

The Christian Statesman and our Indian Empire,

OR

THE LEGITIMATE SPHERE OF GOVERNMENT
COURTESY AND AID IN THE PROMOTION
OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

An Essay,

WHICH OBTAINED THE MAITLAND PRIZE
FOR THE YEAR 1858.

BY

THE REV. G. F. MACLEAR, B.A.

CURATE OF ST. BARNABAS, SOUTH KENNINGTON,
LATE SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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I.

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IX. 5. 77.

TO

HENRY PHILPOTT, D.D.,

MASTER OF ST CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, AND LATE VICE-CHANCELLOR ;

GEORGE PHILLIPS, B.D.,

PRESIDENT OF QUEENS' COLLEGE ;

AND

THE REV. J. Y. NICHOLSON, M.A.,

FELLOW OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE,

This Essay

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY THE AUTHOR.

**The Christian Statesman and our Indian
Empire.**



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THE friends of Lieutenant-General Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND, K. C. B., late Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in South India, being desirous of testifying their respect and esteem for his character and principles, and for his disinterested zeal in the cause of Christian truth in the East; have raised a fund for the institution of a Prize in one of the Universities, and for the establishment of two native Scholarships at Bishop Corrie's Grammar School at Madras,—such Prize and Scholarships to be associated with the name of Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND.

In pursuance of the foregoing scheme, the sum of £1000 has been given to the University of Cambridge for the purpose of instituting a Prize, to be called 'Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND'S PRIZE,' for an English Essay on some subject connected with the propagation of the Gospel, through Missionary exertions, in India and other parts of the heathen world, subject to the following regulations:—

1. That the Prize shall be given once in every three years, and shall consist of the accruing interest of the principal sum during the preceding three years.

2. That the subject shall be given out in the Michaelmas Term by the Vice-Chancellor, and the exercises sent in before the Division of the Easter Term.

3. That the candidates for the Prize shall, at the time when the subject is given out, be Bachelors of Arts.

the standing of M.A.; or Students in Civil Law or Medicine, of not less than four, or more than seven years' standing, not being graduates in either faculty, who shall be required, before they are admitted to become candidates, to produce from their respective Professors certificates that they have kept the exercises necessary for the Degree of Bachelor of Law or Medicine.

4. That the Examiners for the Prize shall be the Vice-Chancellor and two other members of the University, either Masters of Arts, or of degrees superior to the degree of Master of Arts, to be nominated by the Vice-Chancellor and approved by the Senate, and that their names shall be announced together with the subject of the Essay.

5. That the Essay be printed at the expense of the successful candidate; and that fifty copies be distributed to each of the three following institutions:—The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; the Church Missionary Society; Bishop Corrie's Grammar School at Madras.

Subject for 1858 :—

The legitimate sphere of Government countenance and aid in the promotion of Christianity in India.

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‘WHAT are the duties which the awful revolutions in Asia have now cast upon the British nation? and what is the order in which they should be discharged? Must we not, *in the first instance*, consult the welfare of the country for which we undertake to legislate? Are we not bound, above all other considerations, to provide for the moral improvement of the people and for their social happiness, for the security of their property and personal freedom, for the undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, for the protection and extension of their agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, for the peace and good order of their Provinces and the impartial administration of their laws? These are duties which attach to Government in all its forms, the price and condition of obedience, sacred obligations from which no sovereign power can ever be released, due from all who exact allegiance to all who pay it. *Next to these objects*, but far below them in the scale of moral duty, is the attention which we must also pay to the interests of our Country.’—LORD GRENVILLE, 1813.

INTRODUCTION.

Regions Cæsar never knew
Thy posterity shall sway,
Where his eagles never flew—
None invincible as they.



IF THE English travellers¹, who, in the year 1583, proceeded by Tripoli and Aleppo to Babylon, and thence to Goa, the great Portuguese mart on the coast of Malabar, had been told, that the day would come when the land on which they trod would own fealty to a Sovereign of their own island, and thence receive its Government and its laws, they would doubtless have smiled at the absurdity of the prophecy.

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DUCTION.

Rise of En-
glish power in
India.

And though we have lived to see it fulfilled, such an event might in those days have well seemed an idle dream. What had hitherto been unknown in the history of man has come to pass. A factory has grown into an Empire. The small band of Englishmen who, on their first arrival at Surat, or Fort St Thomè, or Chut-tanuttee, made their humblest supplications² at the feet of Rajahs and Omrahs, and begged but for a small space whereon to spread and store their wares; from pedlars have become traders, from traders legislators, from builders of factories erecters of forts: have con-

¹ See Mill's *British India*, I. 14, note. Ludlow's *British India*, p. 112. Anderson's *Colonial Church*, I. 92, Ed. 2.

² See Appendix A.

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DUCTION.

quered states, annexed kingdoms, settled treaties, established Presidencies, and bit by bit, and story by story, have built up a huge Babel of Empire which towers proudly above the grandest dynasties of the past. And now, after a lapse of two centuries, the Queen of a little island in the Atlantic Ocean, scarcely more than known when the Christian Era began, reigns supreme over an Empire which stretches from the Himalayan mountains to Cape Comorin, and which contains 180 millions of human beings¹.

Truly the first have become last, and the last first. Who could have predicted, when Roman legionaries kept in awe the tattooed inhabitants of Britain, and Druid rites defiled the shades of our forests, that these ungenial islanders would in the time to come rule over the Italy of the Eastern world, the goal of conquerors and settlers, the Emporium of the World's commerce in all times and in all ages? What human prescience could have foreseen that a Sceptre wielded successively by Alexander's Satraps, by Bactrian Kings, by Indo-Scythic conquerors, by Mahmoud of Ghuznee, by 'Timour the Tartar,' by Akbar, by Aurungzebe, would at

¹ A recent Parliamentary paper, of which an extract is given in *The Times* of August 8, 1857, states as follows the area and population of India :

	Square Miles.	Population.
British territory in India	837,412	131,990,901
Native ditto.....	627,910	48,376,247
French and Portuguese ...	1,254	517,149
	<u>1,466,576</u>	<u>180,884,297</u>

last be grasped by men whose ancestors fought at Cressy and Agincourt, at Bannockburn and Naseby? INTRO-
DUCTION.

But it has come to pass. And though to us has not been revealed the secret reasons why the Sovereign Disposer of the destinies of nations has thus arrested the Westward march of history, and brought the influences of Northern culture and Northern manners into connection with the stunted civilization of the East, nevertheless none but the veriest trifler will believe it has been done with no object or design. Unless we read history to no purpose we must see, that for the highest and most beneficent reasons Providence 'appears to have intended the continual intermixture of mankind, and never leaves the human mind destitute of a principle to effect it.' The result of
Providential
design.

Now, since the day that HE, who sitteth at the right hand of God 'waiting till all things shall be subdued unto Him,' gave His parting charge to the eleven on Olivet, and, before He was received up out of their sight, bade them 'go forth into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature,' all nations calling themselves after His Name, have believed, with more or less earnestness, that higher duties were required of them, than the extension of commerce, and the conquest of kingdoms.

From the moment that the Reformation was established in this country, an anxiety for the spiritual welfare of its dependencies marked the proceedings of some of the most forward in promoting 'the new' Early real-
izations of
this.

¹ See Burke's *Works*, vi. 226, Ed. 1852.

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DUCTION.

Religion.' A letter¹ is still extant, written by Archbishop Cranmer to Cromwell, respecting a due provision for the spiritual wants of 'the towne and marches of Calice,' and the proper reading of the Scriptures in that city. Edward VI. in his instructions to the navigators in Willoughby's fleet, Cabot in those for the direction of the intended voyage to Cathay, agree with Sir Humphry Gilbert's chronicler² that 'the sowing of Christianity must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt at foreign discovery, or else whatever is builded upon other foundation shall never obtain happy successe nor continuance.'

A.D. 1591.

And when in A.D. 1591, owing to the intercourse lately opened with the East (for the era of adventurous voyages was beginning, and tales of foreign discovery were being eagerly canvassed in many an English manor-house), some natives from the distant Molúcca and Philippine islands found their way to this country, Hackluyt³ tells us he regarded it 'as a pledge of God's further favour unto us and them: to them especially unto whose doors in time shall be by us carried the incomparable treasure of the truth of Christianity, while we use and exercise common trade with their merchants.' And, though, when Queen Elizabeth granted a Charter to George Earl of Cumberland and other 'adventurers,' to be a body corporate by the name of 'the Governor and Company of merchants of London trading with the East Indies,' the expressed recognition of higher

A.D. 1600.

¹ Anderson's *Colonial Church*, I. 16, Ed. 2.

² *Ibid.* I. 56. •

³ *Ibid.* I. 122, note, Ed. 1.

duties than those of commerce may by some be deemed a mere matter of form, and ‘‘what was first in God’s providence, was but second in man’s appetite and intention,’ yet many years did not pass before the nation was reminded of its obligations. In the year 1618 was published ‘The true Honor of Navigation and Navigators,’ by ‘John Wood Doctor of Divinitie,’ dedicated to Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the East India Company. Much about the same time also appeared the well-known treatise, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, of the famous Grotius, written for the express use of settlers in distant lands¹. The Petition signed in 1641 by, amongst seventy others, Sanderson and Caryl and Calamy, the earliest petition of the kind addressed to an English Parliament, recognized the truth of the remark in Terry’s Sermon (preached on the occasion of the return of seven of the East India Company’s ships), ‘that it is a miserable thing for such as profess themselves Christians, in places where Christ is not knowne, or if heard of, not regarded, *gentes agere sub nomine Christianorum*.’ And the exertions of Boyle and Pri-
INTRO-
DUCTION.
A.D. 1618.
A.D. 1641.
A.D. 1698.

deaux were not perhaps the least efficacious in producing the clause in the Charter of 1698, enacting that the East India Company ‘should constantly maintain one minister in every garrison and superior factory, and furthermore that all such ministers, as shall be sent to reside in India, shall be obliged to learn, within one year after their arrival, the Portuguese language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country

¹ Bacon quoted in Anderson, I. 96.² Anderson, I. 378.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the said Company or their agents, in the Protestant religion.'

Different po-
sition of
England now.

Since these days, indeed, a mighty change has taken place. We no longer hear in debates on the 'Indian Question' of 'Gentiles' and 'Portugals,' 'Flemings' and 'Dutchmen,' 'Factors' and 'Adventurers,' or even the 'Great Mogul.' The handful of warriors who followed the fortunes of a Lawrence in the Carnatic, little knew what an Empire they were helping to build up. The principal part of the Company's establishment is no longer on board the ships; nor do the 'factors' ashore rely mainly on the vessels for spiritual and corporeal consolation¹. Nearly 200 years have elapsed since the first stone of the first English Church at Madras was laid by the good Streynsham Master². Danish missionaries sent out by their pious Sovereign, and commended to the work by our own Archbishops, are no longer the only agents of the Missionary Societies of England in Southern India³. The Resolutions of Wilberforce in 1793 pledged the House of Commons in general terms 'to the peculiar and bounden duty of promoting, by all just and prudent means, the religious improvement of the natives,' and this was followed up by the 'Missionary clause' in the Government measure of 1813. On Christmas-Day in the following year the first Indian

¹ See Kaye's *Administration of the East India Company*, p. 627, Ed. 2.

² Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, III. 156.

³ *Ibid.*, III. 349.

Bishop preached his first Sermon at Calcutta. His successor has now a colleague at Bombay, and another at Madras¹. The number of the East Indian Company's Chaplains has been vastly increased, and a Missionary agency is at work in the country supported at an annual cost of £190,000, of which one-sixth or £35,000 is contributed by European Christians resident in the different Presidencies.

But the convulsions of the last twelve months have awakened us to a yet deeper sense of the stupendous trust we have taken upon ourselves as the rulers of 180 millions of human beings. The hundredth anniversary of the battle of Plassey has been signalised by a Rebellion which can never be forgotten. The Indian question has been presented to the public eye as it never was before. It has forced itself on the notice of the most careless and indifferent. The Government of our Indian Empire, the admiration and the envy of every Continental State, refuses to be treated as a secondary matter, and claims for the time the almost exclusive attention of the Statesman.

Effect of the
Mutiny.

And once more as in 1793, as in 1813, the 'religious question' is to a certain extent re-opened. The late disastrous events have been traced by one party with a certain degree of natural exaggeration to religious indifference, by another, without a jot or tittle of evidence, to religious meddling. But there is undoubtedly an improved state of feeling on the matter since 1793. Christianity in India is no longer the tabooed subject

¹ Colonel Sykes' *Speech in the House of Commons*, Feb. 18, 1858.

INTRODUC-
TION.

which it has hitherto been in official circles. The problems connected with it are no longer thought unworthy to employ the pens of the wisest and ablest administrators. The legitimate sphere of Governmental connection with Christian efforts is discussed in quarters where it was never mentioned fifty years ago¹.

In treating of the subject in this Essay we cannot conceal from ourselves that we are undertaking a very difficult and a very delicate task. We are conscious that the religious question in India is surrounded by peculiar complications, arising from our precarious footing in the country, from the great gulf fixed between Eastern and Western civilization, from the effects on the national character of centuries of conquest and oppression, from the elsewhere unknown but wondrous influence of caste, from the huge extent and varied population of this vast territory. We are conscious that the entertainment of the question brings us face to face with problems to the solution of which Church History neither in its records of Apostolic zeal, nor of the overthrow of Paganism in barbarous lands, nor of the gradual moulding of modern civilization, affords us *entirely* adequate analogies, or *complete* data. We feel that the work must be regarded as a grand experiment of the power of Christianity in a country where there is probably such a combination of obstacles and difficulties as never was encountered before. And when we find such a man as Mr Kaye², who has been for nearly twenty years, with little interruption,

¹ See Mullens' *Results of Missions*, p. 26, Ed. 3.

² See Kaye's Preface to his *Administration of the East India Company*.

reading and writing, collecting facts, and maturing opinions on the subject of India, having access to such stores of unpublished documents as few men have ever had the good fortune to approach or the patience to examine, yet not ashamed to confess 'that there are many and great questions connected with the administration of our Indian Empire upon which he is competent to express only a qualified hesitating opinion or none at all,' we feel that we owe an apology for our presumption in attempting to deal with so nice a question as the legitimate sphere of Governmental connection with Christian efforts in our Indian Presidencies.

Our hope is that, in handling it even thus imperfectly, we shall not be unmindful of the Christian duties of candour and patience, or forget that the demonstrated of the present may not have been the demonstrable of the past.

CHAPTER I.

c

THE OBLIGATIONS OF A CHRISTIAN GOVERNMENT.

‘Our national experience has given us too deep a sense of the true ends of government, to allow us to think of carrying on the administration of India except for the benefit of the people of India.’—

SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN.

CHAP. I. MR KAYE informs us, in his very interesting work on the administration of the East India Company¹, that when Mr Barlow the Secretary to the Government drew up the elaborate minute on which the Bengal Regulations of 1793 were based, Sir William Jones, to whom this important document was submitted, struck his pen across the first three words.

Barlow's minute of 1793.

Barlow had written, ‘The two principal objects which the Government ought to have in view in all its arrangements, are to insure its political safety, and to render the possession of the country as advantageous as possible to the East India Company and the British nation.’ Sir William Jones erased the first three words. Instead of ‘the *two principal objects*’ he wrote ‘*two of the primary objects*,’ and then he appended the marginal note, ‘I have presumed to alter the first words. Surely the principal object of every Government is the happiness of the governed.’

This quotation will not inaptly introduce the subject which calls for discussion in the present Chapter.

Without entering in detail upon the abstract question of 'State Duties,' we may assume what few would deny,—for it is acted up to in our own country, and amongst all the most enlightened nations of the present day;—that the State has higher duties than the primary and rigorous duties of Self-Preservation and Political Security. The practice of States in all tranquil and cultured times, and in all societies, where civilization has reached a certain stage, has proceeded upon the principle that they are moral agents, and have moral duties.

In proof, we may cite the actual legislation of Lycurgus, the imaginary Republic of Plato, the Politics of Aristotle. It is observed by Aristotle, that, while the immediate object of the State is mutual security and advantage, a necessary condition of its existence must be 'self-sufficiency' (*αὐταρκεία*), and a general appreciation of the principles of justice and virtue. But that, while such is its immediate object, it has a higher one, viz. to take care that the greatest amount of Happiness shall be shared by every member, which happiness cannot be attained where there is not Virtue and Justice.

The State
has moral
duties.

Accordingly States in general have recognized higher obligations than the primary and rigorous duties of protecting the material interests of their citizens.

Thus, as has been well observed¹, 'They have recognized the Duty of paying their debts, a Duty of Justice; they have recognized the Duty of Keeping their treaties,

CHAP. I.

a Duty of Truth; they have recognized the Duty of preventing Cruelty and Oppression, as in the prohibition of the Slave-trade, a Duty of Humanity; they have recognized the Duty of prohibiting obscene and indecent acts and publications, a Duty of Purity; they have recognized the Duty of assisting and rewarding the progress of Science and Literature, as for instance, by means of Universities, Observatories, Voyages, and the like, a Duty of Intellectual Culture; finally, they have very generally recognized the Duty of morally Educating the young, of punishing and suppressing immoral books, and of uniting the citizens in general by the ties which common moral instruction produces; and this is a Duty of Moral Culture.'

Amongst ourselves these high duties are day by day receiving a greater amount of attention. The reciprocal relations of the Governors and the Governed, the fact that they are not sundered the one from the other by any impassable gulf, but are so intimately connected that the prosperity of both is mutually dependent upon each other, these are truths which are more and more stamping their impress upon our habits, our institutions, and our laws. In our own country it is almost universally acknowledged that the great aim of the Legislator ought to be the permanent establishment amongst those for whom he legislates of 'peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety.'

Difficulties
in India

But, while in legislating for our own people, it is felt to be greatly to the advantage of the State, nay

the moral, intellectual, and religious sympathies of its subjects on its side, and not antagonistic to; but in harmony with its sovereignty; the question is a different one where, as in India, the diverse religious bodies among the people cannot easily, or cannot at all, conduct their religious education in common; where our foothold is so precarious, where our proportion as Governors to the masses whom we govern is so tremendously unequal, where we are united by no bond of sympathy with, but are regarded as strangers and aliens, infidels and blasphemers by the great majority of those we rule, and where the actual religions of the country, instead of promoting, tend of their own nature to stifle and repress the moral elevation of the millions committed to our charge. And though we imagine that few would therefore conclude that we must fall back upon the primary and rigorous duties of Government, and content ourselves with insuring our political safety, and promoting simply and solely our own self-interest—for this would clearly be to shirk the responsibilities which devolve upon us—still it is obvious that very important alternatives are here open to the State.

Shall the Governors representing it promote a moral, intellectual, and religious education, founded on the principles which they themselves deem to be true¹? Or shall they separate the moral and intellectual portion of education from its religious portion, and while promoting the former, leave the latter portion to be provided for by each religious body?

Important
alternatives
open to the
Government.

¹ See Whewell's *Elements of Morality*, II, 222; and Appendix B.

CHAP. I.

The distinguished Author, whose observations upon this subject we have now in our eye, remarks that these questions do not admit of any general answers, that they involve historical elements, and require an investigation of the actual circumstances and condition of each nation, and its relation to the Government.

What, then, is the actual relation we sustain in reference to the populations of India? We have seen under what wonderful circumstances we came to be supreme amongst them: strangers from the West, aliens in almost everything save a common nature, with different ideas, different culture, different civilization, we have by a course of events over which we had often no control, which in many instances courted us rather than we them, risen to our proud pre-eminence. We are indeed 'trustees for the people,' as all Governors are by the very terms of their calling. But ours is not a constitutional Government, based upon the representative system of this country and America. We were not elected by the will of the people, we are supreme there, as Sir John Lawrence remarks¹, 'through our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, by the will of Providence: this alone constitutes our charter to govern India.'

I. Shall the State promote an exclusively Secular Education?

I. Under these circumstances shall the State promote an exclusively Secular Education?

Now we would observe that this separation of Education into two parts, while easy to be conceived in theory, is peculiarly difficult to be carried out in practice.

For in the first place, the study of *moral science* inevitably leads to questions which border closely on the confines of religion¹. The very words 'duty,' and 'right,' and 'ought,' are suggestive of questions and problems which natural reason cannot answer. 'When a man considers attentively the feeling which prompts him to a good action, when he calls himself to search its origin, and to reflect upon its significancy, when he observes the effects of moral goodness upon his nature, it seems as though he looked into an unsearchable depth within his soul.' And if the study of the 'Moral Law within' suggests questions of deepest moment, so also does the study of the '*Starry sky above*,' and the material world generally. Was the world created? By whom, and when, and why? Or having existed from all eternity, is it destined to continue for ever? All these questions, which naturally arise from the study of Astronomy and Geography, lead to questions still higher, questions about the providential Government of the world, and the operations of the Deity.

But both
moral

and scien-
tific studies
lead to reli-
gious ques-
tions.

How much, indeed, the grandest *intellectual triumphs* can effect for men, was proved years and years ago in the world-famous schools of Greece and Rome. It did much, none doubts that. It has bequeathed to us Christians the noblest literature almost any age can

Past illustra-
tions of this.

¹ 'Include poetry or history or moral philosophy in the idea of Arts, and you encroach unavoidably on the domain of moral education, and moral education cannot be separated from religious education, unless people have the old superstitious notion of religion, either that it relates to rites and ceremonies, or to certain abstract and unpractical truths.'—Arnold's *Letters*, clv. *Life*, Vol. II. p. 69; Whewell's *Elem. Mor.* II. 220.

CHAP. I. boast of, a thrice-precious heir-loom of History, and Poetry, and Philosophy.

And, yet, was there nothing it left undone? Was there no void it did not fill? Why, then, for centuries were those primary questions which lie at the bottom of all religions agitated again and again by the restless inquisitive Greek? Did intellectual perfection solve those mysterious problems which ever haunted his mind? 'Where am I?' 'Whence came I?' 'Whither am I going?'

Did it solve the riddle, how can present Disorder be reconciled with a conviction of primal perfection? That 'unknown God,' to whom in an hour of peril and perplexity he erected an altar, did it inform him who He was, and how He stood related to himself? Did the Books of ancient lore again and again consulted, did the opinions of the wisest friends again and again besought with piteous pertinacity, did these console the bereaved Cicero as he paced the silent groves of Astura, mourning over his lost daughter, and speculating on the mysteries of death¹? In this awful hour, an hour common to all the sons of men, Intellectual Perfection stood convicted of its inability to soothe and comfort, and here were its proud waves stayed. And is there a single one amongst the problems which lie deepest in the hearts of men, and which, unless they are recklessly drifting down the stream of life, a 'still small voice' constantly suggests,—is there one of these towards the solution of which the utmost triumphs of

¹ See the words of the elder Pliny in Appendix C.

the intellect can contribute aught besides the merest guesses? Is there one, which, when it is pondered over, does not involve the soul in a tangled maze of contradiction, doubt, and perplexity?

And besides all this, it has been well observed¹ that an *exclusively* secular Education does not tend to maintain a duly balanced intellectual progress, that it is not so much an undue amount, or a too general diffusion of mental cultivation, as a *misdirected* and *disproportionate* mental cultivation, which threatens the greatest dangers to the progress of society. The reason of which has been so well expressed by Bishop Hinds, that we cannot forbear quoting his remarks: 'It is a truth,' he observes, 'which cannot be too strongly insisted on, that if the powers of the intellect be strengthened by the acquisition of science, professional learning, or general literature—in short, secular knowledge, of whatever kind,—without being *proportionately* exercised on spiritual subjects, its susceptibility of the objections which may be urged against Revelation will be increased, without a corresponding increase in the ability to remove them. Conscious of having mastered certain difficulties that attach to subjects, which he has studied, one so educated finds it impossible to satisfy himself about difficulties in Revelation; Revelation not having received from him the same degree of attention; and forgetful of the unequal distribution of his studies, he charges the fault on the subject. Doubt, discontent, and contemptuous

Evils of a disproportionate mental cultivation.

¹ Archbishop Whately's *Essays On Dangers to Christian Faith*, p. 52. See Appendix D.

CHAP. I. infidelity, (more frequently secret than avowed,) are no unusual results. It seems, indeed, to have been required of us by the Author of Revelation, that His Word should have *a due share* of our intellect, as well as our heart; and that the disproportionate direction of our talents, no less than of our affections, to the things of this world, should disqualify us for faith. What is sufficient sacred knowledge for an uneducated person, becomes inadequate for him when educated; even as he would be crippled and deformed, if the limb which was strong and well-proportioned when he was a child, should have undergone no progressive change as his bodily stature increased, and he grew into manhood. We must not think to satisfy the divine law by setting apart the same *absolute* amount as the tithe of our enlarged understanding, which was due from a narrower and more barren field of intellectual culture.'

Moreover, in India, an exclusively secular Education is encompassed with peculiar difficulties. Priestcraft has cast a veil over science, and consequently no more formidable enemy, as is well known, has Hindúism than the light of true knowledge. Its mythical cosmogonies, its Calpas and Yugas, its geographical theories, flee away before the dawn of true History and Science. 'Wherever enlightenment can penetrate,' writes Sir Emerson Tennent, 'and science lend her aid as the ally of Christianity, the authorities and impostures of Bráhmaism must of necessity be overthrown in the encounter with demonstrable truth. For, as all the knowledge of the Bráhmans professes to be directly communicated by

Heaven, all their sciences and arts to be dictated by the Creator, it follows unavoidably that the detection of falsehood in the Revelation must be utterly destructive of all confidence in the Oracle and its Priests¹. Thus, apart from its usual unsatisfactory results, in India a *strictly* secular Education tends to do positive harm. Not only does it provoke uttermost scorn at the absurdity and incoherence of the popular Sacred Books, but everything with which feelings of sacredness and awe have been linked, is henceforth regarded with shame and self-reproach. On such a foundation who can raise the solid superstructure of truth? Such a system cannot promote the higher ends of Education. It is not adapted to beings, who in all quarters of the globe, are moral beings, and capable of holding communion with the Father of Spirits. Nowhere can the infinite find satisfaction in the finite, the eternal in the temporal—nowhere can the soul be *adequately* satisfied with the beggarly elements of a sensual or intellectual perfection, or prevented thirsting after fountains of living water.

For these reasons we conclude that, as it is not easy, so it is not right, to separate Education into two parts, and that a Government is not promoting the moral and Intellectual Progress of its subjects by maintaining a system of instruction unsuited to the entire wants of man's nature.

II. Shall we then fall back upon our second alternative, and leave the religious portion of education to be provided for by each religious body? To ascertain

II. Shall we leave the religious education to each religious body?

¹ See Ludlow's *India, Its Past and History*, &c., and Appendix B.

CHAP. I.

Various religions :

1. The Aborigines.

whether this is possible, let us review the existing religions of the people.

The framework of Indian Society may be said to be composed of four main strata. The lowest consists of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the hill-districts, the rocky fastnesses, the impenetrable jungles throughout the country. Divided into various tribes, called by various names, their religion is that of simple superstition. Their worship is essentially that of the malevolent powers, conducted by bloody sacrifices, sometimes as amongst the Khonds, of human beings. In this condition it is estimated there are eight or nine millions of our race, on whose necks, in the safe seclusion of their remote and often noxious retreats, the foot of the Bráhma has never trod.

2. The Hindús.

Next above these, comes the Hindù stratum with its all-embracing net-work of Caste, its marvellous system of Polytheism, the only remaining relic of such a religion as prevailed in Greece and Rome, potent enough to give birth to literature, to inspire art, to affect every civil institution, to permeate the whole national life—a religion, not supported by the mystic whisperings of a Pythoness, or the wandering leaves of a Sibyl, but a veritable ‘book-religion,’ pressing on its votaries ‘like the atmosphere,’ to use an expression of Robert Hall’s, and anticipating with a minuteness tenfold greater than Judaism ever knew, all the accessories and circumstances of daily life and daily conduct.

3. The Mahometans.

Next comes the Mahometan stratum, with its Koran,

that, at the point of the sword, its Creed of Conquest, its CHAP. I.
vivid recollections of a glorious past, its consciousness
of present degradation, its consequent hatred of the
usurping Feringhee.

Above all, to say nothing of Buddhism, Jainism, and 4. The Chris-
tians.
the Sikh faith, comes the Christian Element as repre-
sented by the various Europeans scattered throughout
the country, with the British Government at its head.

Now can the Government leave all these systems to Can the Go-
vernment
leave the edu-
cation of its
subjects to
these religi-
ous bodies?
themselves, and entrust the religious education of its
subjects to each religious body, without great peril to
itself? They *were* left to themselves before we came.
Had the moral and religious progress of the people been
promoted? Why, then, was there no female education
throughout India? Why was it necessary to check the
custom of Infanticide, and to quench the flames of
Suttee? Why was the Western Legislator obliged to
listen to the shouts of the multitudes at the orgies of
Kali, and to witness the horrors of the Charak Puja,
and the Meriah Sacrifices of the Khonds? Why had
the marriage of the Hindú widow to be legalized, and
the widely-ramifying evils of Kulin Polygamy to be
arrested?

Can the education of the natives be left to each re- Can the edu-
cation of the
natives be left
to each reli-
gious body?
ligious body? Can the Christian Legislator consistently
with his high Duties blind his eyes to the moral delin-
quencies and the inhumanity fostered by these systems?
Can he tamely stand by and see them work out their
tremendous results for evil, and not touch the burden of
their woe with the tips of his fingers? Can he leave to

CHAP. I.

them the religious education of those committed to his charge? He knows the potency of the religious element in man's nature. For to what else do the ruins of the grandest works that nations have reared in every clime bear witness? What else is testified by the glittering Pagodas of China, the stupendous rock-shrines of Ellora, the ruined Sun-temples of Mexico and Peru, the dome-topped Mosques and slender Minarets of Western Asia, the awful Pyramids and Sphinxes of mystic Egypt, the graceful Shrines of Classic Greece, the Basilicas of Rome and Byzantium, the Gothic Cathedrals of Western Europe? East and West, North and South, where are not the evidences of man's inability to exist without something to worship and adore? And not only does the Statesman know the potency of the religious principle, but he knows also how fearfully it may be abused. Now it was an axiom of Burke's¹, that one of the Statesman's principal duties is to 'prevent the abuses which grow out of every strong and efficient principle that actuates the human mind; that, as religion is one of the bonds of Society, he ought not to suffer it to be made the pretext of destroying its peace, order, liberty, and security.' The Statesman is himself a man, a partaker of the same nature with those he governs, to him, very specially, nothing human is remote and indifferent; and

¹ Burke's *Works*, vi. pp. 102, 3. 'The *ἐργον* of a Christian Church and State is absolutely one and the same; nor can a difference be made out which shall not impair the Christian Character of one or both, as *e. g.* if the *ἐργον* of the State be made to be merely physical or economical good, or that of the Church be made to be the performing of a ritual service.'—Arnold's *Life*, Vol. II. 124. Eighth Edition.

where as in India the moral, intellectual, and religious progress of those committed to his charge cannot be promoted by actual existing systems, it is his duty to face boldly the difficulties and dangers of the undertaking, and to promote the moral and religious elevation of those he rules on principles which he himself deems to be true,—the knowledge of which principles he himself enjoys only as a *trustee*¹ that he may impart them to that vast and countless population, and the whole family of man.

¹ 'The Gospel is to be regarded as a *trust*, deposited with us in behalf of others, in behalf of mankind, as well as for our own improvement.'—Bishop Butler.

CHAPTER II.

CHRISTIAN RULERS AND THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

‘ Surely in Councils concerning religion, that counsel of the Apostle should be prefixed, “Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei.” ’

BACON'S *Essays*.

CHAP. II. IN attempting to define the limits within which a Government may legitimately promote the moral and religious Education of its subjects on principles which itself deems to be true, it is obvious that much depends upon the nature of the principles it proposes to inculcate. The legitimate sphere, therefore, of Government countenance and aid in the promotion of Christianity will not inaptly be prefaced by a few remarks on the nature and design of Christianity itself, and the rules for its legitimate promotion deducible from the New Testament.

Importance
of a real ap-
preciation of
Christianity.

With reference to this point, it clearly does not fall within the scope of the present Essay to dilate at any length on the characteristics of the Christian Faith and its relation to the existing religions of India. Nothing, however, is more obvious than that the degree of importance we attach to Christian Missionary Enterprise depends on the view we entertain respecting Christianity itself. A one-sided and imperfect view will generate apathy and indifference: and the same result must fol-

phase of man's religious life, or have embraced its doctrines without ever having made them a matter of earnest and thoughtful reflection. If it has never once occurred to us to inquire whether the Creed we profess is really true, and has any real meaning, if we have never considered it in its application to ourselves, if it has never solved for us any problems, or explained any perplexities, if it has never raised our thoughts above this world, then it is not to be wondered at if Christianity in its relation to heathenism is an uninteresting topic, and Missionary Enterprise a dull, cold, dreary subject, only to be avoided and shunned.

In the first place, then, we would remark that Christianity is not an isolated, independent, unsympathizing system. Its very name *τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον*—‘the Gospel,’ the ‘Glad Tidings,’ is a protest against such an idea. It claims the appreciation and welcome of those to whom it is addressed. And herein lies its distinction from all other systems, none of which even pretend to announce ‘a Gospel,’ or to have an answer for the deepest questionings of the human soul, an anodyne for its keenest sorrows, a satisfaction for its deepest wants. We sometimes hear Christianity spoken of, and that in quarters where one would have least expected it, as though it were a religion of the West and for the West, as though it were a phase of man's religious life peculiar to the Teutonic nations, just as Mahometanism is peculiar to Asia, Bráhmaism to India, and demon-worship to the islands of the Pacific.* But

i. Relations of Christianity to the cravings of the soul.

CHAP. II.

Christianity is the East, that an Eastern people were its first heralds. And we know that in spite of its entry into the world unknown and unfelt, with no claims to earthly power or supremacy but that which was yielded by the consent of the will, it has found for itself a home in the hearts of nations which, save as inheritors of a contaminated nature, had scarce anything in common with a Jewish Apostle and Evangelist. And it is hard indeed to see how this could have come to pass, had not the Christian Gospel possessed a potent magnet wherewith to attract the hearts and souls of men, and a self-evidencing power wherewith to justify its claim to be God's Response to the cravings and aspirations of the sin-tormented family of man. Therefore, in no narrow spirit of self-glorifying, self-aggrandizing proselytism, but in the conviction that we are *trustees* of a mighty Blessing, do we seek the spread of Christ's kingdom throughout our Indian Empire. We have seen that there as in Athens when visited by the Apostle Paul, the adoring principle of human nature is very strong and efficient, that the various inhabitants of that clime push their religious reverence very far. 'And all superstition,' as one has well bidden us remember¹, 'supposes a real and undeniable *desire* in human nature, which procures for it admission, as well as a fundamental and undeniable *truth*, which it only misunderstands and defaces.' It is a proof of a sense of want, of a feeling after a higher Good. Its aberrations are not to be laughed at, mocked, or derided, by one who himself,

even if he have the Light of truth, has it only because he *has received it*. It is not for man who in his best estate is compassed about with infirmity and manifold error, who cometh up and is cut down like a flower, to hold up his brother's errors to ridicule and scorn. The great Apostle on Mars' Hill did not that. All error is a half-truth. Christianity claims to disentangle the error from the truth, and to set it free—and when truth makes men free, then are they free indeed. Now when we look into the religious systems of India, with a desire to discover the germs of truth hidden beneath them, and compare these systems with those of Greece and Rome, we see that there is good reason for considering them all expressions of the same spiritual wants, the same religious difficulties, and the same inward perplexities. And as Christianity was found alike by the philosophic Greek and practical Roman to be God's answer to their inmost wants, to be His response to their deepest cravings, so we cannot doubt, but that in Christianity will be found God's answer to the most subtle metaphysical cravings of the speculative Hindú¹. We cannot doubt this,

¹ 'I consider,' said Robert Boyle, 'that as the Bible was not written for any particular time or people, but for the whole Church militant diffused through all nations and ages, so there are many passages very useful, which will not be found so these many ages, being possibly reserved by the prophetic spirit that indited them, (and whose omniscience comprises and unites in one prospect all times and all events,) to quell some future foreseen heresy, which will not, perhaps, be born till we are dead, or resolve some yet unformed doubts, or confound some error that hath not yet a name.' 'Nor is it all incredible,' writes Bishop Butler, 'that a Book which has been so long in the possession of mankind should yet contain many truths as yet undiscovered. For all the same

CHAP. II. when we remember what Eastern Intellect has already found in, and done for, Christianity; how that in the peaceful Lauras of Scetis, in the solitude of the Nitrian deserts, in the rocky retreats of Taurus, in the contemplative East, was formed and moulded 'a Metaphysic, at once Christian and Scientific, every attempt to improve on which has hitherto proved a failure;' we cannot doubt this, when we think of Clement, and Origen, and Athanasius, and Chrysostom, and Cyril, and the heirloom the Eastern Fathers have bequeathed to us in the Nicene Creed.

ii. The deep spirituality of the Christian system.

Equally deserving of notice, independently of its intimate connection with the deepest wants of men, is the deep *spirituality* of the Christian system, and the degree in which it appeals to the liberty of conscience, and recognizes the *individual responsibility* of every man. It never rests satisfied with, but always protests against, a dependence on any mere outward or ceremonial perfection: it demands the obedience of the mind, the soul, the spirit. As the faculty of conscience sits in judgment on all the several trains of conception, motive, and desire which have produced any action, and summons before its tribunal unseen and secret promptings which the eye of man could never detect, so HE, whom Christianity reveals, has solemnly declared that

phenomena and the same faculties of investigation from which such great discoveries in natural knowledge have been made, in the present and last age, were equally in the possession of mankind several thousand years before. And possibly it might be intended that events as they come to pass, should open and ascertain the meaning of several parts of Scripture.'—Trench's *Hulsean Lectures*, p. 137.

the true worshipper 'must worship the Father in spirit and in truth,' that while man looketh on the outward appearance, HE looketh upon the heart and claims the obedience of the heart¹. CHAP. II.

Connecting these remarks with the subject in hand, we infer that, since all religious culture consists in what passes in a man's own soul, and *especially* so the religious culture required by Christianity, since its very value consists in its being real, hearty, and spontaneous, in its being a willing reasonable service, any influence brought to bear on its promotion of a character calculated to coerce or induce a conformity to its precepts, is not only, as Archbishop Whately² remarks, 'far less consistent with the spirit of Christ's religion than that of Mahomet, but far more adverse to the propagation and maintenance of Gospel-truth than of any other religion.'

But, secondly, any violent coercive measures would not merely be contrary to the design and nature of Christianity, but moreover would be utterly inconsistent with and in direct violation of the rules for the legitimate promotion of the Christian Faith deducible from the writings of the New Testament, and the teaching of Our Lord and His Apostles.

¹ 'It is not religion,' says Tertullian to the Roman Proconsul Scapula, 'to employ force in religion: for religion must be voluntary, and received without compulsion. Sacrifices are desired only from free hearts. If you force us to sacrifice you will give nothing to your gods, for they will not desire any forced sacrifices.'—Neander's *Christian Life*, p. 35.

² Whately's *Essays On Dangers to Christian Faith, &c.* p. 140.

CHAP. II.

The Saviour
before the bar
of Pilate.

What, then, are these rules¹? On no occasion during His life on earth did our Lord more solemnly proclaim and exemplify them, than when He—the Creator, the future Judge—stood before the bar of His creature Pilate. He was charged, we know, with speaking against Cæsar, with making Himself a king in opposition to the Roman Emperor. How did He meet the accusation? By a distinct declaration that His kingdom was not of this world. ‘If my kingdom were of this world,’ said He, ‘then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews.’ And who is it makes this reply? HE who, had He so willed it, could in a moment have summoned more than *twelve legions of angels* to His help, and delivered Himself from His persecutors, in whom ‘dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.’ Now what the Jews longed for *was* a kingdom of this world. A glorious, carnal kingdom, presided over by an incarnation of Strength, and Might, and Majesty, and earthly Power, a kingdom that *should* ‘come with observation.’ And this is precisely what His kingdom was not. ‘My kingdom is not from hence.’ And why? Amongst other reasons, doubtless, because it was to be

¹ ‘Since the natural disposition of Man appears to lean so strongly towards the employment of coercion in behalf of one’s own faith, as to operate even *in despite of* the precepts and examples of our Master and His Apostles, and leads men to explain away those precepts, and wrest them from their obvious sense—how utterly improbable is it, that men left to themselves—and especially Jews—not having before them these precepts, but educated under a far different dispensation, should of themselves have devised the first system of religious tolerance that ever existed in the world.’ Whately’s Essay on Disputes in Christian Ethics.

set up as no mere earthly kingdom could be, on the foundation of the will and the affections, of the heart, and mind, and soul. Because Christ's 'Gospel,' His 'Joyous Message,' was to appeal to man as a reasonable, moral, responsible being, to 'draw him with the cords of a man,' to rectify the moral disorders of the soul, to restore the conscience to its primitive discernment and sensibility, to evoke the holiest and purest principles of man's nature, and, like no other system, to *rest on evidence*. His kingdom was to be a kingdom of Truth: 'Not a kingdom whose subjects should embrace on compulsion what is itself true, and consequently should be adherents of truth by *accident*; but a kingdom, whose subjects should have been admitted as such in consequence of their being *of the truth*, i. e. men honestly disposed to embrace the truth whatever it might be that God should reveal.'

Now Truth demands for its legitimate promotion nothing less than a fair hearing. It cannot be supported by means which would equally support falsehood, such as fraud or guile, compulsion or restraint. In conformity with this principle we find Our Lord resisting the attempts of the people to make Him a king, rebuking

¹ Whately's *Kingdom of Christ*, p. 28, note. Chrysostom, commenting on St John xviii. 36, remarks, δεικνυσιν ἐνταῦθα τῆς βασιλείας τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ ἀσθενές, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν· ἡ δὲ ἄνω αὐτάρκης ἐστὶν ἑαυτῇ, μηδενὸς δεομένη.—Homil. 83. 'Pilatus putat, mentionem veritatis non quadrare ad sermonem de regno. Regnum ille tantummodo scit nectere cum potentia, non cum veritate. Atqui regnum libertatis est regnum veritatis: nam veritas liberat.'—Bengel in *3. Joh.*

CHAP. II. the 'Sons of Thunder' when they would have called down fire from heaven in confirmation of the Faith, and forbidding His disciples to defend Him with the sword. In conformity with this same principle, when He *had received all power in Heaven and Earth*, and a Name which is above every name, and was giving the eleven His last charge on Olivet, He commissioned them not to subjugate, or coerce, or conquer, but *To teach, to preach, to make disciples.*

Preaching
of the Apostles.

Armed, accordingly, with this commission the Apostles went forth. And everywhere their weapons were those of expostulation, entreaty, and admonition—appeals to Scripture in the Synagogues of the Jews—arguments grounded on the evidence within and around man in the assemblies of the heathen. At Jerusalem, in the villages of Samaria, in half-civilized villages like Lystra and Derbe, in the proud city of Ephesus, in philosophic Athens, in luxurious Corinth, in imperial Rome, everywhere it is the same. The judgment, the reason, the highest principles of man's nature are uniformly addressed. To the Jew the Message comes waking up the remembrance of every prophecy known to him from his infancy, and revealing Jesus as the 'Messiah.' To the Gentiles it comes recognizing his religious yearnings, and his feeling after the Great Unknown, and announcing Him whom 'he ignorantly worshipped.' An offer is made to all. A fair hearing is asked of all. The Son of Thunder no more calls down fire from Heaven. He knows *now* what spirit he is of: aged, wearied, a veteran-soldier of the Cross, he has discovered

that which is stronger than the arm of the Magistrate, more potent than the enactment of the Legislator. His message to the Churches *now* is, 'Little children, love one another.'

And, just as from its birth, Christianity was never by its Author and Founder armed with force, so its REAL triumphs have never been won by coercive measures, but by moral influences. 'It is true that, again and again, the old Jewish craving after a visible earthly kingdom under a visible earthly Head has possessed the souls of men, and tempted them to try other expedients than the slow, patient, silent, heavenly way of establishing a heavenly kingdom enjoined upon them by, and exemplified in the earthly life of, their Divine Head. It is true, too true, that in their impatient longing for visible results, they have endeavoured to set up a kingdom of righteousness, and goodness, and holiness, and peace, by means utterly unrighteous and wicked and devilish. It is true that the theory of persecution has been sanctioned by an Augustine and a Bernard, that the Crucifix, the symbol of Infinite Love, has looked down again and again on the cruelties of the Inquisition, that the teaching of Geneva and St Andrew's has been disgraced by an acrimony and a bitterness worthy of Rome herself. But the system has had its reward. The wrath of man never has and never will work out the righteousness of God. The results of the system have recoiled upon its defenders. They have not stood the

¹ See Trench's *Hulsean Lectures*, 1846, p. 274.

CHAP. II.

fiery trial even of time and earthly experience; they have been proved no stronger than the green withes which bound Samson,—these bonds have never drawn men to Christ.

Gradual progress of Christianity.

On the other hand, when we look back through the vista of the eighteen Christian centuries, we see that notwithstanding all man's faithlessness, and perverseness, the words spoken by the Holy One on the Lake of Galilee have been fulfilled. Wherever Christianity has been *real* it has worked as 'leaven'.¹ Its progress has been secret, gradual, without observation. Its real triumphs have never been proclaimed on housetops. Like every grand and subtle principle in nature, it has worked from within to without; from its secret laboratory in the unseen recesses of the human heart, its healing power has gone forth commingling with and influencing the world. Noiselessly, silently, the good seed has sprung up in the heart of the individual, influenced the family, and moulded the nation. In spite of all man's self-will and impatience, wherever Christianity has been truly effective, the whirlwind, the earthquake, and the fire have never been its heralds—but the 'still small voice.'

General inferences.

As a Government, therefore, seeking to promote the happiness of the governed, we are bound, not in dero-

¹ 'The lesson this Parable teaches,' remarks Neander, 'that Christianity acting from within must pervade and ennoble all the branches of human life, could not clearly be understood in the first ages; the whole development of Christian morals is nothing more than the unfolding of what is contained in these words.'—Neander's *History of Christian Dogmas*, Vol. I. p. 247. And Trench *On the Parables*, p. 115.

gation of Christian principles, but in consequence of CHAP. II.
 Christian principles, and the very nature and design
 of Christianity, to avoid not only all force and fraud,
 but everything that has a resemblance to force and
 fraud, in its propagation—we are bound to avoid every-
 thing which may be *fairly* characterized as coercive, or
 in any way partaking of the nature of undue influence,
 bribery, or corruption.

And not in derogation, but in consequence of the
 same principles, we are bound *to do unto others as we
 would be done by ourselves*¹: while plainly and openly
 avowing our own Creed, we must studiously maintain a
 strictly equal and impartial forbearance towards all
 creeds differing from our own; every man must be
 allowed, whatever may be his religious belief, to act
 up to his own conscientious convictions, so long as he
 does not thereby offend against the immutable and
 eternal laws of Justice, Truth, Purity, and Humanity.

Here, however, a point of considerable importance
 claims our earnest attention. An equal and impartial

*Distinction
 between
 'Toleration'
 and 'Indif-
 ference.'*

¹ Compare the language of Constantine in his proclamation after the
 victory over Licinius: 'Let those in error equally enjoy peace and rest
 with the faithful, for the improving influence of mutual intercourse may
 lead men into the right way. Let no one molest his neighbour; let
 each one act according to his inclination. Whoever has right convictions
 must know that they alone will live in holiness and purity whom Thou
 thyself dost call to find rest in thy holy laws. But those who keep at a
 distance from them, may, if they please, retain the temples of falsehood.
 We have the glorious abode of truth, which Thou hast given us to satisfy
 the cravings of our nature. We wish for them that, in community of
 mind with us, they may participate our joy.'—Neander's *Memorials of
 Christian Life*, p. 119.

CHAP. II. forbearance and toleration on the part of a Christian Government of all forms of religious belief *must not be capable of being perverted or misunderstood.* We must carefully bear in mind in all our dealings with our Indian subjects that 'Neutrality' means 'Neutrality,' and that 'Toleration' means 'Toleration,' nothing more, and nothing less. There must be no possibility of reasonable misapprehension on this point. Toleration must not degenerate into abnegation of our faith, and so become a euphemism for 'Timidity,' and 'careless Indifference.' For, let us bear in mind that, while there is an innate tendency in the human heart to promote our own principles by unfair means, there is also an innate tendency to shirk our high responsibilities, and to become moral cowards. We need not go to India to find out ^{this}¹. The experience of every-day life attests it. We all know, and feel how sore is the temptation to drift lazily down the stream of life, and to purchase exemption from trouble and difficulty at almost any price. The same Sacred Volume which warns us against attempting to spread a Kingdom of Heaven by unholy and unworthy means, as solemnly and as earnestly warns us against moral cowardice, and

¹ 'Neutrality,' writes Dr Arnold, 'seems to me a natural state for men of fair honesty, moderate wit, and much indolence; they cannot get strong impressions of what is true and right, and the weak impression, which is all that they can take, cannot overcome indolence and fear. I crave a strong mind for my children, for this reason, that they then

faithlessness to our duties. And this we are *especially* bound to bear in mind in dealing with the Natives of our Indian Empire. For the fairest and most impartial judges of Hindú character, admit that it has great defects. On this point, indeed, we are bound to speak with care and consideration, for, as we have well been reminded, 'Missionaries of a different religion, judges, police magistrates, officers of revenue or customs, and even diplomatists, do not see the most virtuous portion of a nation.' But these defects, while they may be fairly ascribed to other than moral causes, to the influence *e. g.* of soil and climate on the physical and mental constitution, and the effect of ages of oppression and misrule, still must not be overlooked¹. When, as in India, a warm temperature is accompanied by a fertile soil and an enormous extent of land capable of supporting an almost indefinite increase of inhabitants, so that labour becomes almost superfluous, the effect on the national character is to produce, instead of the energy and decision of the Arab, a love of repose, and listless inactivity. The reflex action of this indolence on the moral faculties, not only causes virtue to be limited to

Defects in
the Hindú
character.

¹ Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 193, Ed. 1857.

² *Ibid.* p. 194. 'The inhabitants of the dry countries in the north, which in winter are cold, are comparatively manly and active. The Mahrattas, inhabiting a mountainous and unfertile region, are hardy and laborious; while the Bengalese, with their moist climate and their double crops of rice, where the cocoa-nut tree and the bamboo furnish all the materials for construction unwrought, are more effeminate than any people of India.'—See, also, Buckle's *History of Civilization*, p. 46. Col. Sleeman's *Kingdom of Oude*. Sir E. Tennent's *Ceylon*, pp. 261, 262.

CHAP. II. abstinence, and worship to contemplation, but originates, moreover, an indifference to emotions of ambition, enterprise, and emulation¹. And the consequent absence of all the robust qualities of disposition and intellect, tends to produce a slavish constitution, a submissive temper, and a dread of change.

Impolicy of
any abnega-
tion of our
convictions.

From these facts we infer that just as it would be worse than folly in any way to use force or coercion towards a people naturally so pliant and versatile, whose convictions therefore, when real, could scarcely be *known* by others to be sincere, so it would be equally impolitic and prejudicial to the high objects of Government, to pursue a line of action which could be fairly construed into abnegation of our own principles, or indifference to our own Creed. By a mysterious tact of sympathy and antipathy all men discover the like or unlike of themselves in another's character, and thereby their moral and religious progress is either promoted or retarded. Hence, in the case of the Hindu, a policy which savours of timidity, or indifference, awakens his suspicions, and fails to win his confidence. He always assumes the existence of some hidden ulterior design, something in the background. On the other hand, an open, honest, consistent Policy tends to allay suspicion, and to generate confidence. When on earth was it otherwise? From the Equator to the Poles where did honest consistency fail in the long run to win respect? The very defects in the Hindú character testify that

¹ Guÿot's *Earth and Man*, p. 208.

they require for their correction the exhibition, on the part of the State, and the Governors representing the State, of sincerity, and reality, of earnest faithfulness to their own convictions combined with a fearless *toleration* of all other forms of religious belief. The words that shall pierce the ears of our Hindú subjects are not soft unmeaning nothings—cautions here, and cautions there, and cautions everywhere—but words of candour and conviction. For, to use the language of Sir John Lawrence, ‘Unless we do something to shew the people what *Christianity really is*, there will be no hope of preventing the monstrous misconceptions which but too often prevail among them in respect to our religion and its tendencies.’

The history of our Indian Empire is, as we have seen, passing strange; but that we have been suffered to build up for ourselves this Babel of dominion, without some high object and design, known indeed in its fulness only to the Great Disposer of all events, it is impossible to believe. We cannot imagine this, unless all History is a dream and a delusion, an insoluble enigma, and an inextricable labyrinth, and the great tragedy of humanity is devoid of all proper result. The constant intermixture of nations, so uniformly promoted and forwarded by Providence, is doubtless ordered and designed for the working out of the highest purposes. And possibly as the Gothic element was needed to fill the void made by centuries of dissipation, effeminacy, and profligacy, in the Roman world, to bring within the magic circle of rising European civilization what it

CHAP. II. could find neither in the Western or the Eastern Empire, family love, sacred respect for woman, purity, justice, and individual freedom, so, one of the objects for which the English name has been suffered to become supreme in India, and European influences engrafted on the dwarfed and stunted civilizations of the East, was, that the moral cowardice, the timidity, the want of manly decision, and high moral purpose, which seems to characterize so many of the races of India, might be corrected by the exhibition in high places of moral courage, devotion to truth, and unswerving integrity¹. It may be that this was amongst the reasons why the new Leaven was infused into the old and dying midst of Indian civilization, why the healing branch was flung into its brackish streams. And can this, or any other good effect be produced, when there is habitual coquetting with this system and that system, pandering to all, confidence in none? when Neutrality is a euphemism for Indifference, Toleration for Cowardice?

And what has the Christian Religion wrought, that a Legislator should be afraid of being known to counte-

¹ 'A learned native of Hindustan remarked to me: "We have our proverb as well as you about honesty and policy, which we say are twins that are born, live, and die together. But, unfortunately for us, whenever the temptation to err happens to be pretty strong, the unsubstantial nature of our motives becomes apparent, and straightway the whole of our moral structure falls to pieces, from the want of the cementing principle of good faith by which your conduct is regulated. The enormous superiority of physical force on our side sinks absolutely into nothing when opposed to this moral strength which you bring into the field, and may continue to exert as long as you please." '—Captain Basil Hall's *Remarks on the History of the British Empire in India*.

nance it? Have we less reason to look forward to good results from its propagation than the Mahometan had from the propagation of *his* faith, when he wielded the sceptre of power? He, at any rate, was not ashamed of his convictions. He did not believe a policy of Indifference to be his highest wisdom. He did not deem it honest to be a coward in the sight of men, and a traitor to his faith. Like ourselves he was a Conqueror: like ourselves he had to contend against a diverse religion, against superstition and caste. True it is that the leading principle of his rule was the right of conquest—that he conquered by the sword and ruled by the sword. But *he* did not deem it consistent with Justice and Policy to abstain from any act which could identify him with one faith rather than another. There was something genuine and truthful about his mode of proceeding. He came. His mission he believed to be to testify to the One God against the countless systems of Polytheism throughout the world. He acted up to it. Islam was to be paramount. He meant it should be—and the Hindú understood what he meant. They met one another face to face.

Though an agent of a 'proselytising' faith (in the true sense of the word), and guilty at times of savage persecution—yet he acted up to the light that was in him—he fulfilled what he deemed to be his mission. An Akbar even did not *ignore* his own Faith, though he may have refrained from using the weapons of an Aurungzebe for its diffusion.

CHAP. II.

And will any one, on a review of the Mahometan rule in India, affirm that its downfall was due to its having *respected* its own religion? or to the religious *animosity* of its Hindú subjects? Did it not there, as everywhere else, sink into effeteness and dissolution when no longer stirred by the incitement of a conquest? because, by the genius of its religion, it could conquer, but not consolidate—it could win a battle, but could not administer?

And is the history of the eighteen Christian centuries so utterly a blank that we can point to nothing in support of our belief that Christianity can justify its claims to regenerate mankind?

Its pages are blotted, sadly blotted, none doubts *that*. They are deeply stained with the records of man's faithlessness, and perverseness. He that runs may read *that*. But in spite of this, is there nothing we can appeal to and imitate in order to shew the inhabitants of India what Christianity really is? Is the retrospect so black, and dark, and desolate, that we cannot mention a single blessing which Christianity has bestowed upon our island since the day that our forefathers bowed their necks obedient to Druid priests, and the stifled screams of agonized victims burning in gigantic cages of wicker-work rang through the shades of our forests? When were its regenerating influences more severely tested than when the Roman Empire lay prostrate before Goth and Vandal, Frank and Hun? or than when the slumbers of the Middle Ages

broken and the human intellect threw off the chains of CHAP. II.
a Temporal Theocracy, and went forth conquering and
to conquer?

And is its arm shortened now? are its influences
impaired now? Has it not still the promises, which
cannot be broken, which have continued and shall con-
tinue sure, in spite of the dissolution of kingdoms, and
the wreck of Empires, and the changing and passing
away of the fashion of this World?

HE who gave the Promises still sways the destinies
of the Universe, still upholds all things by the Word
of His Power, on His thigh is a name written, 'King of
of kings, and Lord of lords.' He has said, indeed, 'My
kingdom is not of this world,' but He has also said,
*Whoso is ashamed of Me, of him will I be ashamed
before the angels of God.*

CHAPTER III.

A RETROSPECT.

'But He turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.'—ST LUKE IX. 55.

CHAP. III. **A retrospect.** WE have now ascertained, at least approximately, the limits which a Government must not exceed if it would legitimately promote the cause of Christianity in India. We have seen that the very first principles of our religion, the rules for its propagation deducible from the writings of the New Testament, and the actual defects in the character of by far the largest portion of our Indian subjects, interdict in the strongest possible manner any methods which savour either of coercion or force, undue influence or fraud. But we have also seen that a careless abnegation of our convictions, is as strongly forbidden by the same principles of our religion, and is moreover the most suicidal policy we could possibly adopt in dealing with a people so tinged with duplicity, and so prone to suspicion as the Hindús.

Course open
to the Go-
vernment.

The course, then, which appears to be open to the Government, is, first, openly and manfully to avow its religious convictions; and, secondly, to *encourage and aid* the cause of Christianity by all just, prudent, and honourable means. And, as we have now clearly come to matters of practical detail, we shall illustrate what we

mean by an undue measure of Governmental influence, CHAP. III.
 by a brief review of the recorded Missionary exertions
 of the Portuguese and the Dutch; for both these na-
 tions, during their season of power, endeavoured to pro-
 mote the moral, intellectual, and religious education of
 their Indian subjects on principles which they themselves
 deemed to be true. We shall see in both cases a Govern-
 ment connected to an illegitimate extent with matters of
 religious faith, and we shall thus by a natural transition
 pass on to the *practical* consideration of the lawful
 sphere of Government countenance and aid in its re-
 lation to the functions of the Christian Missionary and
 the Christian Teacher.

I. First, then, with respect to the Portuguese. As 1. The Portu-
guese.
 was the case with ourselves, with the Dutch, and also
 the Danes, some considerable time would seem to have
 elapsed before any efforts were made by the Portuguese
 to promote the spiritual interests of the heathen around
 them¹. Though Goa was captured by the great Albu-
 querque in 1510, we hear scarcely anything of Mission-
 ary exertions till the arrival of the far-famed disciple of
 the warrior-priest of Pampeluna, Francis Xavier. Francis
Xavier.

*Self-dedicated on the summit of Montmartre, with
 his master and five others to the service of the Church
 of Rome, encouraged by the joint co-operation of the

¹ 'The Portuguese Empire, though it never seems to have extended
 very far inland, spread over the whole West Coast of India, including
 Ceylon, and over the shores of the Persian Gulf; and, besides forts and
 factories on the East Coast of India, it comprised many of the Eastern
 Islands with Malacca.'—Ludlow's *India*, i. 88.

² Hough's *History of Christianity in India*. Vol. i. 167.

CHAP. III. Pope and John III. of Portugal, with Loyola's¹ parting warning tingling in his ears, Xavier disembarked at Goa on the 6th of May, 1542. Two briefs constituting him the Pope's Nuncio in the East, a third commending him to the 'King of Ethiopia,' a fourth to all the princes of the islands in his passage, amply provided Xavier against the fate of a Marshman and a Ward². Loyola had bade him remember that 'no narrow Palestine, or province of Asia, but an entire world was reserved for his endeavours.' And the disciple did not forget his master's words. His own zeal, and eloquence, and boldness, backed as they were by the countenance of the Viceroy, quickly told on his own countrymen, and led to the erection of a College, and a Seminary for orphans, and a general social reformation.

His exertions
amongst the
Paravara.

Before long the Paravars, a fisher-caste in the extreme South of India, attracted his notice, and almost monopolized his exertions. For whatever reason (and many have been assigned), the fishermen of India and Ceylon displayed a wonderful readiness to espouse Chris-

¹ *Ibid.* p. 169. 'Loyola, although seldom manifesting any emotion, however moving the occasion to ordinary minds, could not lose such a companion as Xavier without regret. He was gratified, however, at his appointment to a mission which he foresaw might raise the character and advance the interests of his order; and at parting he addressed him in these words:—"Go, my brother, rejoice that you have not here a narrow Palestine, or a province of Asia, in prospect, but a vast extent of ground, and innumerable kingdoms. An entire world is reserved for your endeavours; and nothing but so large a field is worthy of your courage and your zeal. The voice of God calls you; kindle those unknown nations with the flame that burns within you."'

² See Ludlow's *India*, II. c. 11.

tianity¹. The Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Confiteor, the Salve Regina, having been translated into Malabar, Xavier committed these formulæ to memory, went round every village with a bell, collected the people, repeated as he best could the words he had deposited in his memory, baptized them, enjoined them to teach others, and so took his departure for another village.

Fifteen months were thus spent; several small Churches were built; the best of the Converts were appointed to the office of Catechists, and *provided for out of the public treasury*. The friendly shadow of the paramount power of the Portuguese, and of the Archbishop of Goa, was not merely on Xavier's side, but something more. The influence brought to bear upon his efforts far exceeded that of simple assistance and encouragement. John III., in a letter to the Archbishop of Goa², had laid down the principle that Pagans might be brought over to the faith 'not only by the hopes of eternal salvation, but also by temporal interest and preferment:' and had therefore directed that, 'on professing Christianity, they were to be provided with places in the customs, to be exempted from impressment for the navy, and sustained by a distribution of rice out of the public treasury.'

Letter of
John III. of
Portugal.

¹ Hough, i. 177. *Land of the Vêda*, p. 383. Bonhours, *Vie de S. François Xavier*, Louvain, 1822, p. 176. Hardwick's *Reformation*, p. 440.

² See Sir Emerson Tennent's *Ceylon*, pp. 8, 9, and note. Baldaeus, c. XXII. p. 646. *Land of the Vêda*, p. 385.

CHAP. III.

When such was the measure of Governmental countenance and aid, when the reception of Christianity, so far from imposing restraints or involving sacrifices, conferred positive benefits in the shape of places in the customs, and a share in the dole of rice, it is not surprising that the policy of John III. was successful amongst a people naturally so obsequious and pliant as the Singhalese¹. But years rolled on. The disciple of Loyola, whose burning zeal, whose unwearied labours, whose ceaseless energy, whose heroic self-devotion none can fail to admire, died on the island of Sancian within sight of the goal of his wishes, within sight of that vast empire lately opened in so wonderful a manner to British enterprise—the empire of China.

The self-sacrificing, unwearied exertions of the ‘Apostle of the Indies,’ were succeeded by a very different agency. The year 1560 witnessed the establishment of the Inquisition at Goa, by order of John III. of Portugal, and the persecuted² Syrian Church was compelled

The Syrian Church.

¹ ‘Such is the facility of the mind to believe in systems apparently contradictory with equal allowance, that even now Hindús of caste and station sometimes propitiate the shrines of Romish Saints, and there present votive offerings. On alluding to this strange anomaly in conversation with a learned Hindú of high caste on one occasion, he replied sarcastically and sceptically by quoting the native proverb—“If a deal of husks be eaten, one grain may turn up.”’—*Land of the Vêda*, p. 386.

² The settlements of the confraternity, known as ‘Christians of St Thomas,’ extended for 120 Indian miles below Goa, on the coast of Malabar, and inland as far as the southernmost extremity of Hindustan: another settlement survived on the opposite coast, at St Thomas’s Mount, in the neighbourhood of Madras. This venerable Church, retaining its

to bow before her imperious Western sister. In 1606 arrived the nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine, the famous Robert de Nobili. He inaugurated a system of promoting Christianity,—a system perseveringly adhered to by his followers for 150 years—which for deception and guile has scarcely a parallel amongst any nation or any people. Not merely were converts from the heathen to be fed and supported, but, for the purpose of gaining over the Bráhmans, the kingdom of Truth was to be spread by means which would equally have supported a kingdom of Falsehood. Robert de Nobili entered Madura as a Bráhman, having made oath that he was of a superior caste in the Western world. He assumed the garb of the Sanyasis, wore a tiger-skin, carried a sacred staff, and conformed in everything to Bráhmanical usage. His associates imitated his example¹; ‘Our whole attention,’ says Father de Bourges, ‘is given to concealing from the people that we are what they call Feringhees.’

Arrival of
Robert de
Nobili.

Here, however, we need not linger long. Common sense, to say nothing of the principles of Christianity, condemns such a system of guile and fraud, which drew down upon it the condemnatory² briefs and proscriptions

coverers who had left the Tagus in 1502, on a commercial enterprise.’—But cajolery and violence soon effected their *reconciliation* with the Papacy.—Hardwick’s *Reformation*, p. 437.

¹ *Land of the Véda*, p. 402. Sir E. Tennent’s *Ceylon*, p. 17. Compare the conduct of Ricci, the Jesuit Missionary in China, Hardwick’s *Reformation*, p. 443.

² Benedict XIII. interfered; Clement XII. examined the question; Benedict XIV. went into the case fully, and shortly issued a brief, which terminated the fraud. On the general characteristics of the Portuguese Missions, see Grant’s *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 165—169, and Appendix G.

CHAP. III. of Pope after Pope, which aroused the disgust of the heathen themselves when the deception was discovered, and (according to the allegation lodged against them before the Holy See), 'made it doubtful whether the Jesuists, by affecting idolatry, and tolerating it amongst their proselytes, had not themselves become converts to Hindúism rather than made the Hindús converts to the Christian religion.'

Arrival of
the Dutch.

II. With the year 1578 began the rapid decline of Portuguese influence in the East¹. A debtor at Lisbon was the virtual founder of the Dutch East India Company. Looking out from their factories the Portuguese descried in the year 1600 a fleet from the 'United Provinces' with as much alarm as they themselves had been regarded by the Moslems. The rapacity and cruelty of the Portuguese rulers had made the coming of new masters most welcome to the natives. The influence of the 'Classis' of Amsterdam now succeeded that of the disciples of Loyola². The first Dutch clergyman reached Ceylon in 1642.

Their Educa-
tional Mea-
sures.

Having acquired their possessions, the new comers divided them into four extensive provinces—1. Colombo, 2. Point-de-Galle, 3. Trincomalee, 4. Jaffna: these were again subdivided into countries or districts, these latter into parishes, and the whole were placed under the superintending care of the Clergy. Education was selected

¹ See Taylor and Mackenzie's *British India*, p. 81. Ludlow, p. 90.

² Kough's *Christianity in India*, III. 75. Sir E. Tennent's *Ceylon*, pp. 39—42. Brown's *History of Missions*, I. 11.

as their pioneering agent by the Dutch, as fraud had too generally been by the Portuguese. CHAP. III.

In the year 1656 arrived Philip Baldæus, expressly appointed by the Government at home to superintend the religious institutions in Ceylon, and he at once entered on his duties with ardour and zeal. Every effort was made to promote the education of the natives. A 'Guardian'¹ was entrusted with the supervision of all the Schools and Churches within a given space, of which he made a circuit once a year. Every ten Schools were overlooked by a 'Catechist.' Every district was watched by a 'Superintendent,' who had the supervision of the Schools, and the care of the Thombos or Baptismal and Marriage Registers, for every girl before she could be married was required to repeat a certain number of prayers, and to understand the Catechism and the Creeds.

In every matter connected with Religion the Dutch executive and the Dutch Ministers were ready to exercise coercion². Not only were the Jesuits expelled from the island, and devil-dances and other heathenish ceremonies prohibited under severe penalties, but the King of Kandy could not obtain permission to erect a temple even within his own dominions. In consequence

¹ Tennent's *Ceylon*, p. 46. *Land of the Vêda*, p. 405. Hough, III. 77. Brown, I. 12.

² The fury of the Dutch against the Jesuit teachers sometimes led them into ridiculous excesses. On one occasion, Sir E. Tennent informs us, 'they took the statue of the Apostle Thomas, and after they had cut off the nose, knocked it full of great nails, and shot it out of a mortar.'

CHAP. III. of the defective state of the Schools, the parents were made responsible for the attendance of their children. Failure on this point was punished by heavy fines, employment as convicts in the public service, and even imprisonment¹. In 1659 appeared a Proclamation, ordering all the Hollanders to compel their slaves to learn Dutch, and to *keep their heads shaved* until they understood it². Heathen pilgrimages were in every possible way discountenanced and interdicted: Christians, if convicted of participating in any of the ceremonies of Paganism, were liable to be publicly whipped and imprisoned in irons for the space of a year: nay, in order to coerce the Singhalese of the South, proclamation was publicly made³ 'that no native could aspire to the rank of Modliar, or even be permitted to farm land or hold office under the Government, who had not first undergone the ceremony of Baptism, become a member of the Protestant Church, and subscribed to the doctrines contained in the Helvetic Confession of Faith.' One is not surprised, therefore, considering the means employed, to read that there were in 1685 in the peninsula of Jaffna alone 185,000 nominal native Christians, or that, in consequence of the enactments, the Baptized among the Singhalese numbered 340,000 persons; or that Bráhmans even accepted the rite, retaining nevertheless their own views, and adhering to their own ceremonial⁴. While

Coercive Proclamations.

¹ Brown's *History of Missions*, I. 14. Hough, III. 99.

² Hough, III. 76.

³ Tennent's *Ceylon*, p. 45. Brown, I. 11.

⁴ *Land of the Veda*, p. 405, 408.

reading such accounts one is forcibly reminded of the CHAP. III.
 African Chieftain's proposition to Livingstone to make
 his people Christians for him by thrashing them¹.

But the attention of the authorities at Amsterdam
 was ere long called to these proceedings. In the year
 1700 they addressed a remonstrance to the Consistory of
 Colombo, they reminded them that such expedients
 were not of Christ, nor calculated to advance His king-
 dom, that compulsion can never generate conviction, nor
 penalties inculcate belief. But no real change for the
 better was thereby effected. The Consistory of Galle
 was soon obliged to complain that the native Christians,
 who had become such in compliance with the wishes of
 the Government, were so merely in name, remaining
 'incorrigible Buddhists,' and requiring separate Churches
 to be erected specially for themselves. They called
 themselves Christians, but instead of being 'led into the
 way of truth,' and 'holding the faith in unity of spirit
 and in righteousness of life,' they adhered secretly to
 idolatry, and regulated every action of their lives by the
 precepts and practice of Buddhism. And so the Dutch
 Church gradually waned. It had not even the 'poetry
 of Popery,' (to use an expression of Sir E. Tennent's,)
 to attract the emotional sympathies of the Singhalese.

Remon-
 strance of
 the Classis
 at Amster-
 dam.

¹ 'Seeing me anxious that his people should believe the words of Christ, Sechele said to me, "Do you imagine that these people will ever believe by your merely talking to them? I can make them do nothing except by thrashing them; and, if you like, I shall call my head men, and with our litupa (whips of rhinoceros' hide) we will soon make them all believe together."—Livingstone, p. 17.

CHAP. III. And when, in 1806, the non-compulsory system of British legislation was introduced, scarcely a single Christian remained out of the 136,000 reckoned in the year 1802¹. And, at the present day, according to the same British Governor, 'notwithstanding the multitudinous baptisms, and the hundreds of thousands of Singhalese who were enrolled by the Dutch as converts, the religion and discipline of the Dutch Presbyterians is now almost extinct among the natives of Ceylon.'

Reflections.

Now in reference to the facts that have thus come before us, we observe, in the first place, that there was *no abnegation of their religious convictions*² on the part either of the Portuguese or Dutch Governments. They did not deem it inconsistent with justice and policy to avow openly their preference of one form of religion to another, nor under pretence of neutrality did they patronize idolatry and deny Missionaries a landing at their ports. They did not apprehend any awful political convulsions from encouraging missionary operations, they were not in a constant state of terror lest the arrival of a Xavier or a Baldæus should excite the animosity of their native subjects. But no man in his senses can

¹ Tennent's *Ceylon*, pp. 55, 68. Brown, I. p. 15.

² In striking contrast with the conduct of Frederick IV. of Denmark, who sent out Ziegenbalg and Plutschó to Tranquebar, and established a Missionary College at Copenhagen for the benefit of his Hindú subjects, the English rulers in India for a long time officially countenanced idolatrous worship, discouraged Christianity in various ways, expelled men like Marshman and Ward in 1799 from British territory, prohibited Chater and Robinson, in 1806, from 'taking any step, by conversation or otherwise, for persuading the natives to embrace Christianity.' See Tennent's *Ceylon*, pp. 55, 68. Brown, I. p. 15.

approve of the way in which they respectively sought CHAP. III. to promote the moral and religious welfare of the natives on the principles they believed to be true. The one offered bribes, the other coerced. To direct, as John III. did in his letter to the Archbishop of Goa, that on professing Christianity the native converts should be provided with places in the customs, exempted from impressment for the navy, sustained by a distribution of rice out of the public treasury, what was this but to offer a premium to hypocrisy, and in the worst sense of the word to make a 'gain' of godliness? On the other hand, to make submission to the ordinance of Baptism, and subscription to the Helvetic Confession of Faith a condition of employment under Government, to fine, imprison, employ as convicts in the public works, all who failed to send their children to the Protestant school, what policy more suicidal in dealing with a pliant and versatile people like the Singhalese, could possibly have been devised?

Now it is well to remember, especially in these days, that other Governments besides our own have to a certain extent tried to solve the problem of the Christianization of India. If we have erred, as is only too true, in giving way for a long time to a culpable timidity, and sinking all higher obligations in the desire to secure an easy time and an economical bargain, they too erred, and erred sadly, in seeking to attain their object by means utterly unrighteous and unworthy of Christian rulers.

But is there no way of imitating their *sincerity*, while

CHAP. III.

eschewing the *means* they resorted to? Is it impossible to be faithful to our highest obligations, while at the same time we exhibit perfect toleration towards all systems of religious belief besides our own?

Importance
of grap-
pling with
the diffi-
culty.

If the problem is a difficult one, it is for that very reason worthy of being grappled with. If we do not seriously try our best to solve it, we shall only hand it down to our posterity encumbered with ten times greater difficulties and complications. And when was there a fitter time for the attempt? When were the true principles of toleration more generally understood? Perhaps it was reserved for the civilization of the 19th century to shew that a Christian Government can occupy the position of Normans amid Saxons without disgracing its principles by undue influence and coercion, of enlightened statesmen amidst a downtrodden race without being guilty of moral faithlessness and culpable timidity.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHURCH AND THE MISSIONARIES.

'Heaven does with us as we with torches do,
Not light them for themselves, for if our virtues
Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
As if we had them not. Spirits are not finely touched
But to fine issues.'

SHAKESPEARE.

Sechele inquired 'If my fathers knew of a future judgment?' I said, 'yes;' and began to describe the scene of the great white throne and HIM who should sit on it, from whose face the heavens shall flee away, and be no more seen; interrupting he said, 'You startle me, these words make all my bones to shake, I have no more strength in me. You have been talking about a future judgment, and many terrible things, of which we know nothing,' repeating 'did your forefathers know of these things?' I again replied in the affirmative. The chief said, 'All my forefathers have passed away into darkness, without knowing anything of what was to befall them, how is it that your forefathers, knowing all these things, did not send word to my forefathers sooner?'—LIVINGSTONE.

WE have already seen that in the earliest charters of the East India Company the spiritual welfare of its servants and of the native population was not disregarded or treated with indifference. That in the charter of 1698 it was enacted that one minister should be constantly maintained in every superior factory, who was to learn the Portuguese and the native language, and to instruct the servants and agents of the Company in the Protestant religion.

CHAP. IV.

Early appreciation of Christian Duties.

CHAP. IV.

Accordingly, some of the early ships of the Company took out chaplains, and it was customary for the adventurers before they encountered the perils of the deep, to listen to a farewell sermon on board, in the presence sometimes of the Governor and Committee of the Company. In these sermons they were from time to time reminded of their true vocation, and (as in that preached on board the 'Royal James' by Dr Wood¹), 'bidden to go on in their noble designs, and rest still upon God's blessing, who, if they conscionably sought to advance His kingdom among the heathen, would no doubt afford them many comfortable assurances of His love and favour, both to their bodies and soules here in this life, and crowne them with eternall glorie with Himself in the life to come.'

Thus, even in these early days, there was the recognition at least of higher duties than the providing for individual security and the aggrandizement of the Company.

Church Extension Clause
of 1813.

We have also already seen how, in spite of much opposition, in 1793 and 1813, the duty of providing for the spiritual welfare of our countrymen abroad was admitted and recognized². In the latter year, Lord Castlereagh, as mover of the Indian Resolutions, apologized to the House of Commons for seeming to come out with a 'great Ecclesiastical Establishment,' when he proposed the appointment of one Bishop and three

¹ See Kaye's *Administration of the East India Company*, p. 626, and note.

² *Ibid.* p. 642.

Archdeacons to superintend the Chaplains of the different settlements. CHAP. IV.

His 'modest' proposition was not rejected, the See of Calcutta was created in 1814, and Bishop Middleton, who was constrained to land without any ceremony or éclat for fear of arousing the apprehended animosity of the natives, found on his arrival eight effective resident Chaplains in the Presidency of Bengal, five or six in Madras, only one in Bombay, and India in possession of fifteen parochial Clergy.

The Bishop of Calcutta is, however, no longer single-handed. The See of Madras was erected by letters patent in 1835, that of Bombay in 1837, and in 1845 the island of Ceylon was separated from the Diocese of Madras by the erection of the See of Colombo. And with this increase of Ecclesiastical supervision there has been also an increase of ordinary Ecclesiastical agency, there are now seventy-nine Chaplains in the province of Bengal, forty-eight in that of Madras, and thirty in that of Bombay.

There is, moreover, a growing conviction that the present huge, unwieldy Diocese of Calcutta should be subdivided, that at least the north-west provinces, Oude and the Punjab, should be separated from it, and two new Sees erected at Agra and Lahore.

Something certainly ought to be done to obviate the fatal effects of over-exertion, over-travelling, and over-fatigue in such a climate as India, incident to the huge extent of the Diocese, and the fearful demand upon the mental and physical energies of its Bishop.

CHAP. IV.

‘It has been repeatedly stated that out of the whole number of Chaplains on the Establishment, there are at all times so many disabled by illness, that there ought to be an extra number to supply the deficiencies so caused; and in like manner it may fairly be contended that the number of Bishops in India ought to be so arranged, that not only no one of them should be overworked, but that in case of any one being disabled by illness, as must be expected to occur from time to time, some other Bishop may be able, as in England, to come to his relief, without altogether abandoning the care of his own Diocese.’

¹ These tables exhibit the areas of the different Indian Dioceses, the number of European troops, and the increase of Chaplains between 1814 and 1856.

Diocese.	Area.	Population.	Number of European Troops.	Government Chaplains.
	Square Miles.			
Calcutta	1,089,918	136,467,158	26,057	79
Madras	184,080	27,822,185	6,427	48
Bombay	193,185	16,563,674	9,486	30
Grand Total	1,467,183	180,853,017	41,970	157

CHAPLAINS.

	1814	1833	1851	1856
Bengal.....	8	37	63	79
Madras	6	23	29	48
Bombay	1	15	23	30

The above tables are on the authority of the *Memorial of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*: they differ slightly from the numbers in the *Appendix to Colonel Sykes's Speech in the House of Commons*, Feb. 18, 1858.

As to the dangers that were once apprehended, from such an open avowal of our religious convictions, more than forty years have elapsed since the first awful Episcopal Sermon was preached in 1814, and British dominion still survives. ^{CHAP. IV.} ^{Groundless alarms concerning the effect of this open avowal of our Creed.} 'There was no commotion on that occasion,' Mr Kaye tells us, 'no excitement. Offended Hindúism did not start up in arms; nor indignant Mahometanism raise a war-cry of death to the infidel. English gentlemen asked each other on the course, or at the dinner-table, if they had seen the Bishop; and officious native sircars pressed their services on the "Lord Padre Sahib." But the heart of Hindú society beat calmly as was its wont. Bráhmanism stood not aghast at the sight of the lawn sleeves of the Bishop. He preached in the Christian temple on the Christians' Bara-din; and that night the Europeans in Calcutta slept securely in their beds—securely next morning they went forth to their accustomed work; there was not a massacre, there was not a rebellion.'

An Empire which was then declared not to be worth a year's purchase has existed for more than forty, and instead² of exciting religious animosity, this out-

¹ Kaye, p. 646.

² 'It is not religion' (writes a Native of Northern India), 'but the want of religion, which has brought so much evil to this country. The people know that the Government is a Christian one; let it act openly as a true Christian: the people will never feel themselves disappointed; they will only admire it. Who can detest "religion"? It is the order of their own "Shásters," that every man is to revere his own religion. You may have a thousand Missionaries to preach, and another thousand as masters of the schools at the expense of the Government, or distribute a thousand Bibles at the hands of the Governor-General. The people will not murmur out a single syllable, though they may laugh and jeer.'

CHAP. IV. ward respect paid to our religion ^{was} for us the esteem of all amongst the natives, whose opinion was worth anything, and they have thought the better of us and of our faith ever since.

Here, then, is the first step in that line of policy which we have indicated as alone worthy of a Christian Government—an open acknowledgment of our religious convictions. In the present year another and a more important step has been taken in the same direction. In simple and dignified language the Queen of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and 'of the Colonies and dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia,' has addressed the Princes, Chiefs, and Peoples of India as by the Grace of God Queen, Defender of the Faith, and, while disclaiming alike the right and the desire to impose her own convictions on any of her subjects, has openly acknowledged her reliance on the truth of Christianity¹.

The Queen's
Proclama-
tion.

This Proclamation, worthy of a Queen of England, tempering justice with sweet mercy, and openly avowing the principles of British rule, has been received with unbounded enthusiasm. The 'Victorian Era' has been inaugurated under the happiest auspices.

On the duty of watching over the spiritual inter-

but take care that you do not interfere with their caste, you do not force them to eat the food cooked by another in the jails, or thrust grease down their throats with the cartridges made by Europeans. I do not think such acts have any thing to do with the Christian religion.'—*Thoughts on the Rebellion by a Native of Northern India.* Dalton, Cockspur Street.

¹ The *Times*, December 6, 1858.

ests of our own countrymen when separated from us by so many miles of ocean, it is not necessary to dilate at any length. The presence of those in the bosom of Anglo-Indian Society, who have been sent forth from the Church at home to feed the flock of Christ, to hold up the weak, to heal the sick, to bind up the broken, to bring again the out-casts, to seek the lost, is a matter of imperative necessity.

CHAP. IV.

The Mother
Church and
the Church
Colonial.

Where are there more hostile influences, both physical and moral, to the realization of the life divine? Where are there greater temptations to acquiesce in the existing state of things, and to give way to lethargy and torpor? Where is man more frequently reminded of the shortness and uncertainty of life? Where are the cravings for Christian sympathy and advice more keen amidst the long suspenses, the agonizing separations, the doubts and fears which hang on every mail from England? Where do more momentous consequences depend on the moral tone of European Society?

We cannot surely look back upon the results which have too often flowed from the first contact of Western with Eastern nations without a sense of shame and indignation. If there is a page in the history of European nations which one would more gladly see blotted out than another, it is that which records the first meeting of the white man with his degraded heathen brother. Over and over again it has been the same sad tale. Over and over again the trustfulness, the generosity, the confiding simplicity, and many of the nobler moral qualities have been on the side of these heathen nations.

CHAP. IV.

The White
Man and the
Heathen.

and the bigotry, the fraud, the cruelty on that of him who, unless his Christian profession is a lie, stands pledged to do God's battle against sin and wickedness and vice. It is a fearful thing to reflect how the civilization and happiness of heathen nations have been retarded and prevented by the very men who ought, nay, who were bound to promote it. Terrible is that fact which Dr Livingstone attests in reference to the natives of Southern Africa, that over and above the evils which everywhere beset heathendom, he can trace¹ 'as by a line, which can be drawn with its own black mark upon a map, how far into the interior the accursed influence of the slave-trade had penetrated; that within that mark he can shew how every native and natural evil product of heathendom has been augmented a thousand times by the direct influence of civilization, and of nations calling themselves Christians.' And while it would be ungenerous not to thank God for the great improvement that

¹ See Bp. of Oxford's *Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, May 14, 1858. Livingstone's *Camb. Lectures*, p. 38. 'If a man, who knew nothing of the miserable history of Africa, were told of a map which represented the moral condition of its inhabitants by shades of colour, he would naturally look for the brightest colours on the coast line, where the negro must have learnt wisdom by his commerce with the civilized men of Europe. But alas, how different has been the teaching! Where the Christian has most trodden, his footsteps have been too often traced in colours of blood: and where he has planted colonies on the coast of Africa, we do not see a zone of bright colours fringing the frontier lines, but we do see, in their stead, great waves as black as ebony spreading themselves far inwards, till they are lost in the better tints of the central continent. Such is the moral man-

has of late characterized lay society in India, it would be sinful to forget the magnitude of the debt we owe to the natives of that country. It will be enough to say that Christianity, so far from being fairly placed before them, the proverb has been current amongst them, 'Christian man—Devil man¹.' From every quarter the same verdict has been brought in: 'The greatest enemies of Christianity are the Christians themselves; one of the greatest hindrances to the propagation of the Gospel in India has been the lives of Englishmen.' But there is no good in indulging in useless repinings. 'Let the dead past bury its dead.' Henceforth let us remember, that if the moral and religious status of the Hindú is ever to be raised it must in a great measure be by the exhibition of Christian virtue on the part of

¹ See the Speech of Bishop Cotton at Salisbury, *Colonial Church Chronicle*, Oct. 1858. 'One of the Bishops of Madras,' he said,—'I do not know which of the three who have occupied that See—was travelling on board a steamer for several days, and there was also on board a very learned and famous Bráhmaṇ. The Bishop had daily prayers in the cabin of the steamer, accompanied by an exposition of the Scriptures. He invited all who liked to attend these services, and the Bráhmaṇ was always present. At the end of the voyage he went up to the Bishop to bid him good bye, and said that he had been greatly edified by what he had heard, adding, that he would himself become a Christian, but for one reason—he could not believe what the Bishop had said to be true, because all the Europeans that he knew in India led lives so utterly unlike what the Bishop had described.'

See also Ludlow's *British India*, II. 356—362. 'I have sometimes heard natives say,' (says a Church Missionary from Krishnagur) 'they did not wish to go to that heaven in which such and such a planter would be.'—Ludlow, p. 361. Captain Harvey's *Ten Years in India*, I. pp. 104, 5.

CHAP. IV. European society¹. Upon the personal character and conduct of those who leave our shores to commence their career as soldiers or civilians, has depended, and for many generations will depend, the reputation of Christian civilization. To the Hindús we must be either a savour of life unto life, or a savour of death unto death. On this point we shall have more to say in a succeeding chapter; we will here only remark again, that the importance of bringing to bear upon Anglo-Indian society the influence of Christian ordinances cannot be exaggerated. A Christian Government would not be worthy of the name if it did not with a paternal care foster every means calculated to awaken in the breasts of every Englishman in India a sense of the fact, that upon himself depends in no small degree the regeneration of the Hindú.

The Missionary Clause of 1813.

II. This brings us to another Christianizing agency. 'The Church-Extension Clause' of 1813 passed the House of Commons without a division. The Missionary Clause was the one most hotly contested. The Resolution relating to it was drawn up with the utmost caution. Neither Missionaries nor Christianity were expressly mentioned in it. It simply proposed that in furtherance of the religious and moral improvement of

¹ See Dr Vaughan's *Sermon on the Consecration of Bishop Cotton*. The Bishop of London's *Speech at the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, Anniversary, May, 1858. Lord Stanley's *Address at Addiscombe*. Οὐκ ἔδει διδασκάλων, εἰ ἔργα ἐπεδεικνύμεθα· οὐδεὶς ἂν ἦν Ἕλληγ, εἰ ἡμεῖς ὤμεν Χριστιανοί, ὡς δεῖ. Εἰ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐφυλάττομεν, εἰ κακῶς πάσχοντες, εὐεργετοῦμεν, οὐδεὶς οὕτω θηρίον ἦν, ὡς μὴ ἐπιδραμεῖν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, εἰ παρὰ πάντων ταῦτα ἐγίνετο.—Chrysost. in 1 Tim. Hom. x. 3.

the country, 'sufficient facilities should be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing their benevolent designs.'

It was in support of this Resolution that Wilberforce¹, as Mr Kaye tells us, went down to the House with an Encyclopædia of authorities, quoting the opinions of all the Governors-General, one after another, to shew the need of moral restoration to the people of India. It was in support of this Resolution that Southey ransacked his marvellous Common-place Book to find authorities favourable to its principle; and after a Debate, which a hundred Members could not be induced to sit out, the House divided, Ayes 54, Noes 36. Since the passing of this Resolution the Missionary Agency has been receiving greater and still greater accessions of strength². Instead of the 10 Missionary Societies at work in the country in the year 1810, in the year 1850 there were 22; instead of 106 Missionary Stations, there were 260; instead of 147 Missionaries in the field, there

Increase of
Missionary
Agency.

¹ Kaye's *Administration of the East India Company*, pp. 643, 4.

² Mullens' *Statistics of Protestant Missions in India*, pp. 17, 20. Ed. 3.

Districts.	Missionaries.	Native Preachers.	Churches.	Members.	Christians.
Bengal, Orissa, and } Assam.....	103	130	87	3,500	14,778
N. W. Provinces ...	66	49	22	678	2,032
Madras Presidency .	179	405	128	10,662	76,591
Bombay	35	16	13	289	744
Ceylon.....	60	98	81	3,281	18,046
Total.....	443	698	331	18,410	112,191

CHAP. IV. were 403, and later returns have shewn a still larger increase.

Hitherto so far from affording any reason for the dismay which the mere thought of Missionary efforts once excited, it is testified by Mr Kaye, that 'the Missionaries have seldom or ever done anything to embarrass the Government, under which, without molestation from the State, and with much encouragement generally from the servants of the State, they have conducted their peaceful operations,' and a native¹ (not a Christian) in a speech delivered before the 'British-India Association' used the following language: 'Though the native community differ with the Missionaries in the opinion that Hindústan will one day be included in Christendom,—for the worship of Almighty God in His Unity as laid down in the Holy Védas, is, and has been our religion for thousands of years, and is enough to satisfy all our spiritual wants,—yet we cannot forbear doing justice to the venerable ministers of a religion who, I do here most solemnly assent, in piety and righteousness, alone are fit to be classed with those Rishees and Mohatmas of antiquity, who derived their support and those of their charitable boarding-school from voluntary subscriptions, and consecrated their lives to the cause of God and knowledge.'

Results of
Missionary
work.

With respect to the results of Missionary exertion in their bearing upon the great mass of the native population, it is, of course, impossible, as it is rash, to speak

¹ Baboo Duckinarunjun Mookeijee, Calcutta *Hurkaru*, of August 8, 1857. Ludlow's *India*, II. 248.

with *positive* certainty. We must be content, for a long while to come, to lay foundations and prepare the way for others who will enter into our labours. 'Our own elevation,' remarks Livingstone, 'has been the work of centuries; and, remembering this, we should not indulge in overwrought expectations as to the elevation which those who have inherited the degradation of ages may attain in our day.' Still the facts to which Mr Mullens appeals, (and no one, as is well known, is more anxious to speak with accuracy and to avoid exaggeration,) are, to say the least, of the most encouraging character. Whether we regard the large amount of Christian knowledge which has been disseminated throughout the country, or the substantial progress made in certain districts; as in Krishnagur, Tinnevely, and Travancore, or the successful institution of Vernacular, and especially Boarding-Schools, or the literary labours of the different Missionary associations in producing Dictionaries and Grammars of the tongues of India', and above all the

¹ 'Missionaries have compiled more dictionaries and grammars of the tongues of India than any other class of men. We have Bengali grammars by Drs Carey and Yates, Bengali dictionaries, large and small, by Dr Carey and Mr Pearson, with volumes of Dialogues. We have a Hindûi dictionary by Mr Thomson of Delhi; a Hindûi grammar and dictionary by Mr Aden of Benares; a Bengali dictionary by Mr Morton; an Uriga dictionary and grammar by Dr Sutton; a Hindûstani dictionary by Mr Brice; a Hindûstani grammar by Dr Yates; Sanskrit grammars and dictionaries by Yates and Carey. We have Tamul grammars by Ziegenbalg and Rhenius; Tamul dictionaries by Dr Rottler, and by Knight, Spaulding, Hutchins, and Winslow; the Canarese dictionary by Mr Reeve; a Malayalim grammar by Mr Peet; the Malayalim dictionary and grammar by Mr Bailey of Cottayam;

CHAP. IV. translation of the Bible¹, or the elevation of Anglo-Indian Society,—in each and all of these departments Missionary exertion has not only done much, but shewn how much more may be done. That was a striking fact, observed at the Bengal Missionary Conference² in 1855, that no class of Missionaries keep up their spirits better, or entertain more sanguine hopes of ultimate success, *than the old men who have been longest in the field*. In few things, perhaps, are we more generally like children sowing their seeds one day and raking up the soil the next to see whether they are growing, than in our anticipations of Missionary success. We are all so prone to forget that if any effectual results are to be attained it must be done slowly and gradually,—that, in fact, the work is ours, the results are God's. Still as regards the future, those who have had the longest practical experience in Missionary work, and who are best able to form an opinion, see grounds for trustful hope in the rise of a far more enlightened generation of Hindús, in the far greater favour with which Christian

Gujurati grammar by Mr Clarkson of Baroda; and a Singhalese grammar by Mr Chater of Colombo.'—Mullens' *Statistics*, 3rd Edition, p. 40.

¹ There are versions into Hindústani or Urdu and Hindúi, into Bengali and Uriya; into Tamul and Singhalese; into Canarese and Malayalim; into Mahrati and Gujurati. We have ten versions of the entire Bible—not first attempts by scholars at a distance, but the work of ripe years, by Missionaries who were constantly in intercourse with the people for whom the versions were intended. The complete New Testament has been similarly revised and published in five other languages, in Assamese, Telugu, Tulava, Sanskrit, and Pali.'—*Ibid.* p. 41.

² See the remarks of the Rev. A. F. Lacroix, of Calcutta. *Missionary Conference*, 1855.

preaching is regarded, and the growing desire for Christian literature. CHAP. IV.

It does not seem that the measure of countenance and aid afforded of late years by the Government to Missionary enterprise could be materially improved. It has afforded the Missionaries every facility in their work, thrown no impediments in their way, and regarded their exertions with interest and sympathy¹. Such full and direct connection with them, as we have seen maintained in the case of the Portuguese and Dutch Governments, is generally and rightly regarded as impolitic, and calculated to do little good. Let the Missionaries have Grants-in-aid for their Schools wherever they are reported as necessary, let them be protected by the moral support of the Government, and encouraged to work heartily and zealously, for the whole land is before them, and a wider field² was never opened for their exertions.

Policy of
Government
Encourage-
ment and
Sympathy.

And not only past results, but the very nature of their calling, claim for the Missionaries, from the Government, all due encouragement and sympathy. The very presence of men who have located themselves in the country, with no other end in view than the highest

¹ 'You cannot send to India too many labourers,' said Lord William Bentinck, in a letter to the Missionary Societies of Calcutta. Ludlow, II. 75.

² 'All Rajputana, with seventeen millions of people, has no missionary; Oude, with three millions, has none; Nagpore, with four millions and a half, has two; the Nizam's territory, with ten millions, has none; Gwalior, with three millions, has none; Nepaul, with two millions, has none. There are, moreover, in the North Western Provinces 150 towns, each with a population of upwards of 5,000, but below

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Anglo-Indian
Society trans-
itory and
ephemeral.

good of its inhabitants, is a protest against the ordinary commercial and selfish tendencies of Anglo-Indian official life. The majority of Englishmen in India are there for the purpose of making a livelihood. Their relations with the country are transitory and ephemeral. They go out, make their fortunes, and return. No one dreams of founding a family in Hindústan. ¹That first, and most elementary of God's institutions—the family—is there almost wanting. Where are the old, where are the young? It is a society from which the two extremes of life are cut off. All there is middle age; a noonday without a morning, without an evening; all working life, as distinguished alike from its growth, and from its resting. No man takes root there.' There have indeed been many, like Sir Henry Laurence, who have come to regard the land with other feelings than as a 'strange country,' and have identified themselves with its prosperity; but the tendency of official life is generally far otherwise. Now the little company of 400 missionaries does not submit to the 'exile' merely for the sake of the present salary and the prospective pension; professedly at any rate they go out animated with higher feelings, and a sense of greater responsibilities, and by 10,000, and there is scarcely a Missionary or Catechist in any of them.' Wylie's *Bengal, a Field of Missions*.

	Population.	Missionaries.
Lucknow.....	200,000	none.
Ahmedabad	130,000	none.
Surat	130,000	none.
Bareilly	90,000	none.
Midnapore	70,000	none.

¹ Dr Vaughan's *Sermon at the Consecration of Bishop Cotton*, p. 15.

the very nature of their calling, everything connected with the social and moral progress of the natives claims their most earnest attention. Standing midway between the rulers and the ruled, their very mission is to create and maintain an elevated national sentiment, and to direct public attention to such abuses as need censure and correction. And so long as erudition ministers to piety, and zeal is mingled with compassion, they cannot fail to win the regard, and to obtain a knowledge of the true sentiments of the native population. Let them go on in their good work, let them become more distinctly and more generally missionaries of Christian civilization; let them while sowing their spiritual things, and speaking of the promise of the life that is to come, exhibit their teaching in its practical working, and prove that Christianity has also the promise of the life that now is: let the employés of the Government, whether civil or military, help them by their sympathy and encouragement; let them strive to identify themselves with the country, as an integral limb of our Empire, remembering that India is to be governed, not for the sake of the 800 or 1000 individuals who are sent from England to make their fortunes, but for her own sake, and for the furtherance of those great designs which doubtless hinge upon the right discharge of our duties as the guardians of 180 millions of human beings.

¹ 'As a parting word, I would say with regard to India—for that is the great field to which we must turn—that the *wisdom* of its missions has as much to do with the preservation of India to this country as the bravery of its army.'—Sir James Brooke.

CHAPTER V.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

‘To draw out what is in the child, the immortal spirit which is there, this is the end of education; and so much the word declares. The putting in is indeed most needful, that is, the child must be instructed as well as educated, and the word “instruction” just means furnishing; but not instructed instead of educated. He must first have powers awakened in him, measures of spiritual value given him; and then he will know how to deal with the facts of this outward world; then instruction in these will profit him; but not without the higher training, still less as a substitute for it.’—TRENCH.

CHAP. V. ON the advantages of education it is superfluous to offer
Education. any remarks. Never perhaps were they more universally acknowledged than at the present day. And none who have ever sought to promote the social and moral elevation of the populations of India have overlooked the claims of Education to be regarded as the chief pioneering agent in producing this beneficial result. For while preaching was the original and the ordained means of diffusing the Gospel, it was not so ordained without reference to the existing order of things. For centuries there had been a long preparation for the diffusing of Christianity. The Jew on the theological side, the Greek on the intellectual, the Roman on the political, had each and all prepared the way for the new Dispensation.

A language was spoken, from one end of the Roman Empire to the other, fitted to express every turn of human thought, ready to be adopted by the Spirit as the principal organ of the evangelic Word.

Consequently, when the 'Fulness of time' was come, the Apostles were relieved from the necessity of educating as well as preaching. The modern Missionary, on the other hand, under very different circumstances, goes forth from the most enlightened to the most benighted nations of the earth. And the duty which this superiority implies, while at first sight distinct from is really identical with the main object of his mission, the duty of education. Few will deny that the same ought also to be an object of most earnest solicitude to a Christian Government. The most enlightened even amongst heathen nations considered the education of its subjects a duty which the State could not overlook without the utmost danger; for the condition of ignorance is of all others (save in the case of an absolute despotism) the most unfavourable to the mutual understanding which ought to subsist between the governing and the governed.

Where, indeed, the intellectual progress of a nation has reached such a stage that there is a generally diffused sense of the importance of mental attainments, where there is a spontaneous desire that the advantages of education should be imparted to all, and this desire has embodied itself in the erection of schools, and seminaries and kindred institutions, much of the burden and responsibility is taken off the shoulders of the State, and the Rulers representing it.

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But where voluntary efforts cannot be depended on, where there is an indifference on the part of the people to educational advantages, where, as in India, according to the Statement of the Inspector of public instruction at Behar, 'the prevalent ignorance of the masses is so gross and so firmly established by long custom, that even the more enlightened among the higher classes can scarcely be persuaded that it is right or necessary to remove it, even were it at once feasible, while the lower classes themselves are quite content to acquiesce in the theory that education is of no use to them',¹ where female education has, with one disgraceful exception, been utterly unknown, and the very idea of such a thing scouted and ridiculed, it is obvious that national education becomes in a still greater degree an object of solicitude and anxiety to a Government which has the highest welfare of its subjects at heart. And that it has been so re-

¹ In his third Report, dated April, 1838, 'The Government Inspector, Mr W. Adam, states, that in the city and district of Murshedabad, and certain portions of Birbhum, Burdwan, South Behar, and Tirhut, out of an adult population (i. e. of males and females above 14 years of age) of 354,099, only 21,916 had received any kind or degree of instruction, thus leaving 332,183 wholly uneducated: in other words, the proportion of the total adult population to the numbers educated, was as 100 to 5.51, which leaves 94.49 without any kind of education; while of the school-going proportion (i. e. of children of both sexes between 5 and 14 years of age) amounting to 81,029, only 6,786 were receiving any kind or degree of education, thus leaving 74,843 wholly uneducated; in other words, the proportion of children capable of receiving education to the numbers actually receiving it, was as 100 to 7.0, which leaves 93.0 growing up without any kind of instruction. In the latter class were included nearly the whole of the juvenile female population.'—Brown's *History of Missions*, III. 344, note.

garded is testified by the official enactments of the East India Company. Mr Kaye¹, indeed, allows that up to the year 1823, beyond a sort of dim recognition of this duty in some of the early Charters, and an ineffective clause in that of 1813², little was really accomplished; and that even then, and till the year 1835, the several institutions supported and endowed by Government had for their object only the preservation of Oriental learning from decay, 'the medium of instruction being Oriental, the mode of instruction Oriental, the whole scope of instruction Oriental, designed to conciliate old prejudices, and to propagate old ideas.'

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Government
Educational
Measures,
1813—1823.

But a great and salutary change has since taken place. The old system was swept away in 1835 by the famous Minute of Lord William Bentinck, who, with Macaulay and Trevelyan for his advisers, declared that 'the great object of the Government ought to be

¹ Kaye's *Administration of the East India Company*, p. 594.—*Report*.

² The first step taken by our Government in native education was the foundation of the Mahometan College at Calcutta by Warren Hastings in 1781, and of the Sanscrit College at Benares by Lord Cornwallis in 1792. The object was to make a favourable impression upon the natives by encouraging their literature, and to train Maulavees and Pandits to assist the European judges; but, as the literature and law of the Mahometans and Hindús cannot be separated from their religion and morality, the entire corpus of these systems was taught in the new colleges.'—*Letters of Indophilus*, p. 70.

In 1813, the British Legislature, in renewing the Company's Charter, provided that £10,000 a-year should be set apart 'for the revival and promotion 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.'—Act 33d, George III. Ch. 155, Cl. 43. Brown, III. 340.

CHAP. V. the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English Education alone¹.

Lord Hard-
inge's Mi-
nutes, 1844.

This was a great step in advance: and though the advocates of the new system possibly went too far into an opposite extreme, and provided instruction too exclusively for the higher classes, still it was the dawn of new and greater improvements. In the year 1844, Lord Hardinge, the Governor General, with a view to afford every encouragement to native education, directed that returns should be obtained annually from all educational establishments, whether supported by Government or by societies and private bodies, of all Students qualified by age, abilities, and other circumstances to fill public offices; that, in the selection of persons to fill even the lowest offices under the Government, respect should be

¹ In a Minute, dated February 2, 1835, Macaulay reviews at length the whole question of Government patronage of Education, and concludes, 'I believe that the present system tends, not to accelerate the progress of truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I conceive that at present we have no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a board for wasting public money, for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank; for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology; for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an encumbrance and a blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them, that, when they have received it, they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives. Entertaining these opinions, I am naturally desirous to decline all share in the responsibility of a body which, unless it alters its whole mode of proceeding, I must consider not merely as useless, but as positively noxious.'—*Kaye*, p. 507.

had to relative acquirements, and a preference given to any who could read and write over those who could not. In this enlightened, just, and liberal order all establishments public or private, missionary or anti-missionary, were placed on an equal footing¹.

Later, in 1854, a fresh and vigorous impulse was given to educational measures, 'A Department of Education, under a Director, was appointed in each Presidency, and Sub-presidency; Universities were directed to be established at the Presidency towns; a great extension of Vernacular Education was contemplated, and orders were given for introducing the system of Grants-in-aid to private institutions², dependent on the quality of the secular instruction imparted, as ascertained by Government Inspection.' All this had been done³, and greater improvements were in contemplation when the Mutiny broke out.

Lord Dalhousie's Minutes, 1854.

¹ Ludlow's *British India*, II. 139.

² See Appendix I.

³ 'The Government Scheme of 1854 was undoubtedly a grand and noble one. Taking the deep and broad foundation of the indigenous village-school, and adopting the masters with all their defects, the plan aimed at raising these by public inspection, by new and good school-books, and other apparatus, by some slight pecuniary encouragement, and by giving their ablest pupils the prize of admission to district schools of a higher order. These again were to be related to superior institutions, and these to Colleges affiliated to Universities. So that the education of a few in the highest branches of Science, instead of being the substitute for national education, as long had been the case, should be only its complement, not raising up a select order of recondite scholars to puzzle and overawe an ignorant mass, as on the native system, but offering to a generally instructed people, competent leaders in higher branches of knowledge, which only a few in any country can master.'—*Christian Vernacular Education Society's Paper*, p. 26.

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Results.

As to the results of the Government System, and its influence on the intellectual and moral progress of the natives, it is impossible to speak with anything like certainty. *Intellectually it has done much undoubtedly.* 'The proficiency attained,' writes Mr Kaye¹, 'in the principal scholastic institutions is such as is very rarely acquired by boys of the same age in any country in the world. I do not believe there are half-a-dozen boys at Eton or Harrow who could explain an obscure passage in Milton or Shakespear, or answer a series of historical questions, extending from the days of Alexander to the days of Napoleon, with as much critical acuteness and accuracy of information, as the white-muslined Students, who, with so much ease, master the difficult Examination papers which it has taxed all the learning or all the ingenuity of highly educated English gentlemen of ripe experience to prepare, and who in any such trial of skill would put our young aristocrats to confusion².'

And no one will deny that an acquaintance with the English language, and a familiarity with the standard works of our own literature, is of the utmost possible value. This literature, to use the language of Sir Charles Trevelyan, 'has grown up under the influence of

¹ *Administration of East India Company*, p. 600.

² From a very valuable paper drawn up by Colonel Sykes, on the *Statistics of Government Education*, it appears that the largest number of students who have left the Government Schools and Colleges, (except that embraced by the comprehensive term 'Miscellaneous,') went out into the world to teach; 83 became English teachers, 33 Arabic teachers, 133 Persian teachers, 50 Sanscrit teachers, 20 Bengalee teachers, 4 Hindoo teachers, and 5 Urdu teachers.—Kaye, p. 623, note.

Christianity, always assumes its truth, and is deeply imbued with its spirit¹. Moreover, those thus educated have during the late rebellion² proved some of the fastest friends of our rule, and have been distinguished by a decidedly improved morality.

But, on the other hand, with respect to the intellectual proficiency, Mr Kaye himself allows, that while it is admitted, it has seldom been 'much more than the proficiency of a clever boy.' All the enfeebling and

¹ 'A purely secular system is not, the Chief Commissioner believes, in India at least, adverse to religious influences, nor worthless without simultaneous religious instruction. On the contrary, the spread of European knowledge among the natives is, as it were, a pioneer to the progress of Christianity. The opinion of missionaries, in Upper India at least, may be confidently appealed to on this point.'—Sir John Lawrence's *Despatch*. 'I readily concede the principle, that an education without religious influences is worthless, either to Hindú or Englishman. But I entirely deny that religious influences are only conveyed in the form of direct religious teaching. One might as well assert, that because we cannot have day without the sun therefore no one can see unless the sun's rays fall directly upon him. The fact is, that both in the material and the spiritual world almost everything is practically done by *reflected* light. A healthy Christianized literature, or a society of consistent Christian laymen, performs the same office for religious truths that the atmosphere does for the rays of the sun, or the glass globe of an argand lamp for the flame within; it brings them into a suitable state for the perception and the use of numbers. I trust that nothing will be allowed to mar a great opportunity of testing this principle in India; for I believe that many who would be blinded, or at least startled and alienated by direct illumination, may, at no long distance of time, be brought over to the fold of Christ by mere sympathy with the lives of true Englishmen, and familiarity with the creations of standard English authors.'—*Correspondent of The Times*, Nov. 20, 1858.

² Raikes's *Notes on the Revolt*, pp. 136—139. Mr Gubbins, however, expresses a different opinion as the result of his own observations. See his *Oude*, p. 84.

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enervating influences of Indian life—the Hookah and the Zenana—have so effectually closed round the quick-witted youth when he has left the school, that he has seldom carried the knowledge he has gained into the business of actual life. And the testimony of trustworthy witnesses goes far to shew that the proficiency attained has been maimed, in many instances, by a want of thoughtful earnestness, and of high moral aims and aspirations; a result which the late Sir John Malcolm¹ must have anticipated when he wrote as follows, ‘Perhaps the greatest of all dangers will occur when our subjects taught by us, shall cast off those excellent moral restraints with which their religion, with all its error and superstition, abounds, and yet not adopt that sincerity of faith in the Divine precepts which would fill and elevate their minds.’

Might not
the results
be more
satisfactory?

But it is rash to speak positively on the results of a system only so recently inaugurated. The question seems to be not whether the results hitherto attained have been wholly satisfactory, but whether they might not be more satisfactory; and this brings us to a point which demands special consideration, ‘Might the Government legitimately impart Christian instruction in its Colleges and Schools?’

Upon this question there is great division of opinion. Hitherto such Schools as have been wholly supported by the Government have been strictly secular. In the Education Dispatch of 1854, *e.g.*, the last East India Company Directors wrote as follows:

¹ Malcolm's *Political History*, Vol. II. p. 682.

‘Considerable apprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in the Government Institutions. These institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India; and in order to effect their object *it was, and is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular.* The Bible is, we understand, placed in the Libraries of the Colleges and Schools, and the pupils are freely to consult it. This is as it should be: and moreover we have no desire to prevent or to discourage, any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free will, ask from their masters upon the subject of the Christian religion, *provided that such information be given out of school-hours.*’

Now we have already seen that any *effectual* separation of the secular from the religious department of education is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible—for intellectual studies so inevitably lead to higher questions which have a religious interest, and men’s convictions as to right and wrong, duty and virtue, are so intimately connected with their ideas of the character and moral government of the Supreme Being, that it is impossible for a system of Education, from which religion is excluded, to promote the ultimate welfare of *moral beings.*

Any effectual separation of secular from religious instruction impracticable.

And this is acknowledged by some of the ablest advocates of Secular Instruction. ‘The first result,’ says an eminent writer¹, ‘of the existing Government system of

Remarks of ‘Indophilus.’

¹ Letters of ‘Indophilus’ to *The Times*. 2nd Edition. December 16, 1857.

CHAP. V. education 'is the destruction of the Hindú system in the minds of the pupils'. Then, they are not only removed from the moral pollution of Hindúism, but they are advanced one stage further. They are taught to think, and their thoughts are inclined towards Christianity by a literature² which has grown up under its influence,

¹ 'Soon after the establishment of the Hindú College, one of the pupils was taken by his parents, in spite of his remonstrances, to pay their customary devotions at the shrine of Káli, the tutelary goddess of Calcutta (Kalicatta). The young fellow settled his plan on their way thither, and when they came opposite to the hideous idol, he took off his turban, made a low bow, and said, in an elevated voice, "How d'ye do, Mrs. Kali." This was in all the newspapers of the time, and gave the orthodox party a foretaste of what they had to expect from their new institution.'

² The following is a list of the English text-books read in the Hindú College, Calcutta, and other Government Colleges:

LITERATURE—Richardson's *Selections*, Shakspeare, Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, Bacon's *Essays*, Bacon's *Novum Organon*, Milton's *Poetical Works*, Addison's *Essays*, Johnson's *Rambler* and *Rasselas*, Goldsmith's *Essays*, Hallam's *Literary History of the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries*, Campbell's *Rhetoric*, Schlegel's *History of Literature*.

MENTAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY—Smith's *Moral Sentiments*, Abercrombie's *Moral and Intellectual Powers*, Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, Reid's *Intellectual Powers*.

HISTORY—Hume's *England*, Mackintosh's *England*, Gibbon's *Rome*, Arnold's *Rome*, Thirlwall's *Greece*, Robertson's *Historical Works*, Mill's *India*, Elphinstone's *India*, Miller's *Philosophy of History*, Villiers' *Essay on the Literary and other Effects of the Reformation*, Tytler's *Universal History*.

MATHEMATICS—Peacock's *Algebra* (Part 1.), Rymer's *Equations*, Hall's *Differential and Integral Calculations*, Waud's *Algebraical Geometry*, Snowball's *Trigonometry*, Woodham's *Trigonometry* (modernized), *Conics* (Whewell's *Limits*).

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY—Mrs Somerville's *Connexion of the Physical Sciences*, Herschel's *Preliminary Discourse*, Herschel's *Astronomy*, Brinkley's *Astronomy*, Webster's *Hydrostatics*, Phelps's *Optics*, Griffin's *Pneumatics*, *Treatise on Mathematical and Physical Geography*.

which always assumes its truth, and is deeply imbued with its spirit. A new standard of morality is presented to them. "The law is a schoolmaster to lead us to Christ;" and the study of the writings of Bacon, Milton, Addison, Johnson and Locke establishes this "law" in their minds. It does not give the effectual motive which a firm belief in Christianity would impart; but it creates a conscience which will continually act upon them until they come to a full knowledge of the truth. Without precisely knowing on what foundation the moral principles of Christianity rest, they see the beauty of them, and profess themselves enthusiastic admirers of them. They are more honest and truthful than the natives who are brought up under the old system, and are for that reason generally preferred in making appointments to the public service. Even supposing them to remain in this middle state they are better than they were; but they cannot remain in that state. Human nature cannot do without the comforts and hopes of religion; and least of all Hindú nature, which is not made of such stern, self-relying stuff as our Anglo-Saxon character. These natives must have some religion. They cannot go back to Hindúism. They shew no disposition to turn aside to Mahometanism. They must, therefore, go on to Christianity, towards

POLITICAL ECONOMY—Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, with M'Culloch's notes.

LOGIC AND GRAMMAR—Mill's *Logic*, Whately's *Logic*, and Latham *On the English Language*.

The *Non-gratuitous* system of the Government Colleges and Schools has secured the attendance of the more respectable natives.

CHAP. V.

which they are carried by the irresistible progress of events.'

Inferences
from them.

We have taken the liberty of quoting this passage at length, because the quarter, whence it comes, stamps it with authority, and imparts to it a peculiar value. Now let us compare the admissions here made with the reasons generally alleged against any direct recognition of Christianity on the part of the government in its Scholastic Institutions. Is it not here distinctly admitted,

First, that any really effectual separation of secular from religious instruction is impracticable?

Secondly, that by the Government system of education Hindû prejudices are destroyed in the minds of the pupils?

Thirdly, that by the same system the thoughts of the Hindû youth are directed towards Christianity?

Fourthly, that the Government System does not give the effectual motive which a firm belief in Christianity would impart?

Fifthly, that in the middle or transition state which this system produces, the Hindûs cannot remain, but, unable to exist without some religion, must sooner or later pass over to Christianity?

Now what are the grounds on which it is affirmed that any direct Governmental recognition of Christianity is to be deprecated? They are mainly these. First—it would be imprudent: secondly, it would be unjust: thirdly, it would be impolitic. It would be imprudent,

would be unjust, because it would be employing public funds raised from amongst the natives themselves to convert them from their own religion: it would be impolitic, because it would be a species of 'proselytism,' and 'quiet persecution'.¹

And yet it is neither imprudent, nor unjust, nor impolitic, to maintain a course of instruction whereby the Hindú system is destroyed, the thoughts of the natives *inclined towards Christianity*, and a transition state produced, wherein they cannot remain, but out of which *they must eventually pass on to Christianity*. In other words, a Government professing absolute neutrality may legitimately impart such an education as must inevitably destroy the Hindú system, and direct the thoughts of the native youths towards Christianity, and yet it would be guilty of imprudence, injustice, and proselytising, if it offered any instruction in the truths of

¹ On this objection we cannot do better than quote the remarks of Sir John Lawrence:—"To say that we have no right to offer Christian teaching in Government schools because we do not allow the native religions to be taught there, is to misapprehend the fundamental relation that in this country subsists between the Government and the people. We are to do the best we can for them, according to our lights, and they are to obey us. Mr Arnold writes, "What answer am I to give to Hindús and Mahometans if they say that after having excluded their religions I have introduced my own? Shall I say that I am master, that I am the officer of a conquering Government, and will do as I please?" That answer, I am to observe, would indeed be arbitrary. The proper answer would be thus:—"We offer you the Bible in our Government Schools because we believe it to be for your inestimable good, if you choose to listen to it. We do not wish you to study it unless you do so voluntarily. But you cannot expect us to help in teaching your religion, which we do not believe to be true. That you can do for yourselves."

CHAP. V. that religion which its system of education tends unavoidably to promote.

Now it seems to us that there is here a very curious species of contradiction. We cannot reconcile the admissions of the advocates of an exclusively secular education with the reasons they allege against any direct instruction in Christianity. It seems to us that if it is unjust to promote Christianity *directly*, it is unjust and dishonest knowingly to promote it *indirectly* under cover of professed neutrality, and that for a Government to maintain a system which they allow does not supply those effectual motives to high moral rectitude which Christianity imparts, is not only unwise, but something else; for 'to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin.'

Testimony of
experience.

But does experience tend to prove that the imparting of religious instruction offends the prejudices of the natives? We are told indeed that what can be done in Missionary Schools by private bodies cannot be done without awakening suspicions in Government Institutions. But the Missionary, as is well known, is regarded very generally as an agent of the Government, and his work is often on that account retarded: now, if in spite of this false impression, the natives, fully conscious that Christian education is there imparted, send their children to the Missionary Schools, why should they object to send them to the Government Schools?

Dr Duff's
Schools.

The Educational Institutions established in Calcutta, by Dr Duff in the year 1830, were not regarded with

reservation on the part of Duff and his associates. It was openly and unequivocally avowed that the Holy Scriptures were taught in the Schools.' 'You have practised no deceit upon the natives,' said Dr Chalmers, in his address to Duff, '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.' And yet the native children come freely. The schools were opened with 7 pupils, before long they numbered 1200, they have ever since gone on increasing, and, according to the testimony of a Governor General himself, have produced 'unparalleled results'.

¹ There is one incident related by Dr Duff in reference to the effect of a perusal of a few verses of Holy Scripture in his schools which deserves quotation. Every one knows how by the influence of Caste the Hindús are divided into so many isolated sects, each regarding the others with aversion and contempt. 'Judge, then,' says Duff, 'of the surprise and amazement of some of the more thoughtful of the young men, when they came to read these passages: *Ye have heard how it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.....* So deep, indeed, and intense was the impression produced, that, in reference to one individual at least, from the simple reading of these verses might be dated his conversion, his turning from dumb idols to serve the living and true God. There was something in them of such an overwhelmingly attractive moral loveliness—something which contrasted so luminously with all that he had previously been taught to regard as revealed by God, that he could not help crying out in ecstasy, "Oh, how beautiful, how divine!" "Surely this is the truth!—this is the truth!—this is the truth!"

well. In the autumn of 1838 a question of caste arose. The numbers at school then amounted to 108, or thereabouts. Anderson adhered to his rule, and in one day lost upwards of 100 pupils. 'The numbers lost were soon regained, and they went on increasing for 3 years, until 1841, when 3 Hindú pupils were baptized. The pupils in the school then numbered 400; and they were in one day reduced to 30. The numbers were, however, regained, and the school went on prospering till 1853, when Anderson had schools at 5 different places, and in all 2520 pupils, the majority of caste and of respectable parents.'

And if any further proof were required that the natives have no objection to receive Christian instruction, provided it is not improperly forced upon them, it is supplied by the statistics laid before the Government in 1855, which exhibit the following comparison between the two classes of schools:—

Christian Mission Schools,	1668;	Scholars,	97177.
Government Schools.	. . . 404;	„	25362.

Does not this seem to prove that what the Hindús dread, is not conversion but contamination? that they can understand and appreciate a fair invitation to judge for themselves, and form their own conclusions? There is a difference as wide as the poles between offering them *optional* religious instruction and resorting to the violence and compulsion of former conquerors. And of this difference a native can be made sensible. The result of the Government System of Education in the

Government
Educational
System in
Ceylon.

CHAP. V. island of Ceylon proves it. The School Commission in this island wishing in 1841 to do everything for the advancement of Christianity among the heathen population which was safe itself and consistent with political justice, resolved,

'That the first hour daily in every Government School be devoted to religious instruction, and that the master be particularly enjoined not to require the attendance of those boys whose parents object to their attendance at that hour.'

And so successful was the scheme, that in the Report of the Commission laid before the Legislative Council in 1846, after citing the Resolution just quoted, it is expressly stated that 'The assurance thus given both that ample religious instruction is part of the system, and that yet no positive constraint will be exercised to force children into attendance, contrary to the conviction of those who have the right over them, has on the one hand secured an amount of christian philanthropy in co-operation with the Government School System of Ceylon, which cannot be too highly appreciated, while it has, on the other hand, been so favourably responded to by the parents whose apprehensions it was designed to meet, that few, if any, cases occur in which a child is withheld from the Government Schools during the hour for religious instruction.'

Optional
religious
instruction.

Now what is found practicable in Ceylon is surely practicable on the Continent, at least so it seems to experienced and practical men like Sir John Lawrence, who in his letter addressed to the Secretary of the

Government of India, expresses his opinion 'that the Bible ought not only to be placed in the College Libraries and the School-books, for the perusal of those who might choose to consult it, but also it should be taught in class wherever we have teachers fit to teach it, and pupils willing to hear it.'

It is true, as he himself remarks, that while this is the principle on which we ought to act, there is a practical difficulty in carrying it out. For, at present, where are the teachers to come from? They do not exist, and it would be useless and improper to intrust the task to heathen schoolmasters, who cannot be alive to the connection between Christian doctrines and the religious wants of the people. At present, therefore, we must be content with very partial results, and the religious instruction can only be given where there are facilities for so doing. But it is the *principle* of the thing which we are contending for. If the Government has its Schools, let it not impart in them, under cover of neutrality, a course of instruction which confessedly breaks down the Hindú system, and tends to produce a transition state, which may or may not lead to Christianity, (for it may produce in the plastic and versatile Hindú nothing but sheer scepticism); but rather to the assistance wherewith it already supports the efforts of private bodies, let it add the encouragement of *optional* religious instruction, and so do all in its power to promote the equable and proportionate advancement of the Hindú mind in both secular and religious knowledge. Such a system constitutes a real education in the true sense of the word, and

CHAP. V. is alone adapted to forward the moral and religious progress of moral creatures¹.

¹ We are glad therefore to see that the Committee of Arts who arranged the course of general literary study for the proposed Calcutta University, comprising not only some of the leading members of the Government, Mr J. P. Grant and Mr Beadon, but also Principal Kaye of Bishop's College, Dr Duff, Mr Ewart, Mr Ogilvie, and Mr Mullens, included the 'History of the Jews' in the course of Ancient History, and 'Wayland's Moral Philosophy' with 'Butler's Analogy,' in that of Moral Science. Also Students are to be at liberty to take up 'Christian Evidences' as one of the discretionary subjects: so that attainments in that branch of knowledge will give a title to a number of marks equivalent to those allowed for certain other branches, from which the Students, in addition to the compulsory subjects, are to select.' The late Bishop of Calcutta also suggested 'that a Theological class should be opened for Voluntary attendance; and honorary degrees, or marks of distinction, held out to those who are, of their own accord, desirous to study the evidences, doctrines, and morals of Christianity.'—See Wylie's Letter to the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, VII. 286.

CHAPTER VI.

CASTE, FEMALE EDUCATION, AND VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

‘The great body of the present religious practices of the Hindús are subsequent in time and foreign in tenor to those that were enjoined by the authorities which they profess to regard as the foundation of their system.’—H. H. WILSON, *Oxford Lectures*.

AMONGST the most serious obstacles to the moral elevation of the natives of India, none has a more baneful pre-eminence than the existing system of Caste, the degraded condition of female Society, and the absence of any suitable vernacular literature. It seems right, then, to inquire into the duties which, under these circumstances, devolve on a Christian Government, and how it may legitimately deal with these obstacles.

CHAP. VI.

Obstacles to the moral elevation of India.

And, first, in speaking of the question of Caste, it is not our intention to enter into the mysteries of its origin, or spread, or true character. Every one in the least degree acquainted with Hindú history is aware that, nowhere else on the face of the globe is to be found such an elaborate system striking its roots down to the very depths of the lowest strata of society, and operating with all the influence that long custom and prejudice can supply. What the distinction between himself and the shepherd Hebrews was to the Egyptian, what the difference between the intellectual high-born philosopher and

1. Caste.

CHAP. VI. the common son of the soil was to the Athenian, what the great gulf between the patrician and the plebeian was to the ancient Roman, that, and ten times that, is the radical, impassable barrier between himself and the Sûdra to the twice-born Brâhman¹.

For 2500 years, at least, has this system prevailed. Whatever was its origin, whether it was the result of the natural tendencies of the people², or the institution of a

¹ 'From the study of Hindû works on the subject, from the observation for many years of its modes of working, and from repeated conversations with intelligent natives concerning it, we have no doubt at all that, in the Hindû conception of it, Caste involves distinctions, not of secular occupation or of civil condition only, but distinctions of a sacred and a religious kind,—distinctions neither arbitrarily imposed by mere human power, nor casually assumed as the result of social contract or conventional usage, but distinctions absolutely radical and fundamental in the very nature and constitution of man.'—Duff's *Letters on the Indian Rebellion*, p. 321.

² For Caste prevails even amongst the outcasts, 'No one in India,' says an eminent authority, 'is ashamed of his caste, and the lowest Pariah is as proud and as anxious to preserve his own caste as the highest Brâhman. The Turas, a class of Sûdras, consider their houses defiled, and throw away their cooking utensils, if a Brâhman visit them. Another class of Sûdras throw away their cooking vessels if a Brâhman comes upon their boat: Invite one of the lowest orders of Sûdras to a feast with an European of the highest rank, and he turns away his face with the most marked disgust.' From an elaborate review of Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, which appeared in *The Times*, April, 1858. The same writer further remarks: 'After the political caste had become nearly extinct in India, leaving nothing behind but the broad distinction between the Brâhmins and mixed castes, a new system of caste came in of a purely professional character, though artificially grafted on the rotten trunk of the ancient political castes. This is the system which is still in force in India, and which has exercised its influence on the state of Indian society for good and evil. During periods of history when public opinion is weak, and when the administration of justice is precarious, institutions analogous to these

tyrannical priesthood, the fact remains. Between the CHAP. VI.
Sûdra and the Brâhman there is, in the popular opinion,
a gulf fixed from all eternity, and to all eternity.

It is true that of late years the sanctity of the Brâh-
man has been rudely assaulted¹, that he no longer enjoys Brâhmanism
at the pre-
sent day.

same interests, the same occupations, the same principles, unite in self-defence, and after acquiring power and influence they not only defend their rights, but claim important privileges. They naturally impose upon their members certain rules which are considered essential to the interest of their caste or company. These rules, sometimes of apparently the most trifling character, are observed by individual members with greater anxiety than even the laws of religion, because an offence against the latter may be pardoned, while a disregard of the former would lead to instant exclusion or loss of caste. Many a Hindû carrier would admit that there was no harm in his fetching water for his master. But he belongs to a caste of carriers who have bound themselves not to fetch water, and it would be dishonourable if he, for his own personal convenience, were to break that rule. Besides, it would interfere with the privileges of another caste, the water-bearers. There is an understanding in most parts of India that certain trades should be carried on by certain castes, and the people no doubt have the same means of punishing interlopers as the guilds had during the middle ages. The more lucrative the trade the more jealously it is guarded, and there was evidently no trade in India so lucrative as that of the priests. The priests were therefore the strongest advocates of the system of caste, and, after investing it with a sacred character in the eyes of the people, they expanded it into an immense spider's web, which separated class from class, family from family, man from man, and which, while it rendered all united public action impossible, enabled the watchful priests to pounce upon all who dared to disturb the threads of their social tissue, and to wither them to death.

¹ 'The Brâhmans themselves accept gifts from Sûdras, though Manu declares that a Brâhman shall not accept gifts from a Sûdra. They will bow before a rich banker, however low his caste, and they will sit on the same carpet and at the feet of a Sûdra, though Manu declares (VIII. 281), "A man of the lowest class anxious to place himself on the same seat with one of the highest, is to be banished with a mark on his back, &c." In fact, however unchangeable the laws

CHAP. VI. that monopoly of religious and political advantages which once was his, that he no longer has the keys of all knowledge, of religion, of philosophy, of astronomy, of mathematics, of surgery, of music, of grammar, that he no longer walks the earth a terrestrial deity, at whose approach the Sûdra must raise his hands above his head in humble adoration. The spell no longer exerts the fearful influence of its ancient potency. Nevertheless, as regards the Brâhman and the high castes there is still much to foster the worst kind of pride, a pride not of moral but ceremonial superiority—and as regards the Sûdra and the low castes, there is still much calculated to depress, if not altogether annihilate, many of the civilizing impulses and influences of emulation. For the *spirit* of caste never dies¹.

of caste may seem in the eyes of the Brâhmins, they have only to open their eyes, to read their ancient works, and to look at the society around them, in order to convince themselves that caste is not proof against the changes of time. The president of the Dharmasabhâ at Calcutta is a Sûdra, while the secretary is a Brâhman. Three-fourths of the Brâhmins in Bengal are the servants of others. Many traffic in spirituous liquors, some procure beef for the butchers, and wear shoes made of cow leather. Some of the Brâhmins themselves are honest enough to admit that the laws of Manu were intended for a different age, for the mythical Satyayuga, while the laws of the Kaliyuga were written by Parâsara. In places like Calcutta and Bombay the contact with English society exercises a constant attrition on the system of castes, and produces silently and imperceptibly a greater effect than can ever be produced by violent declamation against the iniquity of caste.'

¹ 'The points considered most essential in caste are (1) food and its preparation, (2) intermarriage with the same caste only, (3) hereditary occupation, (4) a peculiar sympathy with the whole class. Even resident Jews and Mahometans become affected with the spirit of caste. It has entered into, and tainted, and well nigh destroyed many of the

Caste has been the source of all those prejudices which our Indian legislators dread to offend. Whatever may have been the real causes of the recent convulsion, it is impossible to separate them from the operation of religious terror, and a dread of contamination. We may know, as everybody in Europe knows, that the idea of forcibly converting the Hindús by the distribution of greased cartridges never entered into our heads. But everybody in India does not know this. And the precise problem we have to solve is, how to make this point plain to the Hindús. Recent events have certainly reminded us that it is not likely to be solved, if we persevere in a policy which prevents the Hindú by any possibility understanding what Christianity really is. Experience and reason teach us rather the propriety of affording him every opportunity of examining our Sacred Books, and so judging for himself whether they instruct us to make proselytes by forcible destruction of caste. We must treat him as we would treat a child or a simpleton who is afraid of a ghost. We do not pander to this fear, but take him up to the object of his terror, and let him convince himself of his delusion.

Of course in dealing with the caste system we must lay aside all thoughts of *violent declamation* against its iniquities. The silent and imperceptible but sure results of contact with English society, and the spread of education, will do far more than any Government edicts and enactments like those put forth by the Dutch. The remedy must work from within not from without. Meantime, however, if not directly yet indirectly the

CHAP. VI. Government may do much. By pursuing a fearless Christian policy it may hope in time to disabuse the native mind of its gross misconceptions respecting our religious intentions; and it may follow this up with good effect by simply *ignoring the existence of caste altogether*¹. Without any needless interference it may

¹ That is, as a *religious* institution, for the sacred character of caste is a mere imposition of the priests. As a *social* institution, eminent authorities are of opinion, that it may be improved, and made the groundwork of better things, that, so improved, it would be well adapted to the existing state of society in India. Eighteen hundred years have not eradicated the *spirit* of caste even in Christian countries. 'What is there,' it has been well asked, 'in caste which we are not familiar with; what good or evil belongs to it, which has not its counterpart among Christians, among Englishmen; which has not put itself forth as characteristically Christian, characteristically English? So far as it is an assertion of the superiority of that which is intellectual and spiritual to that which is animal, of the man who seeks the highest ends, to the man who is stooping to the ground and eating dust, it contains a truth which must not be denied or crushed. So far as it proclaims the superiority of a *set* of spiritual men to a *set* of carnal men, it is a part of the Pharisaism which was found in Judæa when our Lord appeared in it, which is rampant among us at the present day. So far as it is an assertion of the intrinsic superiority of the Bráhmaṇ as a priest, to the Sūdra as one of the people, it is a part of the same self-exaltation of which every page of ecclesiastical history presents us with specimens. So far as it merely implies a vaunt of the eminence and right to eminence in a particular race, let him who has never vaunted of the unrivalled, unconquerable Teutonic virtues cast the first stone at the Asiatic boaster. So far as it is a naked assertion of a necessary hereditary superiority, and of high employments as appertaining to that superiority, Englishmen have not been generally supposed to be quite incapable of comprehending such a prejudice, quite without experience of its effects.' The able reviewer of Muir's *Sanskrit Texts* (to whom we gladly acknowledge our great obligations) has some striking observations on the necessity of adopting measures to give the Hindús who accept Christianity something in place of the caste which

shew that it does not recognize distinction of birth or race as a bar to employment in its offices. 'There are, however,' it has been well remarked, 'certain points where the Government will have to interfere with caste, and where it may do so without violating any pledge and without rousing any serious opposition. If any of its Indian subjects are treated with indignity on account of their caste the law will have to give them protection. In former times a Pariah was obliged to carry a bell—the very name of Pariah is derived from that bell—in order to give warning to the Bráhmans who might be polluted by the shadow of an outcast. In Malabar, a Nayadi defiles a Bráhman at a distance of 74 paces, and a Nayer, though himself a Sûdra, would shoot one of these degraded races if they approached too near. Here the duty of the Government is clear.

'Secondly, no attention should be paid to caste in any contract which the Government makes with the natives. Where natives are to be employed, whether in the civil or military service, no regard whatever ought to be paid to the punctilio of caste. Soldiers must not only fight

without caste, without friends who take care of him, without companions who watch him, without associates whose good opinion he values, without companions with whom he can work for a common cause. The healthy life of a political body can only be supported by means of associations, circles, leagues, guilds, clans, clubs, or parties; and in a country where caste takes the place of all this, the abolition of caste would be tantamount to a complete disorganization. As a religious institution it will die; as a social institution it will live and improve.' See some valuable observations on the same subject in the replies to Bishop Heber's Articles of Enquiry on the question of Caste. —*Land of the Vêda, (Appendix), pp. 485—495.*

CHAP. VI. together, but they must live and mess together. Those who have any conscientious objections must stay away.

‘Thirdly, caste must be ignored in all public institutions, such as schools, hospitals, and prisons. Railway companies cannot provide separate carriages for each of the fifty castes that may wish to travel by rail, nor can Government provide separate forms, or wards, or cells for Bráhmans and Sûdras. Firmness on the part of the Government is all that is required. At Madras a few Pariah boys were admitted at the High-school. The other boys rebelled, and 40 left the school. After a time, however, 20 returned, and the spell was broken¹.’

The Hindú
ought to
know that
the system
is not sup-
ported by his
own Védas.

And it is our duty to act thus, not only because the caste system as developed by Bráhmanic priests is founded on a lie, but also because neither caste nor its kindred abominations have any real religious authority, because in his Védas the Hindú will find no trace of caste as it exists in Manu and as it divides and disintegrates society in the present day. ‘The highest authority for the religion of the Bráhmans,’ says the eminent writer we have just quoted, ‘is the Véda. All other works—the laws of Manu, the six orthodox systems of philosophy, the Purânas, or the legendary histories of India—all derive their authority from their agreement with the Véda. The Véda alone is called “Sruti” or revelation: everything else, however sacred, can only claim the title of “Smriti” or traditions. The most elaborate arguments have been framed by the Bráhmans

¹ Review of Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, in *The Times*, April, 1858. See

to establish the Divine origin and the absolute authority of the Véda. They maintain that the Véda existed before all time, that it was revealed by Bráhma, and seen by Divine sages, who themselves were free from the taint of humanity.' CHAP. VI.

In spite, however, of its great authority as the only rule of faith, of right behaviour (Dhárma) and right knowledge, there are but few Bráhmans who can read or understand the Véda. The young priests would seem to have as much difficulty in understanding its language and grammar as we have in translating old English. It is doubtful, we are told, whether a copy of the entire Véda could be procured in any part of Hindústan, whether such a copy exists in the whole of Bengal.

In its place, the Bráhmans study the laws of Manu, the six systems of philosophy, the Purânas and the Tantras. These latter have been translated into English and French, and, in every controversy between the Bráhmans and the Missionaries, can be appealed to as evidence. But, till lately, the Véda had not been published or translated. Consequently it was always a *dernier ressort* for the Bráhman whenever he was pressed in argument: here he entrenched himself as in a secure stronghold: every commandment of the Old Testament, every doctrine of Christianity he regarded with sublime indifference: they already existed in his holy book: of course it could not be exposed to the profane eyes of the Mlecha, but it existed, and contained everything, and there the controversy ended.

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The Vêda
edited in
Europe.

But the Vêda has at last been edited¹, not indeed by learned Pandits in India, for there was not a single Brâhman to be found in the whole of Bengal to undertake the task when invited to do so by the Directors of the East India Company, but by the hated Mlecha, the white-faced alien from the West. Nor is the edition disowned by the Brâhmanas: their most learned men have recognized it as complete and authentic, and meditate on the vicissitudes of human events whereby the descendants of their divine Rishis are studying their own holy Scriptures published on the banks of the Thames by a distant Mlecha. Now, having these documents before us what divine authority do we find for the present state of Hindû society and religion? Absolutely none. 'If,' says the eminent writer just quoted, 'we ask the question, Does caste as we find it in Manu and at the present day, form part of the religious teaching of the Vêdas? We can answer with a decided "No." There is no authority whatever in the Vêda for the complicated system of caste; no authority for the offensive privileges claimed by the Brâhmanas; no authority for the degraded position of the Sûdras. There is no law to prohibit the different

¹ That is, the first four books, being the half of the whole.

The Vêdas are four in number, and are denominated the Rig-Vêda, the Yajur-Vêda, the Sâma-Vêda, and the Atharva-Vêda. The Sanskrit text of the Rig-Vêda is being edited by Prof. Max Müller: it has also been translated in part by Prof. Wilson, and entirely by M. Langlois. The White Yajur-Vêda is edited, with a translation, by Prof. Weber of Berlin. The Sâma-Vêda is edited, with a translation, first by Mr Stevenson, and secondly by Prof. Benfey of Göttingen. The fourth Vêda has been edited by Prof. Roth and Mr Whitney. See Handwich's *Christ and other Masters*, Part II, p. 5, note.

classes of the people from living together ; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes ; no law to brand the offspring of such marriage with an indelible stigma. All that is found in the Vēda, at least in the most ancient portion of it—the Hymns—is a verse, in which it is said that the four castes, the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, and the serf, sprang all alike from Bráhma. European critics are able to shew that even this verse is of later origin than the great mass of the hymns. Yet it belongs to the ancient collection of the Vēdic hymns, and if it contained anything in support of caste, as it is now understood, the Bráhmans would be right in saying that caste formed part of their religion, and was sanctioned by their sacred writings, and Government would be obliged to shew the same deference to caste, which it is bound to shew to other religious prejudices of its Indian subjects. But, as the case now stands, it becomes the duty of those who know better than the Bráhmans, and better than the millions who are led by these Jesuitical priests, to enlighten the natives of India on this very point, and to prove to them, that whatever their caste may be, caste, as now understood, is not a religious institution, and that in disregarding the rules of caste, no command of the Vēda is violated. Caste in India is a human law—a law given by those who were most benefited by it themselves.’ And we must not imagine that the effect of an appeal to their original Holy Scriptures would be unappreciated by the educated classes in India. They have heard them appealed to again and again by different sects as favouring their respective

CHAP. VI. doctrines. When the question of widow-burning came under discussion, the Bráhmans were requested to bring forward chapter and verse from the Véda in support of their system. They replied by bringing forward a garbled quotation, but the Véda not being then published, it was impossible to contradict them. When they attempted to do the same as regards the question of the marriage of widows, their opinion, we are told, was controverted with success by another section of more enlightened Bráhmans, assisted by the excellent President of the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. Of course, at first, the orthodox Bráhmans will argue on the matter, as the Pharisees did in our Lord's time, and the Church of Rome at a later period. Tradition will be pronounced equally sacred with the Véda¹. But we know that this style of argument has never held its ground before the advance of true learning, and intellectual progress. A house divided against itself never has stood, and never will stand. We can afford, therefore, to wait patiently, confident that in due time truth will prevail, for 'the teeth

¹ 'The missionaries, if they wish to gain the ear and confidence of the natives, will have to do what the Reformers did for the Christian laity. The people, in the 16th century, no doubt believed that the worship of the Virgin, and the Saints, auricular confession, indulgences, the celibacy of the clergy, all rested on the authority of the Bible. They could not read the Bible in the original, and they were bound to believe what they were taught by the priests. Now, as the Reformers pointed out, that all these were institutions of a later growth, that they had become mischievous, and that no divine law was violated in disregarding them, it should be shewn to the natives of India that the religion which the Bráhmans teach, is no longer the religion of the Védas, though the Véda alone is

fall of themselves in old age,' remarks a native of India, CHAP. VI.
 'though it is painful to extract them in youth.'

Meantime, as we have already said, the obligations which devolve upon us in dealing with the system of caste are plain and clear¹. It is our duty while avoiding all violence and declamation to refuse all support or countenance to it as a *religious*, and to do all in our power to improve it as a *social*, institution. It is our duty to throw open all offices in our service without distinction or favouritism to all persons, whatever be their

Our duties
with respect
to Caste.

¹ 'It is hopeless work arguing about a mystery, and the experience of a century has shewn as much. No rulers could ever be more obsequious or observant than the old servants of the Company. They carried the "neutrality" policy to its utmost height. Far from obtruding Christianity upon the natives they even patronised idolatry, dealt respectfully with Bráhmánism, and paid honours to Juggernaut. The result was seen not only in the catastrophe of 1857, but in the perpetual alarms by which that explosion was preceded. The great mutinies of Bengal were not the first mutinies in India. Years before there had been similar outbreaks upon similar pretexts, though they never attained dimensions so formidable. The Indian Government was always in a state of terror. At every proposition of improvement or reform it was encountered by this contingency of panic and revolt, till at last a people whom we had been ruling for a hundred years with a deference to their institutions resembling positive timidity broke out in frantic alarm for their religion, and fell to murdering us lest we should compel them to be Christians. We really cannot see how, after such a lesson, and after an experience extending over so many years, we can persist in the same course as before. We cannot see how any option is left us. It has been found impossible to divest Hindús of alarming notions about Christianity so long as the truths of Christianity were withheld from their knowledge, and our failure in this respect has been attended by the most shocking and sanguinary convulsion. By pursuing now an opposite course we can certainly do no harm, and we shall probably do much good, for, while we cannot be incurring greater dangers, we may well hope by the diffusion of the truth to banish altogether a peril which had no

CHAP. VI. station or position in society, according as they are qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, to discharge the functions belonging to them¹. It is our duty to extend the same educational advantages to the lowest Sûdra as to the 'twice-born' Bráhmaṇ, to open freely to both the storehouse of science and knowledge, and by simply ignoring the existence of caste, *tacitly* to protest against the idea of a radical and eternal disqualification for the highest offices by reason of birth or race.

We must
go a step
beyond tacit
protestation.

But it is also our duty, while revealing to the natives how priestcraft has made void even their own Vêda by its traditions, and by its corruptions overlaid and hidden the original belief, to advance a step further. For thus much has been done already. The reformation of Buddha protested against caste, and for a time caste seemed to vanish. Thieves and robbers, we are told, beggars and cripples, slaves and prostitutes, bankrupts and sweepers, gathered round the Buddhist Reformer when he taught that '*Between a Bráhmaṇ and a man of another caste there is not the same difference as between gold and a stone, or between light and darkness.*' And proclaimed, '*My law is a law of grace for all. My doctrine is like the sky. There is room for all without exception—men, women, boys, girls, poor and rich.*'

This protest against the Bráhmaṇic system has already been entered. And though at one time it seemed

¹ 'And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in

destined to emancipate the Hindú mind, and set it free, a reaction followed; the tide turned: the Bráhmaṇ re-gained his old ascendancy, and Buddhism retired to Ceylon in the South, to Thibet and China in the North¹. And, unless we would see the same thing acted over again, our duty is to plant the truth which shall take the place now occupied by Bráhmaṇic error. If we do not this, we shall, in spite of all our tacit protestations against the caste system, leave a blank in the native's heart ever craving to be filled. We must, by enabling the Hindú to understand what the Bible really is and what it really teaches, not only rid him once and for ever of his unfounded alarms about forcible conversion, but also shew him that our Scriptures too recognize the Supreme Being as the source of Light and Wisdom, by which alone 'Kings reign, and princes decree justice;' that they too recognize 'Order as Heaven's first law,' and witness to a Divine Order in society; that they too recognize a nobility of soul which the wise man must ever strive to attain, a nobility which the greatest of Greek philosophers saw afar off, when he portrayed the character of his 'perfect man'—which was never realized on earth, save in the person of Him who was known and therefore despised as the son of the carpenter, who increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man, not in the secluded cell of the *yogin* and self-torturing devotee, but by the lowly hearth, in the calm

¹ For some valuable observations on the affinities between Buddhism and Essenism, see Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*, II. 182.

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of the village-home. 'There is in man,' says the Bráhma-
 man, 'that which may be raised to fellowship with the
 Divine:'—'There is,' replies the Christian; 'but the
 life of Him who revealed the Father was not that of
 the solitary inactive recluse, leaving the world without
 to its corruptions, refusing to touch the burden of its
 woe even with the tips of his fingers, and separating
 himself from the society of men, in order to abstract the
 mind from the dominion of foul and corrupted matter.
 His life was real and practical as well as contemplative.
 He came to be the Physician of the whole world, not of
 a chosen few¹. There is that in *all* men which can be
 raised to fellowship with the Divine; it is common to the
 lowest Sûdra with the twice-born Bráhma-
 man; the only nobility recognized by the high and lofty One that in-
 habiteth eternity, is the nobility of moral uprightness,
 self-sacrifice, and humility.'

Let the Hindú be thus enabled to understand that
 while the Gospel witnesses to a real order in society,
 and declares that intercourse with heaven *was* intended
 for the spirit of man, it also reveals a Universal Bro-
 therhood, a mystical Body united by the closest bonds
 to a Divine Head, and may we not hope that in time he
 will awake to recognize 'a far more excellent way' than
 intellectual abstraction, a way common to all the sons of
 men, even Love, which is the 'Beginning and End of
 Life,' the 'Road which leadeth up unto God²?'

¹ See Origen's remark, *Contra Celsum*, VII. 59, 60.

II. We now come to our second point, the condition of Hindú female society. It has been well observed that a fair estimate of the civilization of any nation may be formed from the treatment which their women receive. Now the position of the Hindú woman lies midway between that of the savage and the Christianized European lady. 'It is a mistake,' writes Dr Caldwell, 'to suppose that Hindú women are treated like slaves, if hard work is regarded as an essential feature of slavery; for, perhaps, in no country in the world have women less work to do than in India. They live an easy shady life, with little to do and less to think about: they are well-fed, better clothed than the men, well hung out with jewels, rarely beaten when they do not deserve it, and generally treated like household pets¹.' But it is in this very fact, that they have little to do and less to think about, that their degradation consists. It is because they are treated too much like household pets, and not as *rational responsible beings*, that Hindú society is leavened with an evil leaven. It is just because they are not only denied equal rights with men, but are regarded as having no claim to any rights or feelings at all, that their influence on society is so small². What an instructive illustration

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H. Hindú
Female
Society.

¹ Dr Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Missions*, p. 101.

² 'Women in the Sanskrit poems appear as forest-trees, flowering in wild luxuriance: whilst women in real life resemble flowering pears and peaches nailed against the wall. In comparing ancient India with other early countries, you cannot fail to note the absence of queens, or of women in any way conspicuous: you meet with no Semiramis, or Cleopatra, no Miriam or Sappho, no Deborah, not even with a witch of Endor.'—Mrs Spiers' *Life in Ancient India*, p. 170.

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of this is the fact cited by the last-mentioned writer in his admirable little book on the Tinnevelly Missions, where he states that 'in the Telugu language, the language of 14 millions of people in Southern India, the relative position of the woman is illustrated by the pronouns of the third person. There is no feminine pronoun—no word signifying "she"—in the ordinary spoken dialect. The only pronouns of the third person commonly used are *Vādu* "he," and *adī* "it." "He" of course denotes the "lord of the creation," and to whom or what does "it" apply?—to women and cattle and irrational things in general!'

When the feminine element is thus regarded, it is not surprising that women are debarred all mental culture, that the only exception to Hindú female ignorance is, as Sir Emerson Tennent remarks, almost as degrading as the rule itself, the only females permitted to receive any measure of education being the dancing-girls and prostitutes attached to the temples, and this only that they may be able to recite the indecent songs and stories of the gods. Now 'in maternal kindness the Hindú female is not surpassed by any female in the world, whether savage or civilized'. For fidelity to her husband she is proverbially eminent. By her sons she is regarded with wonderful affection and respect'. But debarred as

¹ *Tinnevelly Missions*, p. 102.

² *Land of the Véda*, p. 297.

³ 'The respect paid to parental authority is one of the best traits of the native character.'—Dr Kaye, Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta.

See also Bn Heber's *Letter to Mr Wynn*, 1825.

she is from all mental culture, and true religious knowledge, her maternal fondness only degenerates into laxity of discipline, and by superstition alone can she direct the spiritual instruction of her children.

Now we have already seen that her present degraded condition has not existed from all time past. It is certain that in the remote and purer period of Hindú history woman occupied a different position in society¹, that there was a day when it was not generally held as it is now, in the district of Telugu, that

Women not
always de-
graded as
now.

‘To be a simpleton is the ornament of a woman².’

¹ *Land of the Vêda*, p. 292.

‘There is no trace in the Vêda of the atrocities of Siva, and Kali, nor of the licentiousness of Krishna, nor of the miraculous adventures of Vishnu. We find in it no law to sanction the blasphemous pretensions of a priesthood to Divine honours, or the degradation of any human being to a state below the animal. There is no text to countenance such mischievous laws as those which allow the marriage of children and prohibit the re-marriage of child-widows; and the unhallowed rite of burning the widow with the corpse of her husband is both against the spirit and the letter of the Vêda.’—*Review of Muir's Sanskrit Texts*.

² ‘A thousand years B. C. Hindú women appear to have been as free as Trojan dames, or the daughters of Judæa: hymns in the Rig-Vêda mention them with respect, and affection, comparing the goodness of the God Agni to that of a “brother for his sisters,” and the brightness of this God to the shining of a woman in her home; women moreover go out adorned for festivals, or mingle in the midnight foray. Even in the succeeding phase of Hindú life, when Bráhmans contemplated the soul beneath the shadow of Himavat, women attended their discourses and took part in their discussions. We find in one of the Upanishads a king holding a solemn sacrifice, and inviting his chief guests to state their opinions of theology, and amongst these guests “a learned female named Garga is conspicuous.”’—*Mrs Spiers' Life in Ancient India*, p. 166; *Colebrooke's Essays*, i. p. 70.

CHAP. VI. And whatever may be the origin of her present degradation, it is obvious that the position of the Hindú woman demands the serious attention of those to whom the welfare of the populations of India has been committed. Perhaps if Christianity could point to no other benefit which it has conferred on European society besides the elevation of woman to her true place and position in the social scale, it could not point to one which has done more to regenerate mankind. It is very noteworthy what a prominent position is occupied by woman in the planting of the Christian Church. Since the day when shepherds, watching over their flocks on the mountain-top of Judæa, were told by the heavenly visitants of the wondrous Babe lying in the manger of Bethlehem, 'conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary,' glad tidings have been preached to the weak and the lowly wherever Christianity has penetrated, and woman has been gradually rising to her true place in society.

Results of
Missionary
Boarding-
schools.

The efforts already made by private bodies, and by various Missions, testify that however great is the innate and hereditary prejudice in India against female education, however delicately and carefully the work requires to be taken in hand, it is not *impossible*. The influence of example has told here as elsewhere, the education of Hindú girls in *boarding-schools* has been found not only not impracticable, but also fraught with the best possible results.

'It is gratifying to know,' wrote Mr Percival in 1854,

(1) there are now perhaps 20,000 girls in the different

American Christians: that there is at Bombay a Society formed among the educated natives, whose object is to promote female education among the population of that Presidency. The young men of that city, who enjoy the advantages of intellectual training, and consequently know how to appreciate them, have organized schools, which, when I passed through Bombay a few months ago, contained some hundreds of native females.' 'The prejudice of our native Christians,' writes Dr Caldwell, 'against female education has disappeared, and even in our day-schools the number of girls bears now the natural proportion to the number of boys¹.' And, after observing how great is the influence which women exert in India over their husbands in spite of all the artificial rules of society, he continues, 'It cannot be said, indeed, that every girl brought up in our schools has turned out exactly what we could have wished, but the result has proved satisfactory in so large a number of instances, the boarding-school has evidently been the centre and focus of so many of the reforming, purifying influences which have been at work in the district, of so many pupils it can be said, that they are the best behaved, most Christian-minded, most European-like women in the villages in which they live—consistent communicants and useful members of society—that there is no department of Missionary labour in the district which has more amply justified the expenditure incurred in its behalf.'

In Agra we are told that a remarkable spontaneous movement has taken place in favour of female education.

¹ *Tinnevelly Missions*, p. 105.

CHAP. VI. "Pundit Gopal Singh, a native Visitor of Indigenous Schools, commenced persuading his neighbours to have their daughters instructed, and met with success which would have been thought incredible. "The establishment of a little School," says the Pundit, "in which my own daughters and those of my immediate friends and relations attended at first, like a charm, dispelled in a great measure the prejudices of my neighbours, and induced many to send their girls also. This example, and my persuasion and reasoning; have at last succeeded in inducing many respectable inhabitants of other villages to yield." And so rapidly did the movement extend that while in September 50 Schools were reported with an attendance of 1200 girls, by the first week of November 200 Schools had been established with an attendance of 3800, nearly all of the most respectable families.

The removal
of female
degradation a
noble object.

It is clear, then, that the prejudice, great as it was, is not, as was often supposed, immovable. And what more important sphere of labour can be imagined? Surely the removal of female degradation is an object worthy of the deepest solicitude on the part of a Christian ruler. Government has done much already: it has legalized the marriage of Hindú widows, of which law its author, Mr J. P. Grant, nobly said, 'that if it saved one poor child from the miseries of the Hindú widow-system, he would pass it for the sake of that poor child; and that if no one ever took advantage of its provisions,

¹ Extracted from *The Friend of India*, for Nov. 20, 1856, on the authority of Lieutenant Puller, Inspector of Schools, in *A Statement on the Formation of a Christian Vernacular Education Society*.

he would still pass it for the honour of the British name.' Government has grappled with the innumerable and widely-ramifying evils and guilt of Kulin Polygamy, which gives to Bráhmans of the highest grade the licence of unlimited Polygamy; then confines them to Polygamy with their own caste; and then makes each marriage such a burdensome expense to the parents, that the birth of a daughter becomes a positive calamity¹. Government has done much to check 'Infanticide' and 'Suttee;' but without the gradual moulding process of female education, especially in boarding-schools, the deep-rooted corruption in female society will not be touched; an outward deformity here and there will be removed, but constitutional remedies will alone remove constitutional disorders. Let it, then, either by encouraging and assisting to the utmost of its power the efforts of private bodies, or by offering female education in schools of its own, aid this mighty and important undertaking; and as soon as the female population of India can be raised from their present degradation, as soon as the women of India shall have been inspired with feelings of moral responsibility and self-respect, then their influence, already great, will be increased a thousand-fold, the artificial barriers of caste will be broken through, and the regeneration of Hindú Society will have begun.

III. The third obstacle to the moral elevation of the Hindú population is the absence of any pure vernacular literature.

Vernacular
Literature.

¹ See the East India Company's *Memorandum*, pp. 47, 48.

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The activity of the vernacular press in India is very great. In the year 1821, it was reckoned a great phenomenon by the Editor of the *Quarterly Friend of India*, that 20,000 volumes were printed, and sold among the natives, within the previous ten years. In 1853, according to a Report prepared by the Rev. W. Long¹, and printed by the Government, '418,275 books and pamphlets in Bengali issued from the native presses in Calcutta, the greater part of which were sold *within the year*: while since the commencement of this century, more than 1600 works have been printed in Bengali, either original compositions, or translations from the Sanskrit, English, or Persian: they have a circulation of no less than *twenty million* copies.' In this list Mr Long does not include any of the more gross and scandalous publications, by which the people are polluted. Their abominations are countless, and nameless.

Need of such
Literature.

Now, if it is important, as we have seen, to raise the mental status of Hindú society, both male and female, by the influence of schools, Vernacular and English, it is clear that a Vernacular literature must be supplied for these schools. Still clearer is it, and still more incumbent does the duty become, if the movement begun by the American Missionaries, and much sympathized with in England, is more generally carried out, viz. that the teaching of native village Churches should devolve on *natives*², while the *European* exercises the office of

¹ See the Paper of the Rev. W. Long, read at the General Conference of Bengal Missionaries, p. 124.

Superintendent. Hindúism is not backward in supplying its votaries with mental aliment: it multiplies its accounts of Krishna and Durga in the shape of popular songs, poetic descriptions, tales and pictorial illustrations¹. 'No one,' says Mr Long, 'that has witnessed as I myself have, a congregation of two hundred men, and one hundred and fifty women, listening with the deepest attention to a recitation of the life of Ráma, but must feel how much we need a Christian literature adapted to the national taste.'

Towards this great end, efforts are already being made; Government is raising its vernacular standard, so are the Mission Schools. Mr Halliday has done all in his power to promote it: the late Mr Colvin, treading in Mr Thomason's steps, published three works in the vernacular press of the North West Provinces². There

¹ 'Judging from what I have heard and seen among Europeans and Hindús, I should say that the latter are more disposed to entertain thoughts of the past, the future, the distant and unseen, than are the former; and I think better qualified to estimate the questions of an abstract and intellectual character. The mental aptitude and sentimental tastes are not merely found among the educated few, but generally they are manifest in ordinary conversation among the natives, as any intelligent person will find in the course of travel from village to village; and they are likewise evinced in the readiness displayed in defence of dogmata, the bare conception of which involves the exercise of considerable acumen.'—*Land of the Vêda*, p. 121.

² Mr Long notices the fact that 'the same year that Peter the Great founded St Petersburg the English established themselves in Calcutta; but while the mighty monarch of the Russians did not then deem their having translations of works made from foreign languages for his people, unworthy his care, it is only after the lapse of 100 years' settlement in this country that the Indian Government have acknowledged their duty in this respect.'—*Conference*, p. 127.

CHAP. VI. has also been formed in Southern India a Christian School-Book Society, from the last Report of which we learn that the books it has published exceed sixty-eight thousand. The publications comprise:—An English Series: a Tamil Series: a Canarese Series: a Telugu Series: a Malayalim Series: a Quarterly Volume: a Periodical for the Young: Almanacs replacing astrology and mythology by sound information, accompanied by Christian truths: and a special work for Hindú females, written by Mrs Mullens of Calcutta, and already translated into some of the languages of South India, and in process of translation into others.

Native Christians might aid the work.

And, possibly, the best of the *native Christians*, and those most adapted for the task, might be encouraged to bring out original works suited to the wants of their countrymen; which, speaking to them from an Eastern point of view, and being written by men who understand, and can sympathise with their religious wants, may guide many into the path of comfort, and minister to their religious advancement.

On the need of some such literature, Mr Long makes some important observations¹. ‘The Hindús,’ he says, ‘in their own writings, shew a great fondness for metaphors and symbols; from the days of Kálidás, who ransacked all nature to furnish him with images, they have exhibited this. The Bible, as an Oriental book, is constructed on the same principle, and our Lord taught by parables. But our religious tracts, and books generally,

¹ Long’s Paper, p. 131.

shew nothing adapted to this taste: they seem to have CHAP. VI. been written rather amid the fogs of London, or the ice of St Petersburg, than in a country with the associations of the gorgeous East. Such books as Baxter's *Call* are for this country little better than waste paper. The Oriental mind must be addressed through Oriental imagery.'

And, surely, in that Volume whose special glory is its variety in unity, and its adaptation to the wants of men in every clime, which in a manner so different from the Sacred books of India and Persia, of Egypt and Arabia, instead of repelling by a wearying uniformity, attracts by an endless variety of scenery and outward imagery, there is an ample storehouse whence by a wise householder things new and old might be drawn forth, and provision made for satisfying the deepest wants of the subtle and speculative Hindú. Herein he may peruse not only the Historical books with all their moving and dramatic interest, or the Psalms, the delight and support of the soul in all regions of the earth, but the book of Job with its deep recognition of the problems of our mysterious existence, and 'the words of the wise and their dark sayings' concerning the vicissitudes of human events, collected by the Royal Preacher. Here, too, he will find that Gospel which is adapted, like no other, to satisfy the deepest wants of every true mystic, and to correct the aberrations of Eastern speculation, the Gospel of the loved disciple, whose words, awful in their very simplicity, describe the Eternal Godhead of Him who before all time was the Word and the Truth and the

CHAP. VI. Light, and the Bright and Morning Star, but Whose glory, on earth, was 'full of grace and truth,' for He was perfect man as well as perfect God.

From this Sacred Volume, then, as from a rich treasury, may be drawn forth by native teachers, a never-failing provision for the intellectual wants of the Hindú. To ourselves it was brought by the earnest Missionary, and though composed in a far-distant land, awakened echoes in our hearts, satisfied our deepest wants, and regenerated our national life. And ours it is, only as trustees, that we may pass it onwards, that having light we may give light. And as in this island, once as much unknown, as to the majority of us now are the islanders of the Southern Seas, there has grown up under the shadow of this Sacred Volume the noblest literature any age can boast of, so we cannot doubt there will in time grow up under the same shadow a regenerated literature in India. And perhaps for the contemplative Eastern mind is reserved the interpretation of many of those pages which as yet we understand but darkly; perhaps for the clime whence originally came forth the Word of Truth, it is reserved to give birth to the men who shall draw forth from its inexhaustible armoury weapons meet for the Church's final conflict with the Mystery of Iniquity.

Already for some time past the idea of one¹ common

¹ 'We have no wish,' (says an able writer in the *Times* of Dec. 31, 1858), 'by this movement to encourage negligence in the study of the native dialects, but the reverse. Nor have we any hope, for generations

medium of expression for the Babel of languages current in our Indian empire, has engaged the attention of the most practical, and shrewd, and matter-of-fact amongst Indian philanthropists. And though we cannot hope for generations to come, to fuse the twenty-two languages of India with their complicated symbols into one common tongue by the adoption of a simple Roman alphabet, yet the desirableness of such a medium cannot be disputed, and its ultimate success is only a matter of time. Meanwhile such of our native converts as are found able and competent could not be invited to co-operate in a more glorious task than in supplying their countrymen with a vernacular Christian literature. They, if any, may be expected to transport themselves to the stand-

A simple
Roman
Alphabet.

tongue, or of ever supplanting them by English. We cannot change the organs of speech; but what we can do let us do by all means, and with all speed consistent with discretion. Let us gradually and in a Christian spirit of conciliation induce our Indian fellow-subjects to adopt our views of religion and science, to study our language and literature, to benefit by our mechanical knowledge and our various appliances for economizing time, labour, and money. As a principal means to this end let us take every opportunity of commending to their use a common character, adapted to the expression of all their languages, and bringing all those languages into community, so far, with our own—a character which, insuring cheap and rapid printing on the one hand, and easy reading on the other, may be made a potent engine not only for promoting intercourse between the European and Asiatic races, but for diffusing education among the millions of Hindús who have never yet learned to read and write.

‘As surely as railroads, electric telegraphs, steam-printing, penny postage, and every other European improvement, must in due time find their way into the remotest corners of our Eastern empire, so surely must the simple Roman alphabet, with Christian instruction in its train, take the place of the complicated symbols which now obstruct the path of knowledge and enlightenment.’—Prof. Monier Williams.

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point of their fellow-men, and instead of recklessly charging every false system with the selfsame errors, and running a tilt against them each and all with the selfsame weapons, to labour heartily to understand the truth, of which each false system is oftentimes only a hideous perversion and caricature. Avoiding all denunciation and contempt of error, let them imitate the conduct of the great Apostle when he encountered all the refinements of Paganism on Mars' Hill, and made the testimony to the insufficiency of Polytheism which the Athenians had themselves inscribed on the altar to the 'unknown God,' a common ground between himself and them,—taking his smooth stone out of their own brook,—and strive, by the dissemination of a purer and nobler literature, to plant the truth which is to take the place of present error. Orientals themselves, let them encounter Oriental difficulties and subtleties in a spirit of wisdom and sympathy, and teach those whom they would lead up unto Christ reverently to handle their past-selves and their past-beliefs. For, as one¹ has well said, 'There is no task needing greater wisdom and patience from above than to set men free from their superstitions, and yet, with this, not to lay waste in their hearts the very soil in which the truth shall strike its roots; to disentangle the tree from the ivy which was strangling it, without, in the process and together with the strangling ivy, destroying also the very life of the tree itself, which we designed to save.'

CHAPTER VII.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS AND INDIVIDUAL INFLUENCE.

‘When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward.’—

The Queen's Proclamation.

HITHERTO we have been treating of the more *direct* CHAP. VII.
agencies employed in the promotion of Christianity, and have seen that much good has resulted and may be expected to result from them. To the establishment of the Indian Episcopate, the labours of the Chaplains of the East India Company, the exertions of Missionaries of various denominations, may be traced, as we have seen, a material and salutary change in Anglo-Indian Society, and, to a certain extent, among the Hindús themselves¹. The Report of one of the most accurate and painstaking of Missionaries has told us how in many places temples are being allowed to fall into decay, how the idol-festivals are becoming less and less frequented, how old Hindú notions are gradually giving way before a more enlightened generation, how Christian efforts are regarded in a far more favourable light, how those who

¹ Mullens' *Statistics*, p. 31.

CHAP. VII. have been longest in the Mission Field are the most sanguine and the most hopeful of ultimate success.

Indirect
agencies in
promoting
Christianity.

Now while, undoubtedly, these agencies have been, each in their several degree, instrumental in producing these beneficial results, there are other agencies also in constant operation, and increasing in power from year to year, which must not be overlooked¹. War and conquest, European science, and European literature, the telegraph and the railway, the book and the newspaper, the College and the School, the changing of laws hitherto hallowed by immemorial usage, the disregard of time-honoured prejudices, the very presence of Europeans in all parts of the country, all these various influences are gradually but surely undermining the foundations of Brahmánic usurpation, infusing little by little new and more healthy ideas, and arousing the native mind from its long apathy and torpor.

Their importance.

These agencies, so potent in themselves, and so constant in their operation, are likely, nay, are certain, if rightly directed, controlled, and regulated, to promote the spread of Christian civilization, to accustom the natives to European ideas, and so to prepare them gradually for the reception of a better and a purer faith. That 'Europeanizing' of the populations of India is going on, to which Sir James Mackintosh alluded in a conversation with Henry Martyn, as likely to prepare the way for the Gospel, just as caste was broken down in Egypt, and the Oriental world made Greek, by the successors

¹ See Brown's *History of Missions*, Vol. III. p. 327. 'General Statements'

of Alexander, in order to make way for the religion of Christ. CHAP. VII.

And while we are bound to set in motion all the direct agencies which have ever heralded the truths of Christianity, we must never forget that all great and organic changes are produced slowly and gradually, that they are the result of the combined operation of many and various influences, working from within to without, and silently permeating the general mass of Society.

And here, in controlling these secondary influences, a Christian Government may truly find a most legitimate sphere for its energies, one to which the charge of 'proselytising' and exerting undue influence can never be imputed. 'You must look in India,' said Sir James Brooke, 'to the *welfare, the material prosperity* of the communities, to advance Christianity amongst them. You cannot, when their lives are in danger, when their property is seized, when their children are torn from them—you cannot propagate your religion, or any other amongst them. They become mere creatures, thinking of their daily bread, hunting from jungle to jungle, and caring neither for their own religion, nor for any other, nor for the God who made them.' Hence nothing calculated in any degree, however remote, to advance the happiness and welfare of the governed is out of the province or the duty of a Christian magistrate; by every means in his power he is bound to make the best provision for the security of life and property, and the maintenance of law and order, truth and justice.

Afford a
legitimate
sphere for
Government
influence.

It is most cheering, therefore, to observe how the

CHAP. VII. conviction of mutual obligations on the part of the rulers and the ruled has been gaining ground in India. And if any say that it is high time this conviction did gain ground, they would do well to remember that we ourselves, here in England, have not so very long awoken to a due sense of our Governmental responsibilities, that we can well afford to throw stones at Indian administrators. Much has been done; and, as has been openly and avowedly declared in the Proclamation of the Queen of England to her Indian subjects, there is the determination to do much more. If we refer to the important *Memorandum of Improvement in the Administration of India during the last Thirty Years*¹, published by the East India Company, we shall find an increasing sense of higher obligations than the primary and rigorous duties of self-security, and commercial aggrandizement.

Measures
against
(1) Thuggee
and Dacoitee,

2. Female
Infanticide,

The enormities of 'Thuggee' and 'Dacoitee' have been suppressed. The piracies which in times past made the navigation of the Arabian seas unsafe for commerce have been effectually put down. Female infanticide, a positive custom in various parts of India among the higher castes, from motives not of religion, but of family pride, has been made the object of special measures. By great efforts of persuasion and address, by conferring honorary rewards and marks of distinction, the heads of caste and tribes have been prevailed on to agree to a limitation of the extravagant marriage expenses. Poor persons of the castes have been assisted with money-grants in aid of the marriage of their daughters, and these efforts have

¹ See the East India Company's *Memorandum*, pp. 46—48.

been rewarded by a constant increase of females in existence, and a corresponding decrease of infanticide. CHAP. VII.

Various modes of self-immolation practised throughout the country by drowning, burying alive, starvation, or burning, have been prohibited and suppressed. 'Suttee' was made criminal by a legislative Act of Lord William Bentinck's Administration, and has entirely ceased in the provinces subject to British rule. One only of the native princes holds out against the unremitting efforts used to induce him to imitate British example; and he, the representative of the oldest and proudest dynasty in India, professes himself willing to abolish the rite as soon as his feudal chiefs will consent. 'Witchcraft' also, and the singular mode of extorting redress under the native Governments known by the name of 'Tragga,' have been dealt with, and to a great extent repressed by a gentle but powerful hand. In the year 1843, an Act of Government abolished Slavery as a legal status, forbidding any court of justice to recognize it, or any fugitive claimed as a slave to be forcibly restored. Compulsory labour, a mark of all despotic and Eastern Governments, has been abolished. The horrible Hindú widow-system has received a check such as it never received before since Bráhmanic priestcraft began its baneful career, by legalizing the Re-marriage of Widows.

In the 'Memorandum' to which we refer a large section is devoted to improvements in 'Judicature and Legislation.' In no department are improvements more

3. Various modes of self-immolation,

4. Suttee,

5. Witchcraft, and Tragga,

6. Slavery,

7. Compulsory Labour,

8. The Hindú Widow-system.

Judicature and Legislation.

CHAP. VII. are more noteworthy in the curious 'Autobiography of Lutfullah' than the remark the Author makes, after enumerating all the heretical opinions we hold, abhorrent to every true believer in the Koran, about that one attribute which won for us respect and consideration. 'Many other things,' he remarks, 'were said against them (the English), and only one in their favour, *that they were not unjust: but, in the administration of justice, they never deviated from the ancient and sacred book of Solomon the Son of David.*' Here is a noble opportunity of testifying our uprightness, not in words, but in deeds. And nothing do the natives of India, oppressed and downtrodden for centuries by despotic rule, so much require, if they are to be taught to put confidence in us their masters, as the establishment of our rule on the immoveable foundations of Truth and Justice¹. Towards this end much has been done, but far more requires to be done. The Zemindarree System, and the Police Regulations, are affirmed on all hands to claim especial attention.

Civil Rights
of Converts
secured by
an Act of
1850.

One regulation made by Government cannot fail to have a good effect. By an Act passed in 1850 it was enacted that change of religion should not involve loss of property or civil rights. Thus the civil rights of converts throughout the whole of the territories subject to the British Government have been secured. In this particular the old barbarous laws of the Hindús have been utterly laid aside, and converts to Christianity are now

¹ See *Bengal Missionary Conference*, pp. 84—116. Ludlow's *British*

protected, so far as law can protect them, against temporal ill consequences from any change of faith. This Act, combined with another directing the employment of all classes of subjects equally according to their attainments, must in time effect incalculable good. 'It is our will,' runs the Proclamation of the Queen, 'that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.' We may with advantage contrast this declaration with the words of Bp Heber¹, writing to his wife in 1826, '*Will it be believed, that while the Rajah kept his dominions, Christians were eligible to all the different offices of state, while now, there is an order of Government against their being admitted to any employment; surely we are, in matters of religion, the most lukewarm and cowardly people on the face of the earth.*' The efforts, however, of good men have at length prevailed, and this great disgrace to our connection with India, has been swept away, as also we trust will soon be any illegitimate connection with the Religious Ceremonies and Institutions of the natives. Treaties, of course, are treaties, and must be strictly maintained. The total resumption of all grants from the public revenue for native religions has been rightly declared 'impracticable' and 'unjust².' But there is, surely, no necessity for our maintaining temples and shrines which, if left to native keeping, would

¹ Heber's *Travels in India*, Vol. II. p. 358.

² Sir John Lawrence's *Despatch*.

CHAP. VII. inevitably fall to decay, or for a man, like Sir Peregrine Maitland, to be obliged to resign his appointment, rather than superintend the firing of salutes at heathen festivals. Such work might, surely, be left to the Bráhmans and to voluntary votaries.

Physical and
Social well-
being of the
Natives.

Besides these Judicial and Legislative Improvements, everything connected with the physical and social well-being of the natives must be an object of peculiar solicitude to the Government. Irrigation, therefore, and the means of communication by roads and canals, for which in more advanced countries sufficient or even better provision is made by private enterprize, require the direct aid and anxious attention of the Indian administrator. The true philanthropist rejoices when he hears of the Jumna¹ Canal, the Ganges Canal, the Punjab Canal, the Sind Canals, the Coleroon works, the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Delhi, the Great Deccan Road, the Agra Road, of Railways, either completed or sanctioned, or under consideration. All these, he knows, are steps in the right direction. Physical benefits, indeed, some will say, and bearing only indirectly on the progress of Christianity. But are not the words of the old Roman boast, 'Nihil humanum a me alienum puto,' only in a far truer and nobler and more exalted sense, the boast also of Christianity? 'The indirect benefits,' remarks Livingstone², after telling us how at Linyanti he

¹ East India Company's *Memorandum*, pp. 52—67. On the need of

had to endure the dancing, roaring, and singing, the jesting, grumbling, quarrelling and murdering of the African children of nature,—‘The indirect benefits which to a casual observer lie beneath the surface and are inappreciable, in reference to the probable wide diffusion of Christianity at some future time, are worth all the money and labour that have been expended to produce them.’ It is to be remembered that Christianity has specially the promise of the life *that now is*, as well as that which is to come. In its doctrines¹ of the Incarnation, and the Resurrection, contrary to the old pseudo-philosophic notions, it recognizes the great truth that the body is a constituent part of human nature itself, and that its welfare is to be promoted by all just and proper means. ‘Its secondary influence goes a great way further than its primary influence. For every individual whom it converts, it may, by its reflex operation, civilize a hundred².’ Every indirect agency, therefore, may, if rightly directed and controlled, pave the way for a better order of things, and tend to produce, only on a

¹ See a Sermon of Dr Lee’s, preached at Orathie, published by Her Majesty’s command. ‘Since regulations for securing the physical well-being of the people formed parts of the Jewish system, we, who acknowledge the divine origin of that system, cannot reasonably doubt, that the care of health and wise sanitary measures have a religious character, and involve a religious obligation. We could escape this inference only by holding that the institutions of Moses were in great part not religious, but merely secular. Without a certain amount of *physical* wellbeing, a healthy moral or religious condition is not to be expected in any population, and is extremely difficult of attainment even in individuals.’

² Chalmers’ *Political Economy*, p. 426.

CHAP. VII.

Encourage-
ment from
success in
Tinnevelly
and Ceylon.

larger scale, such beneficent results as have been already produced, on a smaller one, in such districts as Tinnevelly and the island of Ceylon. 'On turning to Tinnevelly,' writes Dr Caldwell¹, 'and comparing the temporal condition of the native Christians with that of the heathen, we cannot but be struck with the visible improvement which the Gospel has effected. In passing from village to village, you can tell without asking the question which village is Christian and which is heathen. You can distinguish the Christian village by such signs as these: the straightness and regularity of the streets, the superior construction and neatness and cleanness of the cottages, the double row of tulip-trees and cocoa-palms, planted along each street for ornament as well as for shade, and the air of humble respectability which everywhere meets your view,—all so different from the filth and indecency, the disorder and neglect, which assure a visitor that the village is heathen. In every case with which I am acquainted, villages which held fast and valued the Christianity they received, have risen, sometimes in the first generation, always in the second, to the enjoyment of greater prosperity and comfort, and to a higher position in the social scale, than any heathen village of the same caste.'

Such results are encouraging, and augur well for more extended exertions. Neither² civilization nor Christianity can be promoted alone, in fact, they are inseparable: the one physically, the other spiritually,

¹ *Tinnevelly Missions*, p. 116.

and both in intimate union and harmony lead men, by God's grace, into that kingdom of Purity and Order which the Son of God has established among men. CHAP. VII

One point more requires remark, and it is an important one. Every Englishman, especially every Englishman in civil or military employment, can promote the cause of Christianity by the exhibition of consistent Christian conduct in all his dealings with the native population. The influence of individual character in India cannot be exaggerated: there, if anywhere, 'great weights are hung on slender wires.'

The influence
of individual
example.

It is becoming more and more generally acknowledged that the burden of India's Evangelization must not be lazily thrown on a few societies labouring here and there throughout that vast country. The sporadic efforts of a handful of men, energetic and devoted as they may be, can hardly do more than touch the surface of society. The Queen's Government, embodying as it does the Civilization and Christianity of the West,—this is the real Missionary Institute. Its influence is poured upon the millions inhabiting our Indian Empire by a thousand channels. It touches native life and native habits at every point. It is absurd to pretend that the religious prejudices of the Hindú are likely to be excited by the labours of the Missionary Preacher or the Mission School, by Grants-in-aid to private educational institutions, or the introduction of *optional* religious instruction into the Government Establishments, while the Government itself is the recognized embodiment of the unconscious influences of Christian civilization. In its very

CHAP. VII. spirit and tone and bearing, intentionally or unintentionally, it stands opposed to the degrading effects of Oriental despotism and misrule. There is scarcely an Enactment it can put forth, there is scarcely a Regulation it can frame, but must inevitably clash with some long-standing social or moral corruption: and every legislative measure, whereby the eternal principles of Truth and Purity, Benevolence and Order are carried out into practice, is the result of 1800 years of Christian influence. Where on the face of the earth are these principles really made the basis of legislation, save in those countries which profess fealty to Him who on earth realized to man the perfection of humanity?

The Influence of the Government depends on the conduct of its representatives.

And while in its corporate capacity the Government thus embodies and concentrates the cumulated results of the teaching and the influence of 1800 years, the exhibition of its glorious principles in action depends upon the conduct of its individual representatives. *'Everything in Asia, public safety, national honour, personal reputation, rests on the force of individual character. For a European gentleman in India there is strictly speaking no private life. He is one of the ruling race: he is one of the few among the many: he is one of a population some 10,000 strong among more than ten times as many millions.'* So said Lord Stanley the other day to the students at Addiscombe. They are weighty words, and worthy of the occasion on which they were uttered. In India, if anywhere, a few must be the salt of the earth: and if that salt shall lose its savour, what else can regenerate Hindú Society?

Perhaps in the annals of no government is it more markedly recorded how much may be done by individual influence and individual example than in those of the late East India Company. When the very foundations of our Indian Empire were reeling to and fro, and men's hearts failing them for fear, and the end seemed drawing nigh, who, under God, were the towers of strength that bore up the tottering edifice? Sneer as men may in time of peace at 'earnest' politicians and 'earnest' colonels, it would have gone rather hard *then* with the Company's existence had it not been for that band of valiant and God-fearing men who proved in that awful crisis, even as it has always been, that the true Christian is the true hero. The men who had not forgotten their God in the hour of prosperity, were not forgotten by Him in the hour of danger.

Prominence
of instances
of individual
influence in
the records
of the East
India Com-
pany.

Now, on those who, month by month, leave the shores of England to commence their career as soldiers or civilians, mainly depends India's future regeneration. And if on them, then on us¹; on us here in England, in our crowded cities, in our peaceful villages, in our public schools, in our courts of justice, in our happy homes, by our own firesides. Hence, from amongst ourselves,

¹ 'If we are Atheists, we shall make Hindús and Mussulmans Atheists. The Shásters and the Koran will not hinder the work: they will adapt themselves to the Atheism or will succumb to it.'..... 'The belief which we carry forth to the remotest boundary of our empire will be the belief that will save or ruin us at home. If we have not a humanity that is large enough for India, we have none that will keep us from sinking into cowardice, effeminacy, brutality in our own land. The God or the Devil we proclaim will be the God or the Devil to whom we offer ourselves in sacrifice.'

CHAP. VII. from our own midst, go forth to our Indian Presidencies, Statesmen and Judges, Legislators and Magistrates, Soldiers and Civilians, Chaplains and Missionaries. Let us not, then, imagine we have done all that can be required of us when in a fit of temporary indignation we have made a great Company the scape-goat of our own failings. On us, on all of us, and especially on our boasted Middle Class¹, depends the honour of England in the East. Of those *we* train and educate and send forth, England expects every one to do his duty not only to herself, but also to her God. On us, through them, hinges the elevation of the millions committed to our charge.

Great may be the hardships of Indian official life: severe may be its temptations: but the sharper the contest, the more glorious the victory: hard work is the only 'heroical rest' which is worthy of Christian men in every clime. Scattered as they may be, few and far between, over the enormous extent of our Indian Presidencies, yet how much may the 'Collector' and the 'Commissioner' effect for good! If in an evil hour they be tempted to deflect from the straight road and the right path—and many are the temptations to do so—then let them remember the responsibilities that rest upon them, that they

¹ 'The Indian Government, as compared with that of England, has been emphatically and admittedly a middle-class Government, often a stepping-stone to aristocratic rank and rule at home. More peers' robes have been won in India than carried thither. And accordingly its faults have been in great measure middle-class faults, the grasping after wealth, the hasting to be rich, the narrowness of view,—aye, and not a little of the arrogance of the purse, the vulgar assumption of superiority.'—

are the representatives of England, of England's civilization, and England's Christianity; that 'a single officer who forgets he is an officer and a gentleman does more harm to the moral influence of his country than ten men of blameless life can undo¹.' And the thought will surely nerve them with moral courage, and resolution.

Above all, let them determine to get rid of all low and unworthy thoughts of the teeming millions amongst whom their lot is cast. Let them remember that degraded as these may be, they are yet their brothers, of one blood, and one family, and children of a common Father². Let it be their work, therefore, to examine native habits, native ideas, and native character. Let them do this fairly, kindly, generously; and the recorded results of the efforts of Dixon amongst the Mairs, of Outram and Ovans amongst the Bheels, of Macpherson amongst the Khonds, and of many others, prove that their reward will be great, greater than any other which the world can give,—the respect, the devotion, and the love of a grateful people. Nothing more signally marked the late Sir Henry Lawrence³ as a truly noble man than the

There must be no contempt of the Natives.

¹ Lord Stanley's *Speech at Addiscombe*.

² Such a recognition of a universal brotherhood is one of the first duties of a Christian. To forget it is to fall back into heathenism, for it has been observed, that 'the remains of Classical antiquity, literary, numismatic, or monumental, reflect hardly a gleam of light into that deep obscurity, where unheeded millions, from generation to generation, passed away, whether in comfort or misery excited no inquiry. Philanthropy in its extended sense formed no part of heathen virtue, and no question in the Schools of heathen philosophy. The Christian Revelation was required to teach men that ALL are fellow-creatures of one God, all children of one Father.'—*Quarterly Review*. See Appendix K.

CHAP. VII. entire absence of all contempt of the natives, of all unworthy *hauteur* in his dealings with them. And if we

Revolt) 'was for ever talking the new officers into his own views, and influencing them *to live among the people*; to do as many cases under the trees, and as few under the Punkah, as possible; to ride about their districts, and see and hear for themselves, instead of through the police; and his cheery, earnest way of doing this, his glad praise of any rough and ready officer, and his indignant contempt for all skulks, idlers, and nimmukurâm, drew models in young fellows' minds, which they went forth and copied in their administrations.'

'James Abbott became Deputy-Commissioner of Huzara, was six years in Huzara, and he left it amidst the unfeigned regrets of the people. Huzara had passed from a desolation to a smiling prosperity; it was he who had worked the change. He had literally lived among them as their patriarch—an out-of-door, under-tree life. Every man, woman, and child in the country knew him personally, and hastened from their occupations to welcome and salute him as he came in their way. The children especially were his favourites. He never moved out without sweetmeats in his pocket for the children who might meet him, and as plentiful a supply of money for the poor. He literally spent all his substance on the people, and left Huzara, it is believed, with only his month's pay. His last act was to invite all Huzara to a farewell feast on the Nâvâ hill; and there for three days and nights he might be seen, with long grey beard over his breast, and grey locks far down his shoulders, walking about among the groups of guests, the kind and courteous host of a whole people. What is the result? The district of Huzara, which was notorious for its long-continued struggles with the Sikhs, is now about the quietest, happiest, and most loyal in the Punjab.' —Raikes's *Notes*.

'The Government,' writes an intelligent native of Northern India, 'did not become unpopular when officers like Tod and Malcolm, Augustus Brooke or Sir T. Munro, were appointed to govern the country; reluctance in Englishmen to mix with the people increased with the increase of their power. Colonel Tod sat down for hours by the pallet of the Udaipur Rânâ in his sickness to beguile his time by shewing him pictures and mirrors; but in 1851, when the last native independent state, I mean the Punjab, had fallen into the hands of the British, and their power attained its zenith, a very renowned functionary invites one of the great Mahârâjâs to meet him from 12 miles, and yet cannot spare a

detest the 'caste' system, let us exhibit our detestation not by riding roughshod over native feelings and failings, but by eradicating every tendency to Bráhmanism, and exclusiveness, and ideas of hereditary superiority in our own breasts. A Christian ought never to be outdone in good manners; and that which Livingstone found true in South Africa is true everywhere. 'A good man' as has been well said, 'has the advantage in any country under heaven, and where general respect, sympathy, and moral influence are the objects to be gained, virtue must be power'.¹ When was it ever otherwise? What

the Parliament were sincere well-wishers of their Indian possessions they would have made Tod's Travels, and Rajasthan, as a text-book for the Indian Civil Service examination instead of History of Greece and Rome, where they could have found in almost the first page written, "that no European can be an acceptable or useful functionary amongst the Hindús who is not familiar with their language, manners and institutions, and disposed to *mix* with them upon equal and social terms." So the real cause of the unpopularity of the Government, and consequently of all the miseries under which the country labours, is the reluctance of your countrymen to mix with the natives, because without mixing with the people they cannot acquire a thorough knowledge of their ideas, sentiments, notions, capabilities, social and moral conditions, internal economy, wants and prejudices, which is so necessary to govern successfully an empire; and through this ignorance, and ignorance only, what a vast amount of money, labour, genius and energy is thrown away quite uselessly!—*The Sepoy Rebellion*, by Rev. W. Arthur.

¹ 'Much of my influence,' remarks Livingstone, 'among the Makololo depended upon the good name given me by the Backwains, and that I secured only through a long course of tolerably good conduct. No one ever gains much influence in this country without purity and uprightness. The acts of a stranger are keenly scrutinized by both young and old, and seldom is the judgment pronounced, even by heathen, unfair or uncharitable. I have heard women speaking in admiration of a white man, because he was pure, and never was guilty of any secret immorality.'

CHAP. VII. recommended Christianity to the heathen in the first centuries of our era? Miracles doubtless did much, but the power to work them lasted only for a while. But greater than miracles is Christian love, and a blameless and a virtuous life. Virtue contemplated in action, exemplified in life, and animating social intercourse, attracts by a law of our being the most enlightened and the most degraded of the sons of men. It knows of no geographical or ethnical boundaries: it is its own herald, its own missionary. Exhibit Christian love and Christian sympathy, and you attract and win where the sword of the soldier and the enactment of the magistrate only irritate and coerce¹. The smallest act of friendship, the

¹ 'Asia is a land of trifles; a word, a move, a courtesy, an insult, an hour's conversation, a letter, nay a look, decides here the fate of empires. Mahomed Sháh was brushing his teeth when Jay Sing went first to pay his respect after the death of his father; the king to have a fun tried to frighten the boy by taking hold of his both hands, and asking, "Well, boy, how shall I treat you now?" Jay Sing answered unhesitatingly that, "O the refuge of the world, if a man takes hold of another's hand, he supports him through his life; when you have taken hold of both of mine what more have I to ask for?" the king made him "Savái," that is, one fourth more than the greatest Rájás of the time; and so he was called all along Jay Sing Savái. You know, Sir, how much the British Government is obliged to the Mahárájá of Patialá for his valuable assistance in the Sutlej Campaign. He asked Lord Hardinge as a favour to give his Highness' hand in that of Colonel Mackeson, then agent at Umbállá, the Lord did so immediately, but I hardly think that the Colonel ever understood its meaning. The ladies and gentlemen present at the Darbár were observed to smile at what they thought a mere piece of nonsense. Such is the land of Asia and such her people, whom you wish to govern by the laws and ideas of England.'

It is remarked 'that the habitual bearing of Englishmen to natives is marked by a high degree of pride and distance—that he is far too

obliging word, the civil look, can, as Xavier taught, do CHAP. VII.
great things where all else fails. Let each and every one, then, occupying a governmental position, whether civil or military, remembering his high mission and great responsibilities amongst the millions of Hindústan, only strive to be good and to do good, to the best of his power, not by stepping out of his position but simply remaining in it, and discharging its duties loyally, nobly, and thoroughly, and this silent but persuasive preaching will, nay, must eventually have its wonted effect. The populations, for whom we are trustees, who have endured and suffered from former governments as no other people have suffered under the sun, will at last throw off their present suspicion and mistrust, and awake to find that Benevolence and Justice, Truth and Righteousness have not left this earth; and attracted towards us by the most powerful magnet that can influence human nature, will serve us with the loyalty of real confidence and regard, not as aliens but as brothers, as children of one Great Father, and joint-heirs of a common Immortality.

Here, however, we must conclude. We have tried much of the Turk. Many a respectable native is left to stand before a European, looking meek and contented all the while, though his heart is gnawing within him. Many a one hears rude sharp words which outrage his ideas of self-respect, when his cowardly nature will not allow even a look to betray the mortification that he feels; and in every day's intercourse much is done, by these miserable faults in manners, to obliterate the good impressions of honour, justice, and truth, even where these virtues are maintained. "You do not rob us," said a native to Sir Charles Forbes, "but you make us stand behind your chair." See Appendix L.

CHAP. VII. to ascertain the means which a Christian Government may legitimately employ in promoting the emancipation of India from its superstitions by means of Christian influence. Doubtless some points of detail may seem questionable to those far better acquainted than we can ever pretend to be with the actual wants of the country. But the *principle* of the thing is the main point after all. Here, as in everything else, if there be the will, there will be found a way. Only let us take care in what spirit we set about this delicate task. Everything depends on our own views of Christianity, and the reasons why we seek its diffusion. If we seek it, because it is our Creed, or the faith of the all-conquering Anglo-Saxon race, or the opinion of a party, then it is well if difficulties are thrown in our way. But if we regard it as, and have found it ourselves to be, God's answer to the perplexing enigmas of our mysterious existence, His response to the yearnings of the human soul, then all will be well. Coercion is a thing impossible if we regard Christianity aright, if we look upon Christ's kingdom as a kingdom of *Truth*; it is an expedient we shall be perpetually in danger of adopting, if we regard it as the Creed of a race, a sect, or a party. On this point let us be real and honest with ourselves. Let us break through the trammels of listless apathy, and self-satisfied indifference, and know whether we are living in a world of dreams, and taken up with a few floating notions, or have passed through all these into the inner sanctuary of Reality and Truth. If we have, then we

Christianity alone supplies, lies at the bottom of all CHAP. VII.
social, moral, and religious progress.

And this we have special reason to remember, for we have lived so long under the influence of Christian civilization, that we are apt to forget that which differences it from all other civilizations. And, just as it has been observed by a distinguished writer¹, that many men of high mathematical and scientific reputations have rested in the laws of nature 'as ultimate and all-sufficient principles, without seeing in them any evidence of their having been *selected* and *ordained*, and thus, without ascending from the contemplation of the universe to the thought of an intelligent Ruler,' have come to 'substitute for the Deity certain axioms and first principles as the cause of all,' so, surrounded as we are with the signs of material and moral progress, living, moving, and having our very being amidst the countless blessings of modern civilization, we are apt to overlook entirely the Fountain-head whence all these blessings take their rise; to neglect to extend our views beyond material laws and causes to a First Cause, from whom alone the first vitalizing principles of social and moral progress originate. For how can there be such progress, where, as in India (and as was the case with our forefathers years ago), the mind is distracted with the awful problem whether it is a Vishnu or a Siva, a Preserver or a Destroyer, who is

¹ Dr Whewell's *Bridgewater Treatise*. Compare the language of St Augustine on the same subject, 'Si est in nobis Spiritus ipsius, sic nobis placent (opera ejus) ut Artifex laudetur: non ut ad opera conversi ab Artifice avertamur, et faciem quodammodo ponentes ad ea quæ fecit, dorsum ponamus ad eum qui fecit.—*In Joan. Evang.* Tract. viii.

CHAP. VII.

the rightful Sovereign of the universe? Blot out the revelations of Scripture concerning God, man, and immortality, blot out the truth that God is our Father, that we are His children, that life is the childhood of a future manhood, and the fear-created, terror-engendered gods of heathendom, with their ritual of blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke, cannot but regain their dread ascendancy over our hearts. On the other hand, proclaim these blessings in the remotest haunt of suffering humanity, as realized and sealed to us in the blood of a Redeemer, and you attract with a potent magnet the heart of the most savage and the most uncivilized, you set up within them that which no coercion, or legislative enactments, or pains and penalties, can establish—a Kingdom of Truth, and Gratitude, and Love.

APPENDIX.

A. p. 1.

FOR an amusing instance of the change in our position from that which we occupied in 1712, see the letter sent on the 15th of September in that year to the 'Grand Mogul,' and to 'his Vizir,' quoted in Taylor and Mackenna's *Compendium*, p. 556.

'Governor John Russell, England.

'The supplication of John Russell, who is as the minutest grain of sand, and whose forehead is the tip of his footstool, who is absolute monarch and prop of the universe, whose throne may be compared to that of Solomon's, and whose renown is equal to that of Cyrus, the conqueror of the World, and the hereditary support of justice, eradicating oppression.

'The Englishmen having traded hitherto in Bengal, Orissa and Behar, custom free (except in Surat), are your Majesty's most obedient slaves, always intent upon your commands. We have readily observed your most sacred orders, and have found favour; we have, as becomes Servants, a diligent regard to your part of the sea. The present designed for your Majesty, from the Company, is at Calcutta, near Hoogley. We hope to send it after the rains, and likewise to procure a Firman for free trade. We crave to have Your Majesty's protection in the above-mentioned places, as before, and to follow our business without molestation.

"Calcutta, Sept. 15, 1712."

B. p. 13.

‘There are obvious reasons’ (observes Dr Whewell, in his *Elements of Morality*, Vol. II. p. 219) ‘why states should thus recognize as a Duty the general moral and intellectual culture of their citizens. The moral and intellectual culture of men (including in this, as we cannot avoid doing, their religious culture also) is the highest object at which men can aim; and one which they cannot be content to neglect or have neglected. They require to have their moral, intellectual, and religious sympathies gratified, as well as to have their persons and properties protected. And many modes of conducting this culture, and gratifying these sympathies, are such as naturally draw men into associations which exercise a great sway over their actions. In some respects, the convictions and feelings which bind together such associations, may be said to exercise the *supreme* sway over men’s actions. For, so far as men do act, their actions are, in the long run, determined by their conviction of what is right on moral and religious grounds: and a government which they hold to be wrong on such grounds, must tend to be destroyed, so far as its subjects are free to act. And though men may for a long time be subjugated by a government which they think contrary to morality and religion, a society in which this is the general condition of the subjects cannot be considered as one in which the State attains its objects. The State, the supreme authority, must, in a sound polity, have on its side the convictions and feelings which exercise the supreme sway. It must, therefore, have on its side, the convictions and feelings which tend to bind men into associations for moral, intellectual, and religious purposes. If this be not so, the State has objects in which it fails, and which are higher than those in which it succeeds; and a portion of the Sovereignty passes, from it, into

the hands of those who wield the authority of Moral, Intellectual, and Religious Associations. It must, then, be an object of the State, so to direct the education of its subjects that men's moral, intellectual, and religious convictions may be on its side; and that Moral, Intellectual, and Religious Associations may be duly subordinate to its sovereignty.'

'I am content,' writes Dr Arnold, 'with that interpretation of our Lord's words, which I believe has been generally given to them; that He did not mean to call Himself King of the Jews in the common sense of the term, so as to imply any opposition to the government of the Romans. And as a general deduction from His words, I accept a very important truth which fanaticism has often neglected—that moral and spiritual superiority does not interfere with the ordinary laws of political right; that the children of God are not by virtue of that relation to claim any dominion upon earth. Being perfectly convinced that our Lord has not forbidden His people to establish His kingdom, when they can do so without the breach of any rule of common justice, I shall hail as the perfect consummation of earthly things, the fulfilment of the words, that the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of God and of Christ. And that kingdoms of the world not only may, but are bound to provide for the highest welfare of their people according to their knowledge, is a truth in which philosophers and statesmen, all theory and all practice, have agreed with wonderful unanimity down to the time of the eighteenth century. In the eighteenth century, however, and since, the old truth has not wanted illustrious advocates. I have already named Burke and Coleridge in our own country, nor am I aware that the opposite notion has ever received any countenance from any one of the great men of Germany. Up to this moment the weight of authority is beyond all comparison against it; and it is for its advocates to establish it, if they

objection raised against the moral theory of a state's objects; difficulties only are suggested as to points of practical detail, some of them arising from the mixture of extraneous and indefensible doctrines with the simple theory itself, and others applicable indeed to that theory, but no less applicable to any theory which can be given of a Christian Church, and to be avoided only by a system of complete individual independence, in matters relating to morals and to religion.'—*Lectures on Modern History*, p. 58.

C. p. 16.

'The elder Pliny, while absorbed in the contemplation of nature, is lost in admiration of an immeasurable creative spirit, who is beyond all human comprehension, and manifests himself in his works. But his admiration of this exalted spirit of the universe serves only to awaken, in tenfold strength, the depressing sense of the finiteness and vanity of man's nature. He saw nothing to fill up the chasm betwixt feeble man and that unknown, all-transcending spirit. Polytheism he regarded as the invention of human weakness. Since men were incapable of grasping and retaining the whole conception of perfect being, they separated it into many parts. They formed for themselves divers ideals as objects of worship: each making himself a god suited to his own familiar wants.'—NEANDER'S *Church History*, I. 14.

'The life of a person, harassed from his very youth with doubts, unsettled by the strife of opposite opinions, seeking the truth with ardent longing, and conducted at last, by this long unsatisfied craving, to Christianity, is delineated by the author of a sort of romance belonging to the second or third century, *The Clementines*, which, though a fiction, is clearly

noble Roman family, who lived about the time of the first preaching of the Gospel, thus tells his own story: "From my early youth I busied myself with doubts of this kind, which had found entrance into my soul I hardly know how: After death shall I exist no more, and will no one even once think of me, since infinite time sinks all human things in forgetfulness? Will it be just the same as if I had never been born? When was the world created, and what existed before the world was? If it existed from all eternity, then it will continue to exist always. If it had a beginning, it will likewise have an end. And after the end of the world, what will there be then? what, perhaps, but the silence of death?"—NEANDER, I. 44.

Universal experience testifies that the contemplation of the natural phenomena of the universe, without some clue whereby to explain its mysteries, so far from comforting has only tended to distract the minds of thoughtful men. Man, in no country and in no age, has sat down *satisfied* with the disorder and derangement he perceived around him. He has never believed them to present the *normal* and *true* condition of things, or acquiesced in their existence, otherwise than as betraying symptoms of some convulsion in the moral and physical worlds. The promotion of an *exclusively* secular Education is not a progressive but a retrograde step. It is to try over again that experiment which was tried on a gigantic scale before the era of the Advent. Art and Literature, Philosophy and Politics had done their utmost; men's unaided energies had put forth the maximum of their power; the threads of human development had been strung to their utmost stretch, and man had not climbed up to the 'Great Unknown,' or reached that happiness which he *felt* he needed. The altar of the Unknown God at Athens was the Athenian's confession of the inability of man's unaided energies to satisfy the doubts and questions which tormented

him. Are we, in dealing with the Hindú, to commence the weary round again?

D. p. 17.

‘When I speak’ (says Archbishop Whately) ‘of the advancement of knowledge throughout the community, as a dangerous thing, I mean that it is such, in the same sense and in the same manner that bodily growth is dangerous. The growth of the body is agreeable to the order of nature, and is in itself a good; but it calls for discreet vigilance, lest it lead to deformity by becoming irregular.....The dangers accompanying the progress of society in knowledge and intelligence, do not arise from the too great amount, or too great diffusion, of mental cultivation, but from *misdirected* and *disproportionate* cultivation. And this misdirection does not consist so much in the imparting of knowledge which had better be withheld from a particular class, or the exercise of faculties which, in them, had better be left dormant, as in the violation of *proportion*—the neglect of preserving a due *balance* between different studies and different mental powers. No illustration will better explain my meaning than that of the bodily growth. A child neglected at the period of growth, will become rickety and deformed, from some of the limbs receiving, perhaps, no absolutely undue increase, but a disproportioned increase; while others do not indeed shrink, nor perhaps cease to grow, but do not increase at the same rate. In such a case we sometimes say that the head or the trunk is grown too large for the limbs; meaning, however, not absolutely, but relatively;—not that the growth of one part is in itself excessive, but that the other parts have not kept pace with it. And though such a distortion is worse even than a general dwarfish and stunted

growth, it is obvious that a full and regular development of all the parts is far preferable to either; and also, that it is, when Nature is making an effort towards growth, not only more desirable, but more practicable, to make that an equable and well-proportioned growth, than to repress it altogether. We should endeavour rather to strengthen the weak parts, than to weaken the strong. But if we take no pains to do either the one or the other, it is plain that both the corporeal, and also the intellectual and moral, expansion, must lead to disease and deformity.'—*Dangers to Christian Faith*, p. 52.

E. p. 19.

'At a meeting of the Asiatic Society, in Calcutta, June 17, 1837, two works were presented written in the Mahratta and Hindú languages, by two natives, for the purpose of explaining the correct system of astronomy to their countrymen. After arguing in vain for eight years, Mr Lancelot Wilkinson had an opportunity of making them acquainted with Hindú astronomical books; and immediately the real size and shape of the earth, and other important physical facts, were understood, and conviction carried to their minds. Subhaji Bafu had the master mind, which exercised its influence over all the other Pandits. He was lost in admiration when he came fully to comprehend all the facts resulting from the spherical form of the earth: and when the retrogressions of the planets were shewn to be so naturally accounted for on the theory of the earth's annual motion, and when he reflected on the vastly superior simplicity and credibility of the supposition that the earth had a diurnal motion, than that the sun and all the stars daily revolve round the earth, he became a zealous defender of the system of Copernicus. He lamented that his life had been spent in

nation against all those of his predecessors who had contributed to the wilful concealment of the truths that had once been acknowledged in the land.'—MR SPIERS' *Life in Ancient India*, p. 461.

'According to the Shasters, the earth is circular and flat, like the flower of the water-lily. Its circumference is four billions of miles; in its centre is Mount Soo-meroo, ascending 600,000 miles from its surface; and at the base of this are four other mountains, on each of which grows a tree 8,800 miles high. The part of the earth which we inhabit is several hundred thousand miles in diameter, and the salt sea which surrounds it is of the same breadth. Round this are six other concentric circular islands, each of which is surrounded by its own sea. The six seas are of sugar-cane juice, spirituous liquors, clarified butter, curds, milk, and sweet-water, each being of one of these; and outside the sweet-water sea is a continent of gold as big as all the rest of the earth.

'These sacred books further teach that the sun is 800,000 miles distant from the earth, the moon 800,000 miles further distant, and the fixed stars 800,000 further; the planet Mercury is 1,600,000 from the fixed stars, or 4,000,000 from the earth; and the other planets more distant. They assert that a water-spout is spit out from the trunk of Indra's elephant; that eclipses are occasioned by the monster Rahoo; that the water of the Ganges is essential purity; and many other things as false and fabulous. When, therefore, a young Hindú learns the true figure of the earth, the facts of the solar system, and the extent of the visible universe, or how many animalculæ are contained in one drop of the Ganges water, or any other natural fact at variance with the statements of the Shasters, he is led to question all the doctrines of his creed. The influence of one such discovery in the school of Dr Duff is thus recorded by him:—

asked the boys, "What is rain?"—"Water from the sky," was the answer. "How was it produced?"—"It comes from the trunk of Indra's elephant. My Gooroo told me soo." "How did the Gooroo know it?"—"The Shaster says so." "In boiling your rice, what is observed to rise from the vessel?"—"Vapour." "Is the vapour wet or dry?"—"Wet." "Whence does the wet vapour proceed?"—"From the water." "When you hold a cup of cold water in your hand, do you see vapour rising?"—"No." "Then, it is from the water warmed by the fire that you see the vapour ascend, and not from the cold?"—"Yes." "What must you infer from this?"—"That it is the fire which, in making the water warm, makes it go into vapour." "When a dry lid is held over it, what effect is produced?"—"It gets wet." "When it gets very wet, does all the vapour stick to it?"—"No, it falls off in drops." "After a heavy fall of rain, what do you witness?"—"Great vapours." It was then explained that the sun, like the fire under the rice-pot, made the vapours rise; and that the vapours in the air, like those on the lid of the rice-pot, when they were abundant enough, and met the cold air, were condensed, and fell in drops like those from the lid. "If your account be the true one, what becomes of our Shaster? Our Shaster must be false. But the Shaster is true; so your account must be false: and yet it looks so like the truth." Dr Duff found afterwards that the boy had made a mistake—the assertion of the Shaster relating not to ordinary rain, but to water-spouts. Still the assertion of the Shaster remains as contrary to the natural facts; the true account of the origin of rain applies no less to the water-spout; and the boys had thus far learned a natural fact, which led directly to the conclusion that their Shasters are false.

'Such lessons, repeated day by day, are almost sure to make the Hindú student renounce as false the whole Hindú superstition.'—NOEL'S *India and the English*.

As in the religious systems of Greece and Rome, so in those prevalent in India, we may detect

- I. A conviction of primal perfection, mundane and human ; as illustrated by the general belief in
 - (a) The innocence and noble origin of the first pair—
 - (b) The reminiscences of Paradise.
- II. A Sense of Present Disorder ; illustrated by the general belief in
 - (a) Disobedience having been the source of human misery—
 - (b) The Existence of the Tempter.
- III. A hope of ultimate restoration to the primal state of perfection.
- IV. A sense of the need of the interposition of a Deliverer, who shall stoop down from heaven, and by an act of grace and condescension master all man's deadliest foes, and reinstate him in his last inheritance.

(For illustrations of all these points see the Rev. C. Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*, II. 129—162.)

F. p. 26.

As to the charge of proselytism which we have heard a good deal about lately in reference to Missionary operations, the following words of the new Bishop of Calcutta are well deserving of attention:—‘It has been said that we send missionaries to India and other parts of the world, to propagate merely our own opinions. The word proselytism has sometimes an ugly sound. We know that our Lord himself on one occasion spoke of it with severe censure; you all remember that he told the Pharisees that when they had made one proselyte, they made him ten times more a child of hell than before. It is possible, therefore, as we see, that proselytism may be wrong, and even sinful. What is the difference, then, between that proselytism—that mere propagation of opinion of which our Lord spoke—and the proselytism to which we are devoting all our energies? There are, I think, two tests whereby we can discriminate between

seeking to proselytise for the sake of aggrandizing ourselves; we do not wish to swell our own party, or to increase our own importance—to make ourselves leaders to add to the number of our spiritual subjects—we desire nothing but the highest and most lasting good of those whom we proselytise. This is one test—the good, the eternal, the universal good, of the object before us. The other test is, that this proselytism is, or ought to be carried out in the spirit of self-denial. If our object in proselytising is to aggrandize ourselves, it will be much better to sit and agitate at home. If we have a strong will, we may at home acquire great importance by making ourselves party leaders; we may do exactly as the Pharisees did when they elicited a stern rebuke from our Lord. But as this is not the case, as we have no personal object in view,—and as men went forth, some of them giving up everything for the sake of doing the great work of proselytism, and in order to propagate, not opinions, but eternal truths,—I say, therefore, that we must not talk of proselytism, we must not talk of spreading our opinions in Asia or elsewhere, but we must see that we are really devoting ourselves to a great, a holy, and a blessed work.

‘It has been said that we propagate opinions: what are these opinions which we desire to propagate? I suppose they are such as these:—We desire to propagate among the Hindús that which will render them just and merciful; we desire to propagate the opinion—if the offensive word must be used—that they are the children of one common Father—that they are the children of a Father who loves them, and not of a fierce destroyer, whom they sought to propitiate by horrid rites and sacrifices; we desire to shew them that they may be restored to the Father’s love through a Son who had died for them; we desire to propagate the opinion that if they tried to be just, and true, and merciful, they

would raise them up when they fell, strengthen them and make them holy. This is the work we are trained to do in India. We do not attempt to spread our own opinions in contradistinction to those of Asia, but to spread opinions which shall make those who receive them happy through life, through death, and through eternity. This being our simple object, we must be made to feel that the ground is firm below us—we must be made to feel that we have a high and worthy object before us—and that we are devoting ourselves to a work which will be blessed of God and man. As to the opinions of Europe, people sometimes spoke as if there were various religions existing in the world, and that these religions were adapted to some different race or nation. They spoke as if Christianity were the religion of the West, as if Mahometanism were a part of the religion of Asia, Bráhmaism of India, and I know not what form of idolatry and bloodthirsty worship of Africa and some of the islands of the Pacific. But even as a mere fact, which can be proved historically if necessary, that this is a mere delusion—the notion that Christianity was only the religion of Europe, shews an absolute ignorance of its origin. Christianity, as you all know, is of Eastern origin—it was an Eastern people who were its first dispensers, and it shews its universal power, its comprehensive character, because it embraced within it various races, various nations, and men of various realms. What it has done already it will continue to do, if we who have learnt its Divine teachings will only zealously devote ourselves to the performance of the task which God has set before us.’—*Speech at Salisbury, Aug. 26, 1858.*

G. p. 49.

‘In Hindústan itself what remains of the numberless conversions achieved by St Francis Xavier? What remains of the vast organization of that Church which was placed

that question at Goa; measure there the depths of the moral and material decrepitude into which has fallen an empire immortalized by Albuquerque, by John de Castro, and by so many others worthy to be reckoned among the most valiant Christians who have ever existed. You will see there to what the mortal influence of absolute power can bring Catholic colonies as well as their mother countries.'—M. DE MONTALEMBERT, *A Debate on India*, p. 9. Authorized Translation.

H. p. 54.

'Those who reproach England,' says M. de Montalembert, 'with not having been able to make Protestants in Hindústan, had perhaps better get some information as to the number of Catholics that we make in Algeria. I go too far in instancing Algeria, for, if I am well informed, the preaching of the Catholic religion to the natives and the efforts made to convert them meet there with very serious impediments on the part of the civil and military authorities. We have never yet heard, as far as I know, of Catholic missions being encouraged, or even tolerated, by the French Government, amongst the Arabian, Moorish, and Kabylic subjects of France. People have imputed it as a crime to the English magistrates, that they have preserved the properties which were set apart to maintain the absurd and often obscene rites of Bráhmanical idolatry, and that they have sent guards of police to preserve order during the celebration of these ceremonies. This has not taken place in India since the Act of 1840; but it is precisely what the French Government believes itself bound to do in Africa; and, in truth, one would not find in the works of any English functionary so complete a declaration of sympathy and protection on behalf of Mahometan worship, as the speech of M. Lantour Mézeray, Prefect of Algiers, in 1857.

to the Muftis and Ulemas, where he quotes the Koran profusely, in order to exalt the imperial munificence towards Islamism.'—*A Debate on India*, p. 16.

I. p. 79.

'Among the Schools entitled under existing Government regulations, to Grants-in-aid, are those established at various periods by Christian Missionary Societies.

'The total number of these schools scattered throughout the various districts of India, including vernacular and English elementary schools, both for boys and girls, was in 1853, 1657 schools, containing 64,806 scholars of both sexes.

'These schools have been chiefly established by the twelve following societies, placed in the order of the commencement of their respective operations in India:—

- 1727. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
- 1793. The Baptist Missionary Society.
- 1805. The London Missionary Society.
- 1812. The American Board of Missions.
- 1814. The Wesleyan Missionary Society.
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- { The Free Church of Scotland.
- { The Basle Missionary Society.
- 1834. The American Presbyterian Mission.
- 1840. The American Baptist Mission.'

MILL'S *India in 1858*, pp. 167, 168.

J. p. 102.

It seems questionable whether it would not be requiring too much to insist on the soldiers passing together as such

gested by the reviewer of Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*. With respect to the distinction between Caste as a *religious* and as a *social* institution, we quote the following from the *Times* (Indian Correspondence, Jan. 17, 1859):

‘ With regard to caste, will you permit me to point to one effect of that institution which orators at home always forget, and which is the one which endears it to the lower orders, who suffer rather than profit by sacerdotal privileges. Caste is fatal to competition, and secures every working man, the peasant excepted, against that overwhelming competition which tends to crush him in Europe. Take, for instance, the carpenter, by no means the most prosperous of artisans. In practice nobody except a carpenter’s relative or very close ally does ever become a carpenter; if anybody else did other carpenters would not work with him. To begin with, therefore, competition from the rest of the world is barred. No sudden ruin falling on any other trade can increase the pressure on the carpenter’s. No mass of labourers out of employ can undertake to do rough work at half-wages. Moreover, these carpenters eat, marry, and live only with one another; consequently, they must keep well with one another or be outcasts, and the trade is enabled, by the threat of excommunication, to compel all its members to keep up the *dustoor*, or *minimum* rate of wages. This is usually a fair subsistence, and, sooner than take less, the artisan will gravely go and beg, or if necessary die. I have known starving masons deliberately risk the latter alternative. This system extends to all artisans except, in a limited degree, the weavers, and, in an unlimited degree, the agriculturists; the latter are too numerous for the system to touch them. Now, it may be quite true that the natives do not understand the theory of this practice, never read Louis Blanc, never talk about the “rights of labour,” and have no

that without this they would have more work, or to use their own phrase, that "one man must do everybody's work." So thoroughly is this feeling engrained that trades created by Europeans are becoming castes. All the power of capital in Calcutta fails to make printers take piece-work or give up certain holydays. This is the point where progress is most hopeless. The religious character of caste is wearing out. The caste men give up one fancy after another as soon as it becomes inconvenient. Nothing can be more intolerable to caste than leather shoes. The leather shoes were found to last, and everybody, Bráhmans included, wears leather. It is offensive to caste principle to travel with a lower caste. The train, however, is comfortable, quick, and cheap, and the Bráhman and the sweeper sit contentedly side by side. The Bráhmans engage in the hide-trade, and everybody uses the English post-office stamps, which involve a breach of caste every day. Everybody takes medicine, though medicine is made with water, and water taken from a barbarian hand breaks caste. But the social effect of caste is beneficial to caste men, brings more leisure and more pay, and the slightest menace to it creates, for this, and not the religious reason, intense irritation.

K. p. 139.

The *Saturday Review* of Jan. 30, 1858, has the following remarks on this point: 'Already there are beginning to be heard among us the abominable maxims which deny the brotherhood of the human family, and apologize for tyranny by asserting the natural subjection of race to race.

'But the shallowest of all the philosophies of history, we are thankful to say, is that which makes the destinies of nations dependent on ineradicable diversities of natural character, arising from differences of race. The Gospel and

racter—the religious part—men of all nations under heaven are capable of perfect and absolute assimilation. It would seem to follow that they are capable of ultimate assimilation, under favourable circumstances, and with proper treatment, in every other moral respect.'

L. p. 144.

Raimund Lull, a Missionary of the Middle Ages, makes the following beautiful observations on the spirit of love which ought to characterize all Christian Missions: 'I see many knights crossing the Sea to the Holy Land, and they imagine that they shall conquer it by force of arms; but at last they are all driven away without accomplishing their object: hence it appears to me that the Holy Land can be won in no other way than as thou, O Lord Christ, and thy Apostles, won it—by love, by prayer, by shedding of tears and blood. Since the Holy Sepulchre and the Holy Land can be taken better by preaching than by force of arms, let the pious Spiritual Knights still go on and be filled with the grace of the Holy Spirit. May they go forth to announce thy sufferings to unbelievers; may they out of love to thee pour out all their blood, as thou hast done out of love for them. So many knights and noble chiefs have crossed the Sea to that land, in order to take it; that if this method had been pleasing to thee, O Lord, they would have taken it before now from the Saracens. From this the pious ought to know, that thou daily expectest them to do that act of love to thee, which thou hast done out of love to them.'—RAYM. LULLUS. *Lib. Contempl. in Deum*, Cap. 112.

On the influence of individual example Chrysostom makes the following striking remarks: 'On this account God permits us to remain in the world that we may be as lights; that we may be teachers of others; that we may be as leaven: that we may walk as angels among men, or as men

with little children; as spiritual men with the carnally-minded, that they may be profited; that we may be as seeds, and bring forth much fruit. *Words are not needed, if our lives shine forth. No one would be a heathen, if we were Christians as we ought to be.* If we keep the commands of Christ—if we suffer wrong—if we are defrauded—if, being reproached, we bless—if, being ill-treated, we do good—no one would be so brutish as not to hasten to piety, if all its professors acted thus.’—CHRYSTOSTOM in 1 Tim. *Hom.* x. 3.

THE END.

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