterian Church of England. The teaching which led him to sacrifice all for Christ he and his brother received in the college; the example which afterwards proved to him that Christianity was a living power was that of his official superior, Sir Donald McLeod.*

From the converts made up to 1843 we have named these twelve—four in the first period, eight in the second—as the typical fruit of the system directed by the first missionary of the Church of Scotland to the destruction of Brahmanism and the building up of the Church of India by educated Hindus. The first, Mohesh Chunder; the sixth, seventh, and tenth, Mahendra, Kailas, and Madhub, became early fruit of the native Church in heaven, but not before Mahendra and Kailas had done true service for their Master. With a joyful catholicity Dr. Duff had given Krishna Mohun to the Church of England, Gopinath to the American Presbyterian Church, Anundo to the London Mission,

* See *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, 2nd ed., 1899. (John Murray.)

and Behari Lal to the English Presbyterians. Of the twelve not the least brilliant fell; while we shall see Gopinath witnessing a good confession in his hour of trial in the Mutiny.

While the college, in spiritual influence and intellectual force, with its nine hundred students and three branch stations, was thus advancing to the state of efficiency in which it closed for the last time in 1843, all around there were disaster and confusion in public affairs. Longingly did Dr. Duff dwell in his correspondence at this period on the triumphs of peace, and on the way which it opened for the Prince of Peace, into the lands beyond our frontiers, then on the Sutlej and the Yoma mountains of Arakan. How hopefully, in the Punjab, the Karen country and China, have his anticipations been realised.

CHAPTER XV

1843-1844

MISSIONARY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

NOT only is the world the heritage of the young, as has been said. The young make the world what it is. Dr. Duff had really done his work in India when he was twenty-eight; he had, apparently, completed its parallel side in Great Britain when he was thirty-three; he had consolidated the whole system, and he saw it bearing rare spiritual as well as moral and intellectual fruit before he was thirty-seven. So, in the same field of reformation, Luther and Melanchthon in Germany, Calvin and Pascal in France, Wesley and Simeon in England, and Chalmers in Scotland had sowed the seed and reaped the early harvests while still within the age which Augustine pronounces the "culmen" and Dante the "key of the arch" of life. Dr. Duff might have spent the rest of his career in quietly developing the principles and extending the machinery of his system on its India and Scottish sides, but for forces, in Church and State, which the shrewdest took long to foresee. His Church had to work its way back to the purity and spiritual independence of covenanting times—a process in which all the Churches of Europe are following it, from Italy and Germany to France and Ireland—and in so working it became broken into two.

Foreign Missions being of no ecclesiastical party,

we have seen how Dr. Duff, during his first visit to Scotland, had kept aloof from even vital controversies. In India, on his return in 1840, he was so silent as to the course he would follow if a rupture took place, that some doubted how he would act. But not one of the clerical combatants in the thick of the fight knew its meaning, historical and spiritual, better than the missionary. His youth had been overshadowed by the "cloud of witnesses." He waited only for the time of duty to the Mission as well as to his principles, to declare himself with an uncompromising thoroughness, hardly equalled by the ecclesiastical leaders who headed the host of disruption heroes on the memorable eighteenth day of May, 1843.

What Lord Cockburn calls "the heroism" which made Francis Jeffrey declare that he was "proud of his country," was not officially intimated to the fourteen Indian missionaries till October. Not till the end of July had the preliminary letters from Dr. Brunton, and from Dr. Charles J. Brown representing the Free Church, reached them, declaring that each Church was determined to carry on the Foreign and Jewish Missions. Dr. Brunton wrote: "We are most anxious to retain the co-operation of those whom we have found experimentally so thoroughly qualified for their work and so devoted to its prosecution. We earnestly hope, therefore, that you will see it to be consistent with your sense of duty to remain in that connection with us, which to us, in the past, has been a source of so much satisfaction and thankfulness. I write to you collectively, not individually, because we have no wish that personal considerations should influence your decision." The letter of the Free Church thus delicately concluded: "The committee do not of course presume to enter into discussion with you on the subject, or to say one word as to the course which you may feel it right to follow." To that Chalmers added his postscript, "I state my confident belief that, notwithstanding the engrossment of our affairs at home, the cause of all our missions will prove as dear, and be as liberally supported as ever by the

people of Scotland." With such faith, in such a spirit, did the second Knox and his band of 470, soon increased to 730 and now to 1,270 ministers, commit their Church to extension abroad no less than at home. In this respect the third Reformation was more truly Christ's than the second or the first.

The joyful adherence of all the Eastern and Jewish missionaries and their converts, in contrast to the East India Company's Presbyterian chaplains,—the eager response of every one of the fourteen sent to the peoples of India, from Dr. Wilson then in Jerusalem, to Mr. Anderson in Madras, and Dr. Duff in Bengal, was added to complete the spiritual sacrifice, as well as the moral heroism, and to give a new stimulus to what Lord Cockburn called "the magnificent sacrifices which, year after year, showed the strong sincerity and genuine Scotticism of the principles on which the movement had depended." For himself alone, Dr. Duff published an "Explanatory Statement, addressed to the friends of the India Mission of the Church of Scotland, as it existed previous to the Disruption in May, 1843." This passage takes up the narrative at the reception of the official appeals from Dr. Brunton and Dr. Charles Brown. "We were now laid under a double necessity openly to avow our sentiments. Was there any hesitation when the hour of trial came? None whatsoever. So far as concerned my own mind, the simple truth is, that as regards the great principles contended for by the friends and champions of the Free Church, I never was troubled with the crossing of a doubt or the shadow of a suspicion."

On the 10th August, the five Bengal missionaries of the Church of Scotland united in a despatch to both Dr. Brunton and Dr. Gordon, forwarding eight resolutions in which they declared their reasons for adhering to "the Free Protestant Presbyterian Church of Scotland," as Christian men and ministers. The resolutions were drawn up by the youngest of their number, Dr. T. Smith. They issued to the public of India a joint "explanatory statement," clear, judicial and full of Christian charity without compromise.

Denied by Dr. Charles their right, before disruption, to meet in kirk-session of which three missionaries were members and were the majority, they formed a provisional church committee, which held the first public service of the Free Church in Calcutta, in Freemasons' Hall, on the 13th August. Dr. Duff preached the sermon, afterwards published, and announced that the Rev. John Macdonald would, in addition to his missionary duties, act till the congregation could call a minister from Scotland. A missionary character was given to the congregation from the first by the baptism of the convert Behari Lal Singh.

Up to that day the five missionaries stood alone. But the Christian society of the metropolis and of many an isolated station in the interior was being profoundly moved. The earliest sign was a letter to Dr. Duff from the first physician in India. Who that knew him—what young official or merchant who was friendless and tempted, especially, did not love Simon Nicolson? "I have been silent about your Church disruption till now, but I have watched it and you, and, with my wife and daughter, I cast in my lot with you. Your ordinary supplies will be stopped, but you must not let one of your operations collapse. Here is a cheque for Rs. 5,000, and more will follow when you give me a hint." The next came from Mr. Justice Hawkins, of the supreme court of appeal, then known as the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, but since amalgamated with the High Court of Judicature. He offered not only other aid but himself. The ten years' conflict had led him to see the necessity of spiritual independence and equality in the priesthood of all believing members of Christ's Church, lay and teaching, and so he left the Church of England. Another English judge, Mr. Macleod Wylie, not only accompanied him but published a treatise to justify his action, under the title, "Can I Continue a Member of the Church of England?" When, on Thursday, the 24th August, a public meeting of the adherents of the Free Church was called, it was found that nearly the whole of the elders and a majority of the members of

St. Andrew's Kirk, representing all classes in the English and Eurasian communities, had thrown in their lot with the houseless missionaries.

But where was a church to be found? Dr. Duff applied to Lord Ellenborough's Government for the temporary use of a hall belonging to it, and the scene very frequently of dancing assemblies, but the authorities evaded the request by professing inability to understand the nature of the case. Then it was that the Eurasian committee offered the hall of their Doveton College to a man who had done so much for them. Six lay elders and six deacons were duly elected by the congregation, who at once prepared for the erection of a proper ecclesiastical building. After some five thousand pounds had been spent in rearing that designed by Captain Goodwyn, of the Bengal Engineers, it fell down the night before it was to be entered for worship. Undismayed, the members erected, at a cost of twelve thousand pounds, the present Wellesley Square church, which Bishop Cotton pronounced the prettiest in Calcutta.

This church laid on Dr. Duff, as senior missionary, the congenial duty of giving "some public exposition of the principles and grounds of separation from the Established Church of Scotland and of adherence to the Free Church of Scotland." To hear his four lectures on the sole and supreme headship of the Lord Jesus Christ over His own Church, the town-hall was filled. Under the title of "A Voice from the Ganges," the published lectures attracted great attention. From the spiritual kingship of Christ over the soul of every believer, through Bible revelation, Church annals, and Scottish history, Dr. Duff traced the conflict between Erastianism and the independence of the spiritual man or church in purely spiritual things. He did not spare either the learning or the law of Lord Brougham, whose antecedents he showed to have coloured the decision which, in the highest appeal court, he gave against the liberties of the people.

The effect of the Disruption on the India Mission was, from the very first, to more than double its

efficiency, and the reaction of the Mission on the Church of Scotland Free was most blessed. As the first convener, Dr. Gordon, reported, the new yet old Mission started with only £327 in its treasury, but full of faith and power. Not only did the fourteen missionaries announce their personal devotion to the Free Church, but, knowing the demands on the home resources, they declared their conviction that funds might be raised in India for the three new colleges. This led the Church at home to announce, in the first annual appeal for congregational collections: "We concur with them in thinking that much will probably be done, by generous officers and civilians, whose Christian zeal and devotedness will only lead them to feel a deeper interest in the cause when its former supports may seem to be weakened; for, thank God! there has been a revival of pure religion among not a few of the European residents, and we should have little fear of the result, were the care of our present Institutions devolved on the Army alone. But when we consider that these Institutions require to be indefinitely extended, if they are to exert any influence on the general mind of India, and that probably the buildings, which have hitherto afforded at once a suitable residence and a commodious scene of labour to our missionaries, may be alienated to other parties, we feel that redoubled energy is necessary at home, in addition to all the aid which can reasonably be expected from abroad, if we would maintain and carry on the great work which has been so auspiciously begun." The result was a sum of £6,402 that year, which steadily rose to £32,000 in Scotland alone thirty years after, and, on Dr. Duff's death, reached the total sum of £535,000, or about three quarters of a million sterling, if the revenue abroad, in India, Africa, and the South Pacific, be added.

With the consent of both parties the Calcutta missionaries continued their work in the Institution and mission-house built and furnished by themselves, to the close of the session of 1843. But what then? There were two easy solutions of the difficulty.

Morally, equitably, the whole belonged to Dr. Duff and his colleagues, who had called it into existence. The college, its library and scientific apparatus, were the fruit of personal legacies and gifts made to Dr. Duff himself chiefly, and on the express understanding that he was to use the funds as he pleased. The Christian, the honourable solution was that first proposed by Dr. Duff, Dr. Wilson, and the Free Church committee, that the old missionaries should purchase back from the Established Church the premises which were morally their own, if required; and that that Church, desiring to begin a new mission, should break fresh ground in the neglected cities of Upper India, whence it would have been ready to take possession for Christ of the Punjab and Central Asia.*

The refusal of its committee to act equitably raised such an outcry of remonstrance from the Evangelical Churches that it felt bound to make some defence. Save for the miserable controversy thus forced on the Church, which had at once retired from even the ground of Christian equity when it saw insult added to injury, we do not regret a circumstance which called forth Dr. Duff's reply. In eighty octavo pages, "put in type in order to facilitate the transmission of copies by post, but not published," he disposed of the wrong in a style which makes the pamphlet a rare contribution to cryptic literature. Rare, not merely for the moral and logical extinction of the official assailant, nor even for the gleams of autobiographic fact and humour in the history of the different funds, but for the magnanimous charity which robbed the whole of every sting, while a righteous resentment for his cause burned high.

The other easy solution of the question, where shall the five missionaries, their staff, and their converts and students obtain a building large enough in all native Calcutta? was this. Colonel Dundas and

* This was done by the next generation, so far as new missions were concerned. The Established Church of Scotland has since sold the Bombay college built by Dr. Wilson, but has opened prosperous Missions at Darjeeling, Chamba, Sialkot, and Gujrat.

some Indian friends, in Scotland, had presented Dr. Duff with about four hundred pounds as "a mark of respect" and for personal uses. This too he devoted to the Mission. Adjoining the Institution in Cornwallis Square were three acres of unoccupied ground belonging to Government. On receiving a legacy of £1,000 he added this to the Dundas gift, and solicited the consent of Lord Auckland himself to the sale of the land for that sum, but the proposal had first to be sanctioned by the Court of Directors. On this spacious open ground he might, naturally and most conveniently, have erected the new college. But he was too much of a Christian and a gentleman to do what might even seem, to Hindu and Christian, a violation of that law of love which the "residuary" committee, as it was called, had scorned. He heaped coals of fire on its head by volunteering the explanation—"It is not intended to have any portion of this ground occupied for carrying on the missionary operations of the Free Church. Sufficiently ample it is, and most healthfully and favourably situated for the erection of a new Institution and mission-house. But its proximity to the old mission premises has determined us not so to appropriate it; that we may thereby prove to the world that, on our part at least, we are not actuated by vindictive or retaliatory motives, or animated by a spirit of hostile rivalry." The new mission-house was erected there long after, and its very proximity to the old house enabled Dr. Duff to hold most friendly intercourse with so gentle and earnest a missionary as Dr. Ogilvie, whom the Established Church sent up from Madras there to represent it. In 1897 the historic house was shattered by an earthquake. On its site two missionary manses were built in 1899, from funds presented to Dr. Duff just before his death.

The renown of the Disruption sacrifice, which had gone out through all lands, had in India been increased by the decision to evict the missionaries from their college, even though they offered to purchase their own, very much as Carey and the Serampore brethren

had been compelled to do in similarly indefensible circumstances. From all sides, Hindu as well as Christian, Anglican and Congregationalist as well as Presbyterian, in America no less than in Asia and Europe, came proofs of indignant sympathy. The year 1844 opened with spontaneous gifts amounting to £3,400. The Protestant missionaries of Calcutta united in a catholic address. Archdeacon Dealtry, about to become the second Bishop of Madras, though a dignitary of the other Established Church, was even more emphatic, on the higher ground of a wrong done to the whole Catholic Church.

The hunt for a college building concentrated itself on one house in Neemtollah Street, which was sufficiently commodious. Here, on the 4th of March, 1844, the General Assembly's Institution of the Free Church of Scotland met for the first time, and here it grew till on an adjoining site the present fine college was reared. There were the same missionaries, the same staff of teachers and monitors, the same converts to begin with, and more than a thousand students and pupils. The spacious hall, erst devoted to idol revelries, became the common place of worship of the living God in Christ. The shrine of the family image received the gallery class of children, who there learned to spell out the words of the Divine Teacher. From all parts of Eastern India and Scotland friends sent supplies of books for the new library. Dr. Mackay, who had built his usual observatory on the roof, was gladdened by the donation of a Herschel ten-foot telescope from the son of Dr. Stewart, of Moulin memory.

Dr. Duff's letters to Dr. Gordon, after reporting the tedious search and protracted negotiations which ended in success, thus broke forth on the 17th of February, 1844, as he, doubtless, remembered the flash of the torch in the Tummel: "Never was there a happier or truer keynote struck than that with which Dr. Chalmers ushered in the ever memorable convocation, when he started with the text, 'Unto the upright there ariseth light in darkness.'"

CHAPTER XVI

1844-1848

CONTINUITY OF THE WORK

HAVING thus organised his second college, Dr. Duff's next care was for the branch schools by which the educated catechists and converts were evangelising the rural districts. The Established Church claimed the new station of Ghospara for the congregation of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, who had supported Mahendra and Kailas, the native missionaries there. But Kalna, being in a different position, was retained by Dr. Duff and his colleagues as their second rural station. In succession, as the Mission grew in resources and ordained converts, Bansberia, Chinsurah, and Mahanad were added in Lower Bengal, while, long after, the south-eastern districts of the Santal country were taken possession of as a base from which to evangelise the aboriginal tribes.

The story of Bansberia illustrates the enthusiasm with which good men, in the Army and the Civil Service, sought to mark their sympathy with Dr. Duff's Mission. On being driven from Ghospara, he resolved to seek for a settlement in another county. He crossed the river Hoogly to its right bank. A few miles to the north of the county town of Hoogly district, between that and Kalna, he discovered the school-house of the Brumho Somaj, of Calcutta, closed and for sale. The perpetual lease of the grounds as well as the large

bungalow was purchased by Dr. Duff, whose first object it was to erect substantial buildings for a Christian high school. For this there were no funds.

Sir James Outram came to the rescue.* The first Afghan war had been succeeded by the even greater mistake of the policy of Sir Charles Napier in Sind. The man who had written, "We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful and humane piece of rascality it will be," received six thousand pounds as the General's portion of the prize-money. The Bombay officer who had protested against the "rascality," whose splendid administration of Sind would have prevented war and secured a reformed country, had assigned to him three thousand pounds as his share. What was he to do with it? Though a Derbyshire man, three years older than Duff, as a great-grandson of Lord Pitmedden and a successful student of Marischal College, Aberdeen, Outram had watched the Scottish missionary's career with admiration. The puzzled officer turned to him for counsel as to the disposal of the money; begging him in particular to ascertain, privately, if the Calcutta authorities would keep the three thousand pounds for the benefit of the injured Ameers. We may imagine the amazement, and indignation, of Lord Ellenborough at a proposal so simple, but so worthy of "the Bayard of India." The reply was, of course, a refusal, on the ground that the Ameers had been well provided for, and that the offer, if it became public, would have the worst political effect. When he communicated the refusal, Outram replied: "I regard this prize simply as blood-money, and will not touch a farthing of it for my own personal use, but will distribute it among the philanthropic and religious charities of Bombay." Soon after this Sir James wrote to Dr. Duff saying that, after a wide distribution of what he called blood-money, there still remained Rs. 6,000, and he asked, "Have you any object on the banks of the Ganges to which this can profitably be applied?" Instantly Dr. Duff replied, "Oh, yes!—I want an educational insti-

* See *Twelve Indian Statesmen*. (2nd edition.) John Murray.

tution on the banks of the river, and have been waiting to secure the means of erecting a building. Now, singularly enough, the minimum sum fixed on in my own mind was exactly Rs. 6,000, and if you approve the idea you may send that sum to me, and we shall commence at once." The mission-house was erected, and was long a source of blessings to the neighbourhood; from its pupils a goodly number of conversions sprung with a wide diffusion of Christian knowledge.

A greater man than even Outram, however, was from the first a generous ally of Dr. Duff. Sir Henry Lawrence, who had found Christ when a young lieutenant of artillery at Dum Dum, and who had established at Ferozepore the American Presbyterian Mission from which the invitation to united prayer first sounded forth in 1860 among all English-speaking races, used to spend his surplus income on Christian philanthropy in India. Every year from 1844 till he concentrated his energies on the Hill Asylums for soldiers' children, he sent four hundred pounds to Mr. Marshman for distribution among Dr. Duff's, the Serampore, the Church Missionary and other societies. At the same time others, like Dr. T. Smith and the writer, were his frequent almoners down to the day of his heroic death. On his way home, in 1847, he took part in the public examination of the Institution, a fact to which we find Dr. Duff thus referring at the time: "The Colonel Lawrence who assisted at the public examination is the same gentleman whose measures have been so wonderfully successful in pacifying the Punjab. He is to accompany Lord Hardinge to England. For years past he has taken a warm interest in our Institution and its success, and has been a liberal contributor to its funds. In this and in other ways God is raising us up friends, even in high places; and to Him we desire to ascribe all the praise and the glory."

Thus Dr. Duff and his colleagues organised the second Mission in and around Calcutta, and among the most densely peopled portions of rural Asia—the counties of Hoogly and Burdwan to the north-west. "Oh," he wrote to Dr. Gordon, "that we had the

resources, in qualified agents and pecuniary means, with large, prayerful, faithful hearts, to wait on the Lord for His blessing, and then under the present impulse might we, in every considerable village and district of Bengal, establish vernacular and English seminaries, that might sow the seeds of divine truth in myriads of minds, and thus preoccupy them with principles hostile to ruinous error and favourable for the reception of saving knowledge. But to this end we would require not five hundred but fifty thousand for this Presidency alone. It looks like something utterly unattainable, yet the cost of one British vice for a single year—the annual sum expended on ardent spirits, which destroy the bodies and the souls of thousands—would secure to us over fifty thousand schools!”

And now, as ever, Dr. Duff and all the Free Church of Scotland's missionaries in its three colleges and many schools, laboured and prayed for immediate conversions as the sign and the fruit of the Spirit's blessing on their patient sapping of the whole spiritual and social system of Brahmanism. Referring to the baptism of a student, which had temporarily emptied the college in Madras, Dr. Duff wrote: “It must never be forgotten, that, while the salvation of one soul may not *in itself* be more precious than that of another, there is a prodigious difference in the relative amount of practical value possessed by the conversion of individuals of different classes, as regards *its effect on society at large*. It is this consideration, duly weighed, which explains the immense relative importance of the conversions that have taken place in connection with our several Institutions at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. The number has been comparatively small. But the amount of general influence excited thereby must not be estimated according to the number. The individuals converted have belonged to such classes and castes that the positive influence of their conversion in shaking Hinduism and convulsing Hindu society has been vastly greater than it might have been if hundreds or even thousands of a different

class or caste had been added to the Church of Christ. While therefore it is our duty to pray for immediate results, if the Lord will—to ‘attempt and expect great things’ at His hands,—let us beware of being impatient. The Lord is working silently in the midst of us; and when His time cometh He will make bare His holy arm for the salvation of multitudes. Meanwhile those occasional upheavings and convulsions which apparently retard the progress of His cause He sovereignly overrules for its ultimate furtherance.”

That was written in April, 1844. In July there came to Dr. Duff’s house one Gobindo Chunder Das, who had been removed from the old Institution during a panic caused by the baptisms of 1839. For six years the truth wrestled with the lad, overthrew now his timidity and now his pride, and sent him to Dr. Duff under strong convictions of sin and a firm resolution to sacrifice all for Christ. After the usual persecution by his family and clan he was received into the Church and became a useful teacher in the college. He was the first-fruit of the Free Church Mission as to his baptism, yet the change had been really originated in the old General Assembly’s Institution. Every convert as well as every missionary thus maintained the continuity of the work which had begun in July, 1830, in the Chitpore Road.

The conversion and baptism of young men of marked ability and high social or caste position now followed so fast on Gobindo’s that, once again, the Brahmanical community of Calcutta was moved to its depths. The year 1845 opened with the public confession and admission of Guru Das Maitra, whom Dr. Duff gladly made over to the American Presbyterian Mission at Lahore, when the Punjab became a British province soon after. There the Bengali was ordained as a missionary minister. Thence he was long after “called,” by the Bengali congregation in Calcutta, to be their minister. At the same time Umesh Chunder Sirkar sought baptism. For two years the Bible teaching in the college had disturbed him, and had so drawn him towards Christ that his

alarmed friends urged him to study Paine's writings. These completed his conviction of the divine truth of Christianity, and of his duty to profess that conviction openly by obeying Christ's command. But he was only sixteen. He longed to instruct and take over with him his child-wife of ten, and his father was a stern bigot, of great authority and influence as treasurer to the *millionnaire* Mullik family. For two years, therefore, the boy-husband and his wife searched the Scriptures diligently in the midnight hours snatched from sleep, when alone, in the crowd of a great Hindu household, they could count on secrecy, though ever suspected. After much reading of the Bengali Bible, Umesh Chunder taught her the Bengali translation of the "Pilgrim's Progress."

Here was the true zanana teaching, the best form of female education, that which has rendered all subsequent progress under English-speaking ladies possible. When the wife of twelve read the opening description of Christian's flight from the City of Destruction, she exclaimed, "Is not this exactly our condition? Are not we now lingering in the City of Destruction? Is it not our duty to act like Christian—to arise, forsake all, and flee for our lives?" On the next idol festival, when even Hindu married women are allowed liberty enough to visit their female caste friends in neighbouring houses in closed palankeens, Umesh conducted his true-hearted little wife to Dr. Duff's house. The then deceased Mahendra had supplied the copy of Bunyan's "Pilgrim" which had thus been blessed, and the more recent convert, Jagadishwar, had assisted Umesh in the flight. "While meditating in my own closet on the ways of God," Dr. Duff wrote afterwards, "and wondering whether and in what way He might graciously interpose to deliver us from our distresses, suddenly Umesh, his wife and Jagadishwar appeared before me. It looked like the realisation of a remarkable dream. 'The Lord be praised,' said I. What could I say less? His mercy endureth for ever. He had visited and holpen His servants."

Now began a tumult such as no previous case had

excited. Dr. Duff's house was literally besieged. The Mulliks as well as the Sirkars, both families or clans, and their Brahmans, beset the young man. They attempted violence, so that the gate was shut next day to all but the father, the brother and the wealthy chief of the Mulliks. For days this went on, for the missionary would not deny to the new convert's family that which was the only weapon he claimed for Christ—persuasion. At last the scene changed to the Supreme Court. Choosing his time when the court was rising for the day, the father's counsel moved for a writ of *habeas corpus* to be directed to Dr. Duff to produce Umesh Chunder, on the affidavit that the youth was only a little more than fourteen years of age, and was kept in illegal restraint. The Chief Justice himself was on the bench, and Mr. Macleod Wylie happened not to have left the court. Sir Lawrence Peel, worthy cousin of a statesman like Sir Robert, knew that Dr. Duff would not exercise restraint of any kind. Suspecting the truth of the affidavit, he investigated the case at once, and the writ was refused. The youth was really above eighteen years of age. There was no question raised as to his wife. Both were baptized, while a crowd of the Mulliks' followers raged outside, and their chief and the convert's father declined to be witnesses of the solemn service. In Bengal at least this was "the first instance of a respectable Hindu and his wife being both admitted at the same time, on a profession of their own faith, into the Church of Christ by baptism." And the husband had brought the wife into the one fold. So, after the presentation by Gopinath and his wife of their boy for baptism, the creation of the Christian family in the very heart of Brahmanism became complete. Silently is the little leaven leavening the whole lump.

A week after, the tumult was repeated in the case of one who had been a student for eight years, and became the Rev. Baikunta Nath Dé, of Kalna. He found refuge with Dr. Thomas Smith, then residing in the heart of Calcutta. Thence, in the missionary's absence, he was

forcibly abducted, and was imprisoned, in chains, in a distant relative's house. Mr. Wylie obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, but it was found impossible to execute that. Meanwhile against Christ and the chains Baikunta's family set all the sensual pleasures in which idolatry is so fertile. As Dr. Duff reported the case, "every attempt was made not only to pervert the mind, but corrupt the very morals of the young man—in order, if possible, to unfit him for becoming a member of the visible Church of Christ. What a testimony to the purity of Christianity!—the very heathens practically confessing that impurity and uncleanness are incompatible with an honest or consistent profession! and that one of the surest ways of preventing a person from becoming a Christian, is to debase his moral feeling, and bring the stain of vice on his character! What a testimony, on the other hand, against heathenism! It can tolerate any enormity—theft, drunkenness, hypocrisy, debauchery—these, and such like violations of the moral law, it can wink at, palliate, or even vindicate; but to seek for the pardon of sin, and the sanctification of a polluted heart, by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and the open profession of His name—this, this it cannot and will not endure, but must visit with reproach, ignominy, and persecution even unto death! Happily, however, the young man was enabled to resist all temptations and allurements; and happily, too, he was not overcome, so as to deny or be ashamed of the name of Jesus." The place of his captivity was discovered, and he proved to be an earnest preacher of the truth of which he thus witnessed a good confession.

The record, in their own language, of the doubts and fears, the aspirations and convictions, the turning and the triumph of the converts from Brahmanism and Muhammadanism, in India, influenced by all the Churches but especially by the Scottish system of evangelising, would form a volume precious to the history of Christianity, early and later. The *Clementines* and the *Confessions* of Augustine would have many a parallel. We do not doubt that coming

generations of the Church of India will, in their own tongue, thus tell the wonderful works of God. Nor were Hindus the only converts. Five Jews, headed by Rabbi Isaac, and forming an almost patriarchal household, were led by an English officer, whom the Disruption had attracted to the Free Church, to seek instruction from Dr. Duff and baptism into the name of Jesus the Messiah.

After a lull for two years, the opposition was again fanned, by further baptisms, into a flame which threatened the destruction of the missionary himself. Uma Churn Ghose, baptized by the Rev. John Macdonald just before death removed that saintly man, was made over to the Church Missionary Society, for service at Jubbulpore. Then followed, in 1847, four baptisms, by Dr. Duff, of Koolin Brahmans—Pran Kissen Gangooly, since employed at Arrah; Kali Das Chukurbutty, sent to Hyderabad as a teacher; Judu Nath Banerjea, who became treasurer of the Small Cause Court at Kooshtea; and Shib Chunder Banerjea. The last was ever one of the most faithful catechists and preachers given to the Church of India. Labouring with his hands like Paul, that he might be at no man's charges, the zealous, eloquent Rev. Shib Chunder Banerjea gave all his leisure till death to evangelising his countrymen. With his name we may here associate Shyama Churn Mookerjea, who has showed the manly as well as Christian virtues which Macaulay failed to find in the Bengali. Having embraced Christ with the whole strength of his nature, and being denied his wife in the absence of the Christian marriage and divorce law passed too late for his case, he visited this country to study as an engineer. As a merchant he has ever since been the generous friend of his Christian countrymen.

The increase of converts, some of them with families, and the formation of classes of theology for the training of several of them as catechists, then preachers, and finally ordained missionaries and pastors, embarrassed Dr. Duff and his colleagues, but in a way which rejoiced their hearts. At first, in Calcutta as in Bombay, the

catechumens, whom the caste and intolerance of Hinduism excluded from their families and society, became inmates of the missionary's home and frequent guests at his table. To be thus associated with men of God and gentlemen of the highest Christian culture, like the founders of the Bengal and Bombay Missions, was a privilege which the most scientific training in Divinity could not supply, and without which such training must have been one-sided. What the intercourse with Dr. and Mrs. Duff was, and how they valued it, one of the ordained ministers, the Rev. Lal Behari Day, has told.

"We three messed together by ourselves; but we joined Dr. Duff and Mrs. Duff (their children being away in Scotland) at family worship both morning and evening. Duff was punctual as clockwork; exactly at eight o'clock in the morning—not one minute before or after—the prayer-bell rang, and we all were in the breakfast-room, where the morning worship used to be held. Duff was always observant of the forms of politeness, and never forgot to shake hands with us, asking us the usual question, 'How do you do?' By the way, Duff's shake of the hand was different from that of other people. It was not a mere formal, stiff, languid shake; but like everything else of him, it was warm and earnest. He would go on shaking, catching fast hold of your hand in his, and would not let it go for some seconds. The salutations over, we took our seat. We always began with singing one of the grand old Psalms of David, in Rous's Doric versification, Mrs. Duff leading the singing. Dr. Duff, though I believe he had a delicate ear for music, never led the singing; he, however, joined in it. He generally read the Old Testament in the morning, and the New Testament in the evening. When I joined the little circle—and there were only five of us, Duff, Mrs. Duff, Jagadishwar, Prosunno and I—he was reading through the Psalms. He did not read long portions—seldom a whole psalm, but only a few verses. He seldom made remarks of his own, but read to us the reflections of some pious divine on those verses. When going through the Psalms he used to read the exposition of Dr. Dickson; and in the evening, when going through the New Testament, he made use of the commentary, if my memory does not fail me, of Girdlestone. The reading over, we all knelt down. Oh, how shall I describe the prayers which Duff offered up both morning and evening! They were such exquisitely simple and beautiful prayers. Much as I admired Duff in his public appearances—in the pulpit and on the platform—I admired and loved him infinitely more at the family altar, where, in a simple and childlike manner, he devoutly and earnestly poured out his soul before our common Father in heaven. Most men in their family prayers repeat, for the most part, the same things both morning and evening. Duff's prayers were fresh and new every morning and evening, naturally arising out of the verses read and carefully meditated over. And oh, the animation, the earnestness, the fervour, the deep sincerity, the childlike simplicity of those prayers! They were fragrant with the aroma of heaven. They were prayers which Gabriel or Michael, had they been on earth and had they been human beings, would have offered up. I, at that time a young convert, experi-

enced sensations which it is impossible to describe. I felt as I had never before felt, I seemed to breathe the atmosphere of heaven. I seemed to be transported into the third heaven, standing in the Holy of Holies in the presence of the Triune Jehovah. Duff's sympathies in prayer were wide and catholic. He prayed for every section of the Church of Christ, and pleaded, morning and evening, most fervently on behalf of the heathen perishing for lack of knowledge. In the mornings, we came away immediately after prayers to our breakfast, as we were required to be ready for the Institution by ten o'clock; but in the evenings, when the family worship began at nine o'clock, Duff would often ask us to stay after prayers, and engage in conversation with us, not on any trifling, every-day, ephemeral thing, but on subjects of grave import; and sometimes we sat with him for more than an hour. How thankful do I feel for those quiet evening conversations, in which Duff impressed on our youthful minds the highest truths and the holiest principles. Those were, indeed, happy days; if they could be called back, I would, if I could, prolong them indefinitely."

This was in 1843, but by 1845 the resident converts had increased to thirteen, and four of them were married. "We have been literally driven to our wits' end in making even a temporary provision for them," wrote Dr. Duff in 1845. No sooner was the necessity known than twelve merchants and officials, nine of them of the Church of England, presented him with a thousand pounds to build a home for the Christian students, in the grounds beside his own residence, which, with wise forethought, he had long ago secured. To this, as the Bengali congregation developed, and, according to Presbyterian privilege, "called" its own native minister, he added a church and manse with funds entrusted to him for his absolute disposal by the late Countess of Effingham. The community has many years since become independent enough to change the converts' room into a hostel. In the same year, Mr. Thomson, of Banchory, and other friends in Aberdeen, unsolicited by him, sent Dr. Duff a library and scientific apparatus for the college, which completed its machinery. And then, just sixteen years after the young missionary had opened his school for teaching the English alphabet and the Bengali Bible side by side, he saw the ripe fruit in the formal licensing by the Presbytery of the first four catechists, after strict examination, to preach to their countrymen the unsearchable riches of the Christ to Whom they had themselves been led by Western influences and along

a difficult path. Long before indeed, under the more flexible system of episcopal absolutism, Krishna Mohun Banerjea had become a minister, as Dr. Duff himself described with joy; and the two ripest of all the converts, Kailas and Mahendra, had been removed to the higher service. But when, with the double experience of nigh twenty years since he himself had been set apart "by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery," the fervid missionary delivered the charge of the Church to the two Brahmans, the Rajpoot and the middle-class Bengali whom he had taught with Paul-like yearning, he felt that he too had seen the Timothy and the Titus, the John Mark and the Tychicus of the infant Church of India. And so he spake to each, from the words of Paul, a torrent of spiritual eloquence which the journals of the day lamented their inability to report: "Let no man despise thy youth; but be thou an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity. Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine." Nor did these four stand alone. Another of his convert-students he had given to the American Presbyterian missionaries in the Punjab, and of him he sent this report to Dr. Tweedie, who had just become convener of the home committee:—

"CALCUTTA, 7th April, 1848.

"A few days ago an excellent Christian lady, wife of Captain Mackenzie who so greatly distinguished himself at Cabul, writing to my daughter from Loodiana, near the Sutlej, enclosed the printed prospectus of a mission about to be established in the now British province of the Jullunder Doab. It is under the charge of the Rev. Goluk Nath, whom the writer of the letter is pleased to describe in these terms:—'The minister of Jullunder, an old pupil of Dr. Duff's, of whom he speaks with the greatest affection,' etc. And again: 'I had nearly forgotten to beg Dr. Duff to show the circular of the Jullunder Mission to any one likely to feel interested in it. Tell him that it is a kind of grandchild of his own, as Goluk Nath is the father of it,' etc. This young man was brought up in our Institution; but having gone to the northern provinces, he was led, in providence, to unite himself with our brethren of the American Presbyterian Mission, so that through him our Institution is, at this moment, diffusing the light of the gospel among the warlike Sikhs who so lately contested the sovereignty of India with Britain. The Lord be praised; His holy name be magnified!

"The four native young men who were sent, about three years ago, from this city to London, to complete their medical education, and graduate there, were specially selected from the students of our Medical

College, and sent, partly at the expense of the Indian Government and partly at that of private individuals, under the charge of a medical officer in the Company's service. In University College, London, they greatly distinguished themselves—all carrying off prizes, and some of them the very highest in different branches. Last year one of them returned with the diploma of surgeon from the Royal College of Surgeons; and lately other two have returned with the degree of M.D. conferred on them. The fourth, and most distinguished of them all, is still in London. Now, it can scarcely fail to interest you to learn, that of these four young men one had received his preparatory education wholly, and other two chiefly, in our Institution. But what will interest you most of all will be, that of the two latter, the one who is still in London has lately made an open profession of the Christian faith, and been admitted by baptism into the Church of Christ. By last mail I received from himself a letter, which details some of the leading steps by which he was ultimately induced to devote his soul to the Lord Jesus Christ as his only Saviour; with various interesting reflections naturally called forth by the occasion. Thus, on all hands are we, from time to time, cheered with tokens of the Lord's loving-kindnesses towards us."

The General Assembly of that year, responding to the joy which Dr. Duff, Dr. Wilson, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Hislop, at Nagpore, felt in the converts thus gathered out of the ancient faiths of Brahmanism, Parsiism, even Muhammadanism and Judaism, and the rude demon-worship of the jungle tribes, addressed an apostolic letter to them all. The epistle reached Calcutta in the midst of the great car-festival of Jagannath. While excited devotees were hymning the praises of the hideous "lord of the world," and dragging his still obscene and cruel chariot, the heathen students were dismissed and the Christian Hindus met in an upper room of the college to receive the epistle which was to be read in all the native churches. Dr. Duff thus described the scene:—

"After prayer and sundry introductory remarks, the letter was read and listened to with the profoundest attention. Some practical exhortations followed, and the meeting closed with prayer. It was altogether a season of refreshment to our spirits; and in this dry and parched desert land we do stand in need of such occasional cordials. It brought to our remembrance the great-hearted, world-embracing spirit of the Apostle to the Gentiles, who could address the mightiest of his epistles to the body of true believers at Rome, whose faces he had not seen in the flesh. It made us vividly

realise the unity of the Christian brotherhood, which, overleaping all interposing obstacles, would assimilate and incorporate into one all the scattered members of Christ's mystical body. It left a savoury impression of the vitalities of the Christian faith on our souls, and made us feel that, though cut off from the bodily presence of our brethren in the far west, we were not severed from their sympathies or their prayers."

The immediate result was the formal organising, on the 1st October, 1848, of the Bengali Church, the members of which, from their familiarity with English, had hitherto worshipped along with the ordinary congregation of the Scots Free Church in Wellesley Square. Dr. Ewart was made the first pastor until the Rev. Lal Behari Day, and then the Rev. Guru Das Maitra were called. The Bengali girls of the Orphanage also, then under Miss Laing, worshipped in the new chapel in their own vernacular, and Mrs. Ewart established, for the girls of the prosperous Armenian and Jewish communities in the city, a school which long continued to supply them too with a pure Christian as well as English education.

The year 1848 closed, after a truly catholic fashion, with Dr. Duff side by side with Bishop Wilson in keeping the jubilee of the evangelic Church Missionary Society. "I came away," he wrote officially to his committee, "much refreshed and exhilarated, feeling intensely that, after all, when the peculiarities of form and ceremony were dropped, and earnest souls under the influence of grace came to humble themselves before the Lord, and to praise Him for His rich and undeserved mercies, and to give free and unfettered utterance to the swelling emotions of their hearts, there was not, in reality, a hair's-breadth between us."

CHAPTER XVII

1844-1849

LORD HARDINGE'S ADMINISTRATION.—THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW"

SIR HENRY HARDINGE went out to Government House, Calcutta, at sixty, and he returned in four years as Viscount Hardinge of Lahore. Before he left England he took the advice of Mountstuart Elphinstone, never to interfere in civil details. All through his administration he consulted Henry Lawrence, and saw himself four times victor in fifty-four days, at Moodki and Ferozeshuhur, at Aliwal and Sobraon. Like his still greater successor, his victories were those of peace as well as war. He opened the public service to educated natives. He put down sati and other crimes in the Feudatory States. He stopped the working of all Government establishments on the Christian Sabbath, a prohibition requiring renewal, in the Public Works department at least, since his time. He fostered the early railway projects, and carried out the great Ganges Canal. For the first time since, ten years before, Lord William Bentinck resigned the cares of office, our Eastern Empire felt that it was being wisely governed.

Almost the first act of the new Governor-General, in October, 1844, was to publish a resolution which delighted the heart of Dr. Duff, because it recognised officially the success of his persistent policy, and Government for the first time acknowledged the

value of colleges and schools, Christian and Independent, other than its own. Because English education had made such progress in Bengal since the decree of 1835, the Government directed that the public service be thrown open to natives thus educated, and that even for the lowest offices "in every instance a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot." Not only was the official department of public instruction to submit, every New Year's Day, the names of students educated in the state colleges and fit for appointments, but "all scholastic establishments other than those supported out of the public funds" were invited to furnish similar returns of meritorious students for the same reward. The order was received with such enthusiasm by both natives and Europeans, that even the bureaucratic Council of Education, which had adopted all Dr. Duff's educational plans while keeping him and his Christianity at arm's length, burst into the unwonted generosity of notifying that the measure was applicable "to all students in the lower provinces without reference to creed or colour." True, this was only interpreting the Hardinge enactment according to the Bentinck decree, which had in principle declared all offices, save the covenanted, open to natives, and the department still refused to spend the public money on any but its own secular schools. But the Council's notification, no less than the Order of the Government of India, marked a decided advance towards that measure of toleration and justice to native and missionary alike, which Dr. Duff fought for till Parliament conceded it in 1853.

Ever since Lord William Bentinck had supplied the stimulus to the discussion of public reforms in the press, and Duff and Trevelyan, Macaulay and Metcalfe, had led the way, the more thoughtful Anglo-Indians had felt the want of a literary medium. The editors of newspapers themselves, like Captain Kaye of the daily *Hurkâru* and Mr. Marshman of the weekly *Friend of India*, were the first to urge the importance of establishing a review to which men of all shades of religious

and political opinion could contribute. The former, afterwards Sir John Kaye, had been led, by ill health, to abandon a promising career in the Bengal Artillery for the sedentary pursuits of a literary life. Mr. Marshman had come out to India with his father at the close of the previous century; he had received there an intellectual and spiritual training of unusual excellence; he had made the grand tour in Europe; he had discharged professional duties in the Serampore College with great ability, and he had become the first Bengali scholar, had established the first newspaper in that language, and had succeeded Carey as Government translator. When the grand old Serampore Brotherhood passed away, he became heir to the debt which their benevolent enthusiasm had incurred—supporting at one time twenty-seven separate mission stations out of their own pocket. To these two, with Dr. Duff, we owe the *Calcutta Review*. To them we must add Sir Henry Lawrence and Captain H. Marsh of the old Bengal Cavalry. Marsh was a nephew of Mrs. George Grote, whose husband was a contributor to the *Westminster Review*. That became the model of the new undertaking in a mechanical sense alone. In all other respects the founders of the *Calcutta Quarterly* were out of sympathy with Bentham, Mill, and their school.

The first number appeared in May, 1844, a few weeks before Sir Henry Hardinge landed at Calcutta. Before, in 1874, writing the history of its first twenty years, we consulted the survivors of the band who had created its reputation—Duff, Kaye and Marshman, who have since passed away; and we are happy in being able to add to the narrative the later statement of Dr. Duff, taken down from his own lips in those conversations with which, to himself and his friends, he lightened the pain of his last illness. The first number at once leaped into popularity. A second edition was called for, and then a third was published in England. "In a very short time," Sir John Kaye wrote to us, "Dr. Duff had written his article on 'Our Earliest Protestant Mission to India,' and from that time he became a contributor equally indefatigable and able." These

are Dr. Duff's recollections of his early connection with the *Calcutta Quarterly* :—

"I am not one who cared much for what people said or thought; but there was one thing I felt keenly—the way my connection with the *Calcutta Review* was represented. Some high and mighty ones probably did not like the idea of a missionary having the control over it. If I make up my mind for a great principle based on the Bible, I don't care for all the emperors of the world. About the beginning of 1844 Kaye was under the necessity of leaving India for his health. I had no bitter enemy at the time than he. One day I had an invitation from him most unexpectedly to spend the evening with himself and family. Nothing passed about the controversy, but he spoke on all subjects on which he knew I was interested, and spoke so agreeably no mortal would dream that anything unpleasant had existed between us. Thank God, I never cherished the spirit of resentment. It was my daily prayer to be preserved from the spirit of envy, jealousy, malice, uncharitableness, resentment, or vindictiveness in any shape or form; the feeling being intense that if God for Christ's sake forgave me ten thousand times ten thousand transgressions, it was my duty as well as privilege to forgive all who had offended or wronged me in any way whatever, whether they reciprocated the feeling or not. In the course of my long life nothing tended to give me greater peace of mind and conscience than the strenuous endeavour invariably to carry out this principle into living practice. To cherish hatred or the spirit of unforgiveness punishes himself vastly more than the person hated or unforgiven. I went to Kaye simply as a human being to a human being. What surprised me most of all was that before parting he asked me, in a very respectful way, whether I would not favour them by concluding the evening so pleasantly spent by engaging in family worship, which I was delighted to respond to.

"Shortly after spending the evening at his house I received a long letter from him, in which he stated his views about the desirableness of having a first-rate quarterly *Review* for India; that the only parties whom he had consulted in the matter were Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr. John Marshman, and Captain Marsh; and that now, having ascertained they were favourable to the project, he wished to learn whether I would join with them and become a regular contributor. I had long felt very strongly the need of a powerful periodical to do justice to the mighty affairs of our Indian Empire. I therefore had no hesitation in replying at once, expressing a sense of the extreme desirableness of such a periodical. Only, I added, all will depend on the principles on which it is conducted. If these be sound in all departments—political, civil, social, theological, religious and moral, the good accruing therefrom may be pre-eminent. On the contrary, if the principles be unsound on these and other leading subjects, the evil will be proportionately great. I promised I would gladly join them in a close co-partnership to carry on the new *Review* if he would pledge himself in the first place that nothing would appear in it hostile to Christianity or Christian subjects generally; and secondly, that whenever proper occasion naturally arose, clear and distinct enunciations should be made as to sound Christianity and its propagation by missionaries in India. Mr. Kaye promptly assured me that these substantially expressed his own views, and if I would write an article for the first number he would leave me entirely free to choose the subject. Having a number of old documents in my possession relative

to the first Indian, or Danish mission in Tranquebar, I wrote a very elaborate article on the whole subject of Missions, in which no important department was omitted. This article Mr. Kaye cheerfully inserted. It has since been reprinted at home, Dr. Andrew Thomson, of Edinburgh, making special allusion to it in his work on the Lives of Missionaries.

"In the second number of the review I chose the subject of 'Female Infanticide among the Rajputs and other Native Tribes of India,' and the extraordinary variety of operations carried on by our Government to extinguish it. I secured from the public library all the blue-books which had been published in all the Presidencies for fifty years past, in which many of the ablest and most enlightened servants of Government had taken an active share. I took special pains with it. Then there was in the fourth number 'The State of Indigenous Education in Bengal'; next came 'The Early or Exclusively Oriental Period of Government Education in Bengal.' I was preparing other articles of a similar kind, when the editorship came upon me. Mr. Kaye sent me a polite message to come to his house to consult on a very vital and important matter. He said that already the Review had proved an unexpected success. It would be very sad to let it go down just when entering on such an extensive work of great and obvious usefulness. The state of his health was such that he must almost immediately leave India under peremptory medical instructions. What was to be done with the Review? No one could properly edit such a work aright except in India itself. 'Now I've applied to every man in the service, and out of it, whom I thought at all likely to be able and willing to undertake it, at least for a time, but every one positively shrinks from the task. To maintain it on the footing on which it started in a country like India, where, at that time, none attempted to make a livelihood from their own literary exertions, except editors of newspapers, whose hands were already too full, was desirable. Therefore in the most earnest way he appealed to me to assume the editorship, for a time at least, and be the sole responsible head of it. The magnitude of the task first appalled me. But writers of ability gave me articles, and occasionally supplied facts on subjects they were acquainted with, which, with their consent, I dressed up into articles. It came to be understood, when an article or materials for an article were sent, if the departures on any point did not diverge too far from the principles originally agreed on, that slight alterations might be made to adapt it to these principles without interfering with its leading objects.

"Mr. Kaye himself saw the fourth number in the press. Then it was that I took up the editorship, and I continued to hold it till obliged to return from India in 1849, when I gave up the management to my friend, the late Rev. Dr. Mackay, who was a man of exquisite taste and many literary accomplishments. It is but fair to Mr. Kaye to say that he insisted upon my taking some adequate remuneration. I peremptorily declined. . . . I felt, however, that the Institution I had founded ought to derive some direct benefit from the Review. Accordingly I took five hundred rupees a year for scholarships and prizes."

This arrangement lasted till 1856, when the periodical passed into other hands. Dr. Duff contributed, from first to last, sixteen articles, some of which were re-published in England.

Again, as ten years before, was Dr. Duff led to ally

with his higher spiritual calling not only the press but science, directed towards purely philanthropic as well as educational ends. A succession of sickly seasons, followed by an epidemic of fever during the latter rains of 1844, had filled Calcutta and its neighbourhood with thousands of sick, diseased and destitute natives, Hindu and Muhammadan. The city had grown to vast dimensions, without those sanitary and municipal institutions which the self-governing communities of the West provide for themselves. The Government, which had all India to care for as well as the dense rabbit-warren of Bengal proper, left the capital to itself, so that there was the blackest darkness under the lamp. The heat, the moisture, the rapid vegetable growth of the tropical swamps of the great rice land of Eastern India, have ever formed the nursery of fever and cholera. Carried by river and monsoon, by armies of soldiers and bands of pilgrims, by traders and travellers, by the half-charred remains of the poor and the floating carcasses of man and beast, the causes of zymotic disease—germs according to the ablest observers—after slaying their tens of thousands on the spot, are borne to the colder and by no means cleaner lands of the West and the North, to sweep off thousands. So, since the march of Lord Hastings at least up the Gangetic valley against the Pindari hordes, cholera and fever have periodically laid low black and white, British soldier and sepoy, Asiatic and European alike. Hygiene and quinine have now anticipated the latter, but the dread secret of the cholera fiend has yet to be wrested from nature in its most maleficent mood. Twenty years after 1844, when Lord Lawrence became Viceroy, he gave an impetus to sanitary science in India which it has never lost. To him the salvation of the lives of hundreds of our soldiers and thousands of our native subjects, every year, is due. And Calcutta has been made as healthy at least as many a capital in Europe, by drainage and waterworks, by conservancy and lighting arrangements, by public dispensaries, hospitals and asylums, not surpassed in Christendom.

It was not so, however, when the kirk-session of the

Free Church of Scotland in Calcutta asked Dr. Duff, at the close of the deadly season in October, to preach to the city of Him Who, as St. Matthew (viii. 16, 17) describes, "healed all that were sick: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses." The missionaries and the members of the Bengal Medical Service united with some of the wealthy Bengalis in the plan of building the great Medical College Hospital for the poor of all creeds and classes. Funds were still wanted "to provide a Native General Hospital worthy of the city and commensurate with its wants, when a design which has been contemplated for some time past, by some of the most enlightened philanthropists of India, will be carried into effect without further delay." Hence Dr. Duff's sermon, which is in some respects the most characteristic he ever preached. From the curse of sin he pointed to the sympathy of the one Saviour—"not a mere sympathy of mercy and compassion, but a sympathy of power." By that Divine Example he pled for every Christian's sympathy. Soon there rose, by the side of the Medical College, the largest single hospital in the world, where, ever since, the poor Hindu, the outcast devil-worshipper, the proud Muhammadan, the careless white sailor, and the adventurous tramp have found at once the skill of the Christian physician, and the ministrations of the Christian nurse.

In the closing years of his second term of work in Calcutta, nothing out of his own special mission interested him so deeply as the struggle of the Eurasian community to improve the academy which developed into the Doveton College. From 1846 to 1849 he maintained a close correspondence with the Rev. Principal Cunningham, whom, at the request of the directors, he asked to select as Rector. The Jesuits on the one side, and the Anglicans on the other, had opened rival schools, which threatened at once the Protestant teaching and the truly catholic basis of that of which Dr. Duff was visitor. In 1843, the short-lived league of the Brahmans with the Jesuits had led him

to expose the immorality of the Order, which Dr. Mackay soon after traced historically in his *Calcutta Review* article on its China and India Missions. In 1848, Dr. Duff was compelled to return to the charge in an elaborate treatise which became popular in this country under the title of "The Jesuits, their Origin and Order, Morality and Practices, Suppression and Restoration." He lent the Dowie Institution the services of Mr. Fyfe for a little, but still no Rector appeared. The times were not propitious, for the Disruption had absorbed into the pulpits, the colleges and the schools of the Free Church every available man of culture and piety.

At last the man was found in the Rev. Andrew Morgan, who had made Auchterarder almost as famous by his school as the Disruption controversy had done. From February, 1849, to December, 1854, he gave his life for the elevation of the Eurasians and resident Europeans of India, in Bengal and Madras, till he died of overwork. Dr. Duff rejoiced in his success. Mr. Morgan stamped his manly, God-fearing nature on a generation of youths who still, many of them high in the Indian services, call him blessed.

Dr. Duff thus concluded one of his importunate letters to Dr. Cunningham about the Rector: "Oh what a loss has been sustained in the death of Dr. Chalmers! It is too great for utterance."

CHAPTER XVIII

1849-1850

DEATH OF DR. CHALMERS.—TOUR THROUGH SOUTH INDIA.—HOME BY THE GANGES AND INDUS

IT was early on a Friday morning in July, 1847, while Dr. and Mrs. Duff were enjoying on the house-top, as was their wont, the too brief hours of coolness before the tropical sun should rise high in the heavens, that an Episcopalian friend communicated to them the fact of the death of Dr. Chalmers, "the venerated father of your Church." The news seemed incredible. By the previous mail Dr. Duff had heard of his evidence, before the House of Commons' committee, on the refusal of sites for the erection of Free churches, and of the gathering of statesmen like Lord John Russell and of the London crowd to hear his ripened eloquence. To Dr. Duff the loss, suddenly announced, was not that of a father and a friend alone. In the fulness of his own experience in the wide arena of India and the East, and of his knowledge of the men who make the history alike of the Church and the world, he thought of Thomas Chalmers as the earliest Scottish apostle of evangelical missions.

All that Thomas Chalmers had been, Dr. Duff one Sabbath evening told the Hindu students of the Calcutta Colleges who filled the Free Church Institution. Dr. Hanna has embodied a part of the sketch in the Memoirs of his father-in-law.

Who could succeed him? not indeed as national

leader of the third Reformation, but as a theological teacher and as a missionary influence at the head of the New College, which he had founded for the Free Church in Edinburgh. Many a heart turned instinctively to his greatest student, who had created two colleges of his own in Calcutta, and not a few elsewhere in imitation of these. While, after their orderly fashion, presbyteries and synods, unanimously or by large majorities, and then the General Assembly itself, in commission, called on Dr. Duff to come home as the successor of Chalmers, every mail deluged him with private appeals to sacrifice his own "predilection." He accordingly wrote a letter which Dr. Tweedie published on his own authority. Tracing all the way by which the Lord had led him, from his father's teaching to Chalmers's death, he declared that he must remain—must die as he had lived—the missionary. The people of India, so far as its dumb millions could speak by representatives, Christian and non-Christian, reciprocated the sacrifice. His own converts, led by the sixteen foremost of their number, implored their "much-loved spiritual Father in the Lord," in an address of pathetic urgency, not to leave them. The native Christians of other Churches, to which he had given not a few of his brightest sons in the faith, added their protestations. Hundreds of the Eurasians joined in the cry. Still more of his own Hindu students and ex-students, to whom he had given Christ's view of truth and life and the world to come, though the Spirit had not brought them to the new birth, declared for educated native society, "If at this juncture you leave our country, everything will probably be undone. The incredible labours of your past years will likely either go in vain, or, at least, will not yield a very rich harvest." They thought, they spoke of "education," of "civilisation" only, not consciously at least of the spiritual force which makes a new creation. But rarest of all the addresses, which must have barred the way of the man most eager for the rest and the culture of academic ease, was a Sanskrit remonstrance from eleven learned Brahmans "desirous of the Chief Good," "to the

most intelligent, virtuous, impartial, glorious, and philanthropic people of Scotland.”

The other Free Church missionaries and friends, Drs. Wilson, Mackay and Ewart, Messrs. Anderson, Hislop, and Mackail, and Mr. Justice Hawkins, united in the same request. But they agreed with Drs. Gordon and Guthrie at home, that it was desirable for Dr. Duff to return to Scotland for a time, to consolidate, in the Free Church, that work of missionary organisation to which he had given the years of his visit previous to the Disruption. When it became known that he would not sink the missionary in the divinity professor, the General Assembly urged his temporary return.

Dr. Nicholson pronounced it most desirable, on medical grounds, that Dr. Duff should return to Europe after ten years' labours, which had “evidently shattered his constitution.” He even agreed to allow the missionary to make a long land tour up the Ganges and Jumna valleys, and down the Indus to Bombay, in 1850, “provided you take the common precautions necessary in travelling in this country, and avoid all needless fatigue and exposure.” But before this and so far from this, the ardent evangelist resolved to make a survey of South India and Ceylon in the intervening hot and rainy seasons of 1849. Convinced that “India is at this moment of all countries in the world the great missionary field,” he determined that he would visit all its Evangelical and many of its Romanist missions, south and north and west, before he took his new message from the front of the battle to those at home.

From April to August he suffered fatigues and exposure, he underwent risks and toil, such as no motive lower than the missionary's could justify, and few others could have borne after a decade of exhausting duties in Bengal. Fortunately he himself preserved a record of the tour in a MS. volume. The diary was intended for his own use, and no eye saw it till his death removed the restriction which we find in the midst of its entries. The whole, covering 960 closely

written pages, forms a record of the social and religious condition of the people of the Carnatic and Ceylon, and of the missionary and administrative organisations for their elevation, from the days of Ziegenbalg and Schwartz, near the beginning of the eighteenth century, to the middle of the nineteenth. Not unfrequently, in the solitary rest of the Sabbath and on the receipt of letters from his wife and daughter, does he break forth into passages of devout meditation and joyful thanksgiving. The time was the very hottest of a hot year, in the sandy tracts of the palmyra-palm country to the north of Cape Comorin, when for weeks the heavens were as brass and the earth as iron, and when, away from the coast, not a breath broke the tropical calm of the sultry day and the stifling night. The palankeen tour began at Madras on the 11th May, 1849.

At the first mission station of Chingleput Dr. Duff showed a keen interest in the pottery experiments of the Scottish doctor, for which the Government had made a grant. Of the Sabbath when he preached to the residents he writes: "Had a quiet afternoon to meditate and to pray, the first I have enjoyed for many weeks. Felt thankful and refreshed." At midnight he set out for Sadras, and continued to take the coast road by French Pondicheri, Cuddalore, Chillumbrum, Mayaveram, Danish Tranquebar, Combaconum, and Negapatam. After an unsuccessful attempt to cross by boat from Point Calimere to Jaffna in Ceylon, he struck inland to Trichinopoly and Madura, by weary, dustladen roads where now there is a busy railway. From Madura he made a second vain attempt, by Ramnad, to reach Ceylon, and therefore again struck inland to Palamcotta, just north of Cape Comorin. From that centre he went round the chief Christian stations of Tinneveli. Thence he went to Trevandrum, on the west coast, by Nagercoil. Having studied the flourishing mission settlements in the intensely Brahmanical state of Travancore, and its northern neighbour of Cochin, he went up the Malabar coast, by its picturesque back-waters, crossed the

Western Ghauts by the Arungole pass to Palamcottah and Tutticorin, from which he sailed to Colombo, the capital of Ceylon. At Point de Galle he took the mail steamer to Calcutta, where he delivered two lectures and a powerful sermon on his remarkable tour. The first described the missions in Tanjore and Tranquebar, the root of all Protestant evangelising in South India. The second discussed the condition of the Romanist and Syrian Churches, and of the black and white Jews in Cochin. The sermon was followed by the first account given up to that time by a competent outsider of the growth and parochial development of the Tinneveli Church.

TRANQUEBAR, 21st.—“This is the classic land of modern Protestant Missions, the region so often trodden by Ziegenbalg and Schwartz and their associates. To the north of the Coleroon scarcely a ray of light has penetrated the heathen gloom. I entered, opposite the Mission-house, the church erected with so much trouble by the holy and persevering Ziegenbalg. It has on its front a crown in large bas-relief; and beneath it the date, 1718. Its erection was one of Ziegenbalg's last works. It is called New Jerusalem, as the old or first church, reared by Ziegenbalg after his arrival in 1706, and called Jerusalem, has since been swept into the sea, which has been palpably encroaching on this coast. The church is built in the form of a cross, each wing being of equal size. If the centre had a dome, instead of an ordinary roof, it might seem after the model of St. Paul's, London, on a small scale. The pulpit is at one of the centre corners, so as to be seen from every part of the building. I mounted the pulpit; and with no ordinary emotion gazed around from the position from which Ziegenbalg, and Grundler, and Schwartz, etc., so often proclaimed a free salvation to thousands in Tamul, German, Danish, and Portuguese. At the end of one of the wings, on either side of a plain altar, lie the mortal remains of Ziegenbalg and Grundler. I stood with not easily expressed feelings over the remains of two such men, of brief but brilliant and immortal career in the mighty work of Indian evangelisation. There was a lofty and indomitable spirit, breathing the most fervid piety.

“Afterwards went to the house in which Ziegenbalg lived, having been planned and erected by himself. Entering a gateway, with shrubs on either side, the space widened. On the left was the dwelling of the devoted and untiring man; in front, a small chapel; on either side of it, at the farther end, other buildings appeared, in which were assembled the children of his celebrated boarding-schools, but divided from each other, so that there was no access from the one to the other; but an open door from each into the chapel, for Divine service. The dwelling-house is still entire, very neatly and commodiously planned. In it are the remains of the famous old library of the German Mission in a state of sad dilapidation—splendid old tomes of massive divinity in German and Latin, folios and quartos and octavos, almost all without their boards, and tied up with strings to prevent the leaves from falling away or being blown about by the winds; many of them in an utterly unreadable state. Bishop

Middleton offered four thousand pagodas for the library in his day; since then it has been miserably neglected. No one was authorised to accept the bishop's offer, hence the library is lost. But what I felt most for was the pile of MSS., partly in German and partly in Latin, in the handwriting of the old missionaries. Some of these MSS. have disappeared—how or whither nobody can tell: only the dregs now remain, in a wretched condition. Why does not some one rummage among them, pick out the best, and have them published to the world? Some time ago, the present keeper of the library told me a mass of books and papers were in so decayed and useless a state that he got them all sold as waste paper, for three rupees! The report is currently credited that many of them were used as wadding for the guns of the Fort. Ziegenbalg's domestic chapel is now in a filthy state, filled with the mouldering records of the Danish Government. The schools are partly in existence and partly dilapidated.

“Copied the inscription in the church over Ziegenbalg's tomb. Certainly he was a great missionary, considering that he was the first; inferior to none, scarcely second to any that followed him. Less shining than Schwartz, he had probably more of spiritual unction and power, and simple-minded zeal, and devotedness, and practical wisdom. How affecting to think of the wonderful labours of such men nearly a century and half ago; and those of their successors, continued in some shape up to this hour; and yet to look at the *town* of Tranquebar, and ask for the results!”

First at Chillumbrum and again at Combaconum Dr. Duff entered the great country of pagodas. The famous Dravidian dynasties have left behind them temples and palaces which form “as remarkable a group of buildings as are to be found in provinces of similar extent in any part of the world, Egypt, perhaps, alone excepted, but they equal even the Egyptian in extent.” As if in unconscious mockery of divine revealings, the city of priests and prostitutes, which forms the Vaishnava or Sivaite temple, lies four-square for a mile on each side, entered by imposing gateways and dominated by towers of gigantic height. But as you pass through court after court to the hideous gloom of the contemptible sanctuary, and approach the obscene penetralia, the buildings diminish in size and elaboration, producing what even the pure architect pronounces “bathos.” Of such in the Tanjore district alone there are upwards of thirty groups, any one of which has cost more to build, even in a land of cheap labour and oppressive superstition, than an English cathedral. The most imposing mass of all is the Seringham pagoda, near Trichinopoly.

“Anxious to improve time,” writes Dr. Duff, “I got

an order from the Collector, Mr. Onslow, to visit the great pagoda."

"There are not fewer than seven great courts or squares, each surmounted by a high and massive wall one within the other, with a considerable space between. Each great square has its own gigantic granite entrances, surmounted by vast columns or towers in the middle of each wall of the square. The towers are covered all over with the usual mythologic sculptures. Each of these open courts is surrounded by minor shrines, small mandapums or Brahmanical receptacles. Through six of them we were allowed to pass, but the seventh is like 'the holy of holies,' impassable by any but the sacred Brahmans, who revel within without fear of interruption from unholy gaze or unholy tread. Close to the seventh court is the great mandapum for pilgrim worshippers, a covered roof sustained by a thousand pillars, wider apart and much loftier than those of Conjeveram. To the roof of this we were taken, whence we surveyed the whole, our attention being specially directed to the gilded dome over the shrine of the principal idol. On descending it was getting dark, so we were preceded by torch-bearers. We then entered a spacious hall, in the centre of which were several large lamps, and around them a few chairs. Then were brought out a large number of boxes with massive locks, and placed in a row before us. These contained a portion of the jewels and ornaments of the god of the shrine. One box was opened after another. Certainly the profusion of gold and jewels, wrought up into varied ornaments, was astonishing. There were many large vessels of solid gold, from one to several stones weight. The golden ornaments were bestud with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, etc. Such a specimen I never saw. Conjeveram was nothing to it. I had always looked on the accounts of such things as hyperbolic exaggerations before. And as to silver vessels and ornaments, they were countless. But the most surprising part of the exhibition was, the great golden idol or swamy. It was not a solid figure, but hollow; and so constructed as to be set up and taken down in parts again, like the steel armour which completely clad the knights of the Middle Ages. The whole was of massive gold. There must be a huge wooden framework, of the shape and proportions of a man, around which these golden pieces are fixed, so as to appear one solid piece of gold. The immense size of the figure may be inferred from this: when the feet and the hands, etc., were shown us in parts, I took the hand from the wrist to the extremity of the fingers, and having applied my arm to it, found it extended from my elbow rather beyond the top of my middle finger; the feet and every other part in proportion. The figure, therefore, joined and compacted into one, must form a huge statue of at least fifteen feet in height, all apparently of solid gold. The joinings will be perfectly concealed by the ornaments by which it is overlaid—ornaments for the feet, anklets, and such like: ornaments for the arms, thighs, waist, neck, head, etc. In fact the sight of it, when erected and covered with its ornaments, must be probably the most amazing spectacle of the sort now in the world. The platform on which it is carried, with its long projecting arms resting on the shoulders of those who carry it, is also overlaid with massive gold, the central part being brass for durability and strength. They also showed us, spread out at length, the covering gown of the deity nicely fitted to suit him. It was a fabric the tissue of which was like golden thread, inlaid most curiously with a countless

profusion of pearls. No doubt the whole taken together must have been almost fabulously costly. They were the gifts of kings, princes, and nobles, when Hinduism was in its prime; and must convey an awful idea of the hold which it took of a people naturally so avaricious, ere they would be so lavish of their substance. Whoever desires to know what a potent—yea, all but omnipotent—hold Hinduism must once have taken of this people, has only to pay a visit to the great temple of Seringham! It is worth a thousand fruitless arguments and declamations.

“We asked what was supposed to be the value of all these golden materials with the countless jewels! They replied, at least fifty lakhs of rupees, or half a million sterling. And what might have been the cost of erecting the *whole* temple? At least ten crores of rupees, was the prompt reply, or a million sterling. And, very probably, this is no Oriental exaggeration. Look at the cost of St. Paul’s, London, or the Taj Mahal, near Agra, each said to have been a million sterling. If so, I cannot regard it as incredible that the awful and indescribably vast fabric of the Seringham pagoda cost less!

“To witness the riches of this earth, which is the Lord’s, so alienated from Him and devoted to a rival deity that holds millions in thralldom, was sad enough. But what shall I say as to what followed? Verily these shrines are the receptacles of the god of this world and his army of lusts! A ring of ropes was placed around us, and the lights and boxes of gods and their ornaments, to keep off the immense crowd which gathered to witness the spectacle! Then the guardians of the temple came to me, and asked if I wished to see a *nâch* (a dance of the prostitutes of the temple). In the most emphatic way, and in a tone indicative of real displeasure, I said, ‘No, no; I wish nothing of the sort. It would give me real pain, and not pleasure. Do not, therefore, for a moment think of it.’ The guardians or trustees of the temple spoke a little broken English, and so I spoke simply that they might understand me. Still, whilst the ornaments were being exhibited, I heard the tinkling of bells, and the preparatory notes of instruments of music. Then, sideways, I saw a procession of the temple girls, gaily and gaudily arrayed, march with the bearers of all manner of musical instruments. I took no notice of it, but felt pained and wounded to the quick. I said nothing to my companion. But as they were about to open new boxes of ornaments I abruptly rose, and said I had seen enough as specimens of the whole, thanked the trustees for their courtesy, and begged to bid them ‘goodbye’; on which one of them cried out in broken English, ‘Oh sir, oh sir, your honour not stop to see the fun!’ meaning the intended dance. ‘No, no,’ said I, moving hastily on; ‘I have seen enough—more than enough—may the Lord forgive me if my curiosity (or rather desire to know what heathenism really is) has led me beyond the threshold of forbidden ground.’ So saying, and rushing precipitately onward, the rope ring was raised to let me pass on with my friend. The crowd hurled themselves pell-mell inwardly, and so ‘the fun’ for that time was at an end. With joy I again got out and began to breathe the fresh air of heaven.”

As at Tranquebar Dr. Duff had fondly lingered over the traces of the earliest Protestant missionary to India, Ziegenbalg, he sought out in Tanjore everywhere traces of the still greater, Schwartz. At Combaconum he

especially noted how Schwartz had devised an educational policy not unlike his own, and how his schools, supported by the British Government and by the Raja, were stopped only by the wars with Tippoo. At Tanjore Dr. Duff was, as everywhere, received with much kindness by Mr. and Mrs. Guest, of the Propagation Society, which in 1829 had taken over Schwartz's mission as commenced by the Christian Knowledge Society in 1756.

"The present *hall* of the house, which otherwise has been enlarged by the addition of wings, verandahs, etc., is the identical one in which Schwartz died. It was the hall of his ordinary dwelling and is still used as such. At 7 a.m. the church bell tolled; I was really delighted with the sound. I went out to the church; it was the bell summoning the pupils in the boarding schools, male and female, to prayer. Besides the children a few adult Christians from the neighbourhood attended. A native catechist read the prayers, and the clerk sung several hymns, the boys and girls joining. The desk was the one in which Schwartz was wont to officiate; for this was his church for the out-population in the vicinity of Tanjore. After the service was ended I mounted Schwartz's pulpit. Coming down, near the altar, I observed many monumental flagstones on the floor. Reading the inscriptions, I saw that they were the tombstones of some of the missionaries and members of their families. But the one that attracted and absorbed my attention was the plain stone beneath which the mortal remains of Schwartz now lie till the dawn of the resurrection morn. With a pencil I took down the simple inscription, which Mr. Guest assured me was the unaided composition of Schwartz's royal ward and pulpit, the Maharaja of Tanjore! It is precisely as follows, with respect to the division of the lines and words:—

"Sacred to the memory of
The Revd. Christian Fredk.
Swartz Missionary to
The Honbe. Society for
Promoting Christn. know-
ledge in London, who
Departed this life on
The 13th of February 1798
Aged 71 years and 4 months.

Firm was thou, humble and wise,
Honest, pure, free from disguise;
Father of orphans, the widow's support,
Comfort in sorrow of every sort;
To the benighted, dispenser of light,
Doing, and pointing to, that which is right:
Blessing to princes, to people, to me,
May I, my Father, be worthy of thee,
Wisheth and prayeth thy SARABOJEE.

"These lines are, indeed, as a composition of the order of doggerel. But, considering who the author was—a heathen prince—do they not

contain a wonderful testimony to a Christian missionary? And, notwithstanding the doggerel, does there not break throughout them a simple, touching, warm-hearted pathos, which moves and stirs up the feelings, and which, as in a mirror, portrays or reflects the kindness, the gratitude and the amiable, unaffected simplicity of their author?

"Besides the mission premises outside the fort, it is well known that Schwartz, through his paramount influence with the Raja, was enabled to erect a church within the fort. Nor is this all. Beside the large fort which contains the tower, there is a small fort or citadel, at the western extremity of the large one, somewhat more elevated than the latter, and separated from it by a high wall, at the summit of a slight ascent. It must have been the citadel. Besides being more strongly fortified, as the citadel, it was the sacred ground or enclosure on which the most famous pagoda in the province of Tanjore was reared. Near it too is the most sacred tank in the province—a tank from which water is conveyed to most of the other pagodas in the surrounding country; a tank of whose water alone the Raja, Brahmans and other respectable people will drink; a tank which has different flights of steps descending into it, separated from each other by low walls, along which the women of different castes may pass in drawing water; that is, a flight of steps for Brahman women, another flight for Sudras, etc., Within this small fort, also, none but *Brahmans* are allowed to reside as the guardians of the pagoda and its accompaniments. Yet, within this comparatively small and most sacred place, Schwartz had influence to secure the erection of a tolerably spacious Christian church, and near it a house for the minister to reside in whenever he pleased; and the property of the church, house, and grounds has been secured in such a way that neither Raja nor Brahmans, under the existing order of things, can possibly touch it! Towards evening I went to see this singular monument of the triumph of Protestant influence and ascendancy at a heathen court, the most remarkable visible monument of the sort, perhaps, in the whole realm of Gentilism. Having reached it, and looked into Schwartz's dwelling-rooms, humble and unostentatious, close by, I entered with something like an indefinable awe over my spirit.

"The church is a neat edifice, nothing very imposing, and containing nothing very superfluous. At one end (the eastern) are the pulpit, desk, altar, etc., with benches for Europeans or East Indians to sit on if present. The greater half is simply matted so that the native Tamulian Christians may sit down there (tailor-like) in their own way.

"At the west end is the marble monument, the product of a London genius erected at the expense of the Maharaja of Tanjore, the 'wisheth and prayeth thy Sarabojee' of the previous epitaph. It is simple, touching, affecting. It has been pronounced a failure, a disappointment; I know not why. Men of the world, men of carnality, men of mere ostentation and show in the fine arts, that is, men guided and lorded over by the senses, may discern nothing very remarkable, very striking, very imposing, very overpowering there. But the Christian, the Protestant Christian, cannot help being overpowered. The spectacle is, indeed, extraordinary. I confess it overpowered me. The monument is fixed in the wall; in front of it there is a railing; I approached it; instinctively leant my elbow on it, gazed at the monument as if I were in a trance. I had no consciousness as to what had become of my companions; I was literally absorbed. I am not given to sentimentalism, yet I was absorbed. There was a spell-like power in that simple monument. I stood before it. I forgot time and space. I knew not where I was, for

consciousness was gone. Call it dream, or vision, or trance, or absorption, I care not. It was human nature, human feeling, human sympathy. Before me, in solid, well-grained marble, in bold but not obtrusive or startling relief, was the couch of the dying saint; on it stretched lay the pale, bald, worn-out veteran apostolic man, whose assistance and mediation heathens, Hindu and Muhammadan, as well as Christian governing powers, eagerly coveted, in the last gasp of expiring nature. Behind him, at his head, stood the affectionate, tender, sympathising, loving, fellow-labourer, Guericke, who ever looked up to him as a father.

“Who could have been represented as standing at the head of the dying father with better effect and more appropriately, than this affectionate, loving son? And there he is, a striking likeness, it is said, in bold relief at the head of the couch, looking wistfully at the pale, collapsed features of the mighty saint, whose spirit was then departing to join the general assembly of the firstborn. And there is the Maharaja Serfojee, in his full dress, standing by the couch, and holding the left hand of the dying father in his, the heathen prince emphatically acknowledging his grateful obligations, as a son, to the Protestant Christian missionary; while his ministers of state stand respectfully and sorrowfully and sympathisingly behind him, gazing, too, at that bland countenance, which retains the stamped impress of benevolence even in death. Altogether it is a simple, natural, and affecting scene, and the group who compose it possess an interest to the Christian mind beyond what mere words can express.

5th June.—“When the lamented Heber visited Trichinopoly, early in April, 1826, he mourned over the decay of the native church of that city. Its members were the objects of his latest care, and amongst them he left his latest blessing.* ‘This,’ says his chaplain, Mr. Robinson (afterwards Archdeacon of Madras), in his funeral sermon, preached in St. John’s Church, Trichinopoly, April 9, 1826, ‘This was the first mission established by the venerable Schwartz, and his successors have for many years watched over its interests. But their hands are feeble, and the Church which is already gathered from among the heathen requires the aid of a nursing father to rear and protect its infancy. We fondly hoped we had found that protecting hand in our late excellent bishop. He loved, and if God had spared his life he would have cherished them as his own children. A few minutes only before he expired he spoke to me of their distress and helpless state, and of his plans for their revival and perpetual establishment. ‘Brethren, I commend them now to you.’ The bishop died on the 3rd April.

MADURA, 6th June.—“This was the scene of the celebrated experiment of Robertus De Nobilibus and his associates and successors. It is astonishing how little remains of the fruit of their labours. The tomb of Robert existed till within a recent period. It became to the Papists a sort of idolatrous shrine, where offerings and prayers were presented. Collector Blackburne was a very energetic man and great improver. Chiefly through him were the walls of the fort and city of ancient Madura entirely levelled and removed, the fosse filled up, and the streets widened and enlarged; so that now Madura is really one of the finest, cleanest, healthiest specimens of an Indian city. Well, the tomb of Robert lay on the line of some of these improvements. The Collector decreed it should be removed. Appeal was made to Government, which simply resolved to let the Collector act on his own responsibility; and he assumed it. The

* See *Bishop Heber*, Poet and Chief Missionary to the East. John Murray (1895).

brother of Lord Clifford (subsequently drowned in the Cauvery) was here as a Jesuit father. He got his brother to move in the House of Lords for inquiry and arrest of the Collector's designs. But it was quashed. The tomb was removed and over it a street opened."

Hardly had Dr. Duff returned to Calcutta in August, the worst part of the Bengal rainy season, when he made his preparations for the completion of his missionary survey of India. Early in October, when the first breath of the delightful cold weather of Northern India began to be felt, he took steamer up the Ganges, relieving the tedium of a voyage against its mighty current by clearing off the arrears of his correspondence. Many an epistle of touching affection and fatherly counsel did he send to the native converts and Hindu students, and especially to the young Bengali missionaries. At Benares he could contrast the Brahmanism of the Ganges with that of the Coleroon and the Cavery countries.

Zigzagging up the Ganges and Jumna valleys, and visiting all the mission stations as well as historical and architectural sites, Dr. Duff reached the then little frequented sanitarium of Simla, in the secondary range of the Himalaya. But he would not rest until he had penetrated five marches farther, to Kotghur, near the Upper Sutlej. That was then the most extreme station of the Church Missionary Society, although the Moravian brethren have since distanced it, by planting themselves in snow-encompassed Lahoul, near forbidden Tibet. Not even Mr. Prochnow's mission seems to have interested him so much as the following incident, which he often afterwards applied. When on a narrow bridle path cut out on the face of a precipitous ridge, he observed a native shepherd with his flock following him as usual. The man frequently stopped and looked back. If he saw a sheep creeping up too far on the one hand, or coming too near the edge of the dangerous precipice on the other, he would go back and apply his crook to one of the hind legs and gently pull it back, till it joined the rest. Though a Grampian Highlander, Dr. Duff saw for the first time the real use of the crook or shepherd's staff in directing sheep in the right way. Going up to the shepherd, he

noticed that he had a long rod which was as tall as himself, and around the lower half a thick band of iron was twisted. The region was infested with wolves, hyenas, and other dangerous animals, which in the night-time were apt to prowl about the place where the sheep lay. Then the man would go with his long rod, and would strike the animal such a blow as to make it at least turn away. This brought to the traveller's remembrance the expression of David, the shepherd, in the twenty-third Psalm, "Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me"—the staff clearly meaning God's watchful, guiding and directing providence, and the rod His omnipotence in defending His own from foes, whether without or within.

Before the close of 1849 Dr. Duff reached Lahore, by Jhelundhur and Umritsur. Lord Dalhousie had become Governor-General, and was then entering the Punjab. Sir Henry Lawrence was at the head of the new administration, with his brother John and Sir Robert Montgomery as his colleagues. The second Sikh war had been fought, and the most triumphant success of British administration in the East was just beginning. Dr. Duff became Sir Henry's guest. On the last day of the year Dr. Duff thus wrote:—

"Yesterday I had the privilege of preaching the everlasting gospel to an assembly of upwards of two hundred ladies and gentlemen, civil and military, in the great hall of the Government House, now worthily occupied by Sir Henry Lawrence, whose guest I have been since my arrival. And, as indicative of the *radicalness* of the change that is come over the firmament of former power and glory in this city, I may state that I had the option of holding public worship either in the Government House, formerly the residence (though now greatly enlarged) of the redoubted Runjeet Singh's French generals, or in the great audience or Durbar Hall of the Muhammadan Emperors and Sikh Maharajas. What a change! The tidings of the great salvation sounding in these halls—once the abodes of the lords-paramount of the most antichristian systems and monarchies! Surely,

the Creator hath gone up before us, though in the rough and giant form of blood-stained war. God in mercy grant that in these regions, so repeatedly drenched with human blood, men may soon learn to 'beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks'; and thus cultivate the arts of peace, and make progress in the lessons and practice of heavenly piety!"

There was another famous man in Lahore, then a young Scottish captain who had done such deeds in Afghanistan that Lord Dalhousie was consulting him about the new frontier finally fixed at Peshawur, and was sending him to be Brigadier in the Nizam's country. Colin Mackenzie had raised the 4th Sikhs, and he was then bidding his sepoy children farewell. He and Duff were brother Highlanders, were brethren in Christ. In her vivid journal Mrs. Colin Mackenzie has described the farewell parade, how Mr. Duff followed the gallant but sorely affected commandant, as he passed along every rank of the men drawn up in open column of companies, and witnessed a devotion on both sides such as has given India to Great Britain, and given it for Christ. Then to holy communion in the American chapel, just before he took boat down the Sutlej and Indus, clothed in the large "postheen" or sheepskin presented to him by General Mackenzie.

It was thus that the Bengal met the Bombay missionary, Dr. Wilson having come as far as Sehwan on the first missionary tour through Sind.

"INDUS RIVER, February 4, 1850.

"Need I say with what intense feeling of delight we hailed each other, face to face, on the banks of that celebrated stream, and in a spot so isolated and remote from the realms of modern civilisation—a spot never before trodden by the feet of two heralds of the Cross, but conspicuously displaying, among the edifices that crown the rocky heights of Sehwan, the symbols of the Crescent; and as visibly exhibiting, in the scattered ruins and desolation all around, the impress of rapacious and shortsighted tyranny? Joyous was our meeting, and sweet and refreshing has been our intercourse since. How have our souls been led to praise and magnify the name of our God, for His marvellous and ineffable mercies! It is now ten years since we last parted in the neighbourhood of Bombay; and what centuries of events have been crowded into these ten years—alike in Europe and Asia, alike in Church and in State! And nowhere, assuredly, have the external changes been greater than in the

regions which we are now traversing. A few minutes ago we passed Meani, a name which instantly recalled the strange series of events that terminated in the final overthrow of the Musalman dynasties of Sind, and added this once flourishing, but now greatly desolated realm to the vast Indian dominion of a Christian state. What a revolution already, with reference to the social and political relations of the people, and security of person and property! Lawless violence and anarchy, abusive rudeness and barbarism, have already been exchanged for peacefulness and established order, outward civility and respect."

At Bombay Dr. Duff roused the native city by an address on the necessity of the Christian element in education, even when conducted by the Government, which produced a long newspaper war but with the best results. The end of May saw him once more in Edinburgh, eager to begin his new crusade.

CHAPTER XIX

1850-1853

DR. DUFF ORGANISING AGAIN

DR. DUFF found that he had returned to Scotland not a day too soon. There was urgently wanted for the Foreign Missions of the Free Church a financier in the best sense, one who could create a revenue self-sustaining and self-developing, as well as control expenditure so as to make it produce the best possible results. The financial management of religious and philanthropic organisations has been too often marked by the ignorance of mere enthusiasm on the one side, or the selfishness of dead corporations on the other. The men who have made the missionary enterprise of the English-speaking races one of the most remarkable features of the century's progress, have not always allowed economic law to guide them in their pursuit of that which is the loftiest of all ideals just because the Spirit of Christ has made it the surest of realities. It is a lesson to all philanthropic agencies, that he who was the most spiritual of men and most fervid of missionaries, with a Celtic intensity of fervour, was at the same time most practical as an economist and far-sighted as an administrator.

When Dr. Duff was summoned home, after the death of Chalmers, the first annual deficit was met by "a week of collecting" in July, 1847, which yielded

£5,500. The missionaries themselves offered to take less than the subsistence allowance made to them, until the Church should have done its home work, rather than permit withdrawal from any station. The Cape Town mission was, indeed, given up, but only because its agent was transferred to the new Bengal station at Chinsurah. Mr. Anderson and the Rev. P. Rajahgopal were lighting up again in Scotland the missionary flame which Dr. Duff's first visit had kindled and Dr. Wilson's happy furlough at the Disruption had spread. But while large sums were thus contributed for the more pressing wants of the Madras Mission, the genius of a master was needed to call into existence a perennial supply for all. The £15,000 raised in 1847-48 was twice the normal annual revenue before the Disruption, but what guarantee was there for the future?

When pacing the deck on his long Cape voyage in 1834 Duff had decided on Presbyterial Associations. Now, placing the support of a missionary to the heathen beside the "sustentation" of its own minister as a spiritual duty equally imperative on every congregation, he aimed at weekly collections for both. Such was the effect of his spiritual suasion on the country, the elders and the ministers, that the demands which he made, in the name of his Master, were conceded in the form of a quarterly—not weekly—Association in every congregation. The whole ten days' meeting in 1850 was so marked by the contagion of the enthusiasm of himself and his Madras and Bombay coadjutors that it was pronounced "a Foreign Missions General Assembly."

Dr. Duff delivered five addresses. Published separately because of the crowds whom they drew to the great Tanfield Hall of Disruption memories, and of the interest which the imperfect report excited throughout Scotland and the evangelical churches, these orations cover eighty pages. As a whole, they are marked by a condensation of style which the very fulness and variety of the speaker's experience, drawn from the wide extent of India, forced upon him.

“This time twenty-one years ago,” he began, “when I was set apart by the Church of Scotland to proceed to India, all the world seemed to be in a state of calm; there might be said to be a universal calm at least in the world of politics. Many, however, regarded it as the calm which was to precede the storm and earthquake; and truly the earthquake speedily came—the French Revolution and its convulsions, and social changes in this land in connection with the Reform Bills and such like. So that, on returning four or five years afterwards, it appeared as if something like an earthquake had passed over the social fabric of this country; as if the accustomed manners and habits of the people had exhibited somewhat the aspect of a social chaos, and to it might figuratively be applied the words of a national poet—

“‘Craggs, rocks, and knolls confus’dly hurled,
The fragments of an earlier world.’

“Since returning the last time, and looking about expecting to find greater social changes from the still greater earthquake which had passed over this land, especially in the Church department, it was the delight not only of myself but of others from abroad, to find that instead of such a chaos all things had quietly settled down and were progressing in harmony and in order; that the old Church in its new and free form had risen up entire in all its organisms and complete in all its parts.” Now, he argued, that the machinery is perfect apply it to foreign missions. “When addressing the General Assembly fifteen years ago, my knowledge of India was comparatively limited. It is so no longer. I feel this night, if there were time and patience on the part of the House, and if strength on my part were vouchsafed, that it would be easier for me to speak for six hours than for one. If the Lord spare me and I am privileged to visit different parts of the land, all I have gathered in connection with India shall be poured throughout Scotland in good time.”

In his fourth and fifth speeches he came to his own

special subject of the India Mission. The present writer remembers the time as that of his first experience of the orator's power. On each night, now swaying his arms towards the vast audience around and even above him, on the roof, and now jerking his left shoulder with an upward motion till the coat threatened to fall off, the tall form kept thousands spell-bound while the twilight of a northern May night changed into the brief darkness, and the tardy lights revealed the speaker bathed in the flood of his impassioned appeals. As the thrilling voice died away in the eager whisper which, at the end of his life, marked all his public utterances, and the exhausted speaker fell into a seat, only to be driven home to a couch of suffering, and then of rest barely sufficient to enable his fine constitution to renew and repeat again and again the effort, the observer could realise the expenditure of physical energy which, as it marked all he did, culminated in his prophet-like raptures.

Spoken by a Highlander to a Scottish audience, this passage produced an effect which we have never seen equalled in any audience, popular or cultured :—

“In days of yore, though unable to sing myself, I was wont to listen to the Poems of Ossian, and to many of those melodies that were called Jacobite songs. I may now, without any fear of being taken up for high treason or for rebellion, refer to the latter, for there never was a Sovereign who was more richly and deservedly beloved by her subjects than she who now sits on the throne of Great Britain—Queen Victoria—and there are not among her Majesty's subjects any men whose hearts beat more vigorously with the pulse of loyalty than the descendants of those chieftains and clansmen who a century ago shook the Hanoverian throne to its foundation. While listening to these airs of the olden time, some stanzas and sentiments made an indelible impression upon my mind. Roving in the days of my youth over the heathery heights, or climbing the craggy steeps of my native land, or lying down to enjoy the music of the roaring waterfalls, I was wont to admire the heroic spirit which they breathed; and they became so stamped in my memory that I have carried them with me over more than half the world. One of these seemed to me to embody the quintessence of loyalty of an earthly kind. It is the stanza in which it is said by the father or mother,—

“‘I hae but ae son, the brave young Donald’;

and then the gush of emotion turned his heart as it were inside out, and he exclaimed,—

“‘But, oh, had I ten, they would follow Prince Charlie.’

Are these the visions of romance—the dreams of poetry and of song? Oh, let that rush of youthful warriors, from ‘bracken, bush, and glen,’ that rallied round the standards of Glenfinnan,—let the gory beds, and cold, cold grassy winding-sheets of bleak Culloden Muir bear testimony to the reality, the intensity of the loyalty to an earthly prince; and shall a Highland father and mother give up all their children as an homage to earthly loyalty, and shall I be told that in the Churches of Christ, in the Free Church of Scotland, fathers and mothers will begrudge their children to Him who is the King of kings and Lord of lords? Will they testify their loyalty to an earthly prince, to whom they lie under very little obligation, by giving up all their sons, while they refuse, when it comes to the point of critical decision, even one son for the army of Immanuel, to whom they owe their life, their salvation, their all? Surely, if this state of things be continued, we may well conclude that we are in an age of little men, and that with all our loud talkings we have not risen beyond the stature of pigmies in soundness, or loyalty, or devotedness to our heavenly King. Oh, then, let this matter weigh heavily on our minds.

“I have been affected beyond measure during the last twelve months at finding, from one end of India to the other, monuments of British dead. In a solitary place at Ramnad, on the banks of the Straits of Palk that overlook Ceylon—a place entirely out of the way—I was deeply affected to find a humble tombstone erected to the memory of a young officer brought up on the braes of Athole, in a parish adjacent to my own. I thought the father and mother of this young man had no objection to send out their son here in search of military renown, only to find his grave; but probably they would have refused him to the service of Christ as a humble missionary of the Cross. From one end of India to the other the soil is strewn with British slain or British dead. There is not a valley, nor dell, nor burning waste, from one end of India to the other, that is not enriched with bones, and not a rivulet or stream which has not been dyed with the blood of Scotia’s children. And will you, fathers and mothers, send out your children in thousands in quest of this bubble fame—this bubble wealth—this bubble honour and perishable renown, and will you prohibit them from going forth in the army of the great Immanuel, to win crowns of glory and imperishable renown in the realms of everlasting day? Oh, do not refuse their services—their lives if necessary—or the blood of the souls of perishing millions may be required at your hands. Fathers and mothers are not responsible for grace in the hearts of their offspring, but they are responsible for using the means in their power; and I now refer only to those who habitually discourage their sons and daughters, and throw obstacles in the way, when they would enter the missionary field, while they would hurl them forth to battle and to death.”

Before the most solemn and pathetic act when the Moderator, the whole House and audience standing, speaks: “Reverend Fathers and Brethren, as this Assembly was constituted in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the sole King and Head of His Church, I am now called, in His holy and blessed name, to pronounce it dissolved”; and all unite in singing the rugged strains of Rous’s version of the 122nd Psalm,

the last resolution was this: "The Assembly instruct the committee to take steps for bringing the subject of Foreign Missions fully before the mind of the Church, and that in such a way as may be arranged between the committee and the synod or presbytery which Dr. Duff or the other brethren may agree to visit. The Assembly appoint these visitations to begin with the synod of Perth, and after that has been overtaken, to be extended from synod to synod as circumstances may direct, until they shall, if possible, have gone over the whole bounds of the Church."

For the next three and a half years Dr. Duff gave himself to the creating of his new organisation—an association for prayer, information, and the quarterly collection of subscriptions for the Missions in every one of the then 700 and now 1,060 congregations of the Free Church of Scotland.

In his own country, as in India, separated from his family then requiring most of all a father's care; in winter and in summer; in weariness and often in pain; cast down by discouragements, but more frequently cheered by sympathetic success and everywhere received with the warm hospitality of the manse, he who was still the first missionary of his country pursued his work, inspired by an enthusiasm before which the most repulsive and exhausting work was sweet. His almost daily letters to his wife form a record of affection sublimated by the divinity of his mission which cannot be submitted to the world. But there are passages which may be quoted now, revealing the man as well as his work.

As during his first furlough in 1835, Dr. Duff's campaign included England, Wales and Ireland, in addition to Scotland, though the first three rather than he might tell the Church of England, Wesleyan and Welsh societies, and the Ulster Presbyterians, how worthy their Indian agents were of more generous support. He had another object in view. The time for the East India Company applying to Parliament for a renewal of its twenty years' charter was at hand, and he desired to create among the governing as well as missionary

classes, such an intelligent interest as would, without public agitation, in the first instance, secure justice to non-Government education in India, whether Christian or Hindu, Parsi or Muhammadan.

MANCHESTER, 24th Dec.—“ Our great meeting came off last evening, and, by God’s blessing, nobly. It was much owing to Barbour’s skilful management. No such platform has been seen here, on any such occasion. Pastors of all churches present, and several clergy of the English Church; Hugh Stowell, etc., speaking, making motions. Some of the leading laity. The meeting quite an enthusiastic one. Before breaking up nearly a thousand pounds were announced as subscriptions, in hundreds and fifties; Barbour himself giving £500. After a rather restless night I feel this morning tolerably well; but, on the whole, it must be confessed to be too much for me. Oh that the Lord may come down among us in showers of blessing! I have to address a meeting to-morrow.”

GLASGOW, 19th Feb., 1852.—“ Dr. Forbes dined with the Lorimers, after which we proceeded to Hope Street Church, the largest Free Church in Glasgow. It was crowded, passages and all, to the very doors. It was a noble audience. Ah, how responsible a position to have to address such an assemblage of immortal souls! I mourn that I do not feel it half enough, nor a tithe enough. There seemed to be an earnest response. Some of the ministers spoke shortly afterwards, all very warm; honest Dr. Lorimer alluding fully to his quarter-century’s acquaintance with me. This morning, joined Miss Dennistoun, sister of Mrs. (Dr.) Wilson, Bombay; and Mrs. Wodrow (widow of Wodrow the great advocate of the Jews, and descendant, I believe, of the historian), at breakfast.”

PORTREE, SKYE.—“ The *elite* of the whole Free Church population of the island were there, from end to end—many from fifteen, twenty, twenty-five, and even thirty miles distant; several too of the leading, would-be great men still connected with the Establishment; and the moderate minister’s own wife. It was a great day at Portree and Skye. So it was felt, I do believe. The services beginning at about eleven did not end till about six. And all that time the great bulk of the audience sat still without once moving from their seats. Feeling myself in much weakness and not a little mental depression, I could scarcely tell from what, I found more than ordinary freedom in addressing sinners, and could see from the countenances, and the tearful eyes, that impressions were produced. God grant that they may prove not ephemeral impressions on the mere sensibilities of nature, but living impressions, inwrought by the power of the Holy Ghost. After sermon old Mrs. McDonald came forward to embrace me. She had remained purposely for a fortnight to witness the opening of the church. Again came back to Portree about noon, met the presbytery of Skye; then addressed a public meeting in the church, which again was thronged. At some of the statements and appeals many were weeping—my prayer was that their hearts might bleed. To these people such statements and appeals come with all the force of novelty; hence, doubtless, in part, the greatest impressions produced among them. All seemed to rejoice in the Lord; and the Lord grant in mercy an abundant harvest!”

WIGTOWN, 10th February.—“ Our meetings at Stranraer were very pleasant. When I was there fifteen years ago there was only one evan-

gical minister in the presbytery, who is now in the Free Church—Mr. Urquhart, of Port Patrick—with one evangelical assistant, Mr. Bell, of Leswalt, Lady Agnew's son-in-law. At that time a presbyterial association was formed, of which Mr. Urquhart was secretary. And he told us the other day, that except himself and another, not one acted it out. Papers and circulars were sent to the ministers, but they cast them aside or destroyed them. When the time agreed upon had come round for receiving the secretary's report, the presbytery asked him politely to postpone it till towards the close of the meeting, when the press of business would be over. When the close approached he stood up to give his report, and instantly one and all of the ministers rose, and politely bowing to him, took their hats, and left him *alone!* There was a fine exhibition of genuine Moderatism!

“At that time the Establishment had no church in Stranraer, and our public meeting was held in the Cameronian Church, Dr. Symington's. I was told the other day, what I had then forgotten, that in my address I spoke very strongly about the want of a church and the bickering and divisions which led to it—asking, ‘What! had the curse of God lighted on the place, that He should not have a house for the honour of His name there?’ This appeal was taken in good part, and stirred up some present, so that the result was, the getting up of a *quoad sacra* church.”

KILMARNOCK, 5th December.—“We had a large meeting in the spacious kitchen of Perceton House on Saturday evening, when the missionary boxes of Sabbath school children were opened and I addressed old and young on the subject of Missions. Being crowded, it was very stirring and interesting. Real good was done, and that always is a recompense to me for any extra labour or fatigue. The exercises were very refreshing; Main's sermon admirable. I partook of the Communion with great joy, and in the evening preached to a huge and dense multitude. The church being much heated I came home dripping. Throughout the night, being very restless and half awake, the enemy took advantage of my physical weakness to tempt me with wretched thoughts and horrid dreams! How I longed for the morning! My prayer was to Him who said, ‘Get thee behind Me, Satan,’ and I rose unrefreshed in body, and cast down and disquieted in mind.”

AYR, 9th December.—“We have had great doings here. The people are all in a blaze, alike about home and foreign objects. They were in a very sleepy state. But the Lord has given me astonishing freedom of speech amongst them. And it has evidently been blessed. To me, personally, it is very exhausting. But I grudge nothing when I see good fruit. Last night the public meeting, which began at seven, did not break up till eleven o'clock! I have yet a good deal of work before me. To-day I return to Perceton, on my way to the higher parts of Ayrshire.”

So ends 1852, and the campaign. But, as if these toils were not enough for soul and body, continued for the four years which followed on the South and North India tours of 1849, the unwearied apostle of India was busy at the same time in seeking and sending out new missionaries, like Mr. and Mrs. Fordyce, and Messrs.

T. Gardiner and Pourie, to Calcutta; in lecturing to the Young Men's Christian Association in Exeter Hall, side by side with R. Bickersteth, Stowell, Baptist Noel, James Hamilton, Brock, Arthur and Candlish; in undergoing frequent and long examinations before the India Committee of the House of Lords; in helping the British and Foreign Bible Society to conduct its Jubilee in 1853, and raise a Jubilee fund; and, finally, in discharging the onerous duties of Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly.

His Exeter Hall lecture on "India and its Evangelisation" is an illustration of the skill with which he adapted himself to such an audience as the young men of London. After eighty pages of a succession of pictures of travel, expositions of the hoary creeds and rituals of the East, descriptions of the administration of the British Government and statements of the power and progress of Christianity, he burst forth into this peroration, closed by the little known lines of Charles Grant, afterwards Lord Glenelg:—

"Arise, ye Christian young men of England, and, under the banner of the great Captain of salvation, rally your scattered forces! Resolve, as if ye swear by Him that liveth for ever and ever, that ye shall re-exhibit to an admiring world the deeds of bygone heroism and renown. With such a Divine leader to guide you, such ennobling examples to inspire you, and such a brilliant cloud of witnesses compassing you all around—the final conquest is certain, the victory sure. Arise then, ye Christian young men of England, and through you let the terrors of fire and sword, the faggot and the stake, be warded off from these peaceful shores—the asylum of the persecuted of all lands—the Thermopylæ of the old world's endangered liberties! Through you, let the store-houses of British beneficence be opened for the needy at home and the famishing abroad. Through you, let Britain discharge her debt of gratitude and love to the ascending Saviour, her debt of sympathy and goodwill to all nations. More especially, through you, let her discharge her debt of justice, not less than benevolence,

to India, in reparation of the wrongs, numberless and aggravated, inflicted in former times on India's unhappy children. In exchange for the pearls from her coral strand, be it yours to send the Pearl of great price. In exchange for the treasures of her diamond and golden mines, be it yours to send the imperishable treasures of Divine grace. In exchange for her aromatic fruits and gums, be it yours to send buds and blossoms of the Rose of Sharon, with its celestial fragrantcy. In exchange for the commodities and dainties that luxuriate the carnal taste, be it yours to send the heavenly manna, and the water of life, clear as crystal, to regale and satisfy the new-created spiritual appetency. And desist not from the great emprise, until the dawning of the hallowed morn when all India shall be the Lord's;—when the varied products of that gorgeous land shall become visible types and emblems of the still more glorious products of faith working by love; when the palm-tree, the most exuberant of all tropical growths in vegetable nectar, and therefore divinely chosen by inspiration to set forth the flourishing condition of the righteous, shall become the sensible symbol of the dwellers there, who, fraught with the sap of the heavenly grace, and laden with the verdure and the fruits of righteousness, shall raise their voices in notes of praise, that swell and reverberate from grove to grove, like the soft, sweet echoes of heaven's own eternal hallelujahs;—when these radiant climes, pre-eminently distinguished as the 'climes of the sun,' shall become the climes of a better sun—even the Sun of Righteousness—vivified by His quickening beams, and illumined with the effulgence of His unclouded glory:—

“ Be these thy trophies, Queen of many Isles!
On these high Heaven shall shed indulgent smiles.
First, by Thy guardian voice, to India led,
Shall Truth Divine her tearless victories spread.
Wide and more wide, the heaven-born light shall stream,
New realms from thee shall catch the blissful theme;
Unwonted warmth the softened savage feel,
Strange chiefs admire, and turbaned warriors kneel;
The prostrate East submit her jewelled pride,
And swarthy kings adore the Crucified!

“ Yes, it shall come! E'en now my eyes behold,
In distant view, the wished-for age unfold.
Lo, o'er the shadowy days that roll between,
A wandering gleam foretells th' ascending scene!
Oh! doomed victorious from thy wounds to rise,
Dejected India lift thy downcast eyes;
And mark the hour, whose faithful steps for thee,
Through time's pressed ranks, bring on the Jubilee! ”

CHAPTER XX

1851-1854

MODERATOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—BEFORE THE
HOUSE OF LORDS' INDIA COMMITTEE

AT the unusually early age of forty-five Alexander Duff was, in 1851, called by acclamation to the highest ecclesiastical seat in Scotland, that of Knox and Melville, Henderson and Chalmers. His immediate predecessor had declared that what the Preacher of the Old Testament calls "the flourish of the almond tree" had been the chief recommendation in his case. The still young missionary found his qualification in "the office which it has been my privilege, however unworthily, amid sunshine and storm, for nearly a quarter of a century, to hold—the glorious office of evangelist, or that of 'making known the unsearchable riches of Christ among the Gentiles.'"

Duff was the first missionary who had sat in the Moderator's chair since the first General Assembly in 1560; but, almost without precedent, he sat there twice, as we shall see. Dr. John Wilson, of Bombay, was the second, twenty years after. Dr. T. Smith, Dr. W. Miller, C.I.E., and Dr. James Stewart, M.D., have since followed. Striking off from his own theme, in his opening and closing charges to the assembled fathers and brethren the Moderator of 1851 occupied himself with the stirring history and the consequent responsibilities of the Church which, from Knox to Chalmers, had fought and suffered for spiritual independence.

His lesson was that all this struggling and success of the Kirk are but means to an end—the evangelisation of the world. Reviewing, in his closing charge, the proceedings of the Assembly, which had been much occupied with an elevation of the standard and an extension of the area of theological scholarship, during the eight years' curriculum of the students, he found himself on familiar ground. "It ought to be counted one of the chiefest glories of our Church that, from the very outset, she resolved with God's blessing to secure not only a pious but a learned ministry." "What we desiderate is, learning in inseparable combination with devoted piety. Piety without learning! Does it not in the case of religious teachers ever tend to fanaticism; would it not be apt to make the life of the Church blaze away too fast? Learning without piety! Does it not ever tend to a frigid indifference; would it not soon extinguish spiritual life in the Church altogether?" But a learned ministry is apt to be proud. "Did it ever occur to these shrewd observers that an ignorant ministry is apt to be conceited? And if we must choose between two evils, we must, according to the old adage, choose the least. But why choose at all? We repudiate absolutely the proudly learned as much as the conceitedly ignorant. . . . Surely the infinitely varying forms of open and avowed infidelity in our day render it more than ever necessary that the department of Christian evidence or apologetic theology should be cultivated to the uttermost, and that all the resources of sharpened intellect and extensive erudition should be brought to bear upon it."

From its foundation under Elizabeth at the close of the sixteenth century, to its fall under Victoria in the middle of the nineteenth, the East India Company was the ally or the tool of the two great parties of the State. The periodical renewal of its charter, generally every twenty years, involved the fall and the rise of Ministries. After the pure administrations of Cromwell and William III., kings did not scruple to use its influence as a bribe, nor statesmen to covet its patronage for corrupt ends. The Regulating Act of

1773, which created the Governor-General and the Chief Justice, struck the first stroke at jobbery at home. But it so demoralised the administration at Calcutta, that in ten years a new charter became necessary. Burke, who had unhappily refused the invitation of the directors in 1772 to go out to India with full power, as head of a commission of three to examine and control their affairs, in 1782 began his lifelong course of unreasoning opposition to a system which, when reformed, John Stuart Mill justly pronounced the wisest ever devised for the government of subject races.

When the next twenty years had brought round the time, in 1813, for another charter, the Court of Directors were better prepared to defend their still necessary monopoly. The Lords rose as the aged Warren Hastings entered the House where, a quarter of a century before, he had been impeached. His evidence and that of a successor, Lord Teignmouth, of Sir T. Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and Charles Grant, prevailed to retain the China commerce for the Company. But India was opened to free trade, and, thanks to Wilberforce, to missionaries and schoolmasters. By the next charter, of 1833, the China monopoly too passed away, the new province of the North-West was created ultimately a lieutenant-governorship, the last restrictions on the residence of Europeans in India were removed, and those administrative reforms were conceded which co-operated with Dr. Duff's missionary system.

The subsequent twenty years formed a period of real and rapid progress. As the time approached for the charter of 1853, the governing classes in both India and England prepared for a conflict. By discussions in the press and petitions to Parliament, the Company was assailed by the selfish interests, and criticised by the reformers who sought only a more rapid development of the policy begun by Bentinck and Metcalfe and fostered by Dalhousie and Thomason, in spite of an alarmed conservatism. But several compromises were effected by the Cabinet and Parliament, most

happily for both India and the mother country. The greatest in reality, though they appeared little at the time, were, the concession of nearly all Dr. Duff's demands for a truly imperial, catholic, and just administration of the educational funds, honours and rewards; and the transfer to the nation, by competitive examination, of the eight hundred and fifty highly paid appointments in the covenanted civil service. Besides these, Lower Bengal was created a lieutenant-governorship, like the North-West twenty years before, and the Punjab soon after; and the Crown nominated a proportion of the Directors, reduced to eighteen. And then, as if to prepare the way for the coming but unexpected extinction, the new charter was passed subject to the pleasure of Parliament.

It is not too much to say that, in securing all this, the three reformers who were foremost were the men who in 1830-35 had fought and won the battle of educational and administrative progress in India. As we read again the many thick folios which contain the evidence and reports of the select committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons on our India territories, we see the suggestions of Dr. Duff, Mr. Marshman, and Sir Charles Trevelyan carried out even in detail. But it was Dr. Duff who succeeded in placing the keystone in the arch of his aggressive educational system by the famous Despatch of 1854. He had returned to England determined to secure from his own countrymen the measure of justice to non-government colleges and schools which the bureaucracy of Calcutta had denied, in spite of Lord Hardinge's Order. He began by privately informing and influencing the statesmen and members of Parliament who cared for the good of the people of India. Wilberforce and Charles Grant had left no successors. In the public action of Parliament itself, through its select committees of inquiry, he found the means not only of utilising the private work he had done, but of informing the whole country and practically influencing legislation. When a Government happens to be in earnest, as the Aberdeen ministry of the day were, and when legisla-

tion is inevitable, as the charter of 1853 was, there is no duty so delightful to the statesmanlike reformer as that of convincing a parliamentary committee.

Nor intellectually are there many feats more exhausting than that of sitting from eleven to four o'clock, and on more days than one, the object of incessant questioning, by fifteen or twenty experts, on the most difficult problems, economic and administrative, that can engage the statesman. So long as the examination in chief proceeds, or a friendly member follows along the witness's own line, all may go well. But when the cross-fire begins, when you are the victim of a member who is hostile to your views and is determined to shake evidence damaging to his own, or of one who is at once conceited enough to prefer his own facts to yours and clever enough to delude you into accepting partial premisses which will lead to his conclusions and upset yours, then there is need for the keenest weapons and the most practised skill. This was Dr. Duff's position, and he was moreover one of a band of witnesses of rare experience and ability.

This letter to his wife shows the spirit in which he continued his preparations for the committee:—

“CHAMPION HILL, 14th April, 1853.

“Here I am and getting deeper and deeper into Indian affairs. By perseverance and trust in the Lord, I am gradually getting more and more of the ear of men in whose hands Providence has placed, for the present, the future destinies of India. Some two hours were spent yesterday with Lord Ashburton in his own house. He got more and more interested with the subject as we went on, took notes, etc. And when the hour came for his going to another meeting, he expressed the strongest regret, and begged of me as a great favour, to come to him again to-morrow, and go over a great deal of ground which remained to be overtaken.

“Thereafter I went to Trevelyan, who took me to Lord Granville, the chairman of the Lords' India Committee. The latter was singularly frank, and expressed the highest gratification at the prospect of getting important information from me. He only broke ground on Indian subjects; but he took my address, and is to send for me again. They are not yet done with taking evidence on the judicial department; and he would have me give them what information I could on that subject, as an independent witness unconnected with the Company. I told him that, as an unprofessional man, I did not like much appearing formally in that department. But when he urged me I could not help agreeing to appear before the Lords on Tuesday next, and tell them what I knew, apart altogether from legal technicalities. Pray for me! It is a great opportunity!”

May 12th.—“ I am summoned to appear before the Lords on Thursday, the 26th May, the very middle of our Assembly. I mean to try and get the day put off for a week later. But I shall now be obliged to come up here again, before the Assembly closes. This of course I cannot help, as these committees have power to compel witnesses (if unwilling even) to attend. Moreover, it is essential that my evidence should be given and recorded on the education question.

“ I have been exploring some of the darkest places in London, in company of one of the most experienced agents of the London City Mission. And last Sabbath circumstances constrained me to turn street preacher in one of the broadest streets at the east end of London. It was a precious opportunity of preaching the gospel to hundreds of the Papists and outcasts. Before I was far on, they became an attentive audience, and the precious invitation of the gospel was freely given to them. Some seemed affected; and at the end several came forward with tears in their eyes, thanking me, and saying they never heard such words before. They were chiefly the words of Scripture in its alluring promises to sinners and publicans if they return, repenting of their sins, to God.”

Dr. Duff's evidence on the purely judicial and administrative questions decided by the charter proved to be of unexpected value. Not only had he been conversant, personally, with the reforms of Lord William Bentinck and the experienced civilians who advised and assisted the most radical statesman who ever filled the Viceroy of India's seat; the missionary had for six years been the head of all the reformers in India, who, in the *Calcutta Review*, discussed in detail the measures which were successfully pressed on the attention of Parliament. It had been his duty, as editor, not only to correct their articles, but to work up into papers of his own the materials supplied by high officials who preferred to avoid the direct responsibilities of criticism. Hence we find him stating with a lawyer-like precision, born of the familiarity with a subject that much writing about it gives, the nature of the two prevailing schools of Hindu law in Bengal; the necessity for simple codes, criminal and civil; the merits of the educated natives as judges atoning for their defects in an executive capacity; the claims of the Eurasians; the oppressions of the ryot tenantry by their zemindar landlords; the atrocities of the police and the laxity of the jail discipline; the unavoidable neglect of the sixty millions of Lower Bengal by the overworked Governor-General, and the necessity for the detailed supervision of a Lieutenant-Governor.

Most generous, but wisely limited by the truth of facts, was his appreciation of Eurasian and native officials, and of the Haileybury civilians and British administration generally. When Lord Elphinstone, after his Madras experience, asked whether the difficulty of imprinting good ideas on the native mind is not greater than anything we can conceive of here, where all people have some ideas of conscience, he said, "There are exceptions, but the difficulty is such as to have driven many to the extreme of saying that we must leave the adults to themselves, and look to the rising generation as the great hope of the future." Hence, he added, "The British Government has, perhaps, done relatively as much as it was practicable for a merely human government, in such untoward circumstances, and with such imperfect instruments to overtake. . . . No amelioration in our legislative or judicial policy will reach the springs of some of those evils which I have attempted so inadequately to delineate. Their springs-heads are to be found in those deep-rooted superstitions which work so disastrously in deteriorating native society. Nothing can suffice but a real, thorough, searching, moralising, and I should individually say, christianising course of instruction, which, by illumining the understanding and purifying the heart, will inspire with the love of truth and rectitude, and so elevate the whole tone of moral feeling and social sentiment among the people."

After a day under examination on the whole subject of the secular administration, ending in this only radical and effectual remedy, Dr. Duff spent nearly two days in giving evidence on the educational needs and application of that remedy. Here he had as his vigilant adversary the Earl of Ellenborough. Having so smarted under public criticism that he once boasted he read no journal save one devoted wholly to advertisements, Lord Ellenborough pounced upon a reference to the Bengali papers to make it the occasion of this inquiry, "Are they not in the habit of translating all the worst and most libellous passages from the English newspapers?" The missionary's *impromptu* reply was

two-edged: "I regret to say that they very often do translate passages of that kind, both on the subject of politics and on the subject of religion, the character of the one being antichristian and of the other anti-British." Asked by the Duke of Argyll which, upon the whole, had been the most successful missionary station with regard to actual and declared conversions, Dr. Duff stated what is substantially true at the present hour, save that the deterioration of the Krishnaghur itinerating mission is one of many proofs that, without educational evangelising, such missions will not develop or build up an expanding church, but will pass away with their first converts, leaving only such Hinduising mongrels as the mass of Xavier's and the Jesuit churches in the East have long since become:—

"We must draw a distinction between two sets of mission agencies, one educational, and the other the ordinary method of itineracy among the villagers; these two are essentially distinct. In the villages we often meet with numbers who are comparatively simple and unsophisticated in their minds; numbers too who, being ignorant, have less to get rid of, and being of low caste, or no caste, have less to lose. Of this description there have been cases where considerable numbers have made a profession of Christianity; but the profession of many of them, with unexercised, unenlarged minds, may be very unsatisfactory; at the same time, the sincerity and intelligence of a few among them may be beyond all question. In this department of success, Krishnaghur in Bengal, and Tinnevely in the Madras Presidency, stand out as the most conspicuous examples, both in connection with the Church of England Missions. Then, with regard to the educational departments of missionary success, more has been realised in Calcutta than at any other station in India, as the higher evangelistic processes in that department were begun there at an earlier period, and have been multiplied in connection with different evangelical churches to a greater extent than elsewhere. Numerically considered, however, the converts from these higher educational missionary processes make no great figure; they ought, however, to be estimated not by their quantity, but by their quality. Young persons come at a very early age, in a state of heathenism, and go through a long preparatory course of training. In the progress of their Christian studies, the consciences of some are pricked with convictions of sin; they find in the gospel the true salvation, and they openly embrace the Christian faith. It is but a small proportion of them, however, that do so; but then, from their cultured and well-stored minds, they are of a higher order of converts. Some of them become teachers, and some preachers of the gospel; and to train and qualify such is one of the great ulterior ends of the institution which I was privileged to found, as well as of other similar institutions in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and elsewhere."

For Dr. Duff and the whole body of Christian

reformers at that time, however, the outcome of the inquiry by the Parliamentary committees, and of the legislation that followed, was the famous Educational Despatch of 1854. Rarely, if ever, has a Parliamentary committee had such an ideal sketched for it, or a policy struck on so high a key. Lord Ellenborough did not like opinions which cut at the root of his almost equally fervid secularism, and he mildly suggested political ruin to "our Government," as the result of success in effecting a great improvement in the education of the Hindus. Dr. Duff caught at the opportunity to answer the ex-Governor-General, and went to the very root of the matter in a statement which thus concluded: "I have never ceased to pronounce the system of giving a high English education, without religion, a blind, suicidal policy. On the other hand, for weighty reasons, I have never ceased to declare, that if our object be, not merely for our own aggrandisement but very specially for the welfare of the natives, to retain our dominion in India, no wiser or more effective plan can be conceived than that of bestowing this higher English education in close and inseparable alliance with the illumining, quickening, beautifying influences of the Christian faith. The extension of such higher education, so combined, would only be the means of consolidating and perpetuating the British Empire in India, for years or even ages to come, vastly, yea almost immeasurably, to the real and enduring benefit of both."

Lord Ellenborough returned to the charge from the flank. Having secured the admission that Dr. Duff would look on the withdrawal of our controlling power as the signal for universal anarchy and chaos in the present circumstances of India, he insinuated "we should not therefore run any risks, nor do anything which might lead to that result." "Nothing, assuredly, which would naturally or necessarily tend to so disastrous a consummation," was the rejoinder. And the three days' examination ended with the reiterated statement elicited by Lord Wynford, that Dr. Duff did not fear those evil political results from

the extension of education "if wisely and timeously united with the great improving, regulating, controlling, and conservative power of Christianity." A few days afterwards these views received independent support from Sir C. Trevelyan on all those points. That hard-headed, shrewd official, who, after six years in Upper India and six years in Bengal, had become Secretary to the Treasury, made this remarkable statement in reply to the Bishop of Oxford, the only spiritual peer on the committee: "Many persons mistake the way in which the conversion of India will be brought about. I believe it will take place at last wholesale, just as our own ancestors were converted. The country will have Christian instruction infused into it in every way by direct missionary education, and indirectly through books of various kinds, through the public papers, through conversation with Europeans, and in all the conceivable ways in which knowledge is communicated. Then at last, when society is completely saturated with Christian knowledge, and public opinion has taken a decided turn that way, they will come over by thousands."

Dr. Duff and Mr. Marshman worked out the educational portion of their statements before the committee, in a form which Lord Northbrook, then the President's private secretary, embodied in a state paper. That was sent out to the Marquess of Dalhousie as the memorable Despatch of the 9th July, 1854, signed by ten directors of the East India Company. Dr. Duff's handiwork can be traced not only in the definite orders, but in the very style of what has ever since been pronounced the great educational charter of the people of India. Had he done nothing besides influencing the decrees of Lord William Bentinck, Lord Hardinge, and Lord Halifax, each a stage in the catholic edifice of public instruction, that would have been enough. But these ordinances by Parliament and the Government of India, were possible only because of the missionary's practical demonstration in 1830-34. And that demonstration had for its chief end the destruction of Hinduism, and

the christianisation of the hundred and thirty millions of Eastern and Northern India.

On its way to Calcutta the Despatch of 1854 was crossed by a private letter from Dr. W. S. Mackay, announcing one of those events which, while they illustrate the opinion expressed by Sir C. Trevelyan as to the social process of India's conversion, show that the Spirit works as the wind bloweth where it listeth :—

“CALCUTTA, 29th June, 1854.

“Strange events are passing around us; and though our fears exceed our hopes, no man can say what the issue may be. You may have heard that Russomoy Dutt is dead; and you know that the family had always a leaning towards the gospel.

“While attending his father's burning, the eldest son, Kishen, was taken ill of fever, and died also after a few days' illness. The next day, Grish (the youngest son) wrote to Ogilvy Temple, asking me to go and visit him. I was very ill at the time, and confined to bed; so I got Mr. Ewart to accompany Ogilvy; and they saw nearly all the brothers together. They conversed with Ewart long and seriously, and begged him to pray with them, all joining in the Amen. It gradually came out that their dying brother had a dream or vision of the other world; that he professed, not only his belief in Christianity, but his desire to be immediately baptized, and desired me to be sent for. Objections were made to this, and then he asked them to send for Mr. Wylie. This also was evaded; and at last, Grish offered to read the baptismal service, to put the questions, and to baptize him; and thus the youngest brother (himself not yet a Christian) actually baptized the other in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God! The dying man then called all his family around him, and, in the presence of Mr. Naylor, bore dying testimony to Christ, and besought his family to embrace the gospel. It appeared that old Russomoy himself had been a careful reader of the Bible, and that he had made all the ladies of the family write out the whole of the Psalms in Bengali.

“We found that all the brothers and most of their sons were so far believers in Christianity that they were making preparations in their families, getting their affairs in order, and conversing with their wives, with a view of coming over to the Lord in a body—their cousin, Shoshee Chunder Dutt, with them. The wives were willing to remain with their husbands, but are still firm idolaters. We have had several interviews with them since of a very interesting nature, and Lal Behari has been particularly useful. . . . If the whole family are baptized together, you may suppose what an excitement it will produce; for take them all in all, they are the most distinguished Hindu family under British rule. Their ideas of Christian doctrine are vague, but sound on the whole. Their guide in reading the Bible has been Scott's Commentary; and they seem to acquiesce in his views of the Trinity and Atonement. But alas, our dear friend Wylie hangs between life and death, and I fear the worst. He went to see the Dutts at my request on Wednesday week—was eagerly interested—and as soon as he got home, began a letter to one of them. While he was writing the fever struck him, and he had to lay down his pen. The half-finished letter, with a few words added by

Milne, and a note from me, describing the circumstances in which it was written and Mr. Wylie's desire that it should be sent as it was, have all been sent to Grish."

After further instruction by Dr. Mackay and much prayer and study of the Scriptures, all the families were received by baptism into Christ, in the church built for the Rev. K. M. Banerjea. When describing Calcutta and its great Hindu septs in 1830, we anticipated that we should see how the Christianity brought to them by Dr. Duff "tested them and sifted their families, and still tries their descendants as a divine touchstone." Russomoy and the Dutt family were the first of these thus to stand the test. So is it that many shall come from the East and the West and shall sit down in the kingdom of heaven.

CHAPTER XXI

1854-1855

IN AMERICA.—SECOND FAREWELL TO CHRISTENDOM

AMONG the American visitors to Edinburgh, the historical capital of Presbyterianism, in 1851, was Mr. George H. Stuart, a merchant of Philadelphia. With what Dr. Duff afterwards describes as "all that marvellous readiness and frankness peculiar to the American character, though himself originally an Irishman, a combination therefore of the excellences of the two characters," he introduced himself to the Moderator of the General Assembly at the official residence. "You must come to America," exclaimed Mr. Stuart as he burst in upon the wearied orator, "you shall have a cordial welcome." Meanwhile a formal request for a visit came from the Synod of Canada. Repeatedly did Mr. Stuart write and plead, and cause not a few ecclesiastical and public bodies to do the same. When the beginning of 1854 saw the missionary return from the successful close of his nearly four years' campaign all over Scotland, exhausted in body but refreshed in spirit, his Foreign Missions Committee sent him forth to our cousins in the United States and to our own people in the Dominion of Canada.

The time was not favourable for the kindly reception in the West of public men from the old country, not even of ecclesiastics. The young Republic was then very sensitive to criticism. Its generous enthusiasm

for the men and the causes which were hallowed to it by sacred sentiments and old memories, had not been met by corresponding sympathy or kindly appreciation. Writers like Charles Dickens, Mrs. Trollope, and even Sir Charles Lyell, represented not a few smaller critics unused to travel and innocent of the charity as well as breadth of view which familiarity with men and countries is only now beginning to give to a race with such imperial responsibilities as the British. In Dr. Duff the people of America had a very different observer, one who represented Asia as well as Europe; whom India and the East had made familiar with the magnitudes, and more than the varieties of races and tongues and civilisations, which imperialise the republicans of the West; whom, above all, his mission as an ambassador for Christ clothed with a charity and fired with a zeal unequalled at that time in Christendom. "No such man has visited us since the days of Whitefield," was the cry of the crowd which waved to the Scottish missionary as he left them, their farewells from the wharf at New York.

Dr. Duff shall himself tell much of the story of his troubles and his toils, in such portions of his letters to his wife as may now be published. These present a strange contrast to the newspaper records of the tour, which from the Hudson to Chicago, Detroit to Montreal, and back to Boston and New York again, became a triumphal progress as described in the reports and criticisms of American journalists.

"PHILADELPHIA, *1st March*, 1854.

"We landed here in the most terrific snowstorm, and in a perfect hurricane of wind and drift. Nothing like it here, they say, for more than twenty years. And happy we to have got in at all on that awful night. Other trains from the west, etc., got fairly embedded in snow-wreaths; and for a day or two, passengers shut up in them, incapable of being extricated! Their trials and sufferings you may conceive. Half an hour later, and we too should have been detained in the drift all night. Thanks, then, be to God for our safe arrival!

I sent a paper which would show you what sort of a reception we met with here. It is still to me like a vision of the night or an ideal dream. I knew that Mr. Stuart, in his zeal and warm enthusiasm, meant to invite a few friends to meet me in his house; but in such a tempest I concluded that not one could venture out. Wearied and fatigued with the long journey and detention in the snow, and the foul air in our carriage—one of the long American kind—crammed with passengers, the tempestuousness of the weather not admitting of a single chink or crevice being opened, I concluded, as a matter of course, that, almost immediately on arrival, I would be enabled to retire to my bedroom for repose. Judge then of my surprise, my downright astonishment, when, on entering the spacious house, I was told that between sixty and seventy ministers were waiting to welcome me—then, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, and such an awful night of storms!—Episcopalians, Presbyterians of every school, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Dutch Reformed, in short, all the evangelical ministers of every church in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood! Never was there such a gathering of ministers in this city before, on any occasion or for any object. No wonder though I stood in dumb amazement, wondering what all this could mean. To each one of those assembled I was introduced, and from each received such a hearty shake of the hand, and such a cordial welcome in words, that I could do nothing but show the fulness of my heart and choked utterance by the earnest look and tearful eye. After the salutations were all over, the company retired to the dining-room, where a long table was laden with a magnificent collation of all manner of luxurious things—fit for the entertainment of an Asiatic prince. I was requested to ask the blessing; since, as worthy Mr. Stuart said, 'all were anxious to hear the sound of my voice.' After collation all again retired to the drawing-room, when one of the ministers, in the name of the rest, in a neat, warm address, welcomed me to America; and Dr. Murray, better known as 'Kirwan,' followed it up with

some notices of his meeting with me at Exeter Hall and Belfast Assembly. Mr. Stuart himself stated how he was present at my opening address as Moderator of our Assembly. Then a chapter of the Bible was read; and a bishop of the Episcopal Methodists prayed—oh, how sweetly and earnestly!—it pierced my very heart.

“A little past midnight this remarkable party broke up, amid the hurricane raging outside. Some of them, as they told afterwards, were hours before they reached their homes, though not above a mile or two distant, buffeted by the tempest and up to the waist in snow. How can I portray my commingled feelings when I retired towards one o'clock to my couch of repose! It is impossible. Such a reception, so new, so peculiar, so unprecedented, what could it mean? With one or two exceptions, not one of the assembled ministers had ever seen my face in the flesh. And yet, as each one shook hands with me, he spoke as if I were an old familiar friend; as if he knew all about me, and hailed me as a brother in the Lord. Never before was any minister or missionary of any denomination so received and so greeted in this part of the world, nor in any other that I have ever heard of. What could it all mean? I was lost in wonder, adoring gratitude and love. I approached these shores with much anxiety, in much fear and trembling. I felt an oppressive uneasiness of spirit which I could not shake off. My only refuge was in casting myself wholly on the Lord, and in praying that His will might be done, and His alone. That I might realise myself as absolutely the clay, and He my potter, to shape me, mould me as He willed, and breathe into me and through me what He willed. Surely, I felt, this unparalleled reception must be a first smile of Jehovah. Who but He, by His Holy Spirit, could have breathed into such diversities as were present then, such a unity of feeling, and sentiment, and goodwill towards a total stranger—and that stranger not a noble, or statesman, or man of literature or science, or discoverer, or ex-governor like Kossuth, but merely a humble missionary to the heathen. One thing I have rejoiced in, and that is, that the Lord enabled me to remain faithful, in

adhering to my post in heathen lands, in upholding the work of evangelisation as the greatest work on earth, in thus honouring the Lord in connection with that cause, which, though despised by the world, is the highest and noblest in His estimation: and could this be a realisation of the promise, 'Them that honour Me, I will honour'? I then trembled, lest this might be a proud thought instilled by Satan, and prayed that my sense of personal nothingness might be deepened and deepened, until it became too deep for Satan ever to fill it up again. And in the end, I seemed to feel as if in my inmost soul I never had a deeper or humbler sense of my own utter unworthiness and nothingness than after that astonishing reception. Oh, that the Lord may evermore increase the feeling, until from the outer sanctuary of earth He may call me to the inner sanctuary above, where Satan and his wiles cannot enter!

"On Tuesday forenoon the wind was hushed into a calm, but on the streets the snow lay from four or five to eight or nine feet deep. The causeways for foot passengers were gradually cleared by thousands employed in hurling the snow into the main street. Vast walls of snow were thus piled up there, that is, along the sides of the main streets, choking up the narrower ones altogether, and rendering them utterly impassable by any vehicle; and in the broader ones leaving the middle part with three or four feet of snow on it. Then the sleighs were all put in requisition, sleighs of all shapes and sizes—smaller ones with one horse carrying one or two, larger ones with many horses carrying numbers. And as they made no noise in the snow, the horses were covered with small bells, which kept up a jumbling and interminable tinkling of bells all over the city.

"The hall where the first meeting was to be held is the largest in Philadelphia, holding, when full, between three and four thousand people. All were to be admitted by tickets; of these about a thousand had been privately distributed among the most influential families in the city, in order to ensure the presence of those

whose presence it was our object to ensure. The rest were disposed of in the ordinary way by booksellers to the first comers. But, tempestuous though the weather was, thousands applied for tickets who could not get any. This proved that there would be a crowded meeting. And so it was. On the platform all ministers of all churches were present. Dr. Murray made an admirable introductory address. The manifestations of enthusiasm on the part of the audience took me utterly aback, because I had been warned that an American audience was always sober, stern, sedate—the very contrast of an Exeter Hall audience—never exhibiting any of those noisy symptoms, either of approbation or disapprobation, that are usual in the ‘Old Country,’ as Great Britain is always called here. On this account I was astonished at the outburst of applause, when Dr. Murray stepped forward to take me by the hand and welcome me, in the name of that great audience, to American hearts and hearths and homes. The rounds of applause were repeated again and again. This made me feel that the people were animated by some unusual emotion, and I prayed the Lord more fervently than ever to guide me in what I should address to them. The outline of what I said has been reported in the newspapers, consisting of things new and old, but all new to the audience. The manner in which the whole was received astonished me utterly. I was utterly unconscious of saying anything new, or anything remarkable—and yet the interpolations of the reporter about ‘applause,’ can convey no idea whatever of the enthusiasm with which all was received, and especially the concluding parts, which were new to myself and called forth entirely by the enthusiasm of the audience. When I alluded to America and Britain shaking hands across the Atlantic as the two great props of evangelic Protestant Christianity in the world; and to America’s not standing by and seeing the old mother country trodden down by the legions of European despotism, whether civil or religious, you would have thought that all the winds in the cave of Æolus had been let loose, and that

the great audience was convulsed, and heaved to and fro in surging billows, like the Atlantic Ocean in a hurricane. Nothing like such a scene had ever been witnessed here before at any religious meeting whatever. I could not but have an intense impression that the Lord had greatly more than answered all my prayers, had greatly more than rebuked my fainting unbelief, had greatly more than exceeded my utmost hopes or wishes, or even imaginations. I retired more than ever lost in wonder and amazement, praising and magnifying the name of the Lord.

Friday.—“Went this day to inspect some of the public institutions. Visited ‘Independence Hall,’ in which the leaders of the Revolution in 1776 signed the declaration of American independence, by which they were declared rebels and traitors against the British Monarchy: this led to the war, which terminated in 1784 in their favour. The hall is almost idolised now. Went through the Mint of the United States, which is in this city and in which most of the California gold is prepared for use; the Colonel at the head of it very kindly going round himself, and explaining all the varied processes, some of them exquisitely beautiful. Visited Bible and Tract Depositories, etc.; met with some of the religious committees or boards, who assembled purposely to confer with me, to explain their operations, and receive any suggestions which I might offer. I felt very humbled indeed, in my own mind, to think of the way in which these experienced sages were pleased to listen to anything and everything which I was led to remark. It was still the sensible presence of the Lord with me. In the evening met a huge party of friends at the house of one of the leading ministers: very profitable, but after the day’s inspections and talkings, fearfully fatiguing.

Sabbath, 26th Feb.—“The evening of this day, preached in the great hall in which I lectured on Tuesday, as being the largest place. Other evening services of a stated kind having been given up, all the ministers were there; and long before six o’clock the place was crammed. The platform gallery was so

crowded that it yielded considerably; and great apprehensions were entertained that it would give way altogether, but the Lord mercifully spared us in this respect. From the crowd so long congregated there, the ventilators not having been opened and the steam flues having been heated beyond ordinary, the atmosphere was quite dreadful before I began. It was like encountering the steaming heat of Bengal in September, without free circulation of air and without a punkah! Besides ministers many of the leading citizens were there, some of whom are seldom seen in any place of worship. The awful state of the atmosphere compelled me to abbreviate, but the Lord greatly strengthened me. The people were obviously affected. May impressions be lastingly sealed home on souls! Went home drenched, to pass a restless, sleepless night.

Tuesday, 28th.—"In the evening, met the *élite* of society here, at the house of a Mr. Milne, originally from Aberdeen—a very flourishing manufacturer on a great scale here. Some two hundred were assembled. After much conversation, and the supper collation, I was asked to favour the party with some account of the rise and progress of our Mission in Calcutta. This I supplied, all seemingly interested exceedingly in the statement. It was near one this morning before I got home. Though I have spoken nothing but what has long been familiar to my own mind, I have evidently been led to speak much that was new to most people here. Last evening this one came up to me and thanked me for the announcement and exposition of one principle, and another for that of another, and so on in dozens. It looked as if a flood of new principles had been poured in upon a dry or empty reservoir. Several openly declared that if I should do nothing more in the New World than what had been done already in this place, it was more than worth my while to have crossed the Atlantic in order to achieve it. An impulse, they said, has been given to the cause of vital religion and personal piety, as well as the cause of home and foreign missions, such as has never been imparted before—an impulse which, through the press

and the correspondence of individuals, will vibrate through the whole Union. Well, well; to the Lord be all the praise and the glory! Amen. That this can be no mere empty talk seems evident from the way in which the entire press here, alike secular and religious, has treated of these meetings and their results. I do desire, therefore, to thank God and take courage. Oh, for more grace, more living spirituality, more faith, more wisdom, more entire self-forgetting, self-consuming consecration to His cause and glory!"

The excitement which moved the capital of Pennsylvania was repeated in New York on a greater scale, and found expression in such journalistic description as this: "TWO HOURS BEFORE DR. DUFF—and most instructive hours they were, not soon to be forgotten. When, towards the close of his masterly discourse, we went to the front of the gallery (in the Tabernacle) and looked at the orator in full blaze,—his tall ungainly form swaying to and fro, his long right arm waving violently and the left one hugging his coat against his breast, his full voice raised to the tone of a Whitefield, and his face kindled into a glow of ardour like one under inspiration,—we thought we had never witnessed a higher display of thrilling majestic oratory. 'Did you ever hear such a speech?' said a genuine Scotsman near us, 'he cannot stop.' Since Chalmers went home to heaven Scotland has heard no eloquence like Duff's. In London he has commanded the homage of the strongest minds. . . . After a quiet, graceful introduction of his theme, founded on the missionary teachings of the Scripture, he led us across the seas to the scene of his apostolic labours. The description was complete. Magnificent India, with its dusky crowds and ancient temples, with its northern mountains towering to the skies, its dreary jungles haunted by the tiger and the hyena, its crystalline salt-fields flashing in the sun, its Malabar hills redolent with the richest spices, its tanks and its rice-fields, was all spread out before us like a panorama. We saw the devotees thronging in caravans to the shrine of Jugganath. We heard the proud Brahmans contending

for the absurdities of their ancient faith, which claims to have existed on this earth for four millions of years. . . . When the orator opened his batteries upon the sloth and selfishness of a large portion of Christ's followers, his sarcasm was scalding on the mercenary mammonism of the day. Under the burning satire and melting pathos of that tremendous appeal for dying heathendom tears of indignation welled out from many an eye. We all sat in shame and confusion. I leaned over towards the reporters' table. Many of them had laid down their pens. They might as well have attempted to report a thunderstorm. As the orator drew near his close he seemed like one inspired. His face shone, as it were the face of an angel! He had become the very embodiment of missions to us, and was lost in his transcendent theme. Never before did we so fully realise the overwhelming power of a man who is possessed with his theme. The concluding sentence was a swelling outburst of prophecy of the coming triumphs of the Cross. As the last thrilling words died into silence the audience arose and lifted up the sublime doxology :—

“ Praise God, from whom all blessings flow ;
Praise Him, all creatures here below.”

Washington next claimed the presence of the missionary, and that he reached by way of Baltimore. There he preached to Congress, in the hall of the House of Representatives, and there he had a prolonged interview with the President. The Speaker sat to the left of his official chair, the President, Franklin Pierce, to the right. After a day with the President, and another at the tomb of George Washington, at Mount Vernon, he turned westward, with the Rev. Dr. R. Patterson as his secretary and friend, across the Alleghany Mountains to Pittsburg in the Ohio valley. There he found many Scotsmen and too many Presbyterian divisions, since reduced by ecclesiastical union. “ Proceeding along the singularly beautiful valley of the Ohio, with its meadows and groves, and cultured plains and rolling wooded hills, by Cincinnati and Louisville

on to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi: from that to St. Louis, then northward to Chicago, on the lake Michigan; thence crossing eastward to Detroit I entered Canada, visiting the principal places there as far as Montreal, and returned by Boston and New York. Holding public meetings at the principal places as I went along, everywhere I met with the same kind and generous reception." Such was Dr. Duff's rapid summary to the General Assembly of the subsequent May, of a tour in which his voice fairly gave way at Cincinnati, and he was careful not to omit Princeton, the centre of evangelical theology in the West.

Dr. Duff turned back from Montreal to New York, giving up his intention of going home by Halifax, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in order to attend a catholic Missionary Convention, the first of the kind that had been held in the States. Throughout the 4th and 5th of May, after fresh addresses in the Broadway Tabernacle, to the young men of the city on religious education, at various religious anniversaries, and to a select circle of its leading men on his own work in India, he guided the deliberations on Foreign Missions of nearly three hundred evangelical clergymen, from all parts of the West. He closed the proceedings with a series of practical resolutions which gave a powerful impulse and healthy consolidation to the missionary churches and societies, and then with a two hours' address of high-toned fervour. On Saturday, the 13th of May, when he was to embark for Liverpool, the city bade him farewell. The address of St. Paul to the elders of Ephesus who accompanied him to the sea-shore, gave the key-note to the proceedings. This was the ancient and inspired benediction into which the Scottish Missionary burst forth at the close, leaving it as his latest prayer for the peoples of North America: "May the God of your fathers help you; may the Almighty God bless you with every blessing of heaven above, and every blessing of the deep below; and may your blessings prevail beyond the blessings of your progenitors to the utmost bounds of the everlasting hills. May the everlasting arms be above and around

you. May the eternal God be your refuge; and may it yet be declared of the people of this land as it was of old: 'Happy art thou, O Israel; who is like unto thee, a people saved by the Lord!' Amen and Amen! And now (here the congregation rose), the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, the communion and fellowship of the Holy Spirit, rest and abide with you, and with all the people of this nation, now, henceforth and for evermore. Amen."

Then, descending from the pulpit, and making his way through the crowds who pressed on him to feel the grasp of his hand once more and obtain another parting word, he passed to the steamer. There, wrote Dr. Murray, "the scene defied description. The wharf and the noble *Pacific* were crowded with clergymen and Christians assembled to bid him farewell. Many could only take him by the hand, weep and pass on. Never did any man leave our shores so encircled with Christian sympathy and affection." The University of New York enrolled him on its honour lists as LL.D.

He reached Edinburgh just in time to take part in the Foreign Mission proceedings of his own Church's General Assembly, and to tell Scotland somewhat of his experience in the United States and in Canada. Although he had nowhere pled for money, and had alluded to his own special work in India only when pressed to do so at social gatherings, a letter was put into his hands as his friends left the steamer, containing £3,000 from New York and Philadelphia. Canada also helped, and during his three months' absence Glasgow had raised a like sum. Thus was a new college built for him and his colleagues in Calcutta, against his return eighteen months afterwards.

But now the physical and mental penalty had to be paid. Did any man, in any profession and under any stimulus, ever spend his whole being as Dr. Duff had done, in travel and organising, in writing and speaking, under the extremes of heat and cold, in east and north and west? In the five years, from the palankeen journey over Southern India which began in the burning heat of 11th May, 1849, to the progress

through Atlantic storms and North American snows which closed on the 29th May, 1854, in the stifling air of Tanfield Hall, Edinburgh,—and all this following years of labour in the then unhealthy Calcutta and a similar five years' experience in Bengal, Scotland and England,—Alexander Duff had lived many lives before he was fifty.

He had planned to return to India in the autumn; the physicians ordered his careful treatment to be followed by absolute rest. He went to Great Malvern. The water treatment and regimen were then, and there, beginning to attract such cases as his. The first gleam of improvement at the end of July led him to reason with the doctors thus—"Let me travel slowly to India through Southern Europe, and I need not begin work there till February next." The plea was in vain; Major Durand was going, "and we may go together as we did twenty-five years ago." The Master had immediate service for the sufferer even in Malvern.

Among those at Malvern under treatment like himself was Lord Haddo, whose father, the fourth Earl of Aberdeen, was the Premier at that time of Crimean War preparations. How Lord Haddo and his wife had become active Christians, and how he with his son George had been sent to Malvern, is, with much else, told by the Rev. E. B. Elliot,* author of the *Horæ Apocalypticae*. Attracted to Dr. Duff, first by his book on India and India Missions and then by spiritual sympathy, Lord Haddo makes this entry in his journal on Sunday, 6th August: "Dr. Duff drank tea with me yesterday, and we spent together a pleasant evening. He is going to make an extensive tour on his way to Calcutta, and I promised him letters, among others, to Elphinstone," who had been appointed Governor of Bombay. Dr. Duff urged Lord Haddo, who had been elected M.P. for Aberdeenshire just when told that he must soon die, to try a winter in Egypt. "At this critical time of trial," writes Lord Haddo's biographer,

* *Memoir of Lord Haddo*, in his latter years fifth Earl of Aberdeen. Fifth edition, 1869.

“Dr. Duff’s visits were a great comfort to him.” He had told his wife and his father, on the 11th of August, “I wish to be considered and spoken of as a dying man; it will assist me in many things.” “No words can express the intenseness of my sympathy with you under present circumstances,” was the response of Dr. Duff to a similar communication received when himself exhausted by the effect of a vapour bath, and able only to promise to see Lord Haddo in the evening. Lady Haddo, the present Dowager Countess of Aberdeen, joined her husband at once, and with both Dr. Duff read portions of Isaiah’s prophecy, the 25th and 26th chapters, and the 103rd Psalm. “His remarks, and the prayer that followed, were always remembered by them afterwards.” This was the beginning of intercourse valued by the noble Gordon family, by Lord Polwarth and Lord Balfour of Burleigh, and resulting in the foundation of a memorial Mission in Natal, to be hereafter recorded.

Slowly did Dr. Duff’s recovery proceed. The beginning of the winter, however, forced him south even from Malvern. After a residence at Bayonne, he turned aside to Biarritz, where the winter was spent in seclusion in a mild invigorating atmosphere. After Pau and Montpellier, he reached Rome by Easter. There the papal police daily visited his lodgings, and all his applications for the return of his passport were ignored. At last, on appealing to the British Consul, he was told, “Go where you please; just say you are an Englishman: Palmerston is in power.” The wisdom of this advice he often proved.

The autumn quiet of an Edinburgh September was all he could give to his boys, then demanding a father’s personal care more than ever. Along with the Rev. James Mitchell, of Poona, and the Rev. John Braidwood, of Madras, he was commended to the guidance and blessing of God by the Presbytery of Edinburgh. His address, delivered amid the public excitement of the Crimean War, contained passages of eloquence and wisdom on the missionary duty of the Churches of the West.

Leaving the burning words behind him for the quickening of the Churches, Dr. Duff, with his wife, set out from Edinburgh on the 13th of October for India, for the third time.

CHAPTER XXII

1856-1858

THE MUTINY AND THE NATIVE CHURCH OF INDIA

THE one condition on which the physicians allowed Dr. Duff to return to India was that he should still, for six months, abstain from work of all kinds, while he sought the climate of the Mediterranean or of Egypt for another winter. He reasoned that the dry and bracing yet mild air of the Dekhan, or uplands of Central India, is quite as invigorating to the invalid, while there he could return to his loved duties of missionary overseer. Just before the Sabbath of 17th February he entered his own city, in time to begin the third and last period of his evangelising work in India, by "preaching the everlasting gospel from the pulpit of the Free Church. After a sublimely impressive prayer from my beloved friend, Mr. Milne, the pastor, I endeavoured, amid a mighty rush and conflict of emotions, to preach to an overflowing audience. After sermon what a greeting with beloved native converts and friends." Among the worshippers was Sir Henry Durand, the grave young lieutenant of the *Lady Holland*, the friend of Judson, and even then among the foremost military statesmen of the empire.

Lord Canning, Durand's schoolfellow at Eton, took the oaths and his seat in Government House on the last day of February, 1856. There was many a wet eye when, at the historic Ghaut a few days after, the

great Marquess of Dalhousie left. In extent, in resources and in political strength he had developed the East India Company's territories into an empire able to pass triumphantly through the ordeal of mutiny and insurrection, which the Government at home had invited, in spite of his protests against a reduction of the British garrison in inverse proportion to the addition of a province like Oudh. For the Crimean War had been succeeded by the Persian expedition, provinces as large as France were almost without an English soldier, and the predicted extinction of the Company's *raj* on the coming centenary of Plassey next year was current. Already had the emissaries of the titular King of Delhi and the richly pensioned descendants of Sivaji and the Maratha Peshwa been abroad, the lions of London drawing-rooms, the keen observers of our early blunders before Sebastopol, envoys to the Shah of Persia, to the great Khans of Central Asia, and to our own feudatory kings. The twelvemonth of 1856-57, during which the new Governor-General was beginning his apprenticeship to affairs, was the lull before the storm which few suspected and not one anticipated in the form in which it burst.

The missionaries, as the most permanent and disinterested body of observers in the country, had so far shown their uneasiness as to submit to Government an elaborate memorial on the state of the people. Military reform was not within their ken. But they knew the people as no one else did, and they were the most valuable intermediaries and interpreters between their own Government and the natives. The condition-of-Bengal question, as it was called, Dr. Duff and Mr. Marshman had represented with effect before the Parliamentary committee on the charter of 1853, but the corruption of the police and the courts and the oppression of the peasantry could not be prevented in a few years. An insurrection of the simple aborigines of the Santal hills, some two hundred miles west of Calcutta, against the exactions of their Bengali usurers, had further let a lurid light into the structure of Hindu society,

without education and still resisting the gospel. The Muhammadans, on the other hand, had not remained uninfluenced by the spirit which, more or less blindly, we encouraged in the Government of their Sultan, in the still vain hope that we might change the leopard's spots. The Wahabi colony, in Patna and on the Punjab frontier, was busily recruiting co-religionists from Eastern Bengal to wage on us the intermittent war which continued from the capture of Delhi in 1857, to the drawn battle of Umbeyla in 1864, and the assassination of a Chief Justice and a Viceroy in 1871. Dimly doubtful whether, after all, Great Britain was not making the mistake of giving new life to the cruel intolerance of Islam, its Christian philanthropists, headed by Sir Culling Eardley, consulted Dr. Duff, among others, as to the law and feeling of the Muhammadans of India regarding the death penalty for apostasy. The missionary collected from the best authorities, Asiatic and Anglo-Indian, a body of opinion which, while it showed that Islam cannot change, found a horrible commentary in the massacres eight months after.

At Dum Dum there is the Magazine for the manufacture of ammunition, and there, in 1857, was a musketry school for practice with the Enfield rifle, then recently introduced. One of the workmen, of low caste, having been refused water from the "lotah" of a sepoy, who was a Brahman, revenged himself by the taunt that all castes would soon be alike, for cartridges smeared with the fat of kine and the lard of swine would have to be bitten by the whole army, Hindu and Muhammadan. That remark became the opportunity of the political plotters. The horror, in a wildly exaggerated form, was whispered in every cantonment. In the infantry and cavalry lines of Barrackpore, a few miles farther up the Hoogly and the Governor-General's summer seat, the alarm was only increased when the General, who knew the sepoys and their language well, assured them that not one of the dreaded cartridges had then been issued, and that the troops might lubricate them for the Enfield grooves with beeswax.

It happened that several of them had occasionally lounged into the manufactory of paper at Serampore on the opposite side of the river, where the cartridge paper was prepared, and there had witnessed the boiling of animal size for other varieties. The Barrackpore, then the Berhampore, then the Meerut, and finally all the sepoys of the Bengal Army, believed that the Enfield cartridge was meant to destroy their caste, and that the new Lord Saheb had been sent out thus to make them Christians, for had not his first order been that all recruits must be enlisted for service across the sea?

Thus opened January, 1857. All the evidence points to the last Sunday in May, when the Christians should be in church, as the time fixed by the leaders for a general rising. But the cartridge panic precipitated the catastrophe, broke it into detached attempts, and enabled the Christian civilisation of a handful of white men—not forty thousand at the crisis—to save the millions of Southern and Eastern Asia. The weakness with which Government treated the attempts at Berhampore and Barrackpore emboldened eighty-five Musalmans, of the 3rd Cavalry at Meerut, to refuse even to tear off the end of the suspected cartridges with their hands. On Saturday, the 9th May, they were marched to jail in fetters before the rest of the troops; on Sunday evening the sepoys of all arms rose, freed them and the convicts, and proceeded to massacre the Europeans, young and old, as they came out of church or were found in the isolated houses of an Indian station. Military incompetence in the north-west completed what the imbecility of the Calcutta authorities had begun under their own eyes. General Hewitt allowed the maddened sepoys to rage unchecked, and then to march to Delhi to repeat the work of blood.

This much will enable our readers to take up the heroic tale at the point where Dr. Duff became the chronicler, in a series of twenty-five letters published every fortnight in the *Edinburgh Witness*, and which, in the form of a volume, ran through several editions. The special value of what we shall quote lies, for the

historian of the future, in the picture of Calcutta and the report of contemporary opinion by a missionary whose personal courage was as undoubted as his political experience and discrimination were remarkable. His letters on *The Indian Rebellion; its Causes and Results*, correct the unsatisfactory narrative and speculation of Sir John Kaye. The extracts we may best introduce by the reminiscence of the Rev. James Long, whose home was not far from Cornwallis Square.

“At the period of the Mutiny we both lived in the native part of the town, with the smouldering embers of disaffection all around us. We had a vigilance committee of the Europeans of our part of the suburbs which used to meet in Dr. Duff’s house. I applied to the chief magistrate for a grant of arms for our members, but the request was negatived—that official, like most of those in Calcutta, could see no danger though we were at the mouth of a volcano. I mentioned the case to Dr. Duff, and by his advice I laid the request before Lord Canning. A favourable answer was received in a few hours, and muskets were supplied. I shall never forget the gleam of glee that lighted up his face as he handled his musket. He felt with the men of that day that necessity overrides all conventionalities.”

CALCUTTA, 16th May, 1857.—“We are at this moment in a crisis of jeopardy such as has not occurred since the awful catastrophe of the Black Hole of Calcutta. It is now certain that we narrowly escaped a general massacre in Calcutta itself. There was a deep-laid plot or conspiracy—for which some have undergone the penalty of death—to seize on Fort William, and massacre all the Europeans. The night chosen for the desperate attempt was that on which the Maharaja of Gwalior, when here, had invited the whole European community to an exhibition of fireworks, across the river, at the Botanic Gardens. On that evening, however, as if by a gracious interposition of Providence, we were visited with a heavy storm of thunder, lightning and rain, so that the grand entertainment of the Maharaja had to be postponed. The European officers, therefore, had not left the Fort; and the object of the conspirators being thus defeated, was soon afterwards brought to light, to the horror of all, and the abounding thankfulness of such as acknowledge the loving-kindness of the Lord. From all the chief stations in the North-West, intelligence of a mutinous spirit manifesting itself in divers ways has been dropping in upon us for several weeks past. But at this moment all interest is absorbed by the two most prominent cases, at Meerut and

Delhi. Such a blow to the prestige of British power and supremacy has not yet been struck in the whole history of British India. All Calcutta may be said to be in sackcloth. The three or four days' panic during the crisis of the Sikh War was nothing to this. Nearly half the native army is in a state of secret or open mutiny; and the other half known to be disaffected. But this is not all; the populace generally is known to be more or less disaffected. You see, then, how very serious is the crisis. Nothing, nothing but some gracious and signal interposition of the God of Providence seems competent now to save our empire in India.

3rd June.—“Though the Mission House be absolutely unprotected, in the very heart of the native city, far away from the European quarters, I never dreamt of leaving it. . . . Our Mission work in all its branches, alike in Calcutta and the country stations, continues to go on without any interruption, though there is a wild excitement abroad among all classes of natives, which tends mightily to distract and unsettle their minds.

16th June.—“Calcutta has been in a state of alarm far exceeding anything that had gone before. . . . On Sabbath (14th) the feeling of anxiety rose to a perfect paroxysm. On Saturday night the Brigadier at Barrackpore sent an express to Government House to notify that, from certain information which he had obtained, there was to be a general rising of the sepoys on Sabbath. Accordingly, before the Sabbath dawned, all manner of vehicles were in requisition to convey all the available European forces to Barrackpore and Dum Dum. Those which had been sent to the north by railway on Saturday were recalled by a telegraphic message through the night. But the public generally had not any distinct intelligence as to the varied movements; and even if they had, there would be the utmost uncertainty as to the result. Accordingly, throughout the whole Sabbath-day the wildest and most fearful rumours were circulating in rapid succession.

“The great roads from Barrackpore and Dum Dum unite a little beyond Cornwallis Square, and then pass through it. If there were a rush of murderous ruffians from these military stations, the European residents in that square would have to encounter the first burst of their diabolical fury. It so happened, therefore, that some kind friends, interested in our welfare, wrote to us at daybreak on Sabbath, pointing out the danger, and urging the necessity of our leaving the square. And before breakfast, some friends called in person to urge the propriety of this course. Still, I did not feel it to be my duty to yield to their expostulations. There were others in the square besides my partner and myself. Near us is the Central Female School of the Church of England, with several lady teachers, and some twenty or thirty boarders; the Christian converts' house, with upwards of a dozen inmates; our old Mission home, with its present occupants of the Established Church; in another house an English clergyman, with some native Christians; and in another still, the Lady Superintendent of the Bethune Government School, and her assistants. If one must leave the square all ought to do so; and I did not consider the alarming intelligence sufficiently substantiated to warrant me to propose to my neighbours a universal abandonment of the square. So I went on with all my ordinary Sabbath duties, altogether in the ordinary way. Almost all the ministers in Calcutta had expostulatory letters sent them, dissuading them from preaching in the forenoon, and protesting against their attempting to do so in the evening. And though, to their credit, no one, so far as I have heard, yielded to the pressure, the churches in the forenoon were half empty, and in the evening nearly empty altogether.

“On Sunday, at five p.m., the authorities, backed by the presence of British troops, proceeded to disarm the sepoy at Barrackpore, Dum Dum, and elsewhere. Through God’s great mercy the attempt proved successful. This, however, was only known to a few connected with Government House and their friends, so that the panic throughout Sunday night rose to an inconceivable height. With the exception of another couple, Mrs. Duff and myself were the only British residents in Cornwallis Square on that night.

24th June.—“The centenary day of the battle of Plassey (23rd instant) which laid the foundation of our Indian empire, and which native hopes and wishes, and astrological predictions, had long ago fixed on as *the last* of British sway, has passed by; and through God’s overruling providence Calcutta is still the metropolis of British India. But, alas! throughout the whole of the North-West Provinces, all government is at present at an end. Instead of peace and tranquillity, security of life and property, under its sovereign and benign sway, universal anarchy, turbulence and ruin!—the military stations in possession of armed and bloodthirsty mutineers—the public treasures rifled—the habitations of the British residents plundered and reduced to ashes—numbers of British officers, with judges, magistrates, women and children, butchered with revolting cruelties—the remnant portions of the British that have yet escaped, cooped up in isolated spots, and closely hemmed in by myriads that are thirsting for their blood, while bands of armed ruffians are scouring over the country, bent on ravage, plunder, and murder, striking terror and consternation into the minds of millions of the peacefully disposed.

7th July.—“Alas, alas! the work of savage butchery still progresses in this distracted land. Not a day passes without some addition, from one quarter or another, to the black catalogue of treachery and murder. This very day Government have received intelligence of one of the foulest tragedies connected with this awful rebellion. At Cawnpore, one of the largest military stations in Northern India, a mutinous spirit had early manifested itself among the native soldiery, and there were no European troops whatever to keep it in check, except about fifty men who had latterly been sent by Sir Henry Lawrence from Lucknow. But there was one man there whose spirit, energy, and fertility of resource were equal to a number of ordinary regiments—the brave and skilful veteran—Sir Hugh Wheeler. By his astonishing vigour and promptitude of action, he succeeded in keeping in abeyance the mutinous spirit of three or four thousand armed men. At the same time, with the forecasting prudence of a wise general, he began to prepare timeously for the worst, by forming a small entrenched camp, to which ladies, children, and other helpless persons, with provisions, were removed, while most of the British officers took up their abode either in or near it. At last the long-expected rising took place. The mutineers went deliberately to work, according to the prescribed plan followed in other quarters. They broke open the jail and liberated the prisoners; they plundered the public treasury; they pillaged and set fire to the bungalows of the officers and other British residents, killing all indiscriminately who had not effected their escape to the entrenched camp.

“There Sir Hugh and his small handful, with undaunted courage, held their position against the most tremendous odds, repelling every attack of the thousands by whom they were surrounded, with heavy loss to the rebels. These were at last joined by thousands more of the mutineers from Sultanpore, Seetapore, and other places in Oudh, with guns. The conflict now became terrific,—exemplifying, on the part of

the British, the very spirit and determination of old Greece at Thermopylæ. The soul of the brave old chief, in particular, only rose, by the accumulating pressure of difficulty, into grander heroism. To the last he maintained a hearty cheerfulness, declaring that he could hold out for two or three weeks against any numbers. With the fall of the chief and some of his right-hand men, the remainder of the little band seem to have been smitten with a sense of the utter hopelessness of prolonged resistance. They did not, they could not, know that relief was so near at hand,—that the gallant Colonel Neill, who had already saved Benares and the fortress of Allahabad with his Madras Fusiliers, was within two or three days' march of them. Had this been known to them, they would doubtless have striven to hold out during these two or three days; and, to all human appearance, with success. But, ignorant of the approaching relief, and assailed by the cries and tears of helpless women and children, they were induced, in an evil hour, to entertain the overtures made to them by a man who had already been guilty of treachery and murder.

“This man was Nana Saheb, the adopted son of the late Baji Rao, the ex-Peshwa, or last head of the Maratha confederacy, who, for the long period of nearly forty years, resided at Benares, enjoying the munificent pension of £80,000 a-year. This Nana Saheb was allowed, by the bounty of the British Government, to occupy a small fort at Bithoor, not far from Cawnpore. Till within the last few months this man was wont to profess the greatest delight in European society,—to go out with British officers on shooting excursions, and to invite them to fêtes at his residence. And yet, the moment that fortune seems to frown on British interests, he turns round, and, with Asiatic treachery, deliberately plans the destruction of the very men whom he had so often, in the spirit of apparently cordial friendship, fêted and feasted. On Sunday, the 28th June, this man, with consummate hypocrisy, of his own accord sent overtures to our beleaguered countrymen,—then bereft of their heroic chieftain,—swearing, ‘upon the water of the Ganges, and all the oaths most binding on a Hindu, that if the garrison would trust to him and surrender, the lives of all would be spared, and they should be put into boats and sent down to Allahabad.’ Under the influence of some infatuating blindness, that garrison that might have possibly held out till relief arrived, was induced to trust in these oily professions, and surrender. Agreeably to the terms of the treaty, they were put into boats, with provisions, and other necessaries and comforts. But mark the conduct of the perfidious fiend in human form: No sooner had the boats reached the middle of the river than their sworn protector himself gave a preconcerted signal, and guns, which had been laid for the purpose, were opened upon them from the Cawnpore bank! yea, and when our poor wretched countrymen tried to escape, by crossing to the Oudh side of the river, they found that arrangements had been made there too for their reception; for there, such of them as were enabled to land, were instantaneously cut to pieces by cavalry that had been sent across for the purpose. In this way nearly the whole party, according to the Government report,—consisting of several hundreds, mostly helpless women and children,—were destroyed! such of the women and children as were not killed being reserved probably as hostages.

20th July.—“Heavier and heavier tidings of woe! About a week ago it was known that Sir Henry Lawrence—whose defence of Lucknow with a mere handful, amid the rage of hostile myriads, has been the admiration of all India—had gone out to attack a vast body of armed

rebels; that his *native* force, with characteristic treachery, had turned round upon him at the commencement of the fight—and that, with his two hundred Europeans, he had to cut his way back, with Spartan daring, to the Residency. It was also known that, on that occasion, the brave leader was severely wounded; and two days ago intelligence reached us, which, alas! has since been confirmed, that on the 4th instant he sunk under the effects of his wounds. What shall I say? It is impossible for me to express the grief of heart which I feel in thus recording the death of Sir Henry Lawrence. In his character were singularly blended the heroic chivalry of the old Greek and the inflexible sternness of the old Roman, in happy combination with the tenderness of a patriarch and the benevolence of the Christian philanthropist. In him the native army, through whose murderous treachery he prematurely fell, has lost its greatest benefactor; while the girls' and boys' schools, founded by his munificence on the heights of the Himalaya, of Mount Abu, and of the Neelgherris, must testify through coming ages to the depth and liveliness of his interest in the welfare of the British soldier's family in this burning foreign clime. I mourn over him as a personal friend,—one whose friendship resembled more what we sometimes meet with in romance rather than in actual everyday life. I mourn over him as one of the truest, sincerest, and most liberal supporters of our Calcutta Mission. I mourn over him as the heaviest loss which British India could possibly sustain in the very midst of the most terrible crisis of her history.

4th August.—"Amid our personal sorrows and horror at the barbarities of the misguided sepoys and their allies, we, as Christians, have much need to watch our own spirits, lest the longing for retribution may swallow up the feeling of mercy. Already we begin to perceive here a recoil and reaction against the natives generally. But, as Christians, ought we not to lay it to heart, that the men who have been guilty of such outrages against humanity have been so just because they never, never came under the regenerating, softening, mellowing influences of the gospel of grace and salvation? And their diabolical conduct, instead of being an argument against further labour and liberality in attempting to evangelise this island, ought to furnish one of the most powerful arguments in favour of enhanced labour and liberality.

1st October.—"To-day the consummating message has reached Government by telegraph from Cawnpore, in these curt but emphatic terms: 'Delhi is entirely ours. God save the Queen! Strong column in pursuit.' This brief but significant message, together with the previous ones, must, as you may readily suppose, have thrown strangely conflicting currents of joy and sadness into the heart of a community already painfully agitated by the doubtful fate of Lucknow, and the disastrous rumours from other quarters,—joy, at the final recapture of the great stronghold of the rebels, the continued possession of which threw a halo of glory and triumph over their cause in the eyes of the millions of India,—sadness, at the uncertain fate of hundreds of beloved relatives and friends who may be found among the slain. Verily, it is a time for joining 'trembling with our mirth.' It is a time in which we have to sing of 'mercy and of judgment.' Jehovah's right arm, with its glittering sword of justice, has swiftly descended upon us; but in His great goodness we have not been wholly consumed. And in the midst of deserved wrath He is remembering undeserved mercy this day.

2nd October.—"To-day a brief telegraphic message from Cawnpore has announced at last the relief of the Lucknow garrison by General

Havelock's force. There must, however, have been desperate fighting, as the message reports four hundred killed and wounded, and among the former General Neill, the brave Madras officer who saved Benares and the fortress of Allahabad. He had, by his own deeds since he arrived amongst us,—deeds indicative of soldierly qualities of the very highest order,—become a universal favourite.

6th October.—“The case of Peshawur, the remotest and most critically situated of all the Punjab stations, is most remarkable and instructive. The Muhammadan population of that city is singularly fanatical. The city is encompassed with hill tribes as daring as they are fanatical. The first British Political Resident there, after the conquest of the Punjab, full of antiquated antichristian fears, declared that so long as he lived there should not be a Christian mission beyond the Indus. Subsequently the Resident was assassinated by a Muhammadan fanatic. His successor was the famous Major Edwardes, of Multan celebrity,—a man who, happily, fears God and loves the Saviour and His cause. When it was proposed to establish a mission at Peshawur, he at once fearlessly headed it, and openly declared, in substance, that the christianisation of India ought to be regarded as the ultimate end of our continued possession of it. At the outbreak of the great rebellion nearly the whole of the native regiments (eight in number) at the station showed symptoms of disaffection and mutiny. Most of them had to be disarmed; and one of them has since been cut to pieces. In the midst of these frightful internal troubles, and surrounded on all sides with a fiercely fanatical people, what were the missionaries to do? If they were even called on by the authorities to pause for a season, no one could have been much surprised. But no; Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, and Mr. Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner, of the Punjab, in reference to them, in substance replied, “Let the preaching and other missionary operations by no means be suspended.” Oh, how true the saying, ‘Them that honour Me I will honour!’ At Peshawur, amidst almost unparalleled difficulties, the British have been able to hold their own; the Punjab has been preserved in tranquillity; and not only so, but has been able to furnish nearly all the troops that have now so triumphantly recaptured Delhi! Are not these suggestive facts? Indeed, it is scarcely too much to say, that it is the Punjab which has mainly saved our Indian empire.”

Not only were Christian men profoundly moved by what seemed to some to be the death-throes of an empire. Many an Anglo-Indian found in 1857 that life had a new meaning for them because Christ had a new power. As in a shipwreck, the upheaving of government, of society, of the unknown gulf of Asiatic passions, revealed most men and women to themselves. From many such a cry went up for a day of national prayer and humiliation.

The Free Church Presbytery fixed Sunday, the 25th October, as the day for a special service, which they appointed Dr. Duff to conduct. Members of the Government were present in the crowd of worshippers.

With the intensity of his whole nature strung to an even higher pitch than usual, Dr. Duff seems to have come forth as a rapt prophet.

For months had mutiny and massacre swept over Hindustan, the land between the Vindhya and the Himalayas: how did the fiery trial affect the Church of India? For by 1857 there was a Native Church, pastors and flocks, in the great cities and scattered among the villages, not unlike that which, in very different circumstances, Diocletian thought to wipe out of the Roman Empire. Few, save the missionaries who had been blessed to bring it to the birth, and officials of the Lawrence stamp who fostered its growth, knew of what stuff its members were made. Few believed that the converts, despised by a world which knew them not because so little familiar with their Master, would pass through the fiery trial to the confessor's crown and the martyr's palm. The Mutiny did not seek Christians particularly, any more than it had been specially excited by Christian progress. In Madras, where the Native Church was oldest and strongest, and in Bombay, where the five causes of insurrection alleged by the antichristian party of politicians had been most active, there was no mutiny. Native Christians were simply identified by the rebels with the governing class, but were generally offered their lives at the price of denying their Lord. Missionaries and converts were sacrificed or hunted, because they were in exposed places or had the courage to remain at the post of duty, but the number who perished was not out of proportion to other classes of victims. Of the fifteen hundred white Christians believed to have been butchered by the sepoy and their rabble agents, 240 were military officers out of the 4,000 in the Bengal Army, and 37 were missionaries, chaplains and their families, out of a body of 300, probably, over the same area.

When Dr. Duff founded his system in Calcutta, in 1830, there were not more than 27,000 native Christians, Protestants, in the whole peninsula and the adjoining lands of Ceylon and Burma. This was the result of a

century's evangelising on the old method in South India. By 1840, this number had risen to only 57,000; but by 1850 a census shows that it had become 127,000. When the anarchy of Islam and Brahmanism was let loose in 1857, there cannot have been more than 150,000. Then was realised the old experience of the Apostolic and Reformed Churches, the truth of the saying of Tertullian, that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. Since the Mutiny and because of the Mutiny, the Reformed Church of India, now indigenous and self-developing as well as fostered by foreign overseers, has become nearly a million strong.

How, then, did the Native Church of 1857, some 150,000 strong, pass through the year of blood and persecution? Mr. M. A. Sherring compiled an authentic narrative of the facts, which, as published in 1859, was admitted by friend and foe to be within the truth. The first martyr roll of the Church of India contains the names of thirty-five missionaries and their wives and children, and of fifteen native Christians.

The names in the roll of very special interest to Dr. Duff were those of Mr. and Mrs. Hunter, of the Established Church of Scotland; and of his own third convert, Gopinath Nundi. The former, apart from their worth and their work in founding a Mission which he had urged on the Church at the Disruption, had been inspired by Dr. Duff when at Aberdeen, and the Rev. Dr. R. Hunter, of the Free Church Mission at Nagpore, was their elder brother. Ram Chandra Mitter, who perished at Futtehpore, was described by Gopinath as "a zealous Christian, educated in the General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta." Fortunately we have the personal narrative of Gopinath, confirmed by that of Dr. Owen, and forming not the least pathetic and instructive of the Indian *Acta Martyrum Sincera*.

The Church of India undoubtedly had a few cases corresponding to the *libellatici* of that of the Roman Empire. Did not Europeans and Eurasians also in some instances fail in the hour of fiery temptation? "Repeat the *Kalima*," or creed of Islam, was the ordinary test, but in the native Christian woman's case the

threat of the loss of honour was added to that of death; yet the apostates were generally the ignorant drummer-boys, the only Christians admitted by a short-sighted Government into the Bengal Army, from which every baptized sepoy was expelled.

While the missionaries themselves were surprised by the steadfastness and the faith of converts whose physique was generally weak and their præ-Christian associations demoralising, the Government, led by the great Punjabi heroes, began to see that Christianity meant active loyalty. Native Christians manned the guns in Agra Fort. Within a fortnight of the receipt of the Meerut massacre the Krishnaghur Christians—weak Bengalis—vainly offered “to aid the Government to the utmost of our power, both by bullock-gharries and men, or in any other way in which our services may be required, and that cheerfully without wages or remuneration.” Those of Benares, under Mr. Leupolt, formed a band which defended the mission till Neill arrived, and they joined the new military police till the Calcutta authorities forbade them. Not a few, even then, served as men and officers with the police levy which saved Mirzapore, and in Mr. Hodgson Pratt’s corps which gave peace to Hoogly. The German missionaries in Chota Nagpore offered the blinded Government of Bengal a force of ten thousand Christian Kols; and the American Dr. Mason volunteered to send a battalion of Christian Karens from Burma. Even the Christians of South India pressed their services on the Madras Governor. But in every case the fear of an “invidious distinction” was assigned by the Bengal authorities, to the scorn of Dr. Duff, as a reason for refusing such aid. Yet there had always been Christians and even Jews in the Madras and Bombay armies, and there were not a few, Protestant and Romanist, in the 17th M. N. I., which was fighting in Hindustan against the rebels. When it was too late, and all Behar was threatened, the Bengal Government eagerly sent to the missionaries, who had been by that time forced to flee for their lives, accepting the magnanimous offer.

CHAPTER XXIII

1858-1863

LAST YEARS IN INDIA

IN the eight years ending 1863, which formed the third and last of Dr. Duff's periods of personal service in India, he enjoyed a foretaste, at least, of that which is generally denied to the pioneers of philanthropy in its highest forms. "One soweth and another reapeth," is the law of the divine kingdom. The five years from 1830 to 1835 had been a time emphatically of sowing the seeds of a new system, but that had borne early and yet ripe fruit in the first four converts. The eleven years which closed in 1850 had been a time of laying the foundation of a second organisation and of consolidating the infant Church. But, thereafter, educated and representative converts, Hindu and also Muhammadan, flowed into it. One year saw so many as twenty, while catechumens became catechists, these were licensed as preachers, and these ordained as missionaries, themselves privileged to attract and baptize converts from among all castes and classes of their countrymen. At one time Dr. Duff found himself alone in the Bengal Mission, with his earlier converts become his colleagues, and only Mr. Fyfe at his side. At another he rejoiced in reinforcements of young missionaries from Scotland. All around he saw the indirect results of his whole work since 1830, in native opinion, British administra-

tion, and Anglo-Indian society, the progress of which, having reached an almost brilliant position under Lord Dalhousie, received a new impetus in the Mutiny under Lord Canning.

The Bengal Mission went on growing. It had never been so prosperous, spiritually and educationally, as in the Mutiny year. Then it entered on the new college buildings in Neemtolla Street, for which Duff had raised £15,000 in Scotland, England, and the United States. The first visitor was Sindia, the Maharaja of Gwalior, descendant of the Maratha who fought Arthur Wellesley at Assye. At that time the chief was only twenty-seven years of age, but he had given promise of the same vigour of character as well as loyalty to the paramount power, which were to save him in the Mutiny and advance him to even greater honour under almost every Viceroy to the present day. He was especially fortunate in the guidance, as political agent, of Major S. Charters Macpherson, and, as prime minister, of the Raja Dinkar Rao. The former was well-known to Dr. Duff, who had written at length, in the *Calcutta Review*, on his remarkable success in suppressing human sacrifices among the indigenous tribes of Orissa. The latter was afterwards selected by Lord Canning himself as the native statesman most competent to sit in the imperial legislature in Calcutta, and his memorandum on the government of Asiatics is still of curious authority. The two "politicals," the Scottish son of the manse and the Maratha Brahman, had combined to make the Maharaja a sovereign wise for the good of the people and of himself. His Highness had come to Calcutta to be further influenced by the Governor-General. He inspected Dr. Duff's college and school, from the lowest to the highest class, as models to be reproduced in Gwalior. Thus was reproduced on a larger scale the experience of a quarter of a century before. Then Bengal zemindars, other missionaries, and the Government of India itself, had copied the model. Now it was studied by tributary sovereigns for reproduction in distant native states.

In the instruction and Christian education of Hindu

ladies this period witnessed a movement which is working a silent revolution in native society. Up to 1854 nothing had been done in Zanana Missions which had not failed as premature. Poor girls under the marriageable age of puberty at ten or eleven, had been attracted to day-schools. There aged pundits taught elementary Bengali to a few dozen children, conducted to and from the place by old widows, and paid a farthing each for daily attendance. This was all that was possible in the condition of Hindu society at that time; and the Christian ladies are to be honoured who toiled on amid such discouragements. Even 1850 was the day of small things in girls' as 1830 had been in boys' education in Bengal. But the fathers of 1850 had been the boys of 1830, and the time was ripe for advance. When still a youthful colleague of Dr. Duff, in 1840, Dr. Thomas Smith had published an article urging an attempt to send Christian ladies into the zananas. In 1854 the attempt succeeded. The Rev. John Fordyce, whom, with his wife, Dr. Duff had with true foresight sent out to the Bengali orphanage, grasped the opportunity. Aided by Dr. T. Smith, he established the Zanana Mission, which the genius of Lacroix's daughter, Mrs. Mullens, so developed, and Government has so encouraged, that it has become the most effectual means for educating the women of India. The process is slow; but, as it co-operates with that begun in 1830, and propagates itself, fed ever more largely by the love and the truth of English and American ladies, it will change the family life and all society. Is it not thus that nations are born?

The year 1859-60 was a time of trial for the Mission staff. "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?" were the words from which Dr. Duff, on the 24th of July, 1859, preached a discourse on the life and the death of the great-hearted Swiss missionary Lacroix. The acquaintance begun on the first night of Duff's arrival in Calcutta, the 27th May, 1830, had ripened into what the sermon described as "a close and endearing friendship, severed only by death." The two men, both Presbyterians, though of

different churches and missionary methods, had much in common. The apostle of the teaching thus wrote of the apostle of the purely preaching method of Christian Missions : “ Though he laboured far more and far longer than any other man in the direct preaching of the gospel to myriads in their own vernacular tongue, and though no foreigner, in this part of India, ever equalled him in his power of arresting and commanding the attention of a Bengali-speaking audience, yet the success vouchsafed to his faithful, acceptable, and untiring labours in the way of the conversion of souls to God, for which he intensely longed and prayed, was comparatively very small ! But notwithstanding this comparative want of success, he never once lost heart. With unabated cheerfulness he perseveringly continued to labour on to the very end, in the assured confidence that not one of the ‘ exceeding great and precious promises ’ would fail ; and that, sooner or later, India, yea, and all the world, would be the Lord’s.”

Death did not stop there. After a few months, and in one afternoon, fell cholera carried off Dr. Ewart, emphatically “ a pillar ” of the Mission and Duff’s student friend.

Mr. Pourie had transferred his fine missionary spirit to the Free Church congregation, which he was too soon to leave to find in Sydney a grave instead of the health he vainly sought. Dr. Mackay, long an invalid, was compelled at last to leave the work he loved, and died in Edinburgh. All this added to the burden laid on Dr. Duff, himself fast aging from thirty years’ toil. Every rainy season laid him low, to recover only temporarily during the brief vacation of the cold weather. And there came upon him the questioning of a new generation of ministers in his own Church, as to the nature and the wisdom of the missionary method which he had worked with such immediate spiritual results.

Such questioning called forth these ardent longings, at a time when he had begun, with other evangelical Christians in Calcutta, a series of revival meetings such as had turned many to righteousness in America and Ireland just before :—

“My own firm persuasion is, that, whether we, the weary, toiling pioneers, ploughers, and sowers shall be privileged to reap or not, the reaping of a great harvest will yet be realised. Perhaps when the bones of those who are now sowing in tears shall be rotting in the dust, something like justice may be done to their principles and motives, their faith and perseverance, by those who shall then be reaping with joy, and gathering in the great world-harvest of redeemed souls. In the face of myriads daily perishing, and in the face of myriads instantaneously saved under the mighty outpourings of the Spirit of grace, I feel no disposition to enter into argument, discussion, or controversy with any one. Still my impulses and tendencies are to labour on amid sunshine and storm, to leave all to God, to pray without ceasing that the Spirit may be poured out on Scotland, England, India, and all lands, in the full assurance that such outpourings would soon settle all controversies, put an end to all theorisings about modes and methods and other immaterial details, and give us all so much to do with alarmed, convicted, and converted souls, as to leave no head, no heart, no spirit, no life for anything else.”

In the many questions of administration which the events of 1857-9 forced upon the Government and the country Dr. Duff took a keen interest. But, as a missionary, he was called upon to express his views publicly only when the good of the whole people was at stake. Two social and economic difficulties in Bengal demanded the interference of Lord Canning's later government—the rack-renting of the peasantry by their own zemindars, and the use of their feudal powers by English landlords or lessees to secure the profitable cultivation of the indigo plant. None knew the oppression of the uneducated millions so well as the missionaries in the interior, who lived among and for the people, spoke their language, and sought their highest good. Again and again the united Missionary Conference had petitioned the Governor-General for inquiry, and the result was the charter granted by Parliament in 1853. But nothing came of that, at first, for the people, and again the Conference asked for a commission of inquiry, with the result thus described by Dr. Duff: “All being then apparently smooth and calm on the surface to the distant official eye, the necessity for inquiry was almost contemptuously scouted.” But, as soon as the crisis of the Mutiny would allow, Lord Canning's legislature passed the famous Act X. of 1859 to regulate the relations of landlord and tenant. Competition then invaded prescription, but the Act was as fair an attempt to preserve tenant-right while securing to the landlord the

benefit of prices and improvements, as Mr. Gladstone's, which was influenced by it, was in Ireland long after. That was the first of a succession of measures, down to the last year of Lord Lawrence's viceroyalty, passed to secure the old cultivators all over India in their beneficial right of occupancy and improvements, while regulating the conditions on which rent could be enhanced.

Early in 1860 the peasantry of the rich county of Nuddea began to refuse to cultivate indigo, and to mark their refusal by "riots, plunderings, and burnings." The system was bad, but it was old, it was of the East India Company's doing, and its evils were as novel to the Government of the day as the difficulty of devising a remedy was great. In the absence of anything like statesmanship anywhere, and amid the animosities of the vested interests, the whole of Bengal became divided into two parties, for and against the indigo-planters. The result was the destruction of an industry which was worth a million sterling annually to the country. Authorities who, like Dr. Duff and the *Friend of India*, dared to seek the good of the people while striving to preserve the industry, were scouted, were denounced in the daily press, and their very lives were threatened. An Act was hastily passed to enforce the peace and appointing a commission of inquiry on which the missionaries and all classes were represented. To that Dr. Duff submitted a letter, which was published because of "the character and position of the writer," with the acknowledgment that it dealt "in a very broad and comprehensive spirit with the subject of popular education as the chief remedy for the evils disclosed." "With the bearings of the indigo system in a merely political or commercial point of view," he wrote, "I never felt it to be any concern of mine in any way to intermeddle. But to its bearings on the moral and social welfare of the people, to the task of whose elevation from the depths of a debasing ignorance my whole life has been consecrated, I have always felt it incumbent to give due heed. . . . In common with my missionary brethren of all churches and de-

nominations, I repudiate with my whole heart and soul anything like ill-will to indigo-planters or hostility to indigo planting as such." The truth is, that the planters were the victims who suffered most from the Company's trade system and from the failure of the Queen's Government to give Bengal the legislature, courts, and police which it needed—till too late.

A personal case occurred to add new bitterness to the conflict which swept away the planters altogether. The Rev. James Long, a patriotic Irish agent of the Church Missionary Society, who worked for and sympathised with the people, made special researches into their vernacular literature, at the instance of Government. He caused a Bengali play, termed *Neel Durpun*, or the Indigo Mirror, to be translated into English, as a contribution to our knowledge of native opinion. But it libelled both planters and their wives, as a class. And the translation was officially circulated by the Bengal Office, which thus became a partisan. Still not one of these offences, whether in the original, the translation, or the circulation, exceeded the extreme violence of the planters in the daily newspapers. In an evil moment the planters forfeited all the sympathy due to the sufferers by other men's misdeeds, by proceeding against Mr. Long for libel, not civilly, but by the unusual and persecuting course of a criminal suit, and that before the least judicial of the judges of the old Supreme Court. The missionary, whom at other times the planters rejoiced in, was sentenced, to the horror of the majority of them, to a fine of a hundred pounds—immediately paid by a Bengali—and imprisonment for one month at the hottest season of the year.

The catastrophe of the imprisonment sobered all parties, and Dr. Duff's fervid fearlessness only made the best of the planters his warm friends. But it required nearly ten years of public discussion to secure that primary education for which Lord William Bentinck had appointed Mr. W. Adam in 1835, and which Duff and others had never ceased to demand. A school cess, even in Bengal, now gives the dumb

millions who pay it, a chance of knowing their right hand from their left.

When the Christian Vernacular Society for India was established—an agency for giving the East trained Christian teachers and a pure literature, for which the first Lord Lawrence worked almost to the day of his death—the Bengal Missionary Conference appointed Dr. Duff convener of a committee to facilitate its introduction into Eastern India. He drew up a remarkable paper on “The Educational Destitution of Bengal and Behar,” which the Conference published. Mr. Long, who, with Mr. Lacroix just before his death, acted with him on the committee, wrote to us that Dr. Duff’s “sympathy with the masses grew with his increasing acquaintance with India, and with the development of the vernacular press. At the close of our last meeting, I recollect his saying, with great emphasis, ‘Though our direct missionary methods are different—one devoted to English education, another to vernacular schools, and the third to vernacular preaching—there is not one essential point relating to the work of Christian vernacular instruction on which we differ.’ Dr. Duff subsequently spent three days with me at the Thakurpukur mission of the Church of England, and no one could sympathise more strongly than he did in the plans I was working out for peasant education. We met every month at the Missionary Conference, the Tract and the Bible Society’s committees, in all of which he took a very active part. He never encouraged the practice of denationalising native Christians in dress, modes of life, or names. He did not like to see native gentlemen attired in European costume, and, as a consequence of this expensive style, demanding, as in the case of some converts, equality of salary with Europeans, for he declared that instead of equality this would be giving them three times as much.”

It was honourable to the Hindu gentlemen of Calcutta—a community Dr. Duff had done more than any other man to create and to liberalise—that, in 1859, they united with the leaders of English society there

in entreating him to fill the seat of president of the Bethune Society. That institute had been created seven years before, to form a common meeting place for the educated natives and their English friends, and to break down as far as possible the barriers set up by caste, not only between Hindus and all the world beside, but between Hindus and Hindus. Such had been the social and intellectual progress since 1830, that the time had come to develop the debating societies of youths into a literary and scientific association of the type of those of the West.

The new society started on a purely secular basis. Afraid of truth on all its sides, and timidly jealous of that which had made the natives of the West all they were, it was about to die of inanition. Dr. Duff, who had watched its foundation with interest, but was prohibited from helping it by its narrow basis, was urged to come to the rescue. He asked for a detailed explanation of the rule confining its discussions to any subject which may be included within the range of general literature and science only. Dr. Chevers, the vice-president, obtained from the members the unanimous declaration that this did not exclude natural theology, or respectful allusions, as circumstances might suggest, to the historic facts of Christianity, and to the lives and labours of those who had been its advocates. Then the missionary gladly became president, and worked a magical change. The theatre of the Medical College, where the society met every month, proved for the next four years to be the centre of attraction to all educated Calcutta, of whatever creed or party. The orthodox Brahmans were there, taking part in the intellectual ferment. "Young Bengal" had higher ideals set before it, and found a new vent for its seething aspirations. Native Christians took their place in the intellectual arena beside the countrymen whom they desired to lead into the same light and peace which they themselves had found.

Thus for rich and poor, educated and ignorant, Christian and non-Christian, he did not cease to sacrifice himself, and always in the character of the

Christian missionary who, because he would sanctify all truth, feared none.

All this, however, was but the play of his evening hours. The absorbing business of his daily life for six years, next to but along with his spiritual duties, was to secure strictly catholic regulations for the University and the grant-in-aid systems which his evidence in 1853, following all his life-work, had called into existence. He had no sooner returned to India after that, than he was nominated by the Governor-General to be one of those who drew up the constitution of the University, and he was frequently consulted on the principles which should regulate grants to non-official colleges and schools. So long as he remained in Calcutta he secured fair play for the liberal and self-developing principles of the Education Despatch of 1854. When he and Dr. Wilson ceased to influence affairs and rulers, the public instruction of India began to fall back into the bureaucratic, anti-moral and politically dangerous system, from which Lord Ripon's Commission tried to rescue it.

The Viceroy is, by his office, Chancellor of the University, and he appoints the Vice-Chancellor for a term of two years. Lord Elgin I. naturally turned to Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had been sent out as his financial colleague in council. But although the honour had been well won, that official would not wear it so long as it had not been offered to one whom he thus declared worthier :—

“CALCUTTA, 22nd March, 1863.

“MY DEAR DR. DUFF,—I have written to Sir R. Napier requesting that he will submit to the Governor-General my strong recommendation that you should be appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University, and entirely disclaiming the honour on my part if there should have been any idea of appointing me. It is yours by right, because you have borne without rest or refreshment the burden and heat of the long day, which I hope is not yet near its close ; and, what concerns us all more, if given to you it will be an unmistakable public acknowledgment of the paramount claims of national education, and will be a great encouragement to every effort that may be made for that object.—Very sincerely yours, CH. TREVELYAN.”

Alas ! by that time “the long day” was already overshadowed, so far as residence in India was concerned. Again, as in 1847, the cry reached Dr. Duff,

“Come home to save the missions.” But neither Committee nor General Assembly moved him till another finger pointed the way. In the fatal month of July, 1863, his old enemy, dysentery, laid him low. To save his life, the physicians hurried him off on a sea voyage to China. He had dreamed that the coolness of such a Himalayan station as Darjeeling would complete the cure. But he was no longer the youth who had tried to fight disease in 1834, and had been beaten home in the struggle. He had worked like no other man, in East and West, for the third of a century. So, in letters to Dr. Candlish from Calcutta and the China Seas, he reviewed all the way by which he had been led to recognise the call of Providence, and he submitted. He returned, by Bombay and Madras, to Calcutta, and there he quietly set himself to prepare for his departure.

The varied communities of Bengal were roused to honour the venerable missionary as not even Governors had ever been honoured. At first, such was the instinctive conviction of the true catholicity of his mission, and the self-sacrifice of his whole career, that it was resolved to unite men of all creeds in one memorial of him. A committee, of which Bishop Cotton, Sir C. Trevelyan, and the leading natives and representatives of the other cities of India were members, resolved to reproduce, in the centre of the educational buildings of the metropolis, the *Maison Carrée* of Nismes. The marble hall, the duplicate of that exquisite gem of Greek architecture in an imperial province, was to be used for and to symbolise the catholic pursuit of truth on a basis not less broad and Divine than that which he had given to the Bethune Society. But, as there were native admirers of the man who thought this too Christian, so there were many of his own countrymen who desired to mark still more vividly his peculiar genius as a missionary. The first result accordingly was the endowment in the University of Duff scholarships, to be held, one by a student of his own college, one by a student of the Eurasian institutions for which he had done so much,

and two by the best students of all the affiliated arts colleges, now fifty-seven in number. The Bethune Society and the Doveton College procured oil portraits of their benefactor by the best artists. His own students, Christian and non-Christian, placed his marble bust in the hall where so many generations of youths had sat at his feet. And a few of the Scottish merchants of India, Singapore, and China offered him £13,000. The capital he destined for the invalided missionaries of his own Church, and for these it is now administered by the surviving donors as trustees. On the interest of this sum he thenceforth lived, refusing all the emoluments of the offices he held. The only personal gift which he was constrained to accept was the house, 22, Lauder Road, Edinburgh, which the same friends insisted on purchasing for him.

The valedictory addresses which poured in upon him, and his replies, in the last days of 1863 would fill a volume. Almost every class and creed in Bengal was represented. Private friends, like Durand, and high officials who knew only his public services, made it, by their letters and memorials, still more difficult to say farewell to a land which the true Anglo-Indian loves with a passionate longing for its people and their civilisers. Very pathetic was his farewell to his own students, those in Christ, and those still halting between two opinions. But most characteristic of his whole work, his spiritual fidelity, and his cultured comprehensiveness, was the reply to the grateful outpourings of the Bethune Society, representing all educated non-Christian Bengal:—

“A bright and glorious era for India and the world I have long seen in the vision of faith. The vividly realised hope of it has often sustained me amid toils and sufferings, calumny and reproach, disappointment and reverse. And the assured prospect of its ultimate realisation helps now to shoot some gleams of light athwart the darkness of my horizon; and so far, to blunt the keen edge of grief and sadness, when about to bid a final adieu to these long-loved Indian shores. Some of you may live to witness not merely its blissful dawn but its meridian effulgence; to me that privilege will not be vouchsafed. My days are already in ‘the sear and yellow leaf’; the fresh flush of vernal budding has long since exhausted itself; the sap and vigour of summer’s outbursting fulness have well-nigh gone, leaving me dry and brittle, like a withered herb or flower at the close of autumn; the hoar frost of old age—

age prematurely old—grim wintry old age, is fast settling down upon me. But whether under the ordination of the High and Holy One, who inhabiteth eternity, my days be few or many; whether my old age be one of decrepitude or of privileged usefulness, my best and latest thoughts will be still of India. Wherever I wander, wherever I roam; wherever I labour, wherever I rest, my heart will be still in India. So long as I am in this tabernacle of clay I shall never cease, if permitted by a gracious Providence, to labour for the good of India; my latest breath will be spent in imploring blessings on India and its people. And when at last this frail mortal body is consigned to the silent tomb, while I myself think that the only befitting epitaph for my tombstone would be—'Here lies Alexander Duff, by nature and practice a sinful guilty creature, but saved by grace, through faith in the blood and righteousness of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ';—were it, by others, thought desirable that any addition should be made to this sentence, I would reckon it my highest earthly honour, should I be deemed worthy of appropriating the grandly generous words, already suggested by the exuberant kindness of one of my oldest native friends, in some such form as follows: 'By profession a missionary; by his life and labours, the true and constant friend of India.' Pardon my weakness; nature is overcome; the gush of feeling is beyond control; amid tears of sadness I must now bid you all a solemn farewell."

Such was his last message. These were the words in which the two men in India best able to estimate his deeds impartially, spoke of him officially to natives and to Europeans:—

Sir Henry Maine, who had succeeded to the position of Vice-Chancellor of the University, which illness kept Dr. Duff from then filling, said of him in convocation: "It would be easy for me to enumerate the direct services which he rendered to us by aiding us with unflagging assiduity, in the regulation, supervision, and amendment of our course of study; but in the presence of so many native students and native gentlemen who viewed him with the intensest regard and admiration, although they knew that his everyday wish and prayer was to overthrow their ancient faith, I should be ashamed to speak of him in any other character than the only one which he cared to fill—the character of a missionary. Regarding him then as a missionary, the qualities in him which mostly impressed me—and you will remember that I speak of nothing except what I myself observed—were first of all his absolute self-sacrifice and self-denial. Religions, so far as I know, have never been widely propagated, except by two classes of men—by conquerors or by ascetics.

The British Government of India has voluntarily (and no doubt wisely) abnegated the power which its material force conferred on it, and if the country be ever converted to the religion of the dominant race, it will be by influences of the other sort, by the influence of missionaries of the type of Dr. Duff. Next I was struck—and here we have the point of contact between Dr. Duff's religious and educational life—by his perfect faith in the harmony of truth. I am not aware that he ever desired the University to refuse instruction in any subject of knowledge because he considered it dangerous. Where men of feebler minds or weaker faith would have shrunk from encouraging the study of this or that classical language, because it enshrined the archives of some antique superstition, or would have refused to stimulate proficiency in this or that walk of physical science, because its conclusions were supposed to lead to irreligious consequences, Dr. Duff, believing his own creed to be true, believed also that it had the great characteristic of truth—that characteristic which nothing else except truth possesses—that it can be reconciled with everything else which is also true. Gentlemen, if you only realise how rare this combination of qualities is—how seldom the energy which springs from religious conviction is found united with perfect fearlessness in encouraging the spread of knowledge, you will understand what we have lost through Dr. Duff's departure, and why I place it among the foremost events in the University year."

Dr. Cotton, the Bishop of Calcutta, in his metropolitan Charge, finely characterised Duff, and thus unconsciously answered the ignorant objections of a new generation to his system:—

"I need hardly remind you that such a view of evangelistic work in India as I am now trying to sketch was especially carried out by that illustrious missionary whose loss India is now lamenting, and whose name, though it does not adorn the *Fasti* of our own Church, yet may well be honoured in all Churches, not only for his single-eyed devotion to his Master's

cause, during a long and active service, but for the peculiar position he took up in India, at a most important crisis.

“It was the special glory of Alexander Duff that, arriving here in the midst of a great intellectual movement of a completely atheistical character, he at once resolved to make that character Christian. When the new generation of Bengalis and too many, alas! of their European friends and teachers were talking of Christianity as an obsolete superstition, soon to be burnt up in the pyre on which the creeds of the Brahman, the Buddhist, and the Muhammadan were already perishing, Alexander Duff suddenly burst upon the scene, with his unhesitating faith, his indomitable energy, his varied erudition, and his never-failing stream of fervid eloquence, to teach them that the gospel was not dead or sleeping, not the ally of ignorance and error, not ashamed or unable to vindicate its claims to universal reverence; but that then, as always, the gospel of Christ was marching forward in the van of civilisation, and that the Church of Christ was still ‘the light of the world.’ The effect of his fearless stand against the arrogance of infidelity has lasted to this day; and whether the number he has baptized is small or great (some there are among them whom we all know and honour), it is quite certain that the work which he did in India can never be undone, unless we, whom he leaves behind, are faithless to his example.”

CHAPTER XXIV

1864-1867

IN SOUTH-EAST AFRICA.—THE MISSIONARY PROPAGANDA

SO Alexander Duff said farewell to India. He might have sought rest after the third of a century's toil. He was nearing, too, the sabbatic seventh of the three-score and ten years of the pilgrimage of man—a decade to which many great souls, like his own master and friend, Thomas Chalmers, had looked forward as a period of calm preparation for the everlasting sabbath-keeping. But Duff was again leaving India, and for the last time, only to enter on fourteen years of ceaseless labour, as well as prayer, for the cause to which he had given his life. It was well for him that some months of enforced rest were laid upon him. Those were still the days of Cape voyages. In the spacious cabins and amid the quiet surroundings of the last and best of the old East Indiamen, the convalescent found health; while the invalids whom nothing could save in the tropics, and who too often now fall victims to the scorching of the Red Sea route, had another chance or a lengthened spell of calm before the bell sadly yet sweetly tolled for burial at sea. The wearied missionary, attended by sorrowing friends, went on board the *Hotspur*, on Saturday, the 20th December, 1863.

In the brief ship journal which Dr. Duff kept, we have these traces of his musing and his working :—

Monday, 21st December, 1863.—"To-day, about noon, had the last glimpse of Sangar Island, *i.e.*, in reality of India. I remember my first glimpse of it in May, 1830. How strangely different my feelings then

and now! I was then entering, in total ignorance, on a new and untried enterprise; but strong in faith and buoyant with hope, I never wished, if the Lord willed, to leave India at all; but by a succession of providential dealings, I had to leave it twice before, and now for the third and last time. It has been the scene of my greatest trials and sufferings, as also, under God, of my greatest triumphs and joys. The changes—at least some of the more noticeable ones—were stated in my reply to the Missionary Conference. My feelings now are of a very mixed character. The sphere of labour now left had become at once familiar and delightful. If health be restored, my future is wrapped in clouds and thick darkness. I simply yield to what I cannot but believe to be the leadings of Providence, which seem to peal in my ears, ‘Go forward!’ and from the experience of the past my assured hope is, that if I do go forward, in humble dependence on my God, ‘light will spring up in my darkness.’ I began my labours in 1830 literally with nothing. I leave behind me the largest, and, in a Christian point of view, the most successful Christian Institution in India, a native Church, nearly self-sustaining, with a native pastor, three ordained native missionaries, besides—with catechists and native teachers—flourishing branch missions at Chinsurah, Bansbaria, Culna, Mahanad, etc. For all this, I desire to render thanks to the good and gracious God, Whose I am, and Whom I am bound to serve with soul, body and spirit, which are His.

“At the close of 1833 I was for three weeks in a pilot brig at these Sandheads, while recovering from a severe jungle fever, with my dearest and then only child, who also was suffering from ague. To the south of Kedjeree we saw the *Duke of York* East Indiaman of 1,500 tons high and dry in a rice field, having been carried there in the tremendous cyclone of the preceding May,—perhaps the severest on record. The embankments were everywhere broken down. The sea rolled inland for scores of miles. Myriads perished. In some parts, as we passed we saw poor emaciated mothers offering to us their skeleton-like children for a handful of rice. The whole of Saugar Island was seven or eight feet under water. Plantations, cleared at a great expense, were destroyed; and for years afterwards salt and not rice was the product. They are only now tolerably recovered. In carrying on the draining, European superintendents resided in bungalows, raised ten or twelve feet from the ground, to escape malaria, wild beasts, etc.

Monday, 28th.—“Yesterday, and especially to-day, had much enjoyment in my own soul. The first three chapters of the Epistle to the Romans appeared more wonderful than ever in their delineation of man’s fearful apostasy from God, his utter helplessness and hopelessness, and the unspeakably glorious remedy in the unspotted righteousness of Christ. This illustrates to my own mind the true doctrine of Scripture development. It is not the revelation of any new truth, but the unfolding of truth already there, in new connections and new applications, showing in this new expansion of it (as it appears to the more highly illumined soul) a breadth and extent of significance not previously discerned.

January 1st, 1864.—“God in mercy grant that this year may unfold more clearly to my own mind and inward and outward experience His gracious purpose in blasting the cherished wishes and purposes of my whole ministerial life. What work, O Lord, hast Thou in store for me wherewith to glorify Thy holy name? Oh for light on this still dark and most perplexing subject! But I wait, O Lord!—I wait—I wait on Thee.

23rd.—“About 200 miles north of Madagascar. Last night very

sleepless. Milton and Cowper, my favourite poets, read as a balm, acted on my turbid spirits somewhat like the spicy breezes from Araby the Blest on the senses or imagination of the old mariners. It is the rare combination of genuine poetry with genuine piety which achieves this result. Being now south of the Mozambique Channel, the wind has changed from S.E. to N.E., and is warmer. The term Mozambique reminds one of the adroitness with which Milton drags everything which constituted the knowledge of his time, by way of similitude, illustration, or otherwise, into his wondrous song. Referring to Satan's approach to Paradise—delicious Paradise—and to the way in which he was met and regaled by 'gentle gales,' which, 'fanning their odoriferous wings, disperse native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole those balmy spoils,' he thus proceeds:—

'As, when to them who sail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabean odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the Blest, with such delay
Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles.'"

TO HIS WIFE.

"Genadenthal, Moravian Mission, 13th Feb., 1864.

"This is the thirty-fourth anniversary, alike according to the day of the week, the day of the month and the hour of the night, of our ever memorable shipwreck on Dassen Island. How different my position this evening, in South Africa! Comfortably lodged with the Moravian Brethren in this far-famed village,—the oldest and most populous of all South African Mission stations,—I feel, as it were, forced by the very contrast, to realise more vividly the night scene of thirty-four years ago on these South African shores. What changes and events have been crowded into these thirty-four years! And yet, contrary to all ordinary expectation both of us still, by God's mercy, in the land of the living, to celebrate Jehovah's loving-kindnesses. Oh, for a live coal from the altar to kindle up this naturally cold and languid heart of mine, so constantly apt to sink back into sluggishness and apathy, into a glow of seraphic fervour, in the review of God's unspeakable mercies!

"In order to see something of the working of other Missions, I soon resolved to proceed to Kafraria by the ordinary land route. The distance is about 700 miles—about the distance from John o'Groat's House to Land's End in Cornwall. This implied my getting a waggon and eight mules. All this preparation occupied nearly a week, during which I saw many of the Cape Town notabilities. The Bishop and Dean, etc., called on me. The Honble. Mr. Rawson (whose acquaintance I made in Calcutta in 1849), the Colonial Secretary, was so pressing in his invitation, that I went out with him to his beautifully situated house at Wynberg, and stayed over the night. The next day he took me to call on some of the notables of the place; taking lunch with the Bishop, and I also went out to spend good part of a day with Dr. Adamson. Old Mr. Saunders is still living, and full of inquiries about you.

"On Saturday, 6th Feb., I went by train (for there is a railway line of fifty-eight miles, to Wellington, N.E. of Cape Town) to Stellenbosch, thirty-one miles. There I stayed with Mr. Murray, one of the

professors of the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church. His uncle was the late Dr. Murray, of the Free Church, Aberdeen. There saw the Wesleyan and Rhenish Mission schools, etc. Monday, 8th, went by rail on to Wellington, its utmost limit. There saw a French mission. On Tuesday I went by covered cart, across a striking pass to Worcester, upwards of forty miles distant. There I stayed with Mr. Murray, minister of the Dutch Church, and brother of the professor, both most able and devoted men. There saw the Rhenish Mission schools.

“To Eerse River, where I expected to find my waggon waiting for me. There finding all right, after breakfast I set off, in a S.E. direction and close to False Bay, crossed a lofty pass, called Sir Lowry Cole's Pass after the governor who sent the sloop of war to take us from Dassen Island. The custom in travelling here is, at the end of two or three hours, to stop and unyoke the animals (or, according to Colonial Dutch phraseology, to outspan), let them take a roll in the sand, and browse about, and drink water, for an hour. Towards evening came to a small inn, the only one between Cape Town and Genadenthal. I did not like the look of it; so the evening being dry and weather pleasant I slept in my waggon. On Saturday I proceeded to Genadenthal, and the Moravian missionaries with their children and higher students were out in a green hollow, with carts, waiting to salute me.”

Christian Missions in South and East Africa are the offspring of those in India. It was Ziegenbalg, the first Protestant missionary to India, who, after a passing visit to the Cape in 1705, induced the United or Moravian Brethren to evangelise those whom the Dutch called Hottentots. Georg Schmidt, a Bohemian Bunyan, was no sooner freed from his six years' imprisonment for Christ's sake, than, in 1737, he went out to Cape Town. He was with difficulty allowed by the Dutch to begin his mission in Affenthal, in the hills eighty miles to the east. There he did such a work in the “valley of apes” that a Dutch Governor long after changed its name to the “valley of grace,” or Genadenthal. The Boers banished him to Holland, and it was left to the British to begin missions anew. What Ziegenbalg had urged Henry Martyn repeated. Standing beside Sir David Baird, as, in 1806, the British flag a second time waved over the Dutch fort, the evangelical missionary-chaplain of the East India Company prayed “that the capture of the Cape might be ordered to the advancement of Christ's kingdom.” From Genadenthal the great light radiated forth, east and north, amid the wars and butcheries which it would have anticipated. From south to north, from the Cape to the Zambezi, Congo, and Nile mouths,

an ever strengthening chain of missionary stations now draws Africa to Christ.

Dr. Duff went to Africa to inspect those of his own Church, which had begun in Kafraria in 1821, after the Kafirs had been driven north behind the Keiskamma. Dr. Duff began by personally inspecting and stimulating, while he learned experience from, all the Missions along the great trunk route east from Cape Town to Port Elizabeth, north-east by Grahamstown to King William's Town and the stations in British Kafraria, then north through the Orange Free State, and then east again into Natal. The time was three years before the first diamond was found. The season was unusually wet but cool. At Port Elizabeth the *Eastern Provinces Herald* thus reported how he met with the sailor who had saved his wife's life in the memorable shipwreck: "Mrs. Duff would have perished but for the dauntless bravery of the second mate. Singularly enough when Dr. Duff visited this port he happened to be here also, and no sooner did he know of the arrival of the veteran missionary than he hurried to the Rev. Mr. Rennie's house once more to see him. The meeting was very affecting, Dr. Duff being unable to conceal his emotion at so unexpectedly beholding the preserver of his wife." The second mate had become Captain Saxon.

Ecclesiastically all South Africa was in a commotion, not for the christianisation of the forty or fifty millions of Kafirs, but because of sacerdotal and also evangelical struggles between Bishop Gray, claiming to be Metropolitan of Africa, and Dr. Colenso, insisting on remaining Bishop of Natal. But for the sacerdotalism involved, the defence of Christian truth by Bishop Gray, and especially by Dean Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Bombay, would demand the unqualified gratitude of the whole Church. On the evangelical side of it Dr. Duff was so strongly drawn to Bishop Gray that he wrote to him several letters, two of which appear in the prelate's Biography. "Among the many letters of the period, the Bishop," writes his son, "was pleased with one from Dr. Alexander Duff, a well-

known Free Kirk missionary from India, who was at that time travelling in Africa. 'Since my arrival,' he says, 'I have been perusing, with painful yet joyous interest, the trial of the Bishop of Natal for erroneous teaching, painful because of the erroneous teaching, joyous because of the noble stand made by your lordship and the clergy at large for true primitive apostolic teaching.'" Again, from Maritzburg, where he heard the Bishop's charge, Dr. Duff repeated his expressions of sympathetic appreciation. But we know, from a conversation which we had with him immediately on his return from Africa, that he did more than this. At Wynberg, where the Bishop and he sat up a whole night discussing the history and cause of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Duff demonstrated to the sacerdotal Metropolitan, who had denounced "the Privy Council as the great Dagon of the English Church," that the spiritual independence inalienable from any Church worthy of Christ's name and spirit is not, and was not in the Free Church struggle, the supremacy of priests and prelates who unchurch others by the fiction of "the grace of orders," but the right of the whole body, lay and clerical, as a kingdom of priests unto God, to worship Him, and administer all purely spiritual affairs solely according to conscience and without interference by the State, which has no jurisdiction there whether it endow the Church or not. "Hence," said Dr. Duff "your remedy is secession, with its initial sacrifice of State support and social prestige."

Dr. Duff began his work as representative of the committee of Foreign Missions, at its principal South African station of Lovedale, on the 17th of March, 1864. The station is 650 miles north-east of Cape Town, and forty from King William's Town. There to the presbytery, in conference, "he gave a long and interesting address in a low voice, often speaking in a whisper," according to the local report. The scholarly work of the Rev. W. Govan, founder of the chief missionary institute in the colony, he broadened and developed, alike on its industrial and educational side, following his Calcutta experience. At that time the

Kafir Christian community of the Lovedale district was 965 strong, of whom 345 were communicants. From Lovedale, nestling in low hills like Moffat, he proceeded to the large station at Burnshill, fifteen miles to the east, among the Amatola mountains, once Sandilli's capital, in the very heart of the scenes of five Kafir wars. On the eastern side of these hills is the Pirie station, then conducted by the veteran Rev. John Ross, at that time forty years in the field. At all, and at King William's Town, Peelton, and elsewhere, he preached through interpreters and mastered every detail of the work, putting it in a new position alike for greater efficiency and expansion. Thence he pursued the still long and difficult track through Basutoland with its French Mission stations, delayed by swollen and unbridged rivers and tracks impassable from the rain. But the climate he pronounced as in the main a fine one, in which Europeans enjoy as good health as in Australia. At Queenstown, in April, he saw hoarfrost for the first time for many years. Delayed by natural obstacles, and often tempted to turn back, he wrote from the Orange Free State, "I am content to go on, having only one object supremely in view, to ascertain the state and prospects of things in these regions in a missionary sense, so as to have authentic materials for future guidance if privileged to take the helm of our Foreign Mission affairs."

After reaching Maritzburg, where he had much intercourse with Bishop Gray, and being attracted by the success of the Rev. Mr. Allison, at Edendale, he returned by steamer from Port Natal to Cape Town, where he received a public breakfast. Thence he sailed to England, which he reached in July. The fruits of his six months' tour of inspection were soon seen in the consolidation of the old, and the creation of new missionary agencies for Africa. While he had been at work in the south, Livingstone was exploring in the east and the centre of Africa, and both were unconsciously preparing for united action for the christianisation of the Kafir race, from the Keiskamma to the head of Lake Nyasa. As Duff was leaving Natal

for the Cape, Livingstone, having completed his great Zambezi expedition of 1858-64, was boldly crossing the Indian Ocean to Bombay in the little *Lady Nyassa* steam launch manned by seven natives who had never before seen the sea.

Dr. Duff reached Edinburgh just in time to address the "commission" of the General Assembly, on the 10th of August. Speedily he took his way north to his own county of Perth, in order to take part in the ordination of the Rev. W. Stevenson as a missionary to Madras. The city hall could not contain the crowds to whom Dr. Duff addressed burning words on zeal in Foreign Missions the evidence of a revived Church. In Aberdeen, whence the Countess welcomed him to Haddo House, he had strength, a week after, to take part in the ordination of another missionary to Madras. Soon there arrived from Calcutta intelligence which increased his activity before he was physically equal to the strain. A cyclone, more disastrous in the destruction of life and property than any he had witnessed or has since been experienced, swept over the mouth of the Ganges on the 5th of October. From Calcutta to Mahanad the hurricane levelled not a few of the mission buildings, churches, schools and houses. Sixty girls in the Calcutta Orphanage were nearly buried under the ruins of the old house. In a few hours after receiving the news, the sympathetic veteran, well knowing all that the disaster involved, organised an effort to raise two thousand pounds, and really sent out five thousand.

At this period, too, Dr. Duff was cheered by the fact that, for the first time in the history of British India, a missionary college—his own—had been formally visited by a Governor-General. Sir John Lawrence had learned, in his Punjab and Mutiny experience, the truth which he thus expressed in a formal representation to Lord Canning, the first Viceroy: "Sir John Lawrence does entertain the earnest belief that all those measures which are really and truly Christian can be carried out in India, not only without danger to British rule, but, on the contrary, with every advan-

tage to its stability. Christian things done in a Christian way will never, the Chief Commissioner is convinced, alienate the heathen. About such things there are qualities which do not provoke or excite distrust, nor harden to resistance. It is when unchristian things are done in the name of Christianity, or when Christian things are done in an unchristian way, that mischief and danger are occasioned." When he himself was called by critical times to the same high office, his Excellency visited in state and presided at the first examination of Dr. Duff's college held after he landed, just as he inspected the Government colleges and presided as Chancellor of the University. We have not Dr. Duff's letter to the Governor-General, but this was the simple reply of the Viceroy, whom, as they laid him to rest beside Livingstone and Outram and Colin Campbell, in the nave of Westminster Abbey, Dean Stanley most truly pronounced to be the Joshua of the British Empire:—

JOHN LAWRENCE TO ALEXANDER DUFF.

"*February, 1865.*—I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 31st January, and I am sure that I wish I could have been of more service to the Free Church Institution than I have been, for it is calculated to do much good among the superior classes of Bengal society. The advances they have made in education since I was a young man are very remarkable, but it is too generally in secular knowledge only. Your Institution seems to be the only one in which a large number have the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Christian religion also, and certainly, if we can judge from outward appearances, they have not neglected to do so."

Now that Dr. Duff was permanently in Scotland, he felt that the time had come to lay broad and deep in his own country and Church the foundations of that missionary enterprise to which he regarded all his previous home campaigns as preparatory. Here, as in India, he must leave behind him a system based on and worked by living principles, which would grow and expand and bless the people long after he was gone. Financially his quarterly associations were well, but they would be worthless if not fed by spiritual forces and not directed by spiritual men. And he had learned, even in the first year after his return, to be weary of the narrow controversies and sectarian com-

petition which, though inseparable from such a time of transition as that through which Scotland, like all other countries, is passing to a re-constructed Church, are hostile to catholic energy and spiritual life. So he determined to launch his scheme of a Missionary Propaganda—of a professorship of Evangelistic Theology, a practical Missionary Institute, and a Missionary Quarterly Review.

No building is so familiar to the eyes of the many English and Americans who annually winter in Rome as the Collegio di Propaganda Fide. Standing on one side of the Piazza di Spagna, fronted by that hideous specimen of modern statuary which was erected by Pio Nono to commemorate the myth of the Immaculate Conception, the college looks like a desolate barrack or theatre, out of which long files of youths march every morning and evening for a little fresh air. Yet, unattractive as is the building designed by Bernini, and forbidding the whole aspect of the place, there is no spot in Rome so full of modern interest and so free from all that Protestants are accustomed to dislike in the long papal capital. Two centuries and a half ago the fifteenth Gregory founded that college, to be the nurse of missionaries and the retreat of scholars from all parts of the earth. There, in languages more numerous than those in which the public are invited to confess to the priests who flit about St. Peter's, youths of almost every tribe and nation and kingdom and tongue are fitted to go forth to tell the story of the Cross—and something more, unfortunately—to the heathen world. A library of thirty thousand volumes, rich in oriental manuscripts and works bearing on the superstitions of man's religions, supplies an armoury for the student. The Museo Borgia, which boasts a portrait of the infamous Pope Alexander VI. side by side with the famous Codex Mexicanus, contains specimens of the idols, the arts and the industries of every country in the world from China to Peru. And the Propaganda is completed by the possession of a printing establishment, which turns out works in almost every language, of rare typographical beauty as well

as scholarship. There, under professors who are themselves generally returned missionaries, upwards of a hundred and twenty youths are always under training to work in that field which is the world.

Duff had long been fascinated by the idea of a nursery of evangelists, from Iona and the capitular bodies of the old cathedrals to that tolerated for a time by the Dutch under Walæus at Leyden, in 1612, and to the great creation of Gregory XV. in 1622. Nor should it be forgotten that "the philosophic missionary," the pioneer of all martyr-missionaries in Africa, Raymund Lulli, had implored the Pope and the princes of Europe to found Christian propagandas.*

When Cromwell used to play with the proposal to make him king, he declared to the Grison, Stoupe, whom he used as a trusty agent in foreign affairs, that he would "commence his reign with the establishment of a council for the Protestant religion," in opposition to Gregory's Propaganda, which had produced the slaughter of the Vaudois and Milton's sonnet. In old Chelsea College the council were to train men, and from it they were to help in the evangelisation of Scandinavia and Turkey, of the East and West Indies, as well as of the Latin Church. 1677 Dr. Hyde would have made Christ Church, Oxford, a "Collegium de Propaganda Fide." The father of all Christian scientists, Robert Boyle, when an East India director, revised the project for India which Prideaux advocated under the reign of William in 1694. And, so long ago as 1716, one of the earlier chaplains of the East India Company, Mr. Stevenson, urged the establishment of colleges in Europe to train missionaries and teach them the languages.

"When passing through the theological curriculum of St. Andrews," said Dr. Duff to the General Assembly, "I was struck markedly with this circumstance, that throughout the whole course of the curriculum of four years not one single allusion was ever made to the subject of the world's evangelisation — the subject which constitutes the chief end of the Christian Church

* See *Twelve Pioneer Missionaries*. Thomas Nelson & Sons.

on earth. I felt intensely that there was something wrong in this omission. According to any just conception of the Church of Christ, the grand function it has to discharge in this world cannot be said to begin and end in the preservation of internal purity of doctrine, discipline, and government. All this is merely for burnishing it so as to be the lamp to give light, not to itself only but also to the world. There must be an outcome of that light, lest it proves useless, and thereby be lost and extinguished. Why has it got that light, but that it should freely impart it to others?

“On my second return from India I talked of the subject to various influential men in the Church, amongst others to the late Dr. Cunningham, who approved highly of the object; but even he did not think the time was ripe for it. Crossing the Atlantic, I was wont to talk of it much to our friends in America; and there was one Synod of the Presbyterian Church there that agreed to instruct its professor of theology to make this a distinct subject of his prelections, namely to lecture on Evangelistic Theology; and that is the only lectureship of the kind that I know of. On my last return from India I felt intensely, looking at the state of the country generally, that there was still much need of such a professorship, and perhaps the more need, because the world is more agitated and restless than ever, and young men more flighty, because of the multitude of secular openings in every direction.”

An endowment of £10,000 was at once supplied for the chair by Sir William Mackinnon and others. When the General Assembly of 1867, with whom the appointment of the first professor rested, could not agree as to which of two experienced missionaries, from Calcutta and Bombay, should be appointed to it, Dr. Duff was most unwillingly compelled to accept the appointment by the unanimous call of his Church. The donors, while sharing his enthusiasm, had desired to honour him by calling the chair by his name. This at least he prevented. They secured their personal as well as missionary object far more effectually, as they

and he thought, by stipulating only that the professorship should be of the status, and be devoted to the subjects his irresistible statement of which had led them to supply the capital of the endowment. Otherwise the money was made over unconditionally to the General Assembly, and by Dr. Duff as the representative of the donors—of whom he himself was one—without legal document and so accepted by the Assembly in the act legislatively creating the professorship, “with consent of a majority of presbyteries.”*

One circumstance which reconciled Dr. Duff to the toil of not only preparing lectures for the chair, but of delivering them in the three colleges, in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, every winter, was this, that he might provide for the foundation of the second portion of his most catholic project, the Missionary Institute. The small capital available for that, after his death, was divided by the trustees between the Institute of the Woman’s Society and the Foreign Missions Committee, to assist in training young missionaries. For he refused to touch any income as professor, or as convener of the Foreign Missions Committee, being content with the modest revenue from the Duff Missionary Fund. The bulk of that, even, he used to give away on the rule of systematic beneficence, of which he had always been the eloquent advocate.

The *Missionary Quarterly*, apart from the denominational or official record of each Church and society, he did not live to see. Planned under the editorship of Canon Tristram, with promises of assistance from a most competent literary and missionary staff representing all the Churches, the much desired magazine has yet not found catholicity enough for its vigorous support. Foreign Missions are still without an adequate literary organ.

* When the present writer was one of the Assembly’s commissioners for the quinquennial visitation of the New College, Dr. Duff prepared a scheme for the development of the chair, so as to enable it to cover the whole subject of comparative religion, or the science of religion, or the relation of the faiths of the non-Christian world to the Divine revelation of God in Christ. The chair is now a Lectureship.

CHAPTER XXV

1867-1878

NEW MISSIONS AND THE RESULTS OF HALF A CENTURY'S WORK

NOT only as professor of Evangelistic Theology, but as superintendent of the Foreign Missions of his Church, Dr. Duff had the care of all the churches till the day of his death. None the less was he the adviser, referee, and fellow-helper of the other missionary agencies of Great Britain and America. His third of a century's experience of India, what he had learned in his careful tour of inspection in Africa, his personal study of both Europe and America, were henceforth concentrated on one point—the consolidation and extension of the Missions. For this end he ever sought to perfect the internal organisation of his own Church, which he had created at what an expenditure of splendid toil we have told. During the years 1865 and 1866 he held conferences with the ministers, office-bearers, and collectors of each congregation and presbytery over a large part of Scotland, informing, stimulating, and often filling them with an enthusiasm like his own. Nothing was too humble, nothing too wearisome for one already sixty years of age, if only the great cause could be advanced. To him a conference meant not a quiet talk but a burning exposition. As in 1866 the ordinary home income reached an annual average of £16,000 and the fees and grants-in-aid united with the subscriptions of Christian people abroad to double that, he

felt that the time had come for new missions. He had provided for the development of the colleges through their local support, leaving the whole increased subscriptions of his Church thenceforth to go to "addressing the adults" in the rural districts of India, and in the barbarous lands of Africa and Oceania.

The first new mission which Dr. Duff helped into existence was to the Gonds of Central India. From Nagpore Stephen Hislop had spent many a week among them in their hilly fastnesses, studying their language, taking down their almost Biblical traditions, and telling them of Him to whom their dim legends pointed, the Desire of all nations.

Ever since, in 1862, he had wandered over the forest land of the simple Santals, a hundred and fifty miles to the north of the rural missions in Hoogly and Burdwan, he had determined to plant a mission among that section of the people who were not cared for by the Church Missionary Society along the south bank of the Ganges, and by the Baptists on the Orissa and Behar sides. The Rev. J. D. Don and Dr. M. Mitchell were enabled by him to begin operations at Pachamba in 1869, when the chord line of the East Indian Railway opened up the south country, skirted by the grand trunk road, and under the shadow of the Jain mountain of Parisnath. There, under three Scottish missionaries, medical, evangelistic and teaching, in Santali, a staff of convert-catechists has been formed and a living native Church created. The Santals, whom official neglect, tolerating the oppression of Bengali usurers, drove into rebellion in 1855, are coming over in hundreds to the various Churches, and promise to become a Christian people in a few generations.

But though his own province, Bengal, enjoyed the least of Dr. Duff's fostering care, from Bombay the Rev. Narayan Sheshadri, the first educated Brahman who had joined the Church of Western India, went boldly forth to evangelise his peasant countrymen and the outcast tribes in the villages around Brahmanical Indapoor, to the south of Poona, and in the country of the Nizam, where Jalna is a British cantonment.

The Christian Brahman applied to the Arab prime minister of the Muhammadan Nizam of Hyderabad to grant a site to the cultivators and artisans who had become Christ's. The reply was the concession of land rent-free.

The expansion of the Missions forced on Dr. Duff the necessity of making a special appeal to the country for a fund to build houses for the missionaries, and substantial schools, in Africa as well as in India, where these did not exist. The task of raising £50,000 for this purpose was almost repulsive to him with his other engagements. But after a deliberate and persistent fashion he set himself to it. He conducted a correspondence on the subject which it is even now almost appalling to read. He was zealously aided by members of the committee, and the result was success. The greater part of the money was paid in a few years, and has now been expended in manses, preaching halls, and schools which place the missionary in the heart of his work, and, for the first time in many instances, surround him by the same sanitary advantages as his countrymen enjoy in the European quarters of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. Even before this, the rise of prices in these cities and throughout India, which had begun in the Crimean and culminated in the United States war, compelled the committee to revise the whole scale of salaries. To this, as one who had ever denied himself and who was beginning to live not a little in the past, he was reluctant to turn. He keenly felt the danger of robbing the missionary's life of its generally realised ideal of self-sacrifice for Him who spared not Himself, and so of attracting to the grandest of careers the meanest of men—the merely professional missionary. Few though they were, he had seen such failures in the Lord of the harvest's field. But duty prevailed, and he set about the work with business-like comprehensiveness. After a conference of conveners and secretaries, sitting in Edinburgh, had taken evidence and discussed the whole subject of missionary economics, he consented that the committee should be asked to sanction an increase somewhat

proportioned to the rise of prices. And so, while as convener he left behind him a well-organised missionary staff, he and his committee went no further than the standard of such a subsistence allowance as, by keeping off family care and pecuniary worry, should permit the absorption of the whole man in the divine work.

In 1832 Dr. Duff and the Calcutta Missionary Conference had in vain proposed to their Churches at home to co-operate in the extension of the then infant Institution as a united Christian college, to train students for all the Missions. In 1874 he joyfully received Principal Miller's project from Madras for the union of the Free Church, Church Missionary, and Wesleyan Societies in the development of its Institution into one well-equipped and catholic Christian college for all Southern India. The experiment has proved a marvellously successful illustration of evangelical unity and educational efficiency.

The essential unity of all evangelical Christians Dr. Duff never rejoiced to exemplify more than along with the Church Missionary Society.* He happened to be in London on the 5th of January, 1869, when the general committee had met for the solemn duty of sending forth three experienced missionaries and ministers to India. These were the late Bishop Valpy French; the Rev. J. W. Knott, who resigned a rich living for a missionary's grave; and Dr. Dyson, of the Cathedral Mission College, Calcutta. Good old Mr. Venn was still secretary. Bishop G. Smith, of China, who presided, closed the proceedings in words like these: "We have been greatly favoured this day with the presence of so many veterans of the missionary work to say farewell to our brethren, and we have been delighted with the heart-stirring address and missionary fire of the 'old man eloquent.' The last time Dr. Duff and I met together was when he bowed the knee with me in my private study at Hong Kong, and offered prayer for us, for we also need sustaining grace as well

* See Mr. Eugene Stock's *History of the Church Missionary Society* (1899).

as our brethren. Here I find him to-day giving us words of encouragement. Advanced as he is on the stage of life, it is an unexpected pleasure to see him again; and we thank God that we have been permitted to listen to him. It is a blessing to meet on occasions such as these, to find that the old missionary fire is not extinct, and to know that the good work is prospering. May it go on until the whole earth be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord."

Dr. Duff, in an impromptu utterance, had thus burst forth under the impulse of fervid affection and of gratitude that not the young and untried but the ablest ministers in England were going up to the high places of the field:—

"The communion of saints is a blessed and glorious expression. Ever since I have known Christ, and believed in Christ for salvation, I have always felt that there is a tie peculiarly binding on the Church of Christ, whatever may be the form of government. Accordingly, I have always felt it an unspeakable privilege to be permitted not only to sympathise, but to co-operate in every possible way, with all who love Christ in sincerity and in truth, and will be co-heirs with Him in the glory to be revealed, and rejoice with Him for ever and ever. I cannot understand the grounds of separation between men who are living in the bonds of Christ. . . . The world is to be evangelised. We have eight hundred millions of people to be evangelised. Here, in Great Britain, we have one minister for every thousand of inhabitants, and yet we are content to send out one for two millions of people, and in China I do not suppose there is one for three millions, taking all the societies together. Would we desire to know what we ought to do? Let us look to the Church at Antioch. When God had a great work to do among the Gentiles, what did He do? Here is the Church at Antioch, with Barnabas and Simeon, Lucius of Cyrene, and other men of character, but not equal to Paul and Barnabas. Does the Holy Ghost say that Paul and Barnabas, having been the founders of the Church, were indispensable for its prosperity, and you must keep them—Lucius and the others will not be so much missed: send them to do the work? No; He says, 'Separate me Barnabas and Paul'; the other men can carry on the quieter work, and fight the battle with heathenism if it be needed; the most able and skilled men must go forth on the mighty enterprise—'Separate me Barnabas and Paul.'

"In this day's meeting, which gladdens my own heart, I see something of this kind of process beginning. We do not want all the ablest men in this country to engage in the enterprise, but cannot some of them be spared as leaders of the younger ones? We need all the practical wisdom which the world contains to guide us and direct us in the midst of the perplexities which beset us in such fields as India and China. Difficulties are increasing every day, and there are new difficulties arising that will require all the skill and wisdom of the most practical men we possess, and such men will, ere long, come forward with a power and voice which shall make themselves felt. It makes my heart rejoice to think that

Oxford can send forth two of its Fellows ; that English parishes can spare two able and useful men to go forth in the name of the Lord. I see in this the beginning of a better state of things, and I have no doubt that the example will have the effect of stirring up and stimulating others to do likewise, and that some of the mightiest names among us will go forth. It will not do to say we should be satisfied with labourers only ; why should not some of the Church's dignitaries—why should not some of our bishops, if they be the successors of the Apostles, go forth, and set an example, the value of which the whole world would acknowledge ? I wonder that a man who is prominent before the world for his position and rank does not surrender that, and go forth on a mission of philanthropy. I wonder at it. Some would be ready to follow. But at all events they would say, Here is sincerity, here is devotedness ; and it will no longer be said, ' You are the men paid for loving the souls of men.' I will not speak merely of Church dignitaries, but of other dignitaries. Peers of the realm can go to India to hunt tigers, and why cannot they go to save the souls of men ? Have we come to this, that it shall be beneath them, and beneath the dignity of men in civil life, to go forth on such an errand ? The eternal Son of God appears on earth that he may work out for us an everlasting redemption. It was not beneath Him to seek and to save that which was lost, and will you tell me that it is beneath the dignity of a duke, or an Archbishop of Canterbury, to go into heathen realms to save a lost creature ? ”

This recalled the Exeter Hall appeals of 1837. Again, soon after, he gave another proof of his true catholicity in writing, for the *Indian Female Evangelist*, an elaborate series of papers on Indian Womanhood from the Vedic age to the present time.

Dr. Duff's philanthropic and spiritual efforts for the good of Europeans and Eurasians in India, continued from his first years in Calcutta, found an organised and permanent agency in the Anglo-Indian Evangelisation Society. The increase of tea and indigo cultivation, of cotton and jute factories, of railways, of the British army and subordinate civil service, had, since the Mutiny, raised the European and Eurasian Christians in India to a number little short of the quarter of a million. For these the Government chaplains and the few voluntary churches in the great cities and missionary services elsewhere had long been inadequate. After the sudden removal by death of Dr. Cotton, who was like Duff himself the bishop of good men of every Church, not only the ecclesiastical establishment but the aided societies became the instruments of the weakest form of Anglican sacerdotalism. The sacramentarianism of the bishops and chaplains, sent out by

successive Secretaries of State, was not atoned for by grace like Keble's, or learning like Dr. Pusey's, or wit like Bishop Wilberforce's. Gradually in many places officers forsook the Church of England services, while the earnest soldiers among the troops marched to church murmured at the wrong done to conscience. Many of the evangelical members of all the Churches united in demanding reform.

In 1869, after the five years' administration of Lord Lawrence, this took the form at Simla of a Union Church based on the reformed confession, which Dr. M. Mitchell organised. Next year Dr. Duff, as president of the Anglo-Indian Christian Union, selected the Rev. John Fordyce, and sent him out as commissioner to report on the spiritual needs of the British and Eurasian settlers all over Northern India. Mr. Fordyce, after practically carrying out the *zanana* system in Calcutta, had returned to become minister first in Duns and then in Cardiff. On reaching India he became pastor of the new Union Church at Simla during the hot and rainy seasons, and devoted the other half of each year to a visitation of the whole land from Peshawur to Calcutta. The railway companies, which had ten thousand Christian employes uncared for spiritually, welcomed his services. Wherever he went officers and soldiers sought his return, or at least the establishment of some permanent evangelical agency among them. The letters from such among Dr. Duff's papers are full of pathetic significance. The new society gradually worked out a catholic organisation. The districts of country were mapped out into circuits, each with a radius of from 200 to 300 miles, easily accessible by railway. While Dr. Duff, as president, worked the whole from Edinburgh, Lord Lawrence, as patron, was active in London.

But India was the source of only half the cares and the labours of Dr. Duff after he left it. As convener of the Foreign Missions Committee of his Church, he established a new mission in the Lebanon, and three new missions in South-east Africa—in then independent Kafraria, in Natal, and on Lake Nyasa; while he

lived long enough to receive charge of the New Hebrides stations of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

Having consolidated the Kafrarian Mission, on his return from South Africa in 1864 Dr. Duff saw it extended to the north across the Kei. There the centre of the Idutywa Kafir reserve, up to the Bashee River, formed in 1874, was called by his name, Duffbank. Three years later the Fingoes, through Captain Blyth and Mr. Brownlee, officials, contributed £1,500—since increased threefold—to found an evangelising and industrial Institute after the model of Lovedale, and to that was given the name of Blythswood. With the station of Cunningham completing the base, where there is a native congregation of more than two thousand Kafirs, the Transkei territory is thus being worked, in a missionary sense, up to Natal. There the fruit of the great missionary's influence is seen in four mission centres, at the capital, Pieter-Maritzburg; at Impolweni, fourteen miles to the north; at Kalibasi; and at Gordon, within a few miles of the frontier of Zululand.

When Dr. Duff in his waggon descended from the uplands of Basutoland and the heights of the Drakenberg upon the picturesque valleys and smiling plains of Natal, his heart was taken captive by Mr. James Allison, the highly educated son of a Peninsular officer. Allison was well advanced in years when he gave himself to the work of the Master. Commissioned by the Wesleyans, he broke new ground among the Griquas in 1832, and he went on pioneering till Duff found him settling his many converts, as an independent missionary, in the village of Edendale, which he created for them, while they paid the whole purchase-money by petty instalments. In 1873 Duff sent him to organise a similar settlement at Impolweni, and there he died a few years after. It was a noble life, and yet not more noble than that of the majority of Christian pioneers in all our colonies, as well as in India, China, and the islands of the seas. His work at Maritzburg also was taken over by the Free Church of Scotland.

When, in November, 1864, Dr. Duff went north to take part in the ordination of new missionaries, the first to welcome him to Haddo House was the Dowager Countess of Aberdeen. Eight months before, the fifth earl, her husband, to whom, while yet Lord Haddo, his companionship had been sweet at Malvern, had been called to his rest after years of incessant labour for the spiritual and temporal good of all around him in London, Greenwich, on his own estates, and in Egypt, where he sought and found prolonged life. The Malvern intercourse resulted in a friendly identification of Dr. Duff with the Aberdeen family in all its branches, very beautiful on both sides, and fruitful in spiritual results not only to him and to them, but, we believe, to the Zulu people. The letters that passed between the missionary and the Dowager Countess and her family are fragrant with the spirit of St. John's epistles to Kyria and Gaius. In this chapter we have to do with them only in so far as they throw light on the origin of the Gordon Memorial Mission. Some dim glimpses of the exquisitely delicate relation between them may be seen by those who can read between the lines, in the "Sketches of the Life and Character of Lord Haddo, fifth Earl of Aberdeen, and of his Son, the Hon. J. H. H. Gordon," which Dr. Duff published in 1868, under the principal title of *The True Nobility*.

The Hon. James Henry Hamilton Gordon, second son of the fifth Earl of Aberdeen, won all hearts at school and at college by his fine courage, his pure life, his personal beauty and the manly unconsciousness in which his character was set. At eighteen, in the year 1863, he became a zealous Christian like his father. "Last New Year's Eve," he wrote to a friend, "I went to bed with scarcely a thought about my soul; but the very next day, by the grace of God, I was brought to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge. Yes, the birthday of the year is the birthday of my soul." First at St. Andrews, where Principal Shairp was drawn to him, and then in the larger world of Cambridge, he became the Lycidas of his fellows.

The joy in the Holy Ghost made him the happiest among them. In 1867 he came out the second man in all the University. The youth whom every Sunday evening found in the Jesus' Lane school, and whose face was familiar at the University daily prayer-meeting, was also among the first in athletic sports, in sketching, in verse-writing, and in the debating society. He was captain of the University eight, and rowed No. 4 in the contest with Oxford. His inventive ambition showed itself in the construction of a breech-loader which was to "beat all other possible breech-loaders in the rapidity of its fire." Mr. Macgregor's experiences sent him, in the long vacation, canoeing from Dover through France to Genoa, and back through Germany to Rotterdam. On his return, after an hour on the Cam, he went to his room to dress for dinner, when that happened on the 12th February, 1868, which Dr. Duff thus records: While he was engaged with his rifle, it went off, causing almost immediate death. The next day he was to have rowed in the inter-university race. Instead of that both Oxford and Cambridge put the flags at the boat-houses half-mast high, and not a man was seen on either river. He whom an accident had thus suddenly removed had not long before written to a fellow-student who feared that to profess Christ would be to invite the taunt of being a hypocrite: "It is a happy thing to serve the Lord. Though we sometimes have to give up pleasure, we gain a great deal of happiness even in this world. Paul suffered a great many persecutions, yet he said, 'Rejoice in the Lord many persecutions, yet he said, 'Rejoice in the Lord always; and again I say, Rejoice.'"

Young Gordon had felt another ambition. When only fourteen he declared he would be a missionary. When nineteen he repeated his determination, saying to his brother, who had returned from New Brunswick as sixth earl, and was telling him of the winter life of the lumberers in the forest: "What could be more delightful than to go from camp to camp, Bible in hand, and share the life of those fine fellows, while trying to win them to Christ!" But he added, with

characteristic self-suspicion, that his love of adventure might have much to do with the desire. As time went on, however, he thought of studying for the ministry with this end. When, at the close of 1864, the Cape Government were offering for sale grants of land, he leaped at the suggestion that when he came of age he might settle down as an ordained captain of civilisation on a Kafir reserve. "I shall endeavour to follow the leading of my conscience and the guidance of God in making my decision on this matter," was the entry in his private diary. Truly, as Dr. Duff wrote, what might not such a Christian athlete, "the grandson of the great chief who once wielded the destinies of the British Empire," have become among a people of noble impulses and self-forgetting courage like the Kafirs? What sudden death prevented him from doing, his sorrowing family enabled Dr. Duff to begin as a sacred duty. His elder brother, the sixth Earl, having sought health in a warm climate and to gratify his love of adventure, was accidentally drowned on a voyage from Boston to Melbourne, as first mate of the ship *Hero*. The third and only surviving brother succeeded to the peerage in 1870. Accordingly there was drawn up a deed, unique in the history of Missions since Haldane sold his estate. The Rev. J. Dalzell, M.B., a medical missionary, and his wife, the daughter of Dr. Lorimer, of Glasgow, were sent out to select a site; a teacher and two artisans followed, and by 1874 the Gordon Memorial Mission was established.

When, in May, 1856, Dr. Livingstone completed the second of his expeditions from the Cape to St. Paul de Loanda, on the west coast of Africa, and thence right across the continent to the Quilimane approach to the Zambezi, he used this language: "We ought to encourage the Africans to cultivate for our markets, as the most effectual means, next to the gospel, of their elevation. It is in the hope of working out this idea that I propose the formation of stations on the Zambezi beyond the Portuguese territory, but having communication through it with the coast. The London Missionary Society has resolved to have a station

among the Makololo, on the north bank, and another on the south among the Matabelé. The Church, Wesleyan, Baptist, and that most energetic body, the Free Church, could each find desirable locations." The Universities Mission, which he induced Oxford and Cambridge to send out, met with such losses, while he himself buried his wife a hundred miles up the Zambezi from the sea, that the other Churches delayed action. But the Rev. Dr. Stewart, of Lovedale, when he had hardly ceased to be a divinity student, was encouraged by some Scottish friends to join Dr. Livingstone in his next expedition. On the 16th September, 1859, the great Christian explorer revealed the waters of Lake Nyasa for the first time to Europe and America. There, 1,522 feet above the sea, the overjoyed missionary beheld the fresh-water sea stretching, as it proved, 350 miles to the north, towards Tanganyika, the two Nyanzas and the Nile, with an average breadth of twenty-six miles, and a depth of more than one hundred fathoms. A second time, in 1861, he returned to its southern end, with his brother and Dr. Kirk, only to have his conviction strengthened that here was the centre whence the great Light should shine forth upon the peoples of Central Africa.

His death, in April, 1873, on his knees amid the swamps of Ilala, gave the Free Church a new motive for at once carrying out the trust which he laid upon it. Dr. Duff had sent out Dr. James Stewart to Lovedale, after the disasters of the Universities Mission, to be ready to advance to Nyasa. In 1874 Dr. Duff and James Stevenson, Esq., of Haillie, Largs, launched the Livingstonia Mission, the greatest national enterprise, it has been truly said, since Scotland sent forth the very different Darien expedition.

All the churches and cities of Scotland gathered round Dr. Duff and Dr. Stewart. At the request of the Established Church, co-operating with it in Africa as in India, he gave it the most brotherly facilities for founding a station, called Blantyre, on the healthy heights just above the Murchison cataracts of the Shiré.

The first large party of Scottish missionaries and artisans left the London docks in May, 1875. Dr. Duff led the devotions of the departing evangelists with such fervent absorption and earnest supplication, all heedless of the last warning bell, that the steamer was already on its way down the Thames before he could be got on shore. It was on the 12th of October, sixteen years after Livingstone's discovery of it, that Nyasa's waters burst on the view of the delighted missionaries, as the sun rose over the high eastern range and bathed in the light that symbolised a better Sun the seven hundred miles of coast then desolated by the slave-trade and demon-worship. Writing of morning service that day, the Rev. Dr. R. Laws, the still surviving head of the Mission, remarked, "The hundredth psalm seemed to have a new beauty and depth of meaning as its notes floated over the blue waves."

Next year a second party went out with reinforcements. Dr. Stewart took command at the lake, and circumnavigated it for the second time. Year by year, under medical missionaries like Drs. Laws, Elmslie,* and Steele, and younger colleagues of the stamp of Alexander Bain and Donald Fraser, the Livingstonia Mission has developed into the most successful spiritual and civilising enterprise of modern times. To Stewart and Laws, moreover, following David Livingstone, is due the peaceful creation of the Protectorate of British Central Africa, with its settlement of Scottish coffee planters and traders.

Dr. Duff's official and private correspondence with all concerned, and especially with Dr. Stewart, marks a breadth of Christian statesmanship and administrative foresight which his whole Indian and African experience from 1830 would lead us to expect. Let this heroic sentence suffice, written from Guernsey as his last illness was creeping upon him, to Dr. Stewart on the 25th July, 1877: "Livingstonia is virtually your own mission, and, humanly speaking, the success of the

* See his remarkable book *Among the Wild Ngoni*. Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier (1899).

future will depend much, under God, on the wisdom with which the foundations are now solidly laid. *I wish I could join you for a year*, if it were only to cheer by sympathy and hearty earnestness in seeing the outward prosperity of the work."

Dr. Duff had a keen eye and a reverent regard for "providences," alike in his own life and in the history of the Church and the world. But even he never knew that the last new mission which he was called on to superintend, in the closing years of his life, owed its existence to himself. When the old Cameronians, the venerable Reformed Presbyterian Church, united with the Free Church of Scotland in 1876, it brought under the joint management of the Foreign Missions committee a portion of the Mission in the Melanesian group of the New Hebrides. When, in 1837, Dr. Duff was addressing the members of the Church of Scotland at Stranraer, he little thought that a Cameronian minister was listening to him whom he was unconsciously stirring up to found that mission to the cannibals of the South Pacific. The Rev. A. M. Symington, of Birkenhead, has published this extract from the diary of his father, Dr. William Symington:—

October 27th, 1837.—"Had this day the unspeakable satisfaction and delight of hearing Dr. Duff advocate the General Assembly's scheme for christianising India. His statements are clear, his reasoning sound, and his eloquence surpassing anything I ever heard. Notwithstanding a weak frame and a bad voice, his appeals are most impassioned and thrilling. He touches the springs of emotion, lays down the path of duty with unceremonious fidelity, and rebukes the apathy and niggardliness of professing Christians with fearless independence. I reckon it a great privilege to have heard and met with this great and good man. May it be blessed for increasing my zeal for the conversion of the heathen.

January 12th, 1838.—"Being old New Year's Day, which is foolishly observed as an idle day in this quarter, I called together the youth of the congregation, read some missionary intelligence, and delivered an address on the obligation of Christians to diffuse the gospel among the heathen. Afterwards a juvenile association for missionary purposes was formed. Nearly sixty appended their names, and about £10 was subscribed on the spot. May this be the commencement of a mission to the heathen from the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland."

In the year 1898, in the Missions begun and extended by Dr. Duff, the number of adult converts baptized and admitted on profession rose from 1,395 in 1897 to

1,921, besides 1,692 children of Christian parents baptized. The year closed with 6,173 candidates under instruction with a view to baptism or full communion. The native Christian contributions and fees rose to £23,666. There were 35,298 students and scholars, of both sexes, in four India and two Africa colleges, and in 493 schools, notwithstanding the plague-scare in the former and racial troubles in the latter continent. Some 200 Christian agents, men and women, not including missionaries' wives, were assisted by 1,149 native Christian workers, besides many native office-bearers and others as volunteers.

The whole missionary revenue of his Church, from Scotland and the mission fields themselves, for evangelising non-Christians, Jews, the Colonies, and the continent of Europe was £123,948. Of the former, £110,895 was for missions to the non-Christians, who still form two-thirds of the human race. Of that sum, £66,886 was given by Scotland alone.

CHAPTER XXVI

1865-1878

DR. DUFF AT HOME

TURNING aside from the public conflicts and the official cares of the Missionary's life, let us rest awhile with him, so far as the stranger may do so, amid the sanctities of home and the intercourse of friendship. Of domestic joy and social delight he knew less than most public men, less even than most Anglo-Indian exiles, although his nature yearned for the one with a Celtic intensity, and was drawn out after the other with a chivalrous impulsiveness. Absorbed in daily and nightly toil after the highest quest and the divinest ideal, he could give to wife and child, friend and society, only the time which the exhausted body forced him to steal from incessant energising. What to most men forms the sum of life, was with him an accident in living. This and the method of his work, the exacting punctuality which marked all his duties, enabled him to live many lives, making his fine physique the ready slave of his impetuous spirit.

Hence, as no one desired the solace of family and friends more, the fervour with which all his relations with those he loved were surcharged, and the fascination which he exercised over the men and women whom he grappled to his soul. Hence, too, the comfort wherewith he could comfort many who sought from him spiritual consolation or guidance. His face, his

form, his bearing, the iron grasp and frequent shake of his hand, his sympathetic voice, his delicately suggested counsels or warmly urged advice, his emphatic rebuke or more enthusiastic approval, drew to him his equals, bound to him the converts, the students, the orientals whom he at the same time awed. His was a nature born to rule, while the grace of God humbled him into ruling by love. His will, directed by a desire loftier and a knowledge more complete than others possessed, sometimes bore down opposition and silenced criticism. But he whose aim was equally lofty, and experience not very inferior, rejoiced in co-operation with a friend—even in working under a master—who never failed in anything he undertook for the Master of all. In spite of the parity of an ecclesiastical system which is strong by this very weakness, he and his many colleagues in Calcutta, for thirty-three years, acted together not only in unbroken harmony but in loving fellowship. Young theologians, frightened for a time from the mission-field by misrepresentations of his masterfulness, were amazed to observe when they reached Calcutta the unselfish skill with which he found out their specialities and encouraged their independent development.

Next to the life hid with Christ in God, Duff found his solace and his inspiration in his wife. From her quiet but unresting devotion to him, and his excessive reticence regarding his most sacred domestic feelings, many failed to appreciate the perfection of her service not merely to her husband but to the cause for which he sacrificed his whole self. The extracts which we have given from his letters during their frequent separations, reveal more than was apparent at the time, save to those who, like the earlier converts, were the inmates of the home in Cornwallis Square. But it was when the hour came for the missionary and his wife to part for ever here below that the value of Mrs. Duff to his work as well as to himself could be realised. He had been welcomed home in July, 1864, after the prolonged tour in South Africa, by her who had preceded him. Then, after a short illness, tenderly nursed by

them and by the new-made widow of Dr. Mackay, Anne Scott Duff was taken away.

Thenceforth Dr. Duff was emphatically alone, though ever cared for with filial devotion and friendly affection. His spiritual experience became still deeper, his power to comfort sufferers like himself more remarkable and more sought after. In all his correspondence to the close of his life, and in his personal intercourse with those he loved, there is now a touch of tenderness, ever before felt but now more freely expressed. As the tall figure began to stoop more visibly, and the expressive mouth came to be concealed under a still more eloquent beard of venerable whiteness, and the voice soon became wearied into an almost unearthly whispering, new love went forth to one whose chivalrous simplicity was daily more marked. The flash of the eye and the rapid remark told that there was no abatement of the intellectual force or the spiritual fire; while the pen was never more ready for action in every good cause and for every old friend, especially in the cause he had made his own all through life. As grandchildren climbed on his knees, and grew up around him, at school and college, he renewed his youth. All children he delighted in; with all he was a favourite. Few had such inner reasons as he to rejoice alway.

The deepened solitude of his life after 1865, into which even the most loving and sympathetic could not penetrate, showed itself in a renewed study of the word of God and of those master-pieces of theological literature, practical and scientific, in which truly devout and cultured souls take refuge from the ecclesiastical as well as literary sensationalism of the day. He had always cultivated the highest of all the graces—the grace of meditation, which feeds the others. He increasingly loved to muse, shutting himself up for hours in his study, or retiring for weeks to a friendly retreat, now in the Scottish, now in the English lakes. He was catholic in his tastes, literary and theological. He had found a strong impulse in the works of Thomas Carlyle, as they appeared, declaring on one occasion to the writer that no living author had so stimulated him.

He enjoyed the majestic roll and exquisite English of De Quincey's sentences, finding in him, moreover, a definiteness of faith and even dogmatic convictions as to the divine source of all duty and action which, like many admirers of Carlyle, he hungered for in the original of "Sartor Resartus." Milton and Cowper were never long out of his hands. He was a rapid reader and a shrewd and genial critic of current literature. But he transmuted all, as the wisely earnest man will always do, into the gold of his own profession. The essayist and the poet, the historian and the politician, the philosopher and the theologian, while giving the purest pleasure and the best of all kinds of recreation at the time, became new material, literary, ethical, and spiritual, for the one end of his life, the bringing of India and Africa into the kingdom of Christ.

The University session of each year after his appointment as Professor of Evangelistic Theology was a period of unusual toil and even hardship to Dr. Duff. Besides the often harassing and always anxious cares arising from his management of the foreign office of his Church, and the multitudinous calls of committees, societies, and other organisations, which, while necessary for average men, are often obstructive to the experienced, he had to discharge his college duties in the three cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen successively. At the last two he found a temporary home with the venerable widow of his old friend, Dr. Lorimer, and with Principal Lumsden or his brother. Much travelling in a Scottish winter and spring, after the extremes of Bengal, was not favourable either to comfort or health. Hardly had April set him free from lecturing, when May brought on the fatigues of the General Assembly. After that he would flee, not for rest but for solitude in his work, to the friendly shades now of Auchendennan then of Patterdale. Or he would gratify the Anglo-Indian crave for travel by a tour on the continent, out of the beaten track and alone, till the "commission" of Assembly called him back in the middle of August.

In no home, after his wife's death, was he so happy

as in that of George Martin, Esq., of Auchendennan. It was not only that he was embosomed in the natural beauties of Loch Lomond, living on its southern shores, gazing every hour of the day at its mighty Ben, visiting its wooded islands, or strolling through gardens in which art has only revealed the luxuriant beauty of nature. He felt himself in his native Highlands, and became once more the friend of every peasant on the estate, ministering to them in the hall on the Sabbath evening, and winning them by his familiar gentleness in his walks, so that, when he left them each year, they congregated of their own accord to bid him a farewell of which a monarch might have been proud.

As Auchendennan was his spring retreat, the old hotel at Patterdale generally found him its occupant before the end of June. For eight years he found there a quiet spot, not too far from his office in Edinburgh, and yet removed from solicitations to preach and speak and work in public. The rooms looking out on the garden and the water came to be regarded as his; and there he was rather the honoured guest than the ordinary visitor. The stream of tourists every season passed by the quaint, comfortable house for the new hotel, leaving him to its sequestered delights, broken in upon only occasionally by a friend. There he found leisure for the arrears of correspondence which the College and the General Assembly had piled up, and calm to meditate new enterprises for his Master. When the afternoon post hour set him free he gave the summer evenings to rambles and musings amid the glories of Ulleswater and Helvellyn. Walking up Birk Fell or Place Fell to the slate quarry from which the lake is best seen, roaming among the woods of Patterdale Hall courteously open to him at all times, chatting to the people in the village who learned to love him, or examining and giving his own prizes to the school, he was ever the same kindly old man, who half awed, half drew the little ones, while he lifted the old to a higher level of thought and feeling. Official entries in the visitors' book of the school, the chatter of the children and the talk of their parents, and not a few most

pathetic letters among his papers from both, tell of a life of simple invigoration to himself and beneficence to all around. Once when residing at Patterdale, more than six months after the loss of his voice during the May meetings, he rode up Helvellyn and walked over Striding Edge at the most dangerous part of the ridge. In the evangelical services of the little church of Patterdale he was a grateful worshipper. Much travel and knowledge of Christ and of his own heart had given him, while ever an earnest Presbyterian in secondary matters, a true catholicity in all essentials. "We all pray you may long be spared to visit us and to bless children in many lands—God bless you," is the closing sentence of an acknowledgment of his annual gifts to the school, by one of the children in the mid-summer of 1872.

But the Anglo-Indian has no friends like those who have, by his side, fought the battles of Christ and of civilisation in the East. With many such Dr. Duff's correspondence was regular, free and full. In the year after his wife's death the Indian telegraph—so often the messenger of unforeseen disaster—flashed the news of the sudden disappearance of Bishop Cotton in the treacherous waters of the Ganges, on his return to his barge in the darkness after consecrating the cemetery of Kooshtea. That Scotland, where the greatest of the Metropolitans of India was little known, might learn what sort of standard-bearer in the one army of the Evangel he was who had thus fallen, Dr. Duff published in the official *Record* of his Church an *éloge* of rare tenderness and intensity as applied to one ecclesiastic by another of a different organisation.

Still more keenly did Dr. Duff feel the almost equally sudden and no less lamentable death of his companion in his first voyage to India, Henry Durand. Notwithstanding the coldness, the opposition, the misrepresentations of self-seeking officials and the defenders of administrative or political abuses, Durand had risen to be Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. It was left to Lord Mayo, tardily, to confer on him the office which Lord Canning would have given to the Christian

soldier, the righteous statesman, the implacable foe of wrong-doing. The whole Indian empire was rejoicing, for its own sake, when at the opening of 1871, on the very frontier which he would have guarded from the follies of later times, this best representative of the Percies was struck down in the discharge of duty.

Thus Dr. Duff wrote to the sorrowing widow:—

“THE GRANGE, EDINBURGH, *January 5th*, 1871.

“MY DEAR LADY DURAND,—How can I sufficiently thank you for your deeply affecting note of yesterday’s date! Yours truly is sorrow of a peculiar kind, into which no one else can adequately enter. But my sorrow, I assure you, is such that I cannot express it. That dear, precious, revered, beloved friend, whose rare and sterling qualities, in their earliest buddings, I could not but discern on board the vessel in which we were both wrecked, in our first voyage to India; whose noble career I could not help then predicting, and continued to watch with growing interest till it culminated in his appointment to the governorship of the Punjab—gone! as regards this world, no more to be seen, conferred with, or written to! I cannot yet realise it. Gone, too, at a crisis when India most needed the services of such a man—a man of such eminent talents and accomplishments, such multiplied experiences in civil and military affairs, such sagacity in counsel and resolute determination in execution, and above all such inflexible integrity and disinterestedness in every position and relationship of life. All, all, as I do believe, founded on and cemented by ‘the fear of God’ in the true scriptural sense of that expression. How mysterious, to our poor narrow conceptions, the removal of such a man at such a time as this!

“Yesterday morning at breakfast our first post was delivered. My only daughter, who is with me at present on a short visit from Glasgow, began to read a letter from her husband, in the middle of which was the remark, ‘How shocked your father will be to hear of the death of Sir Henry Durand.’ ‘What!’ I could not help crying out in the anguish of my spirit. ‘What! Read that again.’ She read it again, and all that could be added was that the intelligence had reached by telegram. Well, I was not only stunned, but could not help bursting into tears; and when I somewhat recovered, my first remark was, ‘Well, apart from sorrow at the loss of one of the truest and best of friends, in him India has lost the greatest, wisest, ablest and most upright of her public men—a loss, at this crisis, really greater than if it had been the death of the Governor-General that was reported.’

“Excuse me for entering into these little details—my own heart is so full of it that I can scarcely think of anything else. Into the higher and more spiritual views of the subject I now refrain from entering. But my fervent prayer has been, is, and will be that you may be mightily upheld, and sustained in this trying hour, by the consolation of God’s Holy Spirit, which alone can truly comfort and satisfy. May He who so tenderly condescends to call Himself the Father of the fatherless and the Husband of the widow, be with you and yours. And may grace be vouchsafed, even in the midst of your crushing sorrow, to enable you to say in faith and humble resignation, ‘Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in Thy sight.’ If I were at all within your reach, speedily would I find my way to mingle my condolences with your great sorrow in person.”

To the day of his death he continued to be the affectionate counsellor of Lady Durand and her children. Very similar was his relation to the Dowager Countess of Aberdeen and the Gordon family. We have seen this on its missionary side. Lady Polwarth and Lady Balfour still recall the pleasure with which, as children, they hailed his visits to Haddo House because of his bright and kindly treatment of them and his loving counsels.

To such correspondents, and to many others whom he had first pointed to peace in Christ and joy in the Holy Ghost, his spiritual counsels are too sacred for publication. To native converts and Hindu students his letters were frequent. One whom he had baptized in 1847 and had given to another mission, tells him in 1875 how some of his other spiritual sons are scattered in the Punjab, passing on the torch of truth which he had put in their hands. There is hardly an annual report of any evangelical mission in the wide extent of Northern India which does not record the spiritual harvest now being reaped by his ordained converts, and their children, one of whom is the Princess Harnam Singh.

On other public only less than on missionary questions did Dr. Duff keep up a correspondence to the last. From Palermo, Sir Henry Yule wrote to him on the Bengal Famine on the last day of 1873: "This is a time of great anxiety to all old Indians watching this dark cloud of famine over Bengal. The great interest in the subject shown by *The Times* it is a satisfaction to see. I only at rare intervals see the *Friend of India* now, generally when my friend Colonel Maclagan sends me a number. The paper seems as good or better than I remember it for many years." To a congratulatory letter from Dr. Duff, Sir Henry S. Maine replied:—

"It gave me very sincere pleasure that you, whose services to India so vastly exceed mine in dignity and amount, should feel yourself able to apply to me the language you have employed. I heard of you the other day from a former acquaintance of mine and old friend of my wife's, Dr. H. Bonar, and I gathered from him

that you are still unremitting in your labours for the country to which you have given so much of your life. A good deal which is now going on in India must be interesting and gratifying to you. The admission now tacitly made by the Government, that it has fostered a too artificial system of education, and has done too little for the education of the people, is, I think, in conformity with views you have long held. You will be glad, too, to hear that the Act of mine, in which I perhaps took more interest than any other—the Native Converts' Re-marriage Act—is working in the best possible way. It is very rarely called into action, but the mere knowledge of its existence serves almost always to prevent the wife's family from obstructing her joining her husband. Durand's melancholy death must have caused you great pain."

Dr. Duff's influence with friends in high office, and even with officials who knew him only through his work, was all-powerful. But for his family, as for himself, he steadily refused to use his position in India, where all through his career he was at the fountain-head of great patronage. One instance may illustrate the principle which guided his relation to official friends. When his eldest son was compelled to retire from the Indian Medical Service from ill-health, induced by exposure during the Mutiny campaigns, Lord Halifax, then Sir Charles Wood, thus wrote to Dr. Duff:—

"BELGRAVE SQUARE, *Feb. 22nd, 1866.*

"DEAR DR. DUFF,—I am much obliged to you for the very kind note which I have received from you to-day. It is indeed a source of great gratification and pride to me to read such approbation of my conduct as an Indian Minister as your letter contains. Your knowledge of India, your high and impartial character, render your opinion of more than usual value, and I assure you that I appreciate it as it deserves. Many kind things have been said and written to me since my accident. There is no testimony in my favour on which I set a higher value. I am sorry to hear that you have been suffering so much, and I trust that you may soon be perfectly restored, as I hope myself to be by a couple of months' rest and quiet on the coast of the Mediterranean. I had no time to write to you the other day, to say that we had given a special allowance to your son. His case could not be brought under any rule, or precedent, or principle, on which any pension had ever been given before, but the universal respect for you borne by every member of the Council carried the day, and as a special and exceptional case, the allowance was awarded to him. Yours very truly, C. Wood."

Lord Shaftesbury thus wrote to Dr. Duff in April, 1871: "Will you allow your honoured and illustrious name to be placed on the lists of the Vice-presidents of the Bible Society?" With the Archbishop of Canterbury, when Bishop of London, he had much pleasant intercourse there and at Ardrishaig; and was anxiously consulted by him on the creation of the Bishopric of Lahore. The Ardrishaig intercourse Dr. Tait thus recalled: "I was glad of the opportunity of seeing Dr. Duff there, as I remembered well the impression produced by Dr. Chalmers's address when he was sent forth as a missionary; and I had heard also from time to time of the friendly intercourse which took place between him and my much esteemed brother and former colleague at Rugby, Bishop Cotton of Calcutta. It was a great pleasure to me to see the man himself, of whom I had heard so much; to witness his frank and manly bearing, and to feel the influence of that zeal which had enabled him to give his life to missionary work. It was not to be expected that we could quite agree, even where he felt no barrier presented by the differences between the episcopal and presbyterian systems, for I found him full of admiration at the way in which the late Bishop of Capetown had endeavoured to shake his Church free from all connection with the State. I can however truly say that it has ever since been a pleasant memory that we were thus thrown together."

CHAPTER XXVII

1870-1878

ECCLESIASTICAL

THE contrast between life and work in India and life and work at home is so marked as to be keenly felt by the official, the merchant and the missionary when they bid a final farewell to the East. There the governing class, whatever be the motives of individuals among them, live for others; here the mass struggle for themselves. There the contact of differing civilisations, the conflict of civilisation with barbarism, the light and the colour of oriental peoples and customs, the exhilaration caused by the fact of ruling, call forth latent powers, suggest great ideas, kindle the imagination into creative action, and of middle-class Englishmen make an aristocracy in the highest or ethical sense of the word. Here, on the plane level of stay-at-home life, varied only by occasional glimpses at the parallel civilisation of the continent of Europe, there is no elbow-room, there are few careers save those in pursuing which the finer powers are blunted by the struggle for success. Competition in its worst as well as best forms sours the nature, starves the fancy, and obstructs the energies of the men whom it helps above their fellows. Men who would be statesmen and rulers abroad remain narrow and unknown at home. And if this contrast is in the main true of the professional and trading classes of our country, as they are abroad and

at home, it is emphatically so of the clergy, of ministers and missionaries. The Churches of the West may have so little faith as not to send more of their best men to the foreign or colonial field, but the self-sacrifice of his life, the breadth of his experience, and the nobility of his calling go far to make even the average missionary an abler and more useful human being than the minister who cares for the third part of a village, or the tenth part of a town, or the hundredth part of a city. The missionary, moreover, is a permanent growing force in the country of his adoption, while officials and merchants pass away in brief generations of little more than seven years in each place. The historical divisions of the Churches, the sectarian parties or schisms of each Church, too often absorb the charity, waste the energy and neutralise the action which, abroad, are united in the one end of aggression on the common enemy.

Thus it was that to come home from India to England, to leave the catholicity and elevation of the mission field for entanglement among the ecclesiastical divisions of Scotland, was, for Dr. Duff of all men, to move on a lower level. In his temporary visits he had won all parties and all Churches to the support of Foreign Missions. Making these not only "a truce of God," but the highest source and test of spiritual revival, he had left behind him the pleasant fragrance of those who love to dwell together in unity. In the ardour with which he leaped into the controversy of the Disruption of the Kirk, so soon as the sacrifice became inevitable, and in the co-operating charity with which he continued to assist those who differed from him thereafter, he showed in the most Christian fashion the foresight and the devotion to spiritual principle which, in 1874, the Parliament and the residuary establishment—penitent too late and unjust in practice still—formally recognised. And when, after 1864, he became identified more closely with the home policy and organisation of the Free Church, he continued to be the peacemaker between parties, not only for the sake of the one missionary end of his life,

but because he felt the danger of allowing his own broader personality and experience to be dragged into controversies from which none emerge unscathed.

The time of his final return to Scotland seemed favourable for Church union. Freed from the evil legacies of history the United States had set the world an example of ecclesiastical equality and spiritual freedom. The Scottish Disruption of 1843, following secessions from the Kirk in the previous century, had supplied another national argument and model of the same kind. Speaking as Moderator of the General Assembly of 1843, Dr. Chalmers told these and other Nonconformist Churches that their congratulations pointed in the first instance to union, and then incorporation as soon as was "possible and prudent." Referring to the only question which at that early time divided the Free from the seceding Churches—the abstract theory of the endowment of one sect by the State—Dr. Candlish asked if schism was to be kept up by a question as to the duty of another party over whom they had no control. Even Dr. Cunningham returned from America in 1844 of the same mind. So soon as the Free Church had organised itself, in 1863, the Assembly unanimously took the first step towards incorporation with the United Presbyterian Church, itself the result of previous unions. In 1867 Dr. Duff was appointed to a seat in the committee of the leading men of both Churches and all parties in these Churches, who invited him to join them. "I saw Dr. Cairns and Dr. Andrew Thomson, who hail your coming among us with joy and thankfulness," wrote the convener to him. And none delighted more in the catholic spirit and lofty ideals of Dr. Duff than the fathers of the United Presbyterian Church as the years of negotiation passed on.

Dr. Duff's accession to the ranks of the union divines was considered important for another reason. None who know ecclesiastical history will be surprised that, so early as 1867, the fair prospects of union with the United Presbyterian Church, at least, began to be

clouded. Retaining his unique position aloof from parties Dr. Duff yet felt constrained, publicly and privately, to use all the influence of his character and his power of moral suasion in favour of union. To have done otherwise, between two Churches of the same origin, confession, ritual, race, and history, differing in nothing but in a speculative opinion as to an impracticable theocracy but both holding the dogma as to the principle of that theocracy, would have been to prove false to his Master and to his whole life. But he ever used this influence in a way which did not alienate the anti-unionists, and which so far prevailed with them as to result in a compromise, and in the effort after a still wider union proceeding on more national lines.

By 1870 the division between the union majority and the separatist minority had become so wide that the Assembly committed the subject for discussion to each of the seventy presbyteries. In that of Edinburgh, towards midnight in November, Dr. Duff discharged from the fulness of his whole nature an "eirenicon" which shared the immediate fate of all attempts at peace-making during the white heat of controversy, but bore fruit when the hour of reflection came. Called for by the public it was written out from the reporter's notes. The Reformed Presbyterian Church, oldest of the non-established Churches in Scotland, had meanwhile joined the negotiations and was ultimately incorporated with the Free Church. This one passage may serve as an illustration of the spirit that animated the first missionary of the Church of Scotland in his impassioned advocacy of union: "What is the design of the present negotiations? Is it not to bring into closer corporate alliance the three largest of the non-established Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, between whom there seem to exist no real differences on grand, vital, essential, doctrinal points, and, by so doing, to repair at least some of the widest breaches in our once happily united Scottish Zion; and that, too, not as an end in itself, however blessed, but as a means to a more glorious end—even that of the more effective evangeli-

sation of the sunken masses at home, and of the hundreds of millions of heathen abroad? Such being the central object, and grand ultimate end in view, who would envy the sorry vocation of any one that laboured to throw obstacles in the way, instead of helping to remove such as may now exist; or strove to widen instead of lessening the breaches which all deplore; or to magnify any differences which may be discovered, instead of attempting, without any unworthy compromise, to reduce them, in their intrinsic and relative proportions, to the very uttermost? But the work of reconstruction and reconsolidation would not be completed until, in some practicable way, by which any 'wood, hay, or stubble,' in our respective edifices, or any 'untempered mortar' in their walls, being wisely disposed of, the present established and non-established Churches might be all reunited on a common platform, in one Reformed National Church—national, at least, in the sense of embracing within its fold the great bulk of our Scottish population."

When the General Assembly of 1873 was approaching, the controversy had become so embittered that the separatist minority plainly hinted they would secede if the majority exercised its constitutional right by legislatively carrying out union. Now was the time for the peacemaker. The whole Church turned to Dr. Duff as the one man who could avert the crisis. To the present writer, then in India, he sent this among other communications, marked by all the frank affection of confidential friendship:—

"PATTERDALE, 24th April, 1873.

"... You may have noticed by what a strange evolution of Providence I am to be proposed a second time for the Assembly's chair. When first asked to allow myself to be nominated, it took me so aback that I was not only staggered but almost convulsed. I could not possibly all at once say 'yes,' it was so utterly repugnant to all my own tastes, wishes, and inclinations, that I could not see my way at all to respond to such a call; besides, the state, the very peculiar and precarious state of my health alone would be enough to forbid compliance. On the other hand, such a proposal, coming from such a meeting, said to be cordial and unanimous on the subject, I could not all at once peremptorily reject. After a day or two's terrible mental struggle I felt myself thrust up, by a singular concurrence of Providence, into a readiness to comply, provided no opposition from any quarter were manifested. Being assured on all

sides that my acceptance would, for various reasons assigned, be felt rather as a relief by all parties, I at last consented. For weeks I have been struggling hard to hit on some middle measure—such as passing the ‘mutual eligibility’ scheme, accompanied with a strong declaration of resolute adherence to the doctrine of Christ’s kingship over the nations and other great fundamental doctrines for which the anti-union party have been contending, as if they alone upheld them, but which in reality have been equally maintained by the union party—a measure, therefore, which would not compromise the union party, and might secure the passive acquiescence, at least, of the anti-union party. The union party are quite prepared to accompany the passing of the mutual eligibility measure with such a strong declaration, but the utterly unreasonable anti-union party as yet have rejected such a proposal, and demand the rejection of the mutual eligibility measure *simpliciter*; and this, of course, the union party cannot in honour concede.

“Many, however, of the moderate men on the anti-union side have been shaken by the above proposal, and will not, if the mutual eligibility measure be passed (as it is sure to be) leave the Church, but be satisfied with a dissent or protest. . . . Some half-dozen or dozen men seem, as yet, to be determined on a disruption if the mutual eligibility measure be passed, no matter with what declaration, however strong—though it really concede to them all they are contending for—showing clearly that it is not the preservation of principle that any more actuates them, but a desire for personal victory and triumph over their opponents. . . .”

This “middle measure” was carried, as a compromise, so that ministers of the United Presbyterian Church have ever since been eligible and have been called as ministers of the Free Church, and *vice versa*. The system has worked well, but it is neither union nor incorporation. The majority, yielding for the sake of peace and to avoid a small schism while healing a larger, yet, “for the exoneration of our consciences and for the sake of posterity,” entered on the records of the Assembly an explanatory statement, the first signature attached to which was that of “Alexander Duff, D.D.” That statement solemnly recognises the Spirit of the Lord in the origin and progress of the union movement, and the duty and responsibility of prosecuting it, till the necessity arose of “deferring to the scruples of beloved fathers and brethren.” It thus concluded: “We acknowledge in this dispensation the evidence of much sin and shortcoming on the part of the human agents concerned, the guilt of which we take largely to ourselves, earnestly hoping for the concurrence of our brethren with us, in the prayer that the Lord may search us and try us all, that He may see what wicked-

ness is in us, and lead us in the way everlasting, the only way in which real union can be sought and found." Since that time the cause of union has made rapid strides, but along another road—in the Act of Parliament of 1874, and the declaration of the Moderator of the Established Church, acknowledging the wrong done in 1843 though not making restitution as Mr. Gladstone pointed out; in the union in 1876 of the Free and Reformed Presbyterian Churches; and in the advance all over Europe, but chiefly in Italy, France and Scotland, of the principle of the spiritual independence of the Church of lay communicants in spiritual things, with loyal submission to the State in all others. The dream of one reconstructed and united Kirk in the little bit of a small island called Scotland is approaching realisation, and Dr. Duff rejoiced in the prospect. Even ecclesiastics have come to feel that the divisions are "ludicrous" as well as sinful. He promoted and delighted in the removal of ecclesiastical sectarianism from public instruction in Scotland, so as to make it national again. The free national Kirk will follow the open national school the moment the people insist that right shall be done. Then foreign as well as home missions will enter on a new era.

As Moderator of the General Assembly of 1873 Dr. Duff delivered in part, and published in full, his opening and closing addresses, under the title of *The World-Wide Crisis*. As partially reported at the time they had caused much discussion in the daily newspapers. Surveying the world as it is, and the history of the race in the light of God's truth ever and again arresting the degeneracy of men left to themselves, he said in effect to his own distracted Church and to all the divided Churches of Christendom: "Cease your petty strifes; unite and fight against your one enemy." Far removed from the shallow sensationalism of the prophecy-expounders whose only use is to destroy each others' theories, he yet spake as a seer who felt the world growing evil because the Church had become cold. With imperial insight he swooped down the ages upon the conscience, he traced the increasing purpose of

God in Christ which runs through them all, he marshalled in Miltonic array the forces of darkness, and he closed his opening address by setting against each man's "neglect of duty, its terrible doom," a consummation of glory in the heavens. The *Spectator* pronounced the address a "plea for a true conception of Church work by comparison with the trifle which engrossed his auditors. It struck the right key-note and it did not go without its reward." The closing address was as practical as that was elevated. The Education Act he pronounced an "equitable compromise," such that "it will now be the fault of the local boards and of the electors of the boards if everywhere we shall not have a religious education with the free use of the Bible and Shorter Catechism." Citing his own experience of the introduction of optional examinations on the evidences of revealed religion, of Butler and Paley, into the University of Calcutta, he pleaded for the endowment of such a free or open lectureship in the Scottish Universities, as would gather into one the whole Bible teaching of the schools in all their grades from the first standard to the degree of Master of Arts.

These years of controversy were busy in good work of a catholic kind. The same events which, in 1874, roused Mr. Gladstone to expose what he called the monstrous exaggeration of Church power into papal power, by publishing his work on the Vatican decrees in their bearing on civil allegiance, which, with other two, subsequently appeared under the title of "Rome and the Newest Fashions in Religion," summoned Dr. Duff to take part in the great Glasgow meeting on Vaticanism on the 5th October, 1875. There the old fire burst forth again as he addressed himself to the popular exposition of the resolution, "That the reappearance of the papal system in the free nations of Britain and Germany, with bolder pretensions than ever, and waging open war against all the institutions of modern society, is a fact of the gravest significance to the people of Scotland, who suffered so much from it in former days, and demands the earnest attention of

every friend of civil and religious liberty and every lover of our Queen and country."

The British and Foreign Bible Society again claimed his advocacy in Exeter Hall, although age and toil had begun to rob the once thrilling voice of its power. To the National Bible Society of Scotland he ever lent his strength, alike in consultation and public advocacy. His old love of the press, and his conviction, too rarely met with in the Church, of the importance of creating and disseminating a pure and robust literature, found constant exercise in the operations of the Tract and Book Society of Scotland as well as of England. Working side by side with Mr. Martin, of Auchendennan, he sent pure books and periodicals into many a far-distant manse and hamlet. He helped to organise the system of colportage for the agricultural, mining and manufacturing districts, and was never happier than amidst the gatherings of the colporteurs as they returned to tell in conference their doings. He knew the power of literature for good or evil, he bewailed the neglect of it by evangelicalism. He was prevented only by the multitudinous cares of his own proper duties, as missionary, convener, and professor, from realising his dream not only of a Missionary Quarterly, but of a weekly newspaper to compete with the secularism and sensuality which successfully appeal to the people, because they are offered nothing else. Himself familiar with literary work, and chivalrous with the inbred courtesy of the old school, he could have succeeded had he made the attempt when he was younger, for he knew, as few do, how to respect the literary profession. His experience of India, where Mr. Murray had encouraged him in reprints of copy-right works, led him to desire such a modification of the law as would substitute royalties for monopoly, on some equitable system. At the end of his career, as at the beginning, he thus wrote of the civilising effects of our English literature:—

"In this country we are literally deluged with a constantly increasing torrent of pernicious literature, fraught with the seeds of sedition, impurity, and irre-

ligion—freely accessible to the humblest of the masses because of its cheapness. On the side of British patriotism and Christian philanthropy, therefore, is it not most desirable that, by the relaxation or removal of present copyright restrictions, a sound and corrective popular literature might, by an ample reduction of cost, be supplied and brought within reach of all classes over the land—much to the advantage of authors, publishers, and the public? Again, with regard to India, English education of every grade is rapidly spreading among its teeming inhabitants. In all higher collegiate education, the English language, with one or other of the oriental tongues, such as Sanskrit or Arabic, is always one of the two languages on which students are examined for university degrees in arts. Consequently, our English classics are profoundly studied with peculiar zest and earnestness by thousands and even tens of thousands of intelligent native youths; and English literature, as a living and not a dead one, becomes to them for ever after the main storehouse whence they draw their intellectual aliment.”

By nothing so much as by tours on the continent of Europe did Dr. Duff at once keep up the catholicity developed by his Indian experience, and the elasticity of spirit which was essential for work such as he continued to the last year of his life. Almost every alternate year he so planned his time as to give the two months from the middle of June to August to this highest form of recreation. Now he was in Holland, now on the northern shores of the Mediterranean. Again duty drove him as far east as the Lebanon; another year saw him exploring Russia; and another found him in Norway. The result to others of his solitary wanderings was sometimes a speech or a pamphlet, but always the richest conversation for his friends, and the most precious letters to his family. To Lady Aberdeen we find him writing in 1871: “The tour in Holland was most seasonable. I twice visited that country, and I did so with much interest. There is much in its past history of a stirring and

ennobling character, on high Christian grounds; though, alas, in these latter days, there has in this respect been much lamentable degeneracy. My second visit was by special invitation from a union of evangelical societies, who were to hold a meeting in a wood near Utrecht. Some fifteen or sixteen thousand of the still remaining good people of Holland assembled on the occasion. In several parts of the wood some half-dozen rustic pulpits were erected. The avowed object was to give an account of different Missions throughout the world; but in so doing full liberty was given to the speakers to shape their remarks so as to bear directly on the rationalism and other errors now unhappily prevalent in Holland. There was much solemnity on the occasion, and I seldom enjoyed any gathering so much."

When at Hamburg, in August, 1871, about to make a tour by Denmark and Sweden through Russia to the great fair at Nijni Novgorod, on the Volga, we met Dr. Duff who had just returned from the same route, by Warsaw and the old Scandinavian cities of the Baltic. For a month he had been without letters, and all the fulness of his sensitive nature burst forth as he was told of recent events, home and ecclesiastical. In a rapid drive to Blankenese, and as during a long night we paced the deck of the steamer to sail on the morrow, he detailed, in return, the events of his tour with a combined practical accuracy and eloquent description which made him the most charming as well as instructive of companions. From Stockholm through the autumn paradise of islands which form the Aland Archipelago, and on by the gulf and ports of Finland, he reached St. Petersburg. For him the glories of St. Isaac's were soon dimmed by the heartless irreverence of the Russo-Greek priests and the superstition of the people, so that he declared he had not, even in the idolatries of the East, seen anything more degraded. At Moscow he revelled in the Kremlin and its associations, historical and oriental. But it was in the Troitsa Monastery, forty miles off, that he fully realised what Russia is, in its good and its evil.

At this "Oxford of Russia" he understood why it is that the most perfect form of civil and spiritual autocracy the world has seen is not only a menace to the liberties of other countries, but is fatal to progress among the Russians themselves, so that the next great revolution must be there and soon. The sight and the memories of Warsaw completed the lesson. Thence he returned by Königsberg and the famous old cities of the southern Baltic, and especially the island of Rügen, where he traced every detail of the old Norse mythology as he contrasted its now extinct horrors with the living abominations of the popular Brahmanical and Vaishnava worship of India. At Breslau as well as Warsaw he had inspected the Jewish Mission. His verdict on the state of the Lutheran Church in North Germany he expressed in the one word "petrification."

In the last of his long tours which he made in 1873 through Norway, he traversed the whole of its seaboard from the south up to the region of the midnight sun, whence he was able to telegraph from the *Ultima Thule* of Vadsö on the Varanger Fiord. Most travellers who visit that region are content, he told the General Assembly, with admiring "its deeply indented fiords with their beetling precipices, roaring waterfalls, and waving forests; its elevated fields or plateaux of perpetual snow, and glaciers sometimes descending to near the sea-level; and its numberless valleys and lakes often of surpassing richness and softened beauties—without every trying to realise the fact that the very glories of physical nature in that land stand sadly in the way of its effective spiritual culture and improvement."

He found at its height the movement towards spiritual liberty in the Lutheran Church, begun by the peasant preacher, Hans Nielson Haug, and continued by two evangelical professors in the University of Christiania. The new life had been driven into the one channel of the Foreign Mission Society, which from an institute at Stavanger had sent forth agents to Madagascar and Zululand. At Durban Dr. Duff had met two of these, and now all his heart went out to

the directors of the society. A home mission or Luther Institution had since been formed, and a party had arisen who desired to follow the example of the Free Church of Scotland. When Dr. Duff arrived at Christiania he found that the movements had assumed the proportions of a "land's" or national meeting representing each of the five "stifts" or ecclesiastical provinces. Seeing in this, and certainly most ardently desiring, the beginning of "a national ecclesiastical revolution," or at least of reforms which might result in the continuance of "the established but spiritually free and independent Church of Norway," Dr. Duff yielded to the invitation to take part in the proceedings.

CHAPTER XXVIII

1876-1878

DYING

ON the 25th April, 1876, Dr. Duff completed the seventieth year of his busy life. The college session was at an end; the Universities had crowned their winter course with the usual ceremonial of graduation; the ecclesiastical and philanthropic societies, of which he was an active member, were preparing for the May meetings. It was the time of that one of the two sacramental "fasts" in Edinburgh, every year, when the rapt stillness of devotion in the churches contrasts strangely with the rush of holiday-makers outside, and still perpetuates amid ever increasing difficulty the old covenanting associations of the time when the people and their Kirk formed one educated spiritual democracy. Never of late had Dr. Duff felt so well, though always wearied by the attempt to overtake the details of his varied and excessive duties, as when, spiritually braced by the exercises of a Scottish communion season, he addressed himself to the task of once more rousing the General Assembly to its duty to Foreign Missions. But the first stage of what was to prove his fatal illness was at hand. When acknowledging the receipt of a sum of money from the widow of Sir Henry Durand, destined as the annual prize for the best "essay on some important subject of Christian bearing and tendency in our Calcutta

Institution where the name of the revered departed is still gratefully remembered," Dr. Duff thus alluded to an accident and an illness which his physician considered far more serious than the sufferer himself.

"I was delighted to learn you had met with good Dr. Bonar. He is a man of rare gifts, poetical as well as other, and of a high-toned Christian character. He is not only a dear friend but a near neighbour of mine here. It is quite true that before he left Edinburgh, early in May last, I was in ordinary health, but during his absence, towards the end of May, I met with a serious accident, having fallen from a considerable height heavily on my back in my study, my head knocking against a desk and getting sadly gashed. This confined me to my bedroom for weeks. When getting well and able to move about towards the end of July, I was suddenly seized with a violent attack of illness which disabled me for about two months. Since October, however, by God's great goodness, I have enjoyed ordinary health." The double warning was unheeded, and the old man of seventy-one persisted in discharging his office and professorial duties all through the session of 1876-77, travelling much between Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, in the rigour of a Scottish winter, and for the first three months of 1877 longing for the familiar surroundings of his own home, though lovingly tended by friends in the last two cities.

Intellectually he seemed to grow in keenness of observation and energy. The great public events which in 1874 marked the close of Mr. Gladstone's administration, the temporary transfer of power to his rivals, and the consistent attitude of the Scottish people throughout, were viewed by him from the higher level of Christian imperialism. Like most Anglo-Indians and Englishmen who have lived much abroad, he looked at affairs as they affected not the domestic politics of Great Britain—while by no means indifferent to these—but the welfare of the great peoples of the East and West. Liberty, the free development of the nations under Christian institutions or influences, was

what he sought, whether in his own country and its colonies or in America, alike for India and Russia and Turkey. The longer he lived out of India, above all, the more did he concern himself with its progress.

For Dr. Duff the visit of the Prince of Wales to India and all that it involved had a profound interest. Personally familiar with the career of every Governor-General from Lord William Bentinck to Lord Canning, John Lawrence, Lord Mayo, and Lord Northbrook, he knew the tremendous influence of example for good or evil in such a position. Especially had the natives of India, ignorant of the spirit of Christian faith and worship, tested the sincerity of their rulers by the letter, by a standard so familiar to their level as that of keeping a holy day. Had not the Marquess Wellesley eighty years before been so convinced of the evil political effects of Sabbath-breaking by Christians that he took steps to secure the better observance of the day among the European residents of Bengal? Did not Viscount Hardinge, with Henry Lawrence at his elbow, decree the discontinuance of public works on Sunday? Was it unknown or forgotten that when Lord Canning, in the year after the Mutiny, was about to make his triumphal march through the Punjab on any or every day of the week, as he had done through Hindustan, he received with silent courtesy the rebuke contained in the example of John Lawrence, and thenceforth no tent was ever again struck on a Sunday in the Viceroy's camp? How would the Prince of Wales act in a rapid tour through the Feudatory States as well as the ordinary Provinces, when all the chivalry of India, Hindu and Muhammadan, would be at the feet of the Queen's eldest son, when multitudes of the peoples and all the Christian officials would crowd around his Royal Highness?

The churches and communities which sent forth their future sovereign that he might thus prepare himself for the responsibilities of empire, did well to be in earnest about it. Presbyters and bishops invoked on his head the protecting blessing of Almighty God. In Scotland the societies most interested turned to Dr.

Duff for counsel. To the many who urged action, by memorial and public discussion, he gave in substance this wise advice:

Let us not hastily or unadvisedly assume that this is a subject which his Royal Highness is disposed to treat with indifference, or that it is one which has not already engaged his own serious attention. He knows well how the due observance of the Sabbath is studiously provided for in the laws and constitution of this realm; how vitally it enters into the liturgical services of the Church of England, of which the British monarch is the civil head; and how precious it is in the deliberate judgment of the best and most reputable of her Majesty's Christian subjects, alike at home and in every other region of the earth. From his acquaintance with the history of India, he must be doubtless aware of the excellent effects produced by the ordinance of the Marquess Wellesley, relative to the better observance of the Sabbath among European residents, and by the decree of Lord Hardinge ordering the discontinuance of all public Government works on that day. From his ample observation also of men and manners in divers lands, he must know well how nothing tends to exalt Christians more highly in the favourable regards of Orientals of all races and sects, than a careful attention to the acknowledged requirements and observance of their own faith. It seems, therefore, only fitting and deferential to assume and believe that his Royal Highness, knowing full well all this and much more of like kind, has of his own accord duly considered the whole subject in its varied legitimate bearings, and intelligently made up his mind as to the course of conduct which it would be most consistent and dignified for him, as a Christian prince, to pursue. Taking this general view of the case, altogether apart from the higher and more specific considerations connected with the obligations of divine law, as recorded in the Decalogue and elsewhere in Holy Scripture, he recommended interested parties in the meanwhile to resort to no measure of a kind that might indicate a want of becoming confidence in the

sound sense and good feeling of his Royal Highness; to refrain from any overt action in the way of public meetings or official addresses or memorials, and to leave the decision as to the course of action to be observed to the spontaneous suggestions of the Prince's own mind, backed by the wise counsel of his advisers.

As an old friend of the chief of these advisers, Sir Bartle Frere, Dr. Duff privately addressed him on the subject. The correspondence is most honourable to both, and to the Prince to whom it was submitted. The fact was elicited so early as the 11th September, 1875, a month before the departure, that one of the first instructions given by his Royal Highness to Sir Bartle Frere, when desiring him to arrange for the tour, had been to take care that no travelling or other secular work should be marked out for any Sunday. Her Majesty had expressed a similar wish. The desire and the example of the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, and of Sir Bartle Frere himself were well known. And it was soon announced that Canon Duckworth was to be the Prince's chaplain on the tour. Dr. Duff delighted in every step of the royal progress during the next six months, as a message of goodwill to the peoples of India in the concrete form which all classes of them best appreciated. When the tour was happily concluded he thus wrote to a friend on the 15th April, 1876: "Taking it all in all in its varied and multiplied bearings and aspects, it is to my own mind the most remarkable tour to be found in the annals of all time."

The royal visit resulted in such a titular and political proclamation of the Empire as ought to have been made on the 1st November, 1858, when the Queen assumed the direct sovereignty till then held by the East India Company in trust. In an address to the people of Edinburgh on the 1st January, 1877, the day of the Proclamation at Delhi, Dr. Duff gave his reading of these events in the light of that spiritual aggression on the idolatries of the East to which he had sacrificed his life.

By that time the India question had been directly

made part of the great Eastern problem, which is still being slowly worked out in the divine evolution of history. It was in September, 1876, that Mr. Gladstone summoned the conscience of England to pronounce a verdict on the Musalman power which had caused the anarchic oppression of centuries to culminate in the horrors of the Bulgarian massacres. Dr. Duff met him at Lady Waterford's soon after, and engaged in a conversation on Muhammadanism, which the great statesman subsequently pronounced most fruitful in its suggestiveness.

On no day of all his later years was Dr. Duff happier than on that of the one patron saint tolerated but forgotten by Scotsmen, till they go abroad. In 1872 their Churches had agreed with those of England and Ireland to observe St. Andrew's Day, the 30th November, annually as a time of intercession with God for an increase in the number of missionaries. While with as much catholicity as was allowed to him Dean Stanley opened the nave of Westminster Abbey on that occasion to some great preacher, lay or clerical, of one of the Reformed Churches, there met in the hall of the Free Church General Assembly a congregation whose service was led by a representative of each of the three branches of the old historic Kirk. It happened, unfortunately, that Dr. Duff was committed to preside at the Scottish intercessory service of 1876, when the Dean of Westminster asked him to preach in the Abbey, from which Presbyterianism takes its confessions and its catechisms, as the immediate successor of the venerable Dr. Moffat of South Africa. In the last sermon of 1878, which he preached on these unique occasions, in the morning before the lecture in the nave, Dean Stanley thus gracefully, if not with perfect historical accuracy, alluded to Dr. Duff:—

“For the fourth teacher in this succession there would have been, but for the imperative duties required by the like celebration in his own communion beyond the border, one whom the late Chief Ruler of India had designated as, amongst all living names, the one that had carried most weight amongst the

Hindu and the Muhammadan nations of our vast empire, as a faithful pastor and a wise and considerate teacher. Though he belonged in his later years to a communion which had broken off from its parent stock, yet his generous spirit eagerly welcomed the call which was made to him, and but for the accidental circumstance to which I have referred, would gladly have responded to it." His place was filled by a representative preacher from the Church of Ireland.

The catholic intercessory service was followed soon after by the promise to lecture, in Edinburgh University, to the Missionary Society of the theological students of the Established Church, formed in 1825 by his Bombay colleague, Dr. Wilson, whose death at the close of 1875 he had mourned. As the years went on and death thinned the ranks, not only of his contemporaries, but of his converts and students, he turned with ever fonder affection to the past—to those in the past still spared by time. We trace a link in the acknowledgment of a contribution which Dr. Duff sent for the erection of a memorial of Dugald Buchanan, the Gaelic catechist of Kinloch Rannoch, whose poems had fed his youthful fancy and coloured his later life.

Dr. Duff had hardly written his hopeful letter to Lady Durand at the end of 1876, when his malady assumed a new and acute form. Yet with unconscious heroism he struggled on all through the months to the close of the session. Not only the General Assembly in May, but the meeting of the first General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance in July, was denied to the invalid. His indomitable spirit, however, burst forth, to the latter, in a letter burning with almost youthful enthusiasm for missionary extension. He urged that the first Council of all the Presbyterian Churches of Europe, America, and their Colonies, representing twenty thousand congregations, should not allow its charity and faith to evaporate in conferences and resolutions only, but should undertake a joint mission. The reply of the Council thus concluded:—

“The Council desire to express their veneration and love for Dr. Duff, the first missionary to the heathen

from the Reformed Church of Scotland, and they bless the Lord of the Church for his long and honoured services in connection with the spread of the gospel of the grace of God. It has been a subject of deep regret to the delegates from all churches and countries, that in consequence of weak health Dr. Duff has been prevented from attending the meetings of Council. They ask Dr. Duff to accept, with their affectionate regard, the assurance of their earnest prayer that it may please God to spare him yet a little longer for the cause of Christ on the earth, and that in the retirement of the sick room he may abide in the peace which passeth all understanding, and be supported by the sense of his blessed Master's presence."

Dr. Duff had sought health in his loved solitude of Patterdale; but the long walks to which convalescence tempted him brought on persistent jaundice. The disease continued to gain on him in spite of a residence for six weeks at the German bath of Neuenahr, of the skill of Dr. P. H. Watson, and of the loving attention of his devoted daughter and grandson. He was with difficulty brought back by slow stages to Edinburgh. There he wrote letters, resigning all the offices he held in the Church and in many societies, religious and benevolent. Not that his courageous though resigned soul anticipated removal. But he had resolved to devote his whole nature to a renewed advocacy, throughout Scotland, of the duty of more faithfully carrying out Christ's last commission. The Indian mail brought him a newspaper report of the proceedings of his converts, students and native friends, who had met in the hall of the Free Church Institution on the 18th of August to unveil a bust of their great teacher and spiritual father, made by Mr. Hutchinson, R.S.A., of Edinburgh. He summoned strength to write to his successor there, Mr. Fyfe, who had presided on the occasion, a long letter, which thus closed:—

"It is true that I did, and do, most fervently long for the intellectual and moral, the social and domestic elevation of the people of India; and that in my own humble way I did, and do still, labour incessantly

towards the realising of so blessed a consummation. I have lived in the assured faith, and shall die in the assured faith, that ultimately, sooner or later, it shall, under the overrulings of a gracious Providence, be gloriously realised. Meanwhile, though absent in the body I can truly say that I am daily present in spirit with yourself and all other fellow-labourers in India, whether European or Native. Indeed wherever I wander, wherever I stay, my heart is still in India—in deep sympathy with its multitudinous inhabitants, and in earnest longings for their highest welfare in time and in eternity.”

To escape the northern winter he was removed to the sheltered Devonshire retreat of Sidmouth, where two years previously he had found rest. Not long before Sir Bartle Frere had tried to draw him as his guest to Africa, to the old scenes at Cape Town, to a tour among the missions new and old in Kafraria and Natal. We shall never forget our parting interview the night before he left Edinburgh, when the veteran of seventy-two was still the old man eloquent, his eye flashing as he heard of the relief of the famine-stricken millions of South India, and his half audible voice seeming to gain momentary strength as he blessed God for the liberality of the Christian people who had saved them. On another he specially laid the duty of thanking the treasurers and collectors of the mission associations which he had created. “Ah,” he exclaimed, “we should never have got on without their assistance, and I have long felt that their services have never been sufficiently acknowledged.”

Very precious was the privilege of communion with the man of God during the month which he passed in dying. When exhausted one day, he whispered, “I am very low and cannot say much, but I am living daily, habitually in Him.” On the same day he dictated the names of dear friends, some fifty in all, to whom he desired a memorial of his affection to be sent from his library, specifying in one case the volumes to be given, which were the works of De Quincey. When told, three days after, Sir Joseph Fayrer’s opinion of his

state, he replied, "I never said with more calmness in my life, continually by day and by night, 'Thy will, my God, my God, be done,'" and he repeated this with great pathos. "In my own mind," he exclaimed, "I see the whole scheme of redemption from eternity more clear and glorious than I ever did." On his daughter repeating to him John Newton's hymn, written as if for the dying believer,

"How sweet the name of Jesus sounds,"

the hardly audible voice responded with unearthly emphasis, "unspeakable!"

On the 27th Dr. Duff seemed to rally so far as to receive and to dictate replies to many messages of prayerful sympathy from Sir C. Trevelyan, Mr. Hawkins, General Colin Mackenzie, and others. Recalling the heroism of that officer in the first Afghan disasters, he exclaimed, "That's true Christianity. Give my intense and warmest love to him and to his wife. His manly, heroic bearing always appeared to me an incarnation of the ancient heroes christianised. The loving Christian nature of himself and his wife ever drew me to both as with an irresistible attraction." On hearing a letter from Lord Polwarth read, he replied, "I can respond 'Amen' to every sentence, as well as to the intense desirableness of having some common Bible enterprise to which all Christians of all denominations might freely give their generous and liberal support, and thus ultimately come together into a state of amalgamation and harmony instead of the present lamentable condition of variance, discord, disharmony and jealousy, brooding over which has often well-nigh broken my heart. It is so contrary to the intense and burning love which brought the eternal Son of God from heaven to earth to seek and to save the lost, and from a scattered, degraded, dislocated society to raise up a world-wide brotherhood of Christian harmony, goodwill and love." After pausing a few minutes, he added, "Tell him I begged you to send my warmest Christian affectionate regards to good Lady Aberdeen, and my feelings of real goodwill and regard to all the

members of that blessed family." After hearing a letter read from a valued correspondent, in which strong expressions were employed to describe the work he had been permitted to accomplish, he said, "I have received these things with more than calmness, because I know in my own mind the deductions that should be made from such statements. Paul was jealous for his credit and character, not for his own sake but for the sake of the credit and character of Christianity."

On the 2nd February the aged missionary alluded to the prospect of soon being laid beside the dust of his wife. Of the good and great men like Chalmers and Guthrie, whose remains lie in the same Grange cemetery, he said with earnestness, "There's a perfect forest of them." His last conscious Sabbath was that of the 3rd February. "I can feel, I can think, but the weakness prevents my almost opening my mouth," he panted. When one said to him, "You are like John at Patmos, you are in the Spirit on the Lord's day," the earnest response was, "Oh, yes! Oh, yes!" But on that day the hand of death became more evidently visible. Still he could ask for his grandchildren, and was ever careful to thank his loving ones for their ministrations. When, in the evening, his daughter repeated to him the twenty-third Psalm as he lay apparently unconscious, he responded at the end of each verse. Even on Saturday, the 9th, the departing saint could recognise the voices he loved, but his only response then was a grasp of the hand. Without acute suffering, and in perfect peace, he lingered on till Tuesday morning, the 12th day of February. "He was just like one passing away into sleep; I never saw so peaceful an end," was the remark of a bystander.

Next morning the telegraph and long and appreciative sketches of the missionary in *The Times* and *Daily News*, and in all the Scottish newspapers, carried the sad intelligence wherever the English language was read. In India, Africa and America alike, where he had been personally known and where his works follow him, the journals and ecclesiastical bodies gave voice to the public sorrow. In his own city of Edinburgh,

to which the dear remains were at once conveyed from Sidmouth, the burial of Alexander Duff proved to be a lesson in Christian unity not less impressive than his own eloquent words and whole career. Around his bier, as he had often taught them to do in the field of Foreign Missions, the Churches gathered, and Christians of all confessions met. The Lord Provost, the magistrates and council, in formal procession, represented civic Scotland. The four Universities and Royal High School, professors and students, marched in the vast company around Bruntsfield Links, which were covered by the citizens and by crowds from the country, while the deep-toned bell of Barclay Church slowly clanged forth the general grief. How for the first time in Scottish ecclesiastical history the three Kirks and their Moderators, the representatives of the English and American and Indian Churches through their missionary societies and officials, trod the one funeral march; how peer and citizen, missionary and minister bore the pall or laid the precious dust in the grave till the resurrection, and how on the next Sabbath half the pulpits of Scotland, and not a few elsewhere, told this generation what the Spirit of God had enabled the departed to do, is recorded in a volume "In Memoriam," which his family published at the time. It was felt that not only Scotland had lost its noblest son, but the Reformation lands had seen taken from them the greatest missionary of Christ. Let this picture of the scene suffice, drawn at the time by Lord Polwarth, in a letter to Lady Aberdeen:—

"MONDAY.—I have to-day stood at the grave of our dear old Dr. Duff, and was asked to act as one of the pall-bearers, as being a personal friend and as representing you. I felt it a very great honour, and one of which I am very unworthy, but I believe few there loved him more truly than I did. Somehow I felt strongly attached to him from our first meeting. He was a truly great man, and all Edinburgh and far beyond seemed to feel that to-day. It was a solemn, sacred sight. Such crowds of people lining the streets and all along the meadows; such a long, long line of

carriages, such an assemblage of men belonging to all the Churches! The great missionary societies were all represented, the city, the universities. As we walked into the cemetery we walked through a long row of students! I stood at the foot of the open grave and watched the coffin lowered down. Mary's words were, 'His coffin should be covered with palm branches.' I felt not sorrowful in one sense, for he was weary, weary in the work. I climbed up the long, long stairs to his room in the Free Church offices to-day, but he will climb up no more in weariness. Then I felt it was the grave of a Christian hero and conqueror, and came away with the desire that I, even I, and many others may be enabled to unite and bear the standard he bore so nobly.

"I noticed close beside me a black lad gazing with his big rolling eyes into the grave. How many there would have been from India had it been possible. One thing was forced on one's mind,—how utterly all the petty divisions which now separate Christians sink out of sight when one comes near the great realities."

Desirous in death to secure the completion of his missionary propaganda, Dr. Duff bequeathed to trustees selected from all the evangelical Churches what personal property he had, as the foundation of a lectureship on Foreign Missions. That was first held by his only surviving colleague and successor in his chair, Professor T. Smith, D.D. Thus is preserved unbroken and full, for his own and for coming generations, the self-sacrificing unity of a life which from youth to old age was directed by the determination to know nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified; a life which Mr. Gladstone has thus linked on to the brotherhood of the whole Catholic Church:—

"I confess for myself that, in viewing the present state of the Christian world, we should all adhere openly and boldly to that which we believe and which we hold, not exaggerating things of secondary importance as if they were primary; and, on the other hand, not being ashamed of the colours of the particular regiment in which we serve, nor being disposed to

disavow the secondary portions of our convictions. Having said that I may say that I have said it for the purpose of attesting, as I trust it will attest, the sincerity with which I wish to bear testimony to the noble character and the noble work of the man whose memory I propose we should honour. Providential guidance and an admonition from within, a thirst and appetite not addressed to the objects which this world furnishes and provides, but reaching far beyond it, and an ambition—if I may so say—and an ambition of a very different quality from the commodity ordinarily circulated under that name, but something irrepressible, something mysterious and invisible, prompted and guided this remarkable man to the scene of his labours. Upon that scene he stands in competition, I rejoice to think, with many admirable, holy, saintly men, almost contemporaries of ours—contemporaries, many of them, of myself. Proceeding from quarters known by different names and different associations here, but engaged in a cause essentially holy in those different quarters of the world, I am glad to think that from the bosom of the Church of England there went forth men like Bishop Selwyn and Bishop Patteson, bearing upon their labours a very heroic and apostolic stamp. But I rejoice not less unfeignedly to recollect that they have competitors and rivals in that noble race of the Christian warfare, among whom Dr. Duff is one of the most eminent. Among many such rivals we might name the names of Carey and Marshman; we might name Dr. Moffat.

“But Dr. Duff is one who not only stood in the first rank for intelligence, energy, devotion, and advancement in the inward and spiritual life among those distinguished and admirable personages, but who likewise so intensely laboured in the cause that he shortened the career which Providence would in all likelihood have otherwise committed to him, and he has reaped his reward in the world beyond the grave at an earlier date than those whose earthly career is lengthened into a long old age. He is one of the noble army of the confessors of Christ. Let no one envy

them the crown which they have earned. Let every man, on the contrary, knowing that they now stand in the presence and in the judgment of Him before Whom we must all appear, rejoice that they have fought a good fight, that they have run their race manfully and nobly, and that they have laboured for the glory of God and the good of man."

Sir William Muir, when Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and his present biographer, united the friends of evangelical missions in erecting, in 1889, at Pitlochry, in his native parish of Moulin, a national monument of Alexander Duff, the Missionary to India. That Iona Cross, with Sir Henry Yule's inscription, summons the young men and women of Scotland and of Christendom to follow in his footsteps.

INDEX

- ABERDEEN University, 141, 211
 Family, 261, 334, 373
 Aboriginal Tribes, 327
 Adam, John, 16, 45, 77
 W., 107, 364
 Adamson, Rev. Dr., 124
 Afghan War, 182
 Africa, 23, 338
 Agrarian Discontent, 302
 Akbar, 48
 Alexander, Dr. W. Lindsay, 16
 the Great, 100
 Alexandria, 175
 Allison, J., 333
 Ameers of Sind, 211
 American Presbyterians, 129, 177,
 212
 Anatomy, 103
 Anderson, John, 157, 185, 248
 Anglicists, the, 95
 Anglo-Indian Christian Union,
 111, 331
 Arabs, 100
 Argyll, Duke of, 265
 Ashburton, Lord, 262
 Asia, 26
 Atharva Veda, 100
 Athole, 4
 Auchendennan, 344
 Auchnahyle, 3
 Auckland, Lord, 208
 Augustine, 80, 201, 217
 Avicenna, 101
 Ayur Veda, 100

 BACON, Lord, 70
 Bain, A., 338
 Baird, Sir D., 316
 Balfour of Burleigh, Lord, 283
 Balnakeilly, 3
 Banerjea, Dr. K. M., 81, 86
 S. C., 218
 Bansberia, 210

 Baptist Missionary Society, 23
 Barbour, Mrs., 147
 Basak, M. L., 198
 M. C., 198
 S. C., 218
 Beatson, General, 45
 Beef and Brahmans, 67, 81
 Bengal, 43, 64, 118, 261, 302
 Bengali, 66, 304
 Benares, 297
 Ben-i-Vrackie, 4
 Bentinck, Lord William, 33, 78,
 92, 153
 Berkeley, Bishop, 40
 Bethune Society, 305
 Bhattacharjya, J., 199
 Bhoido Caste, 102
 Bhowse, D., 197
 Bible Self-Evidencing, 89
 Societies, 18, 359
 Bird, W. W., 95
 Black Hole, 49
 Blantyre Mission, 337
 Blyth, Captain, 333
 Boat Race, 335
 Boers, 316
 Bombay, 183
 Bonar, Dr. A., 155
 Horatius, 348, 365
 Boyle, R., 322
 Brahmanism, 67, 81, 198
 and Science, 133
 Braidwood, J., 283
 Brainerd, 22
 Bramley, Dr., 104
 Brewster, Sir David, 27
 British Central Africa, 338
 Brownlee, Mrs., 333
 Brown, C. J., 202
 Brumho Sobha, 61
 Somaj, 210
 Brunton, Rev. Dr., 125
 Bryce, Rev. Dr. J., 24, 45, 111

- Buchanan, Dugald, 8
 Buddhism, 60
 Burke, 140
 Burns, Robert, 80
 William, 155
 Bursaries, 14
 Burton, Dr. Hill, 21
 Bunyan, 215

 CAIRNS, Principal, 353
 Calcutta, 19, 47, 67, 289
 "Review," 226
 Cambridge, 150
 Campbell of Carbrook, 127
 Canada, 280
 Candlish, Dr., 308, 353
 Canning, George, 92, 140
 Earl, 153, 285
 Cape of Good Hope, 36
 Town, 37
 Carey, William, 18, 55
 Carlyle, T., 343
 Carus of Cambridge, 150
 Catholicity, 130
 Cave Temples, 183
 Cawnpore, 291
 Ceylon, 236
 Chalmers, Dr. T., 13, 42, 125, 140,
 170, 232
 Chamba, 207
 Chaplains, 23
 Charaka, 101
 Charnock, Job, 49
 Charters, East India Company's,
 92, 259
 Chatterjea, P. K., 199
 Chevers, Dr., 306
 China, 18, 260
 Chingleput, 235
 Chinsurah, 210
 Christ and Missions, 161
 Christian Literary Society, 107, 305
 Christiania, 362
 Chukerbutty, K. D., 218
 Church Missionary Society, 3, 149,
 177, 329
 its three Branches, 31
 of England, 332
 of Scotland, 21
 Claverhouse, 5
 Clifford, Lord, 243
 Clift, Mr., 69
 Clive, 49
 "Cloud of Witnesses," 7
 Cockburn, Lord, 202

 Coldstream, Dr., 156
 Colenso, Bishop, 317
 Colleges in India, 53
 Colquhoun, Dr., 2
 Colvin, J. B., 95
 Committee of Public Instruction,
 96
 Comorin, 184
 Comparative Religion, 325
 Conversions, 213
 Converts, Hindu, 129
 Cornwallis, Marquess, 52
 Square, 208
 Copts, 177
 Corrie, Bishop, 68
 Cotton, Bishop, 311, 346
 Covenanters, 7
 Cowper, 315
 Craik, Henry, 17
 Crichton, M., of Rankeillour, 146
 Cromwell, 259, 323
 Cunningham, Principal, 230, 324,
 353
 Station, 333
 Cyclones, 118, 320

 DALHOUSIE, Marquess, 33, 153,
 244, 286
 Dalzell, Dr., 336
 Dante, 201
 Darjeeling, 207
 Darien Expedition, 22
 Das, G. C., 214
 Dassen Island, 41
 Day, L. B., 191, 199, 219
 Dé, B. N., 216
 Dealtry, Bishop of, 77, 209
 Deb Family, 52
 De Quincey, 344, 372
 Derozio, 76
 Dickens, Charles, 271
 Dinkar Rao, 299
 Disruption Church, 202, 353
 Dobhasias, 51
 Don, J. D., 327
 Doveton Colleges, 110, 230
 Dravidian Temples, 237
 Dreams, 9
 Drysdale, Anne Scott, 32
 Duckworth, Canon, 368
 Duff, Alexander.—Birth, 3; His
 Father, 5; Visions, 8; School-
 masters, 10; University, 13;
 to Chalmers, 19; gives himself
 to India, 27; Preaches, 31;

- to his father, 32; Married, 33; Shipwrecks, 37; lands at Calcutta, 45; visits Carey, 56; his Method, 57; opens his Institution, 63; self-evidencing power of Scripture, 64; Lectures, 77; Inquirers, 81; Converts, 85; Missionary Conference, 90; Assistance of Macaulay and Trevelyan, 94; his "New Era of the English Language," 99; Influence through Science and Medicine, 102; Sir C. Trevelyan on his Character, 106; Vernacular Education, 107; work among Europeans, 111; Eurasians, 115; Sickness and Home, 117; before the Committee, 127; first Speech to General Assembly, 133; Home Offers, 143; visiting Presbyteries, 145; with Simeon, 150; drawing Men, 155; vindication of his System, 161; on Female Education, 167; his "India and India Missions," 169; Charged by Dr. Chalmers, 171; returns to India, 173; on Mount Sinai, 179; at Bombay, 183; at Madras, 185; Progress in Calcutta, 187; New Stations, 188; Missionary of Free Church, 202; Sir James Outram, 211; on Conversions, 215; Intrepidity, 219; *Calcutta Review*, 227; the Fever-stricken, 229; on Chalmers, 233; South India Tour, 235; Home again, 246; Moderator, 259; before Lords' Committee, 263; Education Despatch, 267; in America, 271; his Oratory, 275; Third Visit to India, 287; in the Mutiny, 289; Last Years in India, 309; in Africa, 315; Final Return Home, 325; New Missions, 327; Jubilee, 330; as a Man, 342; on Durand, 346; on Union, 357; on Pure Literature, 359; on visit of Prince of Wales to India, 366; Dying, 373; Death, 375; Mr. Gladstone on Dr. Duff, 376; Monument, 378; Mrs., 342
- Duff College, 63, 187, 200, 299, 321, 371
- Dum Dum Cartridges, 287
- Duncan, Jonathan, 53
- Dunkeld, 2
- Dunlop Murray, 169
- Durand, Sir H., 35, 182, 284, 346
Lady, 364
- Dutt Family, 52, 268
- Dyson, Dr., 329
- EAST INDIA COMPANY, 22, 259, 368
- Economics; Church, 172
- Edinburgh, 19, 364
- Edradour, 145
- Education and Missions, 56, 72, 122, 133, 163
Dispatch of 1854, 96, 266
Destitution, 108, 304
of Women, 166, 194, 300, 331
- Edwardes, Sir H., 294
- Effingham, Countess of, 220
- Egypt, 177
- Elgin I., Lord, 307
- Ellenborough, Lord, 205, 211, 264
- Elliot, Rev. E. B., 282
- Elmslie, Dr. W. A., 338
- English Education, 72
Language, 97, 135
Literature, 98, 359
- Eurasians, 76, 230
- Europeans in India, 331
- Evangelistic Theology, 324
- Ewart, Dr. D., 19, 123, 152, 223, 301
- Exeter Hall Orations, 149, 158, 255
- FAYRER, Sir J., 100, 372
- Female (See Education)
- Ferdusi, 98
- Ferrie, Prof., 28, 91
- Feudatory States, 116
- Fife, Earl of, 143
- Forbes, Dr. Duncan, 11
- Fordyce, J. and Mrs., 254, 300, 332
- Fort William, 50
- Foster, John, 194
- Fraser, Donald, 338
- Free Church of Scotland, 144, 318, 353
- French, Bishop, 329
- Frere, Sir Bartle, 368, 372

- Friend of India*, 62, 109
 Friendship, 346
 Froude, 21
 Funchal, 35
 Fyfe, W. C., 197, 298, 371
- GAELIC, 9, 25, 96
 Ganges, 46
 Gangooly, P. K., 218
 Garry, 4
 Genadenthal, 315
 General Assembly, 22, 26, 30, 258, 357
 Ghose, M. C., 85
 Ghospara, 196
 Ghuzni, 98
 Gladstone, W. E., 125, 138, 357, 376
 Glasgow, 13, 253
 Missionary Society, 23
 Glenelg, Lord, 93, 256
 Gonds, 327
 Goodeve, Dr. H., 104
 Goopta, M., 105
 Gordon, Rev. Dr., 206, 212
 Hon. J. H. H., 334
 Mission, 333
 Gospel Propagation Society, 23
 Govan, W., 318
 Government House, Calcutta, 50
 Grampians, 11
 Grange Cemetery, 374
 Grant, Charles, 22
 Sir Robert, 93
 Gray, Bishop, 317
 Groves, Anthony, 120
 Guizot, 193
 Gujrat, 207
 Guthrie, Dr. T., 169
 Gwalior Maharaja, 299
- HADDO, Lord, 282
 Haileybury, 264
 Haldane, James, 2
 Principal, 13, 28
 Halifax, Lord, 267, 349
 Halley, James, 156
 Hamburg, 361
 Hanna, Dr., 16
 Hardinge, Lord, 212, 224
 Hare, David, 104
 Hastings, Warren, 50, 53, 260
 Marquis of, 116
 Havelock, Sir H., 293
 Hawkins, Justice, 204
- Heber, Bishop, 113, 242
 Hebich, Missionary, 184
 Heredity, 1
 Hewitt, General, 288
 Hill, James, Rev., 77
 Hindoo College, 78
 Hindustani, 101
 Hislop, Stephen, 158, 327
 Hodges, Colonel, 175
 Hodgson, B. H., 95
 Holland, 360
 Hoogly River, 44
 Hostel, Bengali, 220
 Hottentots, 316
 Hume, David, 9
 Hunter, Dr., 158, 296
 of Sealkot, 158, 296
- IMPERIALISM, Christian, 365
 Impey, Sir E., 57
 Impolweni, 333
 Independence Hall, 276
 Indigo Culture, 303
 Inglis, Dr. John, 24
 Interloper, The, 24
 Irvine, 129
- JAGANATH, 8
 Jalna, 327
 James, Bishop, 113
 Jameson, Captain, 166
 Jaynarain, Ghosal, 54
 Jebel, Musa, 181
 Jeffrey, Francis, 202
 Jesuits, 231, 242
 Jew Converts, 218
 Judson, 285
- KAFRARIA, 317, 333
 Kalebasi, 333
 Kalighat, 48
 Kalna, 196, 210
 Karens, 297
 Kaye, Sir John, 226
 Khartabhajas, 195
 Kiernander, 49
 Killiecrankie, 2
 Kilmany, 15
 King Williams Town, 317
 Kirkmichael, 10
 Knott, J. W. 329
 Knox, John, 21
 Kotghur, 243
 Krishnaghur Mission, 265

- LACROIX, 45, 55, 300
 Laing, Miss, 223
 Lally, 49
 Latin Church, 22
 Lawrence, Sir H., 35, 212, 226, 244, 292
 Asylums, 212
 John, 294, 320
 Laws, Dr. Robert, 338
 Leith, 2
 Lewis, George, 132
 James, 132
 Leuchars, 31
 Livingstone, David, 319, 336
 Livingstonia Mission, 337
 London Missionary Society, 3, 23
 Long, James, 289, 304
 Lovedale, 318
 Lulli, Raymond, 323
 Lutheran Church, 362
 Lyell, Sir C., 271
- MACAULAY, Z., 23
 Lord, 93
 Macdonald, John, 129, 204
 Mackay, Dr. W. S., 19, 69, 129, 152, 209, 268
 Mackenzie, Colin, 245, 373
 Mackinnon, Sir W., 324
 MacLagan, Col., 348
 Macnaghten, W. H., 95
 Macpherson, Major S. C., 299
 Madeira, 35
 Madras, 184, 235
 Christian College, 329, 346
 Mahanad, 210
 Maine, Sir H., 310, 348
 Malabar, 184
 Malvern, 282
 Manchester, 253
 Mangalore, 184
 Marnoch Case, 142
 Marryat, Captain, 35
 Marshman, Dr., 18, 54, 95, 261
 Hannah, 166
 J. C., 95, 359
 Martin, Sir Ranald, 122
 Martyn, Henry, 3, 316
 Mason, Dr., 297
 May, Missionary, 54
 Mayo, Lord, 287
 McCheyne, Murray, 126, 155
 McLeod, Sir D., 199
 Medical College, Calcutta, 101, 230
 in India, 105
- Meerut, 288
 Metcalfe, Lord, 110
 Middleton, Bishop, 24, 116
 Mill, James, 53
 Miller, Principal, 258
 Miller, R. C., 296
 Milton, 12, 151, 315
 Missionaries, The Five, 189
 Missionary Societies, 3, 18
 Advice, 117, 259, 354
 Appeals, 136, 251, 369
 Conference, 90, 280, 327, 329
 Council, 189
 Finance, 206, 248, 328
 Giving, 31, 251, 327
 Intercession, 369
 Literature, 325
 Methods, 56, 135, 163, 171, 184, 213, 265
 Ordination of Natives, 221
 Results, 340 352
 Sermons, 24, 148, 251
 Students, 17, 325, 370
 Mitchell, J., 155
 Murray J., 157, 332
 Mookerjee, K. C., 198
 S. C., 218
 Moravian Mission, 315
 Morgan, A., 231
 Morrison, Dr., 18
 Moulin, 2, 173, 378
 Mozoomdar, A. C., 88, 129
 Muhammad Ali, 175
 Muir, the Brothers, 168, 378
 Mullens, Hannah, 300
 Mullik Family, 215
 Murray, John, 359
 Mutiny, Sepoy, 287
- NANA SAHIB, 292
 Napier, Sir Charles, 211
 Native Christians, 295, 349
 Nautch, the, 239
 "Neel Durpun," 304
 Nesbit, Robert, 17, 28, 155, 183
 New Hebrides Mission, 339
 New York, 278
 Nicholas, Czar, 126
 Nicholson, Dr. S., 122, 204
 Nizam of Hyderabad, 328
 Nobokissen, 50
 Northbrook, Lord, 199, 267, 368
 Norway, 362
 Nuncomar, 51
 Nundi, Gopinath, 88, 129, 195

- Nyasa Lake, 338
 OGILVIE, Dr., 208
 Omichund, 50
 Oratory, 138
 Orientalist, The, 94
 O'Shaughnessy, Dr., 104
 Outram, Sir James, 211
 Overland Route, 174

 PACHAMBA, 327
 Pagodas, 237
 Paine, Tom, 76
 Palmerston, Lord, 283
 Pantænus, 193
 Papal Power, 358
 Pardentics, 190
 Pascal, 67
 Paterson, Dr. A., 126
 Patterdale, 344
 Patterson, Rev. J. B., 126
 Pearce, G., 54
 W., 90
 Peel, Sir Robert, 125
 Sir Lawrence, 216
 Perth, 12, 147
 Pharisees, 74
 Philadelphia, 271
 Pietermaritzburg, 333
 Pirie, Sir John, 33
 Pitlochry, 4, 378
 Pitt, 138
 Plassey, 50, 286, 291
 Political Economy, 69
 Polwarth, Lord, 283, 375
 Poona, 183
 Portobello, 127
 Portree, 253
 Pourie, J., 254, 301
 Presbyterian Alliance, 370
 Presbyteries, 146, 158
 Press, Native, 75
 English, 109, 169, 225
 Prideaux, 323
 Prince of Wales, 366
 Prinsep, the Brothers, 94
 Propaganda of Rome, 322
 Duff's, 323, 376
 Punjab, 214

 QUEEN ELIZABETH, 259
 Empress proclaimed, 368
 Victoria, 259

 RAJAHGOPAL, P., 248
 Ramchand, 50

 Ram Komul Sen, 51
 Rammohun Roy, 52, 59
 Reform Act, 79, 125
 Reformed Churches, 21
 Presbyterian Church, 354
 Renascence in India, 92-110
 Rhenius, Missionary, 121
 Robert de Nobili, 242
 Romanising the Alphabets, 106
 Romanism, 358
 Rome, 283
 Ross, John, 319
 Rügen, 362
 Russia, 361
 Russian Monks, 180

 SANDEMAN, Mrs. S., 147
 Sandheads, 314
 Sanga Island, 43, 312
 Santalia, 286, 327
 School-books, 66, 105
 Schmidt, G., 316
 Schwartz, 236, 240
 Scottish Missionary Society, 23
 Guardian, 132
 Highlands, 136
 Ladies' Society, 166
 Propagation Society, 25
 Serampore, 18, 26, 47, 288
 Serfojee, Raja, 240
 Seringham, 238
 Sermon on the Mount, 73
 Sepoy Mutiny, 287
 Shaftesbury, Lord, 350
 Shairp, Principal, 334
 Shakespear, H. 94
 Sheridan, 139
 Sherring, M. A., 296
 Sheshadri, N., 327
 Shipwrecks, 38, 44
 Sialkot, 207
 Sidmouth, 372
 Sikh Wars, 222
 Simeon, Charles, 1
 Sinai, 178
 Sind, 211, 245
 Sindia, 299
 Singh, B. L., 199
 Sirkar, U. C., 214
 Smith, Thomas, 158, 165, 203, 212,
 258, 300
 Bishop, G., 329
 Thornley, 166
 Somerville, Dr. A. N., 126, 156
 St. Andrews, 13

- St. Andrew's Kirk, Calcutta, 110
 St. Catherine's Convent, 180
 St. George's, Edinburgh, 31
 Stanley, Dean, 369
 Stavanger, 362
 Steele, Dr., 338
 Stellenbosch, 315
 Stevenson, James, 337
 Stewart, Dr., of Moulin, 2
 of Erskine, 137
 of Lovedale, 258, 337
 Stuart, G. H., 270
 Students' Missionary Society, 17
 Sutherland, T. C. C., 95
 Suraj-ud-Dowla, 49
 Susruta, 101
 Symington, Dr., 254, 339
- TAIT, Archbishop, 350
 Tagore Family, 52
 Takee, 69, 120
 Tanjore, 240
 Tay, 4
 Taylor, J. W., 16
 Theism, 61
 Thompson of Delhi, 106
 Thomson, Dr. A., 353
 Tiger Story, 119
 Tinneveli Church, 121
 Tischendorf, 181
 Toleration, Law of, 99, 116, 135
 Tours, 360
 Tranquebar, 236
 Trevelyan, Sir Charles, 94, 261,
 307, 373
 Trollope, Mrs., 271
 Tummel, 4
 Turner, Bishop, 113
 Tweedie, Dr., 221
- ULLESWATER, 345
 Union, Ecclesiastical, 353
 Unitarians, 114
 United States of America, 270
 Colleges, 329
 Presbyterian Church, 353
- University of Aberdeen, 141, 211
 Calcutta, 307
 Cambridge, 335
 Christiana, 362
 Edinburgh, 370, 378
 New York, 281
 St. Andrews, 334
 Urquhart, John, 16, 27
- VEDAS, 100
 Venn, H., 329
 Vernacularists, the, 95
- WALÆUS, 323
 Wallich, Dr., 104
 Washington, 279
 Wahabis, 287
 Wellesley, Marquess, 50, 110
 Square Church, 205, 223
 Wesley, 19
 Wesleyan Missionary Society, 166
 Widows, Hindu, 195
 Wilberforce, 23
 William III. Charter, 23, 259
 Wilson, Dr. John, 17, 28, 47, 182,
 193, 245, 258
 Bishop D., 113
 Dr. H. H., 65
 Mrs. M. A., 166
 Mrs. Margaret, 166
 Wigtown, 253
 Witness Newspaper, 288
 Woman (see Education)
 Wylie, Macleod, 204, 216
 Wynford, Lord, 266
- YATES, Dr., 19, 105
 Young Men, 255, 324, 330
 Yule, Dr., 176
 Sir Henry, 348, 378
- ZAMBEZI, 336
 Zanana Teaching, 194
 Ziegenbalg, 236, 316
 Zulus, 333

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