

AMONG THE MUGHS:  
OR  
MEMORIALS OF THE  
REV. J. C. FINCK,  
*Missionary,*  
IN  
ARRACAN.

By THE  
REV. ROBERT ROBINSON.

---

Calcutta.

PRINTED BY DANIEL GHOSH, AT THE LACHT PRESS.

1871.

SEP. 03,

## PREFACE

Mr. Fink's family and many who were acquainted with the character and extent of his labours, have long desired to see some permanent record of his work. The present memorials are intended in measure to meet this want. Mr. Fink left next to nothing in the way of letters and journals, and of the reports of the Serampore Mission there is only one set in India, that approximates to completeness. I have therefore been compelled to rely in a great degree on information gleaned from time to time in personal intercourse with him. Of course I have availed myself of all the published journals I could find; but instead of encumbering these memorials with voluminous extracts from them, I have preferred to give their substance in my own words. I have not attempted any studied delineation of Mr. Fink's character. His life will speak for him.

I am greatly indebted to the Rev. C. B. Lewis of Calcutta for the courtesy with which he placed his set of the Serampore Records at my service.

R. R.

CALCUTTA:

*The 18th November 1871.*

# MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN CHRISTOPHER FINK.

## CHAPTER I.

*Birth—Early Life—Military Service—Conversion—Removal to Calcutta.*

John Christopher Fink, or Vink, as the name would be written in Dutch, was born in the island of Ternate on the 10th of November 1796. Ternate is the chief of the Moluccas, a group of islands in the Eastern Archipelago. It is situated in 1° North Latitude and 129° East Longitude, and is only twenty four miles in circumference. In truth, it is nothing more than a huge volcano, the population of the island being established around the base. This volcano is still active, and when, as sometimes happens, the eruptions are of unusual violence, they cause great destruction among the frail tenements of the natives. But these rude huts are so cheaply and easily rebuilt that the actual damage is inconsiderable.

At the time of which we speak, Ternate, though nominally under the sovereignty of a Mahomedan Sultan, was in reality governed by certain Dutch functionaries located there ostensibly for the protection of the trade of the Moluccas. About the year 1784, Dirk Vink, a native of Amsterdam, was appointed by the Dutch Government to the office of Commandant of the town of Ternate. Here he became acquainted with Hendrik Jansen a merchant, also from Amsterdam, whose eldest daughter Wilhelmina Katharine he married in the following year. The family springing from this union consisted of four sons and two

daughters, John Christopher the subject of this memoir, being the youngest child but one. After a lengthened residence at Ternate, Dirk Vink went as Dutch Resident to Gounongtela in the island of Celebes. Here he remained till the successes of the revolutionary army in Holland compelled the cession of the Dutch possessions in the Archipelago to the French Government. He then removed to Mindanao where he held the post of Assistant Resident till his death in 1803.

After the death of her husband, Mrs. Vink returned with her family to Ternate, where she lived on the profits derived from the labour of her slaves. This was a common means of support among the Dutch families of those islands. Perhaps it is due to the Dutch Government to state, that whilst they used every means to foster the slave-trade carried on in their Eastern possessions, they wisely and humanely provided for the protection of the slave against many of the sufferings usually associated with the system. Their laws, unlike those of America, partially admitted a human element in the slave; he was not so altogether a chattel as, till recently, was his negro brother. The Dutch scrupulously regarded family-ties among their slaves, and never forcibly parted husband and wife, or deprived the mother of her tender offspring. When two slaves living on separate estates desired to marry, their respective owners were required to arrange for the transference by purchase of one of them to the estate to which the other belonged, before the marriage could take place. In like manner, no husband could be bought or sold without the wife, no wife without the husband, and no mother without her infant child. A large proportion of these slaves were taught trades and trained to domestic service. The men went out as carpenters, blacksmiths, masons or gardeners; whilst the females sought employment as cooks and waiting-maids. They were sometimes hired out under an ex.

press arrangement between owner and employer ; at other times they were permitted to remove from the estate in quest of a livelihood ; but in either case, they were required punctually to remit a part of the week's wages to the owner : what remained they might keep for their personal wants.

It was in some such way as this that Mrs. Vink maintained herself and her children until her death, which happened about three years after her return to Ternate. She had appointed her eldest son to be the guardian of the two youngest children, John and his sister, who accordingly were taken to their brother's home, leaving their mother's house in charge of the slaves. John was at this time eleven years of age ; but he did not remain long in his new home. An incident occurred soon after his removal which, though itself trivial, changed the whole course of his subsequent history.

One afternoon, accompanying his sister and sister-in-law, a woman of Spanish descent, in a walk along the sea-beach, they reached an enclosure extending some way into the sea, within which the Sultan of the island kept his salt-water fish. John who knew there was a prohibition against trespassing here, sought to dissuade his brother's wife from entering the enclosure ; but his remonstrance roused a temper of whose existence he had not till then been aware. On their return home his conduct was so spitefully misrepresented to his brother that the latter was induced to give him a severe flogging. The lad's high spirit refused to brook this injustice, and that same night he escaped to his mother's house. The slaves in charge of the place, on hearing his story, concealed their young master, and that all the more readily for the experience they had themselves had of the tyranny of his brother's wife. His brother came in search of him the next morning, but could extract no information from them. After a week's concealment John ventured down to the sea-shore, where he fell in with the boatswain of an English

ship lying off the island, and arranged to go with him to Amboyna. That night, with the help of his sister to whom his plans were imparted, he removed his box of clothing from his brother's house, and by the following day had left the island. Thus ended all personal intercourse with his family. He never re-visited Ternate; and though he occasionally corresponded with a brother, he never again saw any of his kindred.

The engagement with the boatswain having terminated with their arrival at Amboyna, John left the ship and spent the first two days in wandering about the place, hungry and shelterless. On the morning of the third day he entered an apothecary's shop to ask for employment. He told his whole story to Dr. Babington, the proprietor of the depôt, who found that he was the son of an old and honoured acquaintance. This recommendation was enough for the kind-hearted physician, who received him into his own family, fed and clothed him at his own expense, and apprenticed him to himself. Here John remained for two years until, at the earnest solicitation of a friend of his benefactor's, he was permitted to accompany him on a visit to Manilla. When at Manilla, he happened one day to witness the Romanist procession of the host, a sight he had not seen before. Educated in Lutheran principles, and trained to look upon all idolatrous worship with repugnance, this first sight of a procession whose real character was disguised under the garb of Christianity, excited a feeling he never forgot. He referred to the circumstance in after life as having given him a lasting abhorrence of Popery.

Not long after his return to Amboyna in 1810, John attracted the notice of Dr. Hodgson, an English physician from Batavia, who, won by the lad's frankness and intelligence, persuaded his friend Dr. Babington to commit him to his guardianship. This arrangement made it necessary that he should remove to Batavia where he remained a little more than a year, studying

medicine under the superintendence of his new guardian. He then, on Dr. Hodgson's recommendation, obtained the appointment of Assistant Apothecary in the Dutch Hussars, a corps which had been retained in the British service after the surrender of Java by the French. It was not long before he saw active service. Scarcely had Batavia been taken by the British, than tidings reached them of an unprovoked and cold-blooded massacre of the Dutch merchants at Palimbang. Palimbang, with a chief town of the same name, was a nominally independent kingdom on the south-east side of the island of Sumatra, whose Sultan had for years been nothing better than a vassal of the Dutch. Attached to his dominions was the island of Banca, separated from the mainland by the straits of Banca. Consequent on the subjugation of Holland by Napoleon Bonaparte, the Dutch possessions and authority in the Eastern Archipelago were ceded to the French and held in the name of the French Government. But when the authority of the French was in its turn superseded by British rule, all the Dutch factories and interests in these islands naturally reverted to the latter. The Sultan of Palimbang however, does not appear to have understood the true state of the relations between the British and Dutch merchants; and now that Batavia had fallen, supposing the Dutch residents within his territory to be completely at his mercy, he wreaked on them an Eastern revenge for the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of their Government. The factory at Palimbang was burnt to the ground, and all the Dutch residents with their families were ruthlessly slain.

When the tidings of this massacre reached Batavia, the British authorities lost no time in fitting out an expedition against Palimbang and Banca. The expedition was directed to proceed first to the latter place, as a mission which had been sent to Palimbang some time before with a view to take charge of the



factory there, had also been deputed to secure to the British a monopoly of the tin produced in Banca, the island being valuable in a commercial point of view. Accordingly in March 1812, Colonel Gillespie to whom the command was entrusted, set sail from Batavia with a small force in which were the Dutch Hussars. After being delayed some days by contrary winds, the force at length reached Banca and took it without having occasion to fire a shot. They then crossed the Straits and having got their boats ready, prepared to move down the Palimbang river towards the capital. On the first intimation of their successful advance the Sultan fled, and after fifteen days of hard fighting, during which his troops sought to hold their ground notwithstanding the desertion of their ruler, the object of the expedition was accomplished. The Sultan having been formally deposed by an order from the British Government, his brother was raised to the throne, and a British Resident was stationed at Palimbang. This arrangement continued till the year 1816, when the place was restored to the Dutch.

Young Fink, then only sixteen years of age, was severely wounded in one of the skirmishes that took place in the advance on Palimbang, and continued disabled for a considerable time. He had scarcely recovered from the effects of the wound before he was prostrated by sickness, caused by the unhealthy climate of the place. All that medical skill could do was done, without any abatement of the complaint, until his physician declared that recovery was hopeless. Hearing that his life was despaired of, and being mad with thirst, he crept out of the hospital tent as well as he was able, before dawn one morning, and going to a pure and beautiful stream which flowed past the encampment, sat up to his neck in it, and began to drink the water in eager and copious draughts. On returning to the hospital he was surprised to find himself better; the next morning he stole out again and repeated the experiment, and

so on every morning, until in little more than a week he was perfectly restored to health.

Mr. Fink's regiment returned to Batavia in the month of January 1813; but it had not been in quarters for six months before it was ordered to join an expedition to suppress a rebellion at Djoejocarta. Djoejocarta commonly called Soloarta, had been the capital of Java before the Dutch took possession of the island. Batavia founded by the Dutch, was made the European capital; but up to the period when the British occupied it, the Sultan, or properly speaking, the Emperor of Java, continued to reside at Djoejocarta. The relation in which he stood to the Dutch, and subsequently to the British Government, was that of a pensioner suffered to reside in his own ancient capital; and it precisely resembled that till lately occupied by the Emperor of Delhi towards our Indian Government. At this distance of time, and in the absence of complete official information, it is impossible to speak positively respecting the cause of the rebellion. Thornton in his "History of the British Empire in India," speaks of a treaty by which the sovereignty of the British over the island of Java, was acknowledged by the Sultan, and attributes the rebellion to a desire on his part, in violation of the treaty, to assert an independent sovereignty. Another account states, that the rebellion was not the work of the Sultan but of one of his sons, who, raising some hundreds of followers with a view to depose his father, found it necessary to encounter the British forces detached for his protection. Doubtless, in forming the scheme for his father's overthrow, he anticipated British opposition, for he sought to provide against it by a proclamation requiring the people to arm for the expulsion of the foreigners from the island. But aid for the aged Sultan was at hand. Brigadier General Gillespie was despatched with the Dutch Hussars and a few more Europeans to the help of the small infantry force already at Djoejo-

carta. After some exciting skirmishes with the enemy, the palace which had been seized by the Sultan's rebel-son, was carried by assault, the father was re-instated, and the son conveyed as a prisoner to Batavia.

It was not till Mr. Fink's return to Batavia in the early part of the year 1814, that he thought of learning the English language. At Weltevreden, a couple of miles out of town, there lived an English merchant with whom he now formed acquaintance, and with his help he managed to pick up a little English. He was subsequently introduced by his guardian Dr. Hodgson, to the Rev. William Robinson of the Serampore Baptist Mission, then recently arrived in the island. Conceiving a regard for the Missionary himself, and hoping to extend his knowledge of English, Mr. Fink resolved to attend a Sunday morning service conducted by Mr. Robinson for the benefit of the English soldiers. Being present on one occasion, his thoughts were arrested by a sermon on Ezekiel xxxiii. 11th. "As I live saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye, from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?" After describing "the death of the wicked," the preacher dwelt on the gracious declaration that God had "no pleasure" in it, and concluded with a solemn and pressing exhortation to his hearers to "turn" and live. His very limited acquaintance with the language in which it was delivered, prevented Mr. Fink from gaining more than a general idea of the discourse; but the preacher's frequent repetition of the question, "Why will ye die," in course of the closing appeal, rivetted those words of remonstrance on his mind until, like "a nail in a sure place," no effort could remove them. It was the first time solemn thought had been awakened in him, and as he afterwards said, he felt as if he could have sacrificed any

thing to get rid of it. Not that his life had been stained by vicious excess; but neither the associations in which he had been reared nor those he had formed since his employment in the army, had been of a nature to foster the fear of God; and now for the first time he felt crushed beneath an overwhelming conviction of personal responsibility to his Maker. He returned to his quarters at the conclusion of the service, a most miserable man. He applied himself to one thing and then another, with a view to escape the new thoughts that crowded into his mind, but it was all in vain; the words would keep ringing in his ears, "Turn ye, turn ye, for why will ye die?" Leaving his room, he sought the society of his comrades; he talked, he laughed with them; but louder than their laughter still sounded the words, "Turn ye, turn ye, for why will ye die?" Urged to distraction and scarcely aware what he was doing, he ran to the stables, saddled his horse, leapt on its back, and plunging the spurs into its sides, galloped with break-neck speed once, twice, three times round the town; but the moment he stopped the voice again cried, "Turn ye, turn ye, for why will ye die?" Sorely at a loss whence to seek relief, he rushed once more to his own room, and throwing himself on his knees prayed for the first time and in an agony of desire, that God would pardon his sins and save him from the death of the wicked. Some little quiet followed this exercise; but though the strange excitement ceased, it was succeeded by a flood-tide of anxious imaginings which knew neither abatement nor retreat. He knew of no one from whom, unbosoming his secret trouble, he might hope for the sympathy and counsel of a brother; and he lacked the courage to make his case known to him from whose lips he first heard the "Why will ye die." And so day after day passed in a solitary wretchedness whose irksome monotony was broken only by the passionate utterances of a soul wrung by strong convictions of sin. A week elapsed, and he could bear the suspense no longer. Seeking Mr. Robinson's

dwelling he narrated to him, as well as he could, the bitter experiences of the past week, and was directed in a few kind and simple words, to Jesus "the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." They then knelt together in prayer, and his case was laid before God. This visit, as may be supposed, led to numerous others, in the course of which Mr. Fink learnt the way of life more fully. He learned to see "God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them," and to believe that there is "no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus." It was rest to his soul, as indeed it has been to that of every earnest seeker after God's truth, to know that his salvation was "not of works." Such was Mr. Fink's introduction to a knowledge of Jesus Christ.

Godliness in a barrack-room was in those days a rare exotic, which needed to be defended with no common watchfulness against the noxious influences prevailing around. No sooner did Mr. Fink, now seeking to obey the truth, give himself to serious thought, than he became, as a matter of course, "a saint," "a straitlaced Pharisee," and one who thought himself too good for common society. It was no easy task, at first, to set his face steadily against pursuits which he himself had relished before, and the sneers of his comrades did not lessen the difficulty. But as he grew stronger, he grew bolder in the Lord; his confidence in the truth and in the power of Divine grace increased; he began to bear his trials with equanimity, and as a consequence persecutions gradually ceased. But he had conceived a dislike for a soldier's life, and now contemplated resigning his appointment in the Dutch Hussars. Willing as the military authorities of Batavia affected to be, that the soldiers should attend the religious services conducted by the Baptist Missionary, they were opposed to any of their men being baptized. This arbitrary interference with the rights of conscience, together with a desire on his own part for more congenial



occupation, led Mr. Fink to seek discharge from military service. His application was the more readily granted as peace had been restored in Europe, and negotiations were in progress for the transfer of Java to the Dutch.

About this time, the Dutch Fiscal of Ternate addressed a letter to the Fiscal of Batavia asking what arrangements Mr. Fink intended to make respecting his slaves. They were fourteen in number, and constituted the estate left him by his father. Sorely against the worldly-wise representations of the Fiscal, who stigmatized the act as one of unmitigated folly, and without a moment's hesitation, young Fink signed the papers which gave them their freedom. We record this incident to illustrate the characteristic promptitude with which this servant of God made worldly interests surrender to the challenge of Christian principle.

Being now his own master, Mr. Fink began to reflect upon what he should do for a livelihood. If he remained in Java, the notorious intolerance of the Dutch Government and the near prospect of their re-occupation of the island, threatened to make his position as an earnest Christian an embarrassing one. He therefore resolved, after consultation with Mr. Robinson, to visit Calcutta, and procuring a letter of introduction to the Rev. Dr. Carey of Serampore, he embarked in November 1816 as medical assistant to Dr. Matthews, who was returning to Bengal in charge of a detachment of His Majesty's 78th Regiment.

## CHAPTER II.

*Employment in Calcutta.—Evangelistic labours.—Marriage.—Review of the Chittagong Mission.—Appointment as Missionary to the Mughls.*

Nothing of note happened during the voyage to Calcutta. The "Cyrus" anchored off Fort William on the 3rd of January 1817, and Mr. Fink found hospitable entertainment at the house of a Christian gentleman whom he had known at Java. In the evening of the same day, he accompanied his host to the Lal Bazar Baptist Chapel, where he was introduced to Dr. Carey and accepted an invitation to Serampore. Here he received a kind and Christian welcome from Dr. Marshman and the Rev. Mr. Ward; and here, in the society of the Missionary triumvirate, he felt the early awakening of a desire to help in declaring the Gospel to the heathen.

When the regiment with which he came to the country was ordered to Sultanpore in the North Western Provinces, Dr. Matthews sought to regain his services; but he declined the offer, fearing lest removal to a place at that time so far from the reach of Christian influence, should be prejudicial alike to his personal character and to the prospect of missionary labour. Having through the friendly exertions of the gentleman with whom he resided, obtained employment in a mercantile house in Calcutta, he sought fellowship with the Baptist Church meeting in Lal Bazar, and was baptized by the Rev. J. Lawson in the month of January 1817.

Mr. Fink's secular engagements did not prevent his qualifying himself for religious usefulness among the heathen population of the city. Having been accustomed from childhood to speak only the Dutch and Malay languages, he had as yet acquired only the rudiments of English; but now, in addition to the English, he undertook the study of the Bengali tongue. The manifold combinations of its letters and the peculiarities of its orthoëpy were speedily mastered. With the occasional

help of Mr. Ward of Serampore and a resolute application to the grammar, the confusion of signs and sounds subsided into the principles of construction, and our student was soon in a fair way of overcoming the difficulties incidental to a strange language. His business too, bringing him into daily contact with Bengali trades-people, helped him in no small degree to extend his vocabulary of words and express himself in their native tongue. The steady perseverance of a year enabled him to speak Bengali intelligibly though imperfectly, and he began to spend his leisure hours in private and unostentatious attempts to recommend the "great salvation" to his neighbours.

An Auxiliary Missionary Society was formed at this time in connection with the Lal Bazar Church, whose object it was, as well to promote individual effort in the cause of Christian truth as to provide pecuniary aid for those who laboured under their auspices, whether as superintendents of vernacular schools or itinerant preachers. It had, we believe, been organized and set in motion by the Missionaries of Serampore who, true to the one intense purpose of their lives, infused into all their churches the steadfast persuasion, that every Christian ought to be a missionary, and every church a missionary association. Indeed, so prominent a place did this principle occupy in the religious instruction of their converts, that frequent instances may be met with at the present day, of unlettered people in Bengal who, borrowing their nomenclature from the spirit of the days of their fathers, have but one designation for every preacher of the Gospel, be he a surpliced clergyman, a Presbyterian minister, or the pastor of a Dissenting Church:—he is a "missionary." Would they were right!

Mr. Fink was one of seven young men\* who, on the formation of this Society, offered to labour gratuitously under its

---

\* The Rev. H. Hickets, one of the seven, is still remembered with grateful affection by the people of Calcutta. He was the founder of the Parental Academy for the education of Indo-British children, an institution which after a successful career of thirty-seven years, has, aided by the munificence of Captain Doveton of the Madras Army, risen to be one of the first of its kind in the country.



auspices. He continued to do so till the Committee finding how slender his income was, resolved of their own accord to supplement it by a monthly allowance out of their growing funds. This arrangement not only helped him to live more comfortably, but put the Serampore Missionaries whose counsel was always in requisition, in a position to methodize and so give additional efficiency to his zealous labours. He was appointed to superintend a vernacular school recently got up at Ramkristopore in the neighbourhood of Howrah. In this school and among the contiguous villages he worked with diligence for about a year, when it became desirable to resign Ramkristopore into the hands of the Independent Mission. In the year 1818, the school was made over to the Rev. Messrs. Townley and Keith, and Mr. Fink confined his labours to the city.

Soon after his arrival in the country, Mr. Fink had become acquainted with Miss Mary Cytano, a member of the Lal Bazar Church, whom he married on the 17th of September 1817. She had been converted under the solemn and earnest ministry of the Rev. William Ward, and had been baptized at the early age of twelve years. She had devoted much of her time to the religious instruction of native Christian women, reading the Scriptures with them and encouraging them to meet together for social prayer; and now the graces of an attractive character and the true, strong principle of a renewed nature were brought to the discharge of the duties, and adornment of the position, of a wife. A woman of rare gentleness of manner, meekness of heart, and conscientious attachment to her Lord, Mrs. Fink cheerfully shared her husband's chequered experiences, laboured with him in the Gospel, rejoiced in his successes, curbed by her quiet influence the sometimes extravagant impulses of his ardent temperament, threw the light of love around him in his seasons of trial, and remained his faithful help-meet for forty years, when, being parted from her, he entered

into rest. A numerous offspring blessed their union, of whom four sons and five daughters survive.

Three years after his marriage, Mr. Fink removed with his wife and infant son to Ballygunge in the suburbs of Calcutta, with a view of farming land for the purpose of cultivation. By this means he hoped to add to his income which was only Rs. 100 a month. But he had not been here four months when his house was burnt down and all his property destroyed. His loss was partially made up through the liberality of Christian friends; but it effectually interrupted the project he had formed, and obliged him to return to the city.

Mr. Fink having left no memoranda respecting the four years of his residence in Calcutta, the information we can glean respecting this period of his life is small and fragmentary. We must be content to observe, that from the time of his marriage to the close of the year 1820, he supported himself by keeping the books of a merchant's office, his unemployed hours being devoted to the religious instruction of the heathen. We hasten to the period when he entered upon the chief work of his life. \*

The Serampore Mission had occupied Chittagong, the easternmost district of Bengal proper, so early as the year 1812. This was done in accordance with the well-known policy of diffusing missionary effort over the largest possible area. Hence that Mission sought to embrace the whole of Hindostan, Burmah, the Eastern Archipelago, and even China. We look with more than doubtfulness upon such a policy, even when mitigated by the increasing facilities for intercommunication which in these days dispel much of the feeling of isolation which must have been the lot of the labourers of fifty years ago. Yet we do not condemn the principle of diffusive effort as such. Apostolic practice may be quoted in its favour; only, the Apostles established no isolated mission. Setting out from one common centre, they scattered themselves in separate bands

over the neighbouring countries, and formed Churenes wherever the Gospel took root; but they returned again, as in the case of Paul and his party, to Jerusalem, and did not permanently locate themselves, one in Asia Minor, another in Egypt, a third in Greece, a fourth in Italy, a fifth in Spain or Arabia, and so forth. After tours more or less extended, they appear to have come together again for mutual sympathy and counsel. But while holding these views, we must not commit ourselves to a wholesale condemnation of the plan adopted by the Serampore Missionaries. Indeed, when we come to understand the circumstances that influenced their judgment, we can only marvel at the measure of success they actually attained. Europeans may now travel any where in India without the inquisitorial interference of Government officials; but it was not so in the days of which we write. Then, the name of every European was recorded in a public register; he could not put foot in India without the consent of the Court of Directors; and even after he had settled in the country, he was obliged, on pain of deportation, to furnish a true statement of the business he was engaged in, and might at any time be required to account for his presence in a district. When to this disagreeable surveillance is added the fact of the persistent hostility of the Government to all Christianizing efforts, we can comprehend at a glance the serious difficulty that lay in the way of extensive itineracies after the apostolic model. If a Missionary could not pass from the district in which he resided to another, without exposing himself to police-espionage and the risk of deportation, it became a grave question whether the adoption of some less apostolic scheme of operations was not preferable to a total abandonment of the Missionary enterprise. There were two plans open to adoption. Either men might be permanently located at considerable distances from one another so as to embrace the largest practicable extent of country and compensate in measure for the absence of protracted tours; or, being com-

pelled to have more than one centre of operations, a few such centres might be established around Serampore. The first plan by multiplying the number of stations, would admit of a very inadequate amount of agency being assigned to each; but the Gospel would travel into distant regions. The second plan would give more Missionary strength to each station and increase the facilities for mutual counsel and co-operation; but the Gospel would be confined within a limited area. No one who has read the eloquent record of their toils, can charge the directors of the Serampore Mission with a want of earnest and conscientious deliberation on the matter. They would not have sacrificed their lives or spent the piously accumulations of years in any but what appeared to them the wisest, most promising and most practicable appropriation of missionary energy and resources. Nevertheless, the history of their times shows that they selected the first of these plans. Isolated missions were established. They tried to cover too much ground, and as a natural result missionary effort was not diffused as they had hoped it would be, but simply dissipated. Carey overstepped the bounds of his own immortal maxim and attempted things too "great." No enterprise so conducted can, as a whole, command any thing beyond a partial success. Vigour languishes, success lingers, and results more disastrous are apt to ensue, when a solitary man is left for years together to prosecute the most arduous and self-denying of labours, without the present sympathy and co-operation which all men need, and which the Head of the Church distinctly provided for.

We make these remarks not because they apply with distinctive force to the selection of Chittagong. Indeed the Chittagong Mission so far as it led to the spread of the Gospel among the Mughls, might almost be quoted as an exception to the general character of the results that accompanied the plan on which the Serampore Mission was conducted. But the question is not one of absolute success or failure; it is

one of comparative success. Some of the Missions that covered so wide a region undoubtedly prospered; but it seems to us that as a whole, the amount of success in the way of Christianizing the heathen was not so great as it might have been had the strength and resources of the Mission been concentrated within a limited compass.

To return to our narrative. It is difficult, at this distance of time, to say whether there were any special reasons for locating a mission at Chittagong. The men who plied the native craft in the river Hooghly, and served as lascars or seamen on board our merchant ships, came, as indeed they still do, from that populous district; and intercourse with them may have suggested the new mission. Besides the bonâ fide native population, Chittagong was inhabited by vast numbers of Portuguese, who have been settled there since the sixteenth century, and may for all intents and purposes be viewed as children of the soil. Though they retain the appellation of Christians, the neglect and degeneracy of centuries has reduced them to the abject level of heathenism. In their style of living, their associations, their habits of thought, their ignorance, their gross superstitions, they resemble the surrounding idolaters, and stand in equal need of the enlightening and elevating influences of the Gospel. Chittagong was also at that period a flourishing seaport and attracted a large population by its trade, though now it has lost some of its importance owing to competition with the more convenient harborage of Akyab.

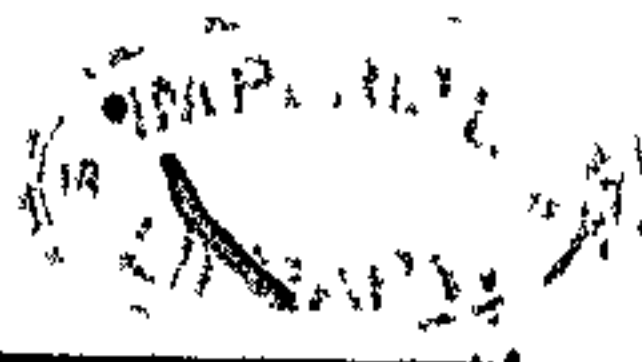
In the year 1812 then, as already stated, Chittagong received its first Missionary. Mr. D'Bruyn was deputed by the Serampore directors to turn the first sod, and sow the first seed. His thorough acquaintance with the colloquial dialect of the natives, gave power to the ardour with which he threw himself into the work. Crowds gathered in the streets and bazars of the town and in the neighbouring market-places, and listened with surprised pleasure to the message of grace. Among them



the preacher frequently observed strangers from the contiguous Mugh settlement. On seeking their acquaintance he found, that beyond the few words needed for purposes of buying and selling, they had no knowledge of Bengali. While yet revolving the readiest means of establishing an intercourse with these interesting people, he was introduced to a young lad said to be the son of a skipper by the name of Broderick, who had some years ago made his home among the Mughs. The door was opening. Mr. D' Bruyn persuaded the boy's friends to commit him to his guardianship and support. Dick Broderick, for so he had been named by his father, soon picked up enough of Bengali to enable him to act as interpreter to his own people, and the work began. Early tokens of success followed this zealous attempt to visit the Mughs with the "tidings of great joy;" numerous converts were made; and prospects were daily growing brighter, when D' Bruyn fell a victim to the ungovernable passion of the lad whom he had brought up as his own son. Dick Broderick had latterly become impatient of his guardian's control. Having been suffered to assume the European costume in place of the Mugh dress to which he had been accustomed, he became vain, and sought to pass off as a phaloung, or foreigner. The tell-tale holes, large enough for the insertion of an ordinary sized thumb, which Mughs bore into their ear-lobes and which adorned him, he sought to conceal by shrugging his shoulders and turning up his coat collar. This and similar ridiculous conceits, added to more serious irregularities of conduct, could not but be noticed; and they called for reproof. Accordingly one day, D' Bruyn attempted to rebuke him when, true to the impulsive character of his mother's people, Dick Broderick sprang forward, and seizing a knife that was at hand, plunged it into his benefactor. Mr. D' Bruyn expired within two hours of receiving the fatal wound; but he spent the last strength of ebbing life in pleading with the authorities for the unhappy murderer.

Mr. D'Bruyn was succeeded in the year 1818 by Mr. Peacock, who retaining the general superintendence of the stations that had been formed, was relieved of the pastoral care of the Mugh Church by the appointment of a Mr. Domingo D' Cruz, one of the fruits of the labours of the Rev. D. Leonard of Dacca. But this arrangement was early disturbed by Mr. D' Cruz's relinquishment of the pastoral office, and Mr. Peacock was left alone to cope, as well as he could, with the united claims of the Native and Mugh populations. Towards the close of the year 1820, he came round to Calcutta with a view of furnishing himself with Bengali and Burman Scriptures, intending to return without delay to the work he loved. But God had ordained otherwise. He had not been more than a few days in Calcutta when he was prostrated by a fever brought on by exposure to the malaria of the Sunderbans, to which he succumbed and "fell on sleep."

Darkness now appeared to close over the dawning prospects of the Mugh mission. Two men had died within three years. The churches were again destitute, and the Serampore Missionaries to whom they turned, looked around in vain for some one to occupy the breach. A funeral sermon was preached for the departed Missionary, and the anxious thoughts that filled the minds of the Fathers of the Mission found thrilling utterance on the occasion from the pulpit of the Lal Bazar Chapel. They were not spoken in vain. God had brought thither the vessel He had chosen to carry on the Mugh Mission. As the discourse proceeded, Mr. Fink listened with excited interest to the story of Christ's triumphs among the exiled Mughs, the description of the field white for the harvest, and the strong cry to the harvest-King to thrust forth His labourers; and as he heard, his soul was stirred within him. There as he sat, and before ever the service was ended, he had formed his resolve. In a moment he saw and accepted the mission of his life; and before the last lamentations for the fallen had ceased their echoing, he had



stepped forth to fill the place of the dead. Swift to act when a purpose was once formed, Mr. Fink met Dr. Marshman at the foot of the pulpit-stairs, and offered to go to Chittagong. "Here am I," said he, "send me."

The acceptance was as prompt as the offer. The honoured Fathers whose souls had been yearning in painful solicitude over the destitute condition of the Mugh Churches, were quick to catch God's answer to their prayers. Arrangements were made to enable the young Missionary to hasten to his chosen work. He resigned his secular employment, and on the 10th of January 1821, was publicly ordained to the ministerial office. The ordination prayer was uttered by Dr. Carey, and the charge was delivered by the Rev. H. Townley of the Independent Mission, from the words, "Make full proof of thy ministry."

In a few days, Mr. and Mrs. Fink were on their way to Chittagong.



## CHAPTER. III.

*Chittagong—its history—origin of the Mugh settlement—Mr. Pink's first visit to the Mugh stations—Schools—The Arracanese language.*

Leaving the young Missionary and his wife to pursue their journey through the Sunderbuns, down the mighty Megna, and across the Bay of Bengal to its eastern shore, let us take a bird's-eye view of the scene of their future labours.\* Chittagong, situated on the east of the Bay, is the capital of the province of Chittagong which forms the eastern limit of Bengal proper. It stands on the river Karnafuli, and is still a considerable sea-port. On entering the river, we get sight of the town studded with low hills, each surmounted by a white house, the residence of some European, to which a winding path-way ascends through an avenue of firs, whose cone-shaped heads rise in solemn greatness above the other leafy occupants of the hill-side. From the tops of these hills, looking southward, may be seen the tumbling waters of the Bay, only separated from the river by a narrow neck of land; whilst the eastern view is bounded by a long line of blue hills, peopled by savage tribes, and clad, from base to summit, in impenetrable jungle. The river-approach to the town, as we advance, presents a picturesque view of ships of various sizes riding at anchor, interspersed among numerous small craft; and of native boats, some plying up and down the stream laden with passengers or goods for neighbouring markets, others crowding around the distant pier waiting for cargo. Passing into the district, we find the face of the country diversified by numerous ranges of hills reaching an average height of from 150 to 200 feet, built up of sandy strata which appear to have been but recently recovered from the sea. They are supposed, however, to be connected with the volcanic belt that has been ascertained to extend from the island of Java, and are, for the most part, covered with a thick low jungle, whose monotony is some-

times broken by a tall forest tree overshadowing the lesser growth. The extensive tracts of flat country lying between the ranges, are liberally dotted with populous villages, and are under cultivation. They are watered by no less than ten rivers of varying importance, besides innumerable hill-streams; so that though the soil is sandy and far from uniformly productive, it is in no place wholly unculturable. The staple produce of the province, as indeed of all Bengal, is rice; but the cultivation of hemp and sugar-cane is also considerable. If its agricultural products are few, its artizan population, with the exception of the classes whose skill is needed in ship-building, is likewise limited; and it possesses no mineral wealth. Its chief importance centres in its port which still attracts capitalists and merchants from all parts of Hindostan.

The population, which is chiefly Mahomedan, has been estimated at 94,900, and is generally more enterprising and self-helpful than that of some other provinces of Bengal. The Hindoos form but one-third of the population, a proportion which can only be accounted for by the frequent alternate annexations of the province by the Rajahs of Arracan and Tipperah in early times, and the Rajah of Arracan and the Moghul Government at a more recent period. Chittagong originally formed part of the independent and once-flourishing Kingdom of Tipperah; but being situated on the borders of Arracan, it was more than once taken by the Rajah of this latter country. It was in his possession when the Afghan kings of Bengal were attracted to it, in the early part of the 16th century. They incorporated the province into their own territories, and continued to hold it till the time of their struggle for dominion with the Moghul, when it became an easy prey to the Rajah of Arracan. Finding that this robbery provoked no remonstrance, the Rajah projected an expedition to the mouth of the Ganges; but here he was checked and driven back. To chastise his unscrupu-

lous ambition, Shaista Khan, the newly appointed Governor of Bengal, fitted out a formidable expedition both naval and military, and not only expelled the Arracanese from the numerous islands of the Bay, but advancing as far as Chittagong, annexed the province to the Moghul Empire. From that time through a period of ninety-six years, Chittagong remained under Mahomedan rule. At length, by a treaty signed on the 9th of September 1760, it was ceded to the East India Company, and has ever since been a British province.

The history of the Mugh settlement is soon told. Arracan was an independent kingdom till the year 1783, when it was conquered with difficulty by the King of Burmah. When the Arracanese found themselves unable to check the progress of the Burman arms, and rid their country of its unscrupulous tyrants, large numbers of them resolved to leave their land rather than submit to a foreign yoke. Accordingly, many fled to the hills and dense forests that skirt the southern frontier of Chittagong; others penetrating further, took refuge in the districts of Chittagong and Tipperah. These are the people commonly called Mughls. What the origin or etymology of the word *Mugh* is, no one has been able to ascertain. The Arracanese themselves disown the appellation. It appears to have been given either by the conquering Burmans, or the people of Bengal: probably by the latter. We incline to think that if its origin could be traced, it would be found to be a word of reproach. Be this as it may, we find these fugitive Mughls settling along the south of Chittagong in the year 1783. Soon, among the hills and valleys of this part of the district, there sprang up numerous Mugh villages, whose inhabitants were in diligent pursuit of various means of livelihood. Some went into the jungles to cut wood to be sold for fuel in the neighbouring markets; others cleared large tracts of land for the cultivation of rice and jute; others supplied themselves with fishing tackle. To encourage their permanent settlement in British territory, our Government

furnished them with agricultural implements and other industrial appliances, through a Captain Cox who established a bazar for their special benefit, known as Cox's Bazar. Bringing their Buddhism with them, they were accompanied by their priests' or *poongees*, who dispersing among the numerous towns and villages of the new settlement, erected their monasteries, or *kyoungs*, and gave themselves to the education of the children. The intercourse of the Mughhs with the Mahomedans and Hindoos of the district, was restricted to the dealings of the market-place: from all further relations they abstained, and their towns and villages were distinct from those of the rest of the people. This was their condition when the gospel reached them through Mr. D'Bruyn in the year 1814. We have already taken a brief survey of the history of the following six years, when the gospel gradually spread among the people. Let us resume our narrative.

Reaching Chittagong in the first week of February 1821, Mr. Fink prepared at once to visit the Mugh settlement, and recommend himself personally to the churches. He set out with Mr. John Johannes, then the Superintendent of a Mission School at Chittagong, and Kheppoo, a Mugh itinerant preacher. On his arrival he found that there were four stations in which churches had been organized. They were Harbang, Chukuriya, Munjariya, and Cox's Bazar. Stopping in each, he read to the church a letter from the Serampore brethren, in which the people were informed of his appointment to oversee them, and carry the Gospel through the Mugh settlement. The Mughhs are, by nature, a warm-hearted and impulsive race, and their reception of Mr. Fink was such as to encourage him to a zealous devotement of his energies to their welfare. In his account of this first visit he says:

"The letter which you gave me (recommending me as their Missionary,) was read by brother Kheppoo to all the

Churches, and the brethren and sisters embraced me with all kindness and affection, such affection as would encourage any person to dwell and unite himself with them. For my part, I could live and spend all my days with these people, these beloved Arracanese brethren and sisters; and I have to bless the Lord that he inclined my heart to go and be among them."

There can be no doubt that the demonstrative affection with which the Mugh Christians welcomed Mr. Fink, was owing as much to the fact that he had undertaken to learn their language as to the influence of Christian feeling. They had hitherto received the Gospel through interpreters; no missionary had yet preached to them in their own vernacular. In common with their countrymen and, we may add, to a greater or less degree with all Orientals, they were pre-disposed to respect, and be attached to, any European who spoke their native tongue; and as it was known that Mr. Fink had come with the express intention of declaring to them, in their own Arracanese, the wonderful works of God, it is not surprising that he found them prepared to receive him with affectionate joy. The regard they show for those who can communicate with them in their mother tongue, is intended as an acknowledgment of the compliment implied in the pains the foreigner takes to acquire their language. The fact that he takes this trouble is interpreted to signify, that he seeks to have intercourse with them; and this is itself a ready passport to their confidence and sympathy. We may illustrate this observation by a story Mr. Fink used to tell, of an encounter with a band of river-pirates. Being out on a Missionary tour, he was moving down the river Koladyne near sunset one evening, when his boatmen began to shout and make a great noise. Looking out of his cabin window, he saw a long Burman canoe propelled by forty or fifty paddlers armed with spears and other formidable weapons, making straight for his boat. Just then



one of his boatmen bursting into the cabin, cried out, "Sir, Sir, dacoits are upon us! They will kill us and plunder the boat! Oh, what is to be done?" "Let me go on deck and see," said Mr. Fink. By the time he reached the deck, the pirate-boat had come nearer, and he distinctly overheard its occupants making their arrangements for the attack. They were not more than twenty yards off, when he called to them in Burman, and asked what they wanted. The moment they heard him speak, they dropped their paddles, and shouted, "Look! look! he speaks our tongue!" Mr. Fink repeated his enquiry, and they answered, "We came to plunder your boat, but we have changed our minds. We cannot do harm to a foreigner who speaks our language." This led to further conversation. "Come nearer," said Mr. Fink, "let us have a little friendly talk." He then began to show them how wrong it was to lead the kind of life they were living; he told them how the great God of heaven would punish all dacoits, and concluded with giving them the story of Jesus Christ. Some copies of the Burman Scriptures and a few serious thoughts were all the booty they carried away that night.

The feeling which disarmed these robbers was the same as that which found expression in the mutual congratulations and joy of the Mugh Christians at Mr. Fink's settlement among them. For his own part, he lost no time in beginning the diligent study of the Burman language, incited as he was by the prospect, not only of labouring with acceptance among the Churches, but also of being able to declare the message of life to the heathen population. Concerning the latter, he says in the letter from which we have already quoted: "Besides the above-mentioned places where churches have been established, there are very many more Arracanese villages, in some of which the people have never heard the word of God. When I consider this, it encourages me more fervently to bend myself

towards studying the language. While I was at these places, I saw hundreds of Arracanese priests, called *poongees*, clothed in yellow garments, walking the streets, to whom the poor Arracanese are obliged to pay a kind of adoration. Besides myself, there is no one to stand in battle against them; but by the command of the Captain of my salvation, I hope to see some of them conquered. Oh for more faith in Him who is the strength of all!" Such were his thoughts as he surveyed the future battle-field.

It had been Mr. Fink's intention to have his home in the midst of the Mughs so that his usefulness should receive no interruption; but this he found impossible. The tract of country they inhabited was one extensive jungle, tolerably healthy through some months of the year, but, during others, reeking with the most deadly miasmata. The Mugh Christians themselves strongly dissuaded him from his original purpose, and yielding to their decision, he arranged to spend three months in the year, *viz.*, March, April and May, in Chittagong. This arrangement left him nine months for the personal superintendence of the Churches, and for missionary labour among the heathen Mughs. Accordingly, having spent the greater part of February in making himself acquainted with the people and the wants of various stations, he returned to Chittagong. In a letter written on the 22nd of that month, he transmitted to Serampore a statement of the labours in which he found the Mugh preachers entertained by the Mission, engaged. From this account it appears, that there were four leading men to whom Cox's Bazar, Chukuriya, Harbang, and the immediate neighbourhood of Chittagong, were severally assigned. Besides them, there were two or three subordinate evangelists located in and around Cox's Bazar, whose population exceeded that of the other towns. In addition to their daily work among the heathen, this small band of preachers provided, as best they could, for the religious

instruction of the Churches. It is true that when Mr. Fink became sufficiently acquainted with the Arracanese tongue to be able to converse with his people without the aid of an interpreter, he found that in many cases, their knowledge of Divine truth was but elementary, whilst in others, it was mixed up with serious error; but this was not surprising. When we reflect that they had no New Testament in their native tongue; that a few Burman Gospels and tracts furnished all their knowledge respecting God and His Word; and that even the spoken word had as yet reached them only through interpreters who often, probably, misconceived the preacher's meaning, and certainly failed to transmit his fire; the wonder is, not that they were found wanting, but that they had so successfully striven against these disadvantages.

One of Mr. Fink's earliest projects for the energetic working of the Mugh Mission, was the establishment of schools. The Mughs in accordance with an ancient national practice, sent their boys at eight or ten years of age, to the priest of the village, who was also the schoolmaster, for a little education. With him they resided during the period allotted for tuition. A little reading, writing, and account-keeping were the sum total of what they were taught. Both priest and pupils were supported by daily contributions made by the shop-owners and house-holders of the village, of rice, vegetables, and other articles of food. Clad in a loose yellow mantle, and attended by a servant bearing a large palm-leaf fan which was scrupulously interposed between him and every woman that passed (for he was not allowed to look upon a woman,) the priest made the circuit of the village or bazar every morning. He was followed by his pupils who bore lacquered trays for the reception of the gifts of the people. No word was spoken during these perambulations. Stopping at each door, the priest struck a brass gong which he carried for the purpose, to give intimation



of his arrival. The signal was instantly answered by the house holder or some other member of the family, who, issuing with the day's contribution, placed it on one of the trays. Any thing might be given on these occasions but money, which it was not lawful for a priest to have.

The education supplied to the children of these kyoungs was very rudimentary, except in the case of candidates for the priesthood; yet such as it was, it helped them in the transaction of business, and so was of no small advantage. Hence too, the priest was always popular, and wherever he went, could command an ample livelihood. Fearing, at this early stage of his proceedings, to excite popular opposition by too public an interference with the prescriptive rights of the priesthood, Mr. Fink determined to begin by establishing schools for Christian boys, in the hope that the children of heathen parents would in time be attracted to them. He likewise arranged for the instruction of the girls and women of the christian community. The Mughs, like the Burmans, or Hindoos, never encouraged female education; so that even among the Christians, the education of wives and daughters had been entirely overlooked. All young girls, matrons, and widows, were now taught to read the Burman Scripture. The beneficial influence of this measure cannot be over-rated: It was felt in every Christian house-hold, and materially aided the growth of that high religious principle which became a prominent feature in the character of the Mugh Christian.

A serious draw back alike to the success of schools and the dissemination of Gospel truth, was the absence of vernacular publications. There were no Arracanese books. The literature of the people was in Burman, and the few religious tracts supplied to Mr. Fink were in Burman. It is true the Arracanese was scarcely more than a dialect of the Burman; yet it differed sufficiently from the parent language to make a separate re-

ligious literature not only desirable but necessary. Few of those amongst whom the Missionary's work lay, understood the Burman. Mugh traders whose business took them to Rangoon and other Burman ports, and priests, were the only people who claimed to have any knowledge of it. The rest spoke a dialect as different from the Burman as the Musulmani—Bengali of Eastern Bengal is from the pure Bengali. Under these circumstances it was important that religious truth should be conveyed through a channel that would bring it nearer to their understandings and hearts than the Burman language could reach, and it cannot but remain a matter of regret that no portions of Scripture were translated into Arracanese. The Serampore Missionaries, whose Burman version was from the pen of Mr. Felix Carey, undertook, when that version fell into disuse, to print the new translation made by the American Missionaries of Moulmein and Rangoon. This latter translation was permanently adopted by the Mugh Churches. No doubt, Dr. Judson's version, considering the close affinity between Burman and Arracanese, would have made an Arracanese translation of the entire New Testament unnecessary. Nor could such a translation have been well entrusted to one who though possessing great natural talent, and an accurate knowledge of the language into which the rendering would have to be made, had yet had neither the general education nor the training requisite for the preparation of a critical version. But we think that the result would have more than justified the measure, if the Serampore Missionaries had encouraged Mr. Fink to adapt detached Gospels and other books from the already received Burman version, for the use of the Mugh. The Auxiliary Bible Society in Calcutta have been working just such a scheme with success. Acknowledging the Bengali version as the standard one, they have, notwithstanding, published the more immediately useful portions of Scripture in

the Musulmani-Bengali, a corrupt dialect extensively spoken in Eastern Bengal. These books have been circulated far and wide, they are every where understood, and are the means of conveying a knowledge of the Gospel to men who would rather remain in total ignorance of it than be at the pains of studying the pure Bengali version.

After visiting the churches and taking a survey of the field that lay spread before him, Mr. Fink returned to Chittagong during the unhealthy season of the year, and made immediate arrangements for the study of the Burman language. For this purpose he secured the services of Kallafree, a Mugh preacher, with whom he made considerable progress. He gave his undivided energies, first to the acquisition of the Burman, then to the dialectic peculiarities of the Arracanese; and such was his success, that in a little more than a year, he was able to make himself understood by the Mughs. But he did not relinquish his studies the moment he could speak the language. By a course of steady and diligent application, he made himself extensively acquainted with Burman literature and mythology, and the Pali, or sacred language of the people. The time so spent cannot be said to have been misapplied. It was thus that he qualified himself for the work on which his soul was set. He became in course of time a powerful and effective preacher of the Gospel, being "mighty," not only "in the Scripture," but also in the sacred books of the people; and every where, whether in the market place or in the verandah of his own house, in the kyoang or his own chapel, he was heard with eager delight. When he left Calcutta for Chittagong, it was with the fixed hope of spending not only a few years, but his whole life, among the Mughs and Arracanese. The moment he came among them therefore, he threw every energy of a strong mind and a strong heart into his mission. To qualify himself for his work, we find him thoroughly study-

ing the language, character, habits, literature, religion, of the people among whom he had chosen to dwell. Let the incessant toil he subsequently underwent both by day and night, and the perils he faced both by land and water, be the monument of his zeal, and the index of his attachment to the Master's cause.

---

## CHAPTER IV.

*Difficulties as to the treatment of heathen candidates for Baptism—Success and hostility—Death of Mr. Colman—Mr. Fink's views of duty—illness—visit to Calcutta—discussion with a Hindoo.*

From March to the end of May 1821, Mr. Fink remained in Chittagong; but he was not inactive. Though his chief strength was given, as already intimated, to the acquisition of the language that was to qualify him for labour among the people of his choice, yet he did not, on that account, relinquish Bengali preaching. He frequently accompanied Mr. Johannes and the native evangelists to the bazars and other places of resort, to declare the message of life. He also carefully superintended and directed the labours of the Mugh itinerants, from whom he required monthly statements of their work.

Leaving Chittagong at the end of May to visit his churches, he found sad news awaiting him. Three of the members of the Church at Haibang finding themselves restrained by the morality of the Christian religion, and desiring to return to the license of heathenism, had, with a view to propitiate the poongee, or priest of the place, publicly blasphemed the name of the Lord Jesus, and presented offerings to dumb idols. Convinced that it was of the last importance to keep the Church free from idolatrous contamination, Mr. Fink's resolution was speedily formed. "Without any delay," he writes, "I called the Church and summoned the three brethren, and found the report true." They stated that they had continued to attend the preaching of the word for some months after being baptized by Mr. D'Bruyn; but that when they became better acquainted with Christianity and found that it set its face against all immoral and carnal indulgences, they gradually began to tire of it, until their declension ended in a

definitive renouneement of Christ. Cases such as these, though they occurred but rarely, led Mr. Fink, throughout the period of his connection with the Arracanese Churches, to practise great care in the admission of heathen candidates. Indeed, the extent of caution needful to be exercised, is still one of the difficulties of Missionary experience. Extreme circumspection involves a delay which may tire out a candidate, and send him back, disappointed and disgusted, to his heathen associations. It may be said, that in such a case the delay is not to be regretted, as it serves to unmask a profession proved by the result to be insincere. But this is no solution of the difficulty. This man who has been waiting so long for admission into the sanctuary of Christian fellowship, has not an educated conscience, and ought not to be judged by the standard we would apply to one nurtured in the bosom of an enlightened Christian morality. His conduct should be viewed from his own moral standing-ground; and the question is whether, viewed from this point, it necessarily betokens the insincerity so hastily ascribed to it. We do not justify his return to idolatry; we only seek to show how his conduct may be explained, without his being charged with hypocrisy. He himself, if interrogated, would acknowledge the inconsistency; but he would plead the necessity of the case as a set off against it. He would reason the matter with himself thus: "What is now to be done? I have renounced my heathen friends, and the Christians will not receive me. I cannot live with ut intercourse with my fellow-men. I will go back to the society of my heathen friends. Of course I must observe some of their idolatrous rites, or they will persecute me; but God knows my heart, and will make a merciful allowance for my position. He will see that in my heart, I am a Christian." Had his conscience been more fully enlightened, he would have shrunk from the idea of returning to the "beggary elements" he had so recently forsaken, for he would have had a



knowledge of the sin involved in such conduct. But since this was not the case, we ought to be careful how we undertake to determine the extent of his blameworthiness. Who that has laboured in the Gospel among the heathen, does not know of men, Christians at heart, who yet reconcile their secret convictions with an outward adherence to the ceremonies and superstitions of a degrading worship?

But if there are those whose advances ought to be met and timely encouraged, there are others actuated by ulterior purposes in their profession of belief in the Gospel. If the extreme of caution needs to be guarded against, precipitancy must also be avoided. Our experience in Bengal tells us, that among the lower classes, for one sincere seeker after salvation, there are two who hope, by professing to be Christians, to be set up in business or get a comfortable pension for life. Were all who come to the Missionary as inquirers to be indiscriminately and precipitately baptized, we might show a vast number of so called Christians in our annual returns; but the influence of the Church upon the heathen masses would become unspeakably disastrous to the cause of Christianity. The truth is, no specific rule will apply to the countless varieties of character that have to be dealt with. No where is the impracticability of any such rule more convincingly felt than in Bengal, where the matchless duplicity of the people will baffle the most sagacious interpreter of human nature. What might, under other circumstances, be condemned as suspiciousness, is only cautiousness, when dealing with them. When a man forsakes his kindred and his caste, and coming to the Missionary, says, "Receive me, I have left all for Christ," one would suppose that his sincerity needed no further attestation than that of the sacrifice he had made. "Give up caste" we are ready to exclaim, "What would not a Hindoo give up sooner than that! Who can doubt the honesty of his convictions?" And yet, if it is true that great sacrifices follow only

great convictions, we shall soon feel compelled to doubt the extent as well of his convictions as of the sacrifice he has made. If his convictions were as sincere as they profess to be, and as great as we should be disposed, judging from the nature of the sacrifice, to infer, they would be marked by an earnestness of inquiry, and a conscientiousness of desire to know and do Christ's will, which could not be mistaken for the mere mask of a mercenary design. But when, instead of these tokens of true belief, we find that his first anxiety is to know how his bodily wants are going to be supplied; when, instead of the independent desire for knowledge, which needs no prompting, he requires *to be induced* to receive instruction,—it is impossible to repel the suspicion that the sacrifice of caste and friends was not made without the hope of a more than commensurate gain by coming among the Christians. Sometimes a man may so carefully guard against every appearance inconsistent with his assumed character of a religious inquirer, as entirely to disarm suspicion; and it is not till his period of probation is over, and he is admitted by baptism into Church-fellowship, that the Missionary begins to have a dawning perception of his true character. Still, as a general rule, a careful study of the circumstances under which the inquirer comes to the missionary, and a watchful study of the tone and tenor of his conversation, will enable one to form a pretty correct opinion of his motives and character; and when that opinion is favourable, the bare possibility of ultimately discovering that a deception has been practised, cannot justify a protracted and wearying probation.

But prejudiced as Mr. Fink was, in favour of prolonged periods of trial, the suspicious caution with which the Bengali often needs to be treated, was not, as a rule, requisite among the Mughls. They have always been a frank, out-spoken, and independent people, having neither the physical weakness nor the consequent cowardice which underlie the double-dealing of



the Bengali. Passionate and revengeful, they are also manly and of generous impulses. As an enemy, a Mugh is relentless; as a friend, he is self-sacrificing. Such the Missionary found him. If he hated the Gospel, he became an uncompromising foe; if he received it, it was the result of honest conviction; if he loved it, it was with the love of a full heart. To be sure, in course of his labours, Mr. Fink met with occasional instances of low, cowardly dissimulation; but these, like the exceptions which prove a rule, only served to remind him of their inconsistency with the general character of the people.

A story is told of an instance in which Mr. Peacock, Mr. Fink's predecessor, was painfully deceived. A Mugh came to him desiring baptism. As the man's conduct during the usual period of probation had been satisfactory, and nothing could be said prejudicial to his character, Mr. Peacock agreed to baptize him. The day was fixed, and the rite was administered; but the moment the man came up out of the water, he turned to Mr. Peacock and said, "Will you please tell me now, how much a month I am to get?" One may at first be disposed to regard this incident as illustrative of the deceitful cunning of the Mugh character; but such a conclusion would be erroneous. If this Mugh had been an accomplished deceiver, he would not have been betrayed into so unseasonable an inquiry. His conduct was, obviously, that of a simple fellow who had from somewhere got the notion, that every baptized person received a monthly allowance of money for his support; that this offer of support was avowedly intended to induce people to become Christians; and that he had only to wait till he was baptized, to claim his share of money. He was not aware that he had been practising a deceit. Mr. Peacock who was a most scrupulous man, was for a moment dumb with astonishment. As soon as he could speak, he began to reproach himself in the bitterest terms, with having, by some remissness of his own, suffered this man to incur the guilt of making a Christian profession

from unworthy motives. Indeed, he continued for days in great agony of mind, owing to what he called his "great sin." But none that knew that heavenly-minded man, could for a moment believe that he was to blame. The fact was, he never learnt the Mugh language, and all his intercourse with the people was conducted through interpreters. It is no wonder therefore, that despite all the pains he took, he should yet have had but an imperfect knowledge of the characters and motives of many who sought Christian baptism. But let it also be recorded of him, that his anxious solicitude for the purity of the churches, and the rare conscientiousness that ruled his every action, stimulated as they must have been by the knowledge of the very disadvantage under which he laboured, were rewarded in no small degree by the high tone of Christian character which the people attained. At his death, he left behind him a name fragrant with the loving remembrances of all who knew his "meek and quiet spirit," and had witnessed his noiseless but untiring labours.

Unwilling to defer the pleasure of preaching to the heathen Mughls till he could address them in their native tongue, Mr. Fink went about with his evangelists, taking every opportunity to say a few words through an interpreter. As soon as he became independent of such aid, he threw the Gospel net not only over the immediate neighbourhood of the stations where his churches were located, but also over Moishcallee, Kutupdiya, Beebeckhee, and the other densely populated islands which dot the eastern coast of the Bay, as far south as Ramoo. Success soon dawned. In January of the following year he reports, that there were "a few at Manjariya who had forsaken idolatry;" and in the neighbouring island of Kutupdiya, the word of life had reached the heart of an old man whose conversation was hailed as the first fruits of that populous island.

• It was to be expected that this success should not be unaccompanied by a growing hostility towards the Missionary and

his companions. Throughout the heathen world, the bitterest enemies of the truth are to be found among the priesthood, whose craft is endangered. Sometimes they seek to influence the common people through their superstitious fears, and threaten them with the wrath of the gods if they forsake the worship of their fathers. At other times, they will feign to have discovered some new charm, to have received some new inspiration, or to have been favoured with some fresh miraculous power, by a shrewd and discreet use of which, they will work upon the popular credulity and divert men's thoughts from God's scheme of salvation. Now it is one class of emotions that they strive to excite, now it is another; always adapting their deceits to the character and disposition of the people they deal with, and dexterously appealing to hopes, fears and even animal passions, in their anxiety to withstand the advance of a purer knowledge. Such being the case, we are not surprised to hear that among the Mughls too, the Devil sowed tares where the servant of Christ sowed wheat; but this hostility only stimulated Mr. Fink to the adoption of various means to arrest the attention of the people. Knowing how easily the curiosity of an ignorant but lively race may be excited, he always had some device ready for collecting the people of a market or village around him. Frequently, standing in some conspicuous spot, he had merely to take his watch out of his pocket and hold it up so that it might attract the notice of passers by. First one man, and then another, would stop to stare at it; a dozen more would soon follow, curious to know what was going on; and so the number would keep increasing, till quite a congregation of men and women were shouting all kinds of eager questions respecting "the little live thing" he held in his hands. Perhaps he would answer some of these ques-

tions; then returning the watch to his pocket, say, "Hear what I have to tell you, and when I have done, you shall see the watch again." This promise, whenever it was given, acted as an inducement to most of the people to remain and listen to the message of life. What the watch did in the market-place, a coloured map, or picture did in the Missionary's bungalow. It only needed to be exhibited in some conspicuous place on the wall, where passers by were sure to stop and examine it. As soon as a goodly number of people was collected, the map was rolled up, or the picture turned to the wall, and the preaching began. Many originally brought by some such means under the sound of the Gospel, received the Word in faith.

Finding the people so easily lured by curiosity, a Buddhist priest recently come from Ceylon, and a violent opponent of Christianity, set about a scheme for counteracting the growing influence of the Christian teachers. His expedient was the following. He happened to have in his possession an old terrestrial globe brought from either Ceylon or Calcutta, whose use, as may be supposed, was a dark mystery to the ignorant Mughls. The most probable conclusion they could come to, was, that it had to do with some occult science known only to those who, like the priest, were favoured with special communications from Buddha. Taking the globe along with him, and freely exhibiting it with a view, probably, of anticipating and settling at rest all irreverent doubts respecting his superior sanctity and learning, he travelled from one end of the country to the other, declaring that he had visited all parts of the world, (a lie suggested by his having traced them, perhaps, on the globe) had made himself acquainted with the manners and customs of all races of men, and had profoundly studied all the religions prevailing among them; and that the conclusion to which his observations had led him, was, that the English were worse than any other people, and the Christian religion the

most degrading of religions. By speeches such as these, aided by a judicious exhibition of the old globe, he created for a while no small sensation among the people, who in their simplicity inferred, that a man who understood all about that mysterious thing with the strange figures on it, that turned round and round, must be speaking the truth. Vast numbers, among whom were many Mugh priests, were deluded into giving credence to his pretensions, and some went so far as to render him Divine honours. He used the influence thus acquired, to incite the people to persecute the Christians, and prevent the preaching of Jesus Christ, and for some time it became popular to say all manner of evil concerning the Christians falsely, and in a thousand small ways to harass and annoy them. Meeayung, one of the native evangelists at Munjariya, was on one occasion, robbed by the Zemindar of his village of his rice and poultry, and then tied up and whipped on his bare back for preaching Jesus Christ. "But still, for all this," added the brave old man in the letter in which he recorded this treatment, "I trust in the Lord and persevere in my work." These persecutions for a time had the effect not only of deterring many from attending, as they would otherwise have done, the preaching of the Gospel, but they also kept back some from professing the faith they had embraced in their hearts, and frightened others who had recently joined the Christians, into returning to heathenism. But this hostility did not cause the least suspension of Missionary labour. From village to village, from market to market, from island to island, from mountain to mountain, and all along the jungly and marshy valleys of that unwholesome region did Mr. Pink and his itinerants journey, proclaiming the unsearchable riches of Christ, alike when greeted with abuse and when received with a friendly welcome. As the renewed character of the Christians began to be better known, and the principles of their holy religion appreciated, the

opposition to which the heathen had been stimulated, died out, and they began again to hear the Word of Life with pleasure. In some places, they came to the house of the native preacher every day, asking for instruction.

In the year 1820, after the Missionaries Judson and Colman had been sent away in disgrace from the Burman capital, and their petition for religious liberty had been refused by the King of the Golden Foot, they "thought it necessary to leave for a time those parts of the empire which were immediately under his dominion," and transfer their labours to the Mugh settlement in the south of the Chittagong district. It was eventually decided, that only Mr. and Mrs. Colman should proceed thither, with a view to gather the Arracanese converts believed to have been scattered after the death of D'Bruyn, and to have remained so ever since, and form a refuge for Dr. Judson and his Burman Christians whenever residence in Rangoon should become impossible. It appears strange that these good men should have so entirely overlooked the labours of Mr. Peacock, Mr. D'Bruyn's successor, who was working the Mugh Mission as vigorously as his circumstances would allow, at the very time when Dr. Judson declared the people to be "destitute of instruction" and the converts to "need collecting together." It is also strange that they should have so far lost sight of the consideration due to the founders of the Mugh Mission as to proceed to occupy a region known to be worked by them, without even communicating their intention to the Serampore Brethren. Be this as it may, Mr. Colman arrived at Chittagong in the middle of the year, and after waiting some months for the permission of the Government, took up his residence at Cox's Bazar, a station seventy miles away from the town of Chittagong. But he had not been there a year when he fell a victim to the deadly fever of those parts. Before his removal he had been strongly dissuaded from



remaining at Cox's Bazar during the unhealthy months of the year, but believing all such representations of the climate to be exaggerated, he decided on making a trial of one sickly season. But as just stated, he had scarcely settled down to his work when he was prostrated by the fever: his wife's most anxious ministrations failed to arrest the disease, and he died before it would have been possible to send him medical assistance. Mr. Fink who was at the time in Chittagong and did not hear of Mr. Colman's illness till he received tidings of his death, hastened to Cox's Bazar in hope of being of some help to Mrs. Colman. He prevailed on her to return to Chittagong without delay, and he himself followed, but not soon enough to elude the grasp of disease.

It is instructive to note the effect produced on Mr. Fink's mind by Mr. Colman's death. He had for some time previously been painfully undecided how far he did right in keeping away from his stations through three months of every year, fearing that he was influenced by considerations that had no business to interfere with the execution of the Master's work. He had even gone so far as to secure a piece of ground and purchase materials for a house at Cox's Bazar where he hoped to reside altogether. One would suppose that Mr. Colman's death happening at such a time, would have set his scruples at rest and satisfied him not only as to the prudence, but the moral rightness, of his first arrangements; but instead of this it had the contrary effect. He began to desire rather than shrink from the sacrifice which it was more than probable would be entailed by removal into the jungles, and to regard it as a test ordained by Jesus Christ of his love and devotedness. The view he took of his position will be best expressed in his own words. In a letter written immediately after bringing Mrs. Colman away from Cox's Bazar, he says: "I exceedingly long to go and dwell wholly among them, (the Mughls.) The death of

brother Colman has been a trial to me ; but when I meditate on the shortness of our lives I consider that wherever we reside, we must one day quit this sinful world and appear in His holy presence in Whose cause we are engaged, and before Whom we must give an account of all our thoughts, words, and actions, and whether we have discharged our duty properly in His vineyard and have acted rightly towards all our fellow creatures. And in searching the Holy Scriptures I find, that the Lord has declared that we are not to set our affections upon any thing, nay, not even on our own lives, more than on Him ; that he that taketh not up his cross and followeth after Him is not worthy of Him ; and that he that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for His sake, shall find it. I have meditated upon these passages, and I think it is my duty to live wholly among those to whom I am sent. For what answer shall I give to the Lord, if I do not discharge my duty as I ought? I have an awful charge on my hands—to watch over so many souls ; and if I do not watch over them as I am commanded by the Lord, surely their blood will be required at my hands. But how can I thus watch over them if I am not living with them? How can I warn them with the trumpet of His word, while I am so far from them? When I consider these things they make me tremble.”

These words fairly illustrate the character of the man. If it is accounted noble to face *unknown* dangers in the cause of God's truth, it is a higher self-devotion to encounter *certain* peril. To Mr. Fink belonged the latter quality. Doubtless, he was mistaken in his estimate of duty ; indeed it was not long before he acknowledged his error ; but this does not lessen the impression our minds receive of the martyr-courage that was ready to face death in the reeking jungles of Chittagong. When he came to examine the question more deliberately, he found that the sacrifice he was ready to make was not required

of him; that it was his duty to preserve his life for the service of Him on whose altar he was willing to lay it down; and that it was more consonant with the will of his Master to seek by every lawful means to prolong the period of usefulness, than to put out his hand presumptuously to seize a martyr's crown.

Hardly had he returned with Mrs. Colman from Cox's Bazar, when he was overtaken by the same fever which had laid Colman in his grave. Though strong in its paroxysms, it was intermittent for the first week or so, after which it became remittent, and was for some days so high that Mr. Fink was scarcely sensible during the whole of the time. His medical attendant asserted that his only hope of recovery was in starvation which was accordingly tried, and with success. By the middle of September Mr. Fink had recovered, and being anxious to recruit his strength which had been seriously prostrated, as well as to consult the directors of the Serampore Mission with regard to his work, he visited Calcutta in the following month. Strengthened by their advice and sympathy, he returned in December to Chittagong.

On his way back, he took every opportunity to preach the Gospel to the Bengalis of the bazars and villages he passed. We may close this chapter with a specimen of the simple yet practical way in which many of the discussions between the Missionary and the Hindoo were conducted before orthodox Hinduism was so sorely straitened as it is now, for its defence. "Truly, there is only one God," shouted a Hindoo interrupting Mr. Fink in his address on one occasion; "but He came and took the shapes of Doorga, Kali and others." "I asked him," writes Mr. Fink, "Is God holy or unholy?" He replied, "He is most holy." I said again, "If God is most holy, they cannot be God who so much delight in every unholy action"; adding, "remember the filthy and obscene songs which you sing continually before the image of Doorga, and say that she is

well pleased with. Now, if Doorga be a holy being, how can she take delight in unholy things?" The Hindoo had nothing more to say then; but if he were plied with the same argument now, he would tell us that there need be no congruity between the character of the so-called deity that is worshipped, and that of the God whom this deity is believed to reveal; that the obscenities of Hindoo worship, suggested as they are by the proclivities of universal human nature, are to be viewed only as the accidental symbol of the emotional transport excited by the contemplation of the Supreme Being; and that this transport, not its accidental expression, is the true index of the heart's adoration!

## CHAPTER V.

*Schools—Population of Mugh Settlement—First Burman war—  
Flight of the Mughs to Chittagong—Conduct of the Chris-  
tians—Return of the Mughs to their Settlement—Contemplated  
removal to Arracan.—*

In the year 1823, Mr. Fink opened a school for Mugh boys at Harbang, the most central and one of the most populous of the Christian Stations; but being obliged on some account to close it, he transferred the services of the teacher Oogarhee, to Kruskool, a place opposite the island of Muscallee. Of the man selected to occupy this post he writes: "Our brother Oogarhee is about thirty years old; he is the eldest son of our aged pious brother Soopong, the itinerant at Cox's Bazar. He is a married man; in his piety, humility and mild disposition, he much resembles his aged father. He is also a very laborious man, and has gratuitously laboured in spreading the word of life for more than twelve months." A description this which will apply with almost equal truth to all Mr. Fink's unassuming, devoted helpers in the Gospel.

A little before this time, Mr. Fink had also sought to turn his residence in the town of Chittagong to account by the establishment of a girl's school among the numerous Portuguese of the place. The character and social condition of these people, have already been alluded to. Generally recognized as Christians, they nevertheless, had hardly one Christian idea or an iota of Christian knowledge, and had been left wholly uncared for, till the establishment by Mr. Peacock of the Benevolent Institution in the year 1818. This school which gave a plain but useful education to their sons, flourished under Mr. Johannes's able superintendence till the pressure of other Missionary duties obliged him to close it. The need there was for bringing the Portuguese girls under Christian influence, received painful illustration from a scene Mr. Fink accidentally witnessed. An aged

woman had died of cholera, and the funeral procession as it passed, drew his attention. The coffin was followed by the daughter of the deceased, a young woman of about thirty years of age, who with frenzied gesticulations and passionate cries, looked up to Heaven and cursed her Maker for having taken away her mother. Waiting till the funeral was over, Mr. Fink beckoned the young woman aside in the hope of inclining her to better thoughts of God; but the moment she perceived his aim, she fled from him as one flees from a serpent, and would not stop to hear a word of reproof. Nothing more was wanted to convince him of the necessity of doing something for the class to which she belonged. He and his wife lost no time in opening a school in their own house, where they hoped to teach these Portuguese girls to read the Scriptures, to lead them to the Saviour, and to fit them for the duties of Christian wives and mothers. As was to be expected, they at first met with considerable opposition, not so much however in the form of active hostility as of contented ignorance. Learn to read? They were better employed in cooking curries for the family, looking after the poultry and feeding the pigs! To write? Where was the use of it? their brothers and husbands could write! Be taught God's word? They wore a crucifix, took the sacrament, and obtained absolution from the priest; and that was as much as they cared about! But notwithstanding this difficulty, parents were gradually persuaded into sending their girls to be taught. Prejudices were overcome; and soon the efforts of the missionary and his wife bore fruit in the cleanly persons, cheerful, intelligent faces and brighter homes of their pupils. But just as their labours were growing more interesting and blessed, circumstances which we shall have occasion to refer to, compelled their removal to Arracan, and the school was consequently closed. Saddening as this was, they nevertheless had the satisfaction



of feeling that within the short time the school more than they had ventured to hope for, *happy man was* towards the improvement of the social and religious *the Chris-* of the outcasts for whom they toiled. Indeed, the *emplated* many families who, to quote the words of one person acquainted with these labours, "think of Mr. Fink with his gratitude, now that he is asleep in the dust of the earth."

From careful enquiries made during his visits, Mr. Fink ascertained that the Mugh settlement comprised fourteen towns of varying importance, whose aggregate population amounted to 225,700 souls. Of these, Nawanadeo, Sankana-dee, Kaptai and *Con's* Bazar were the largest. In the last named place, there was a Christian Church of thirty-two members; at Manjariya, the Christians numbered twenty-seven; at Harbang, twenty-two; and at Chakuriya, twelve; giving a total of ninety three persons baptized and in full communion. Besides these, there were the children of the Christians, and catechumens of both sexes who had renounced idolatry, who numbered seventy souls. Altogether, therefore, the Christian population of the Mugh settlement consisted in 1822, of one hundred and sixty-three people. There were some Christians at Kapti, a place far among the hills of the eastern frontier, but it lay within the territorial limits of one of the numerous wild tribes of those parts, whose chief had stringently interdicted all communication with the Company's territory. The Christians of Kaptai could not visit the Mugh settlement, nor could the Missionary go to them. However reluctantly therefore, Mr. Fink was nevertheless compelled to leave them to their isolation. He had no means of either obtaining statistics from them, or learning of their spiritual well-being. From the time when the above calculations were made, to the beginning of 1824, the Christian community continued to prosper; converts multiplied; and the Missionary and his native helpers

met with growing success. The Christian faith was being better understood, and the stated Sunday congregations, especially at Harbang, were steadily increasing; among the towns and villages of the main land and the numerous islets that stud the eastern coast, the Gospel was beginning to have free course; the sunshine of God's beneficent purposes was breaking forth in every direction; the fields were fast growing white unto the harvest,—when suddenly the sky was darkened by the thunder-clouds of war, and the labourers saw with dismay a dire devastation impending.

The province of Arracan had been some time in possession of the Burman Government when the Emperor, deceived by the flattery of his courtiers, and miscalculating the resources of the East India Company, thought to extend his dominion in the direction of Bengal. It will be remembered that the district of Chittagong had once belonged to the independent Rajah of Arracan, though it was a British possession at the time Arracan was conquered by the Burmans. But now the Burman Emperor affecting to consider it his by right of the conquest of Arracan, prepared to re-annex it. As is the way among Oriental nations, he instructed the Arracaneese authorities to invade our frontier, without any preliminary declaration of hostilities, or even a representation of any kind to the British Government. His plan was to make a succession of small eruptions which, like feelers, should serve to ascertain the disposition of the British, and whether they were likely to resent an outrage with courage and energy. Consenting at first, to regard these incursions as originating with the local authorities of Arracan, the Governor General of India sent a remonstrance to the Court of Ava, in the hope that his Burman Majesty would disown their acts and visit them with the punishment their lawless proceedings deserved. But the effect produced by this letter was very different from what was hoped for. It was instantly quoted to prove our inability to check the am-

bition of the King of the White Elephant, who was emboldened to push his troops through the provinces of Assam and Cachar to the borders of the Sylhet district. Seeing that nothing short of a vigorous appeal to arms would crush the arrogance of the Burman Court, Lord Amherst prepared, not only to resist these encroachments, but to carry hostilities into the enemy's territory, and to transfer the seat of war to Burmah proper. A powerful expedition soon arrived opposite Rangoon under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, whose victorious and rapid advance on the capital turned the self-complacent braggardism of the Court into an undignified anxiety for personal safety. When one Burman general after another was either slain in battle, or disgraced by defeat, or superseded by reason of incompetency, and the British troops were still moving closer and closer to Ava, Maha Bandoola, who had advanced into Arracan at the head of an army destined for the conquest of Bengal, and had taken with him a pair of golden litters for the accommodation of the Governor General, was hastily recalled in the hope that his 'Invincibles' would yet save the tottering dignity of the Imperial Court. Moving with great rapidity he came up with Sir Archibald Campbell's forces in time to give them battle on more than one occasion; but he was killed one morning by a shell whilst watching the movements of the British army from a high tower. The Burman Government now lost heart. The Lord of the Golden Foot did make another attempt to regain his lost prestige by levying fresh troops and pushing them into the field, but nothing could arrest the march of our troops towards the capital. At last finding it hopeless to prolong the struggle, and fearing lest, if he were obliged to flee from Ava, some pretender should arise and negotiate with the British for the possession of the throne, he consented to treat with the invaders. After the usual amount of vain haggling, it was agreed among other things, that 'his Majesty' should cede to the Company in perpetuity the conquered pro-

vince of Arracan, including the four great divisions of Arracan, Ramree, Cheduba, and Sandoway; that the Arracan mountains should henceforth form the boundary between the two great nations on that side; and that his Majesty should also cede the conquered provinces of Yeh, Tavoy and Mergui, and Tenasserim, with the islands and dependencies thereunto appertaining, taking the Saluen river as the line of demarcation on that frontier.' Thus ended the first Burman war.

Among the earliest of the hostile demonstrations which preceded the war we have just sketched, was the occupation of Ramoo, the southernmost town of Chittagong. To keep the Burmans in check, the British Government had located native troops along the frontier line, in the hope that their presence would prevent encroachment on our territory. Ramoo was accordingly garrisoned by five companies of sepoy's under the command of Captain Noton, who was however strictly enjoined to confine himself to defensive action. Referring the inactivity of our troops to a timid policy, the Burmans determined to seize the place, and, if circumstances were favourable, to advance thence upon the town of Chittagong. Suddenly one night, ten thousand Burmans fell upon the ill-fated garrison of Ramoo, and destroyed it well-nigh to a man. Owing to the rumours of invasion that had preceded this disaster, the Christians of Cox's Bazar and Manjariya had, in common with many hundreds of their heathen neighbours, begun to remove further into the district, and the Christians of Manjariya had stated it as their intention to settle at Harbang. Mr. Pink, anticipating the union of the two churches had written in February of that year: 'When the Manjariya Church is united with it, Harbang will be a brighter star than the others.' But the battle of Ramoo upset this arrangement, and filled the entire population with dismay. The Mughls now found that the Burmans had no im-

mediate intention of evacuating either the town they had taken, or the surrounding country; and knowing that they could reckon on no kindly consideration from their old enemies, they fled in confusion to Chittagong.

In thus hastily deserting their homes, thousands left behind them their only means of support. Men, women, children, crowded every street and bazar of the city, some trying to eke out a precarious livelihood by selling a few trifles; others, without occupation, depending on the little money they had saved in the hurry of flight; and many, starving, or dying for want of shelter. This influx of Mughls, together with the distraction and fear that prevailed among the Bengalis, created a scene of distress melancholy to behold. 'Chittagong,' writes Mr. Fink, 'is in a sad state. The Burmans are come from Arracan with an army of from ten to twenty thousand men, and have already taken possession of one part of the British territory, I mean Cox's Bazar, which is now in their hands. The gentlemen both civil and military, as well as private individuals are sending away their families, some to Dacca, and some to Calcutta. Provisions can scarcely be had. No markets are open; all the native shops are shut from one end of Chittagong to the other; the shop-keepers as well as every description of natives are employed in carrying military baggage to the field. But what is to become of our Mughl brethren and sisters? I earnestly beg you to remember us and the Mughl church in your prayers, and to desire this of all our christian brethren and sisters at Serampore and Calcutta.'

At the time when disturbances broke out on the frontier, Mr. Fink was suffering from a return of the jungle-fever contracted in 1822, and was unable to visit his people, though he sought by frequent letters to give them courage in their fears and to comfort them in their distresses. The excitement and confusion that followed the battle of Ramoo, increased by



the tidings that the Burmans were about to march upon Chittagong, served to aggravate his disease, until removal from that part of the country furnished the only hope of recovery. Before his loved Mugh Christians could come into Chittagong, he was compelled to leave with his family for Calcutta. Coming round by Dacca, where he rested for a while, he journeyed leisurely till he reached Serampore. Leaving him here slowly to recover and recruit his strength, let us return to the Mugh Christians.

Till the time of the great rebellion of 1857, many English Christians doubted the religious sincerity of our native converts in India. They appeared so weak and dependent that their Christianity was frequently called in question. When the excited passions of a brutal soldiery broke down the barriers of law and order, and the lust for blood and rapine found scope among the debased populace of our towns and villages, fear was expressed lest the native Christians should shrink from 'the fiery trial' whose flames were already lapping around them. It had been the belief of many that the retirement of the English from the country, should that at any time happen, would be the signal for the total vanishment of the churches we had gathered; and they who entertained this belief, now declared their conviction that this same result would be accomplished by the sword of rebellion. But the event showed that this estimate of the native Christian character was false and unjust. When the trial came, the courage to meet it came too; and our Indian churches gave forth sons and daughters equal in martyr strength to any whose high faith has found a record in the blood-stained annals of God's heroes. It is true the poverty of the Mugh Christians, when they were driven from their homes by the invading Burmans, was shared by their heathen countrymen, so that they cannot be said to have been exposed to religious persecution; yet none



who saw the spirit they now evinced, could doubt that Christ's truth had produced results which only needed the nurturing power of circumstances to mature into the strength of martyrhood. If they differed in natural character from the Bengalis, like them they were more or less subject to the influence of superstitious beliefs and fears; and it would not have been wonderful if, attributing their present calamity to some invisible power whose anger had been kindled by their forsaking the religion of their fathers, they had sought to abjure Christianity in the hope of staying further misfortune. But such was the hold the truth of Jesus had on them, that their troubles only called forth a strength of Christian character and a manly reliance on God, such as Mr. Fink had scarcely ventured to hope for.

Crowding into Chittagong with their wives and children and such goods as they could conveniently bring away, the Mugh fugitives filled every vacant corner of the city. Disease brought on by want and exposure, soon began to tell with fearful rapidity among them. Day after day strong men yielded to starvation, wailing babes told of dead mothers, and mothers haggard with want and stupid with sorrow, sat in moody silence over the attenuated corpses of their children. The Christians had promise of no better experience than their heathen countrymen. Some who had been living in comfortable independence, lost their all and were suddenly plunged into the deepest poverty. The garnered grain which constituted their whole wealth, was left by many to be plundered and consumed by the enemy; their shops and business were hastily abandoned by others; and but few brought with them any means of subsistence. But though themselves sufferers, their conduct at this trying crisis towards their heathen brethren, exhibited in prominent outline the sustaining power and loveliness of Christian principle. Troubled and anxious them-

selves, they nevertheless found time to go amongst the heathen Mughhs, and sympathizing with them, direct their gaze to that Saviour who could secure their welfare in the world to come, after their eyes had closed on this. The few who possessed money or could procure food, cheerfully shared it with their neighbours, and so convinced them that Christianity was not a form of words, but a power, inciting men to a Divine pity and a self-sacrificing kindness. Attending on the sick, speaking comfort to the troubled, sharing their food with the hungry, and speaking of Jesus to the dying,—these were the daily engagements of the Christians. Thus did they, notwithstanding their own burdens, help to bear those of others. Mr. Fink and his predecessors had obviously not laboured in vain. The noble self-devotion of these illiterate Christians bore illustrious testimony to the fulness, faithfulness, and power, with which the doctrine of Christ had been taught them.

The Governmental authorities of Chittagong were unprepared for this sudden influx of Mughhs, and being anxious for the safety of their own families, were for some time unable to make provision for the thousands of refugees. But as soon as it was known that for some reason the Burmans had resolved not to advance farther into the district, and the Bengali merchants and shop-keepers of Chittagong being re-assured, began to re-open their bazars and markets, great and praiseworthy efforts were made to find work for some of the fugitives and relieve the more pressing wants of others. This state of things continued till the close of the year, when the Burmans having already retired from British territory, the authorities of Chittagong published a notice in which the Mughhs were desired to return to their former homes. Mr. Fink, whom domestic affliction as well as personal ill-health had kept at Serampore, returned to his post in the middle of January 1825, in time to meet his people before their departure for their native villages. He found that three of his flock had died during his absence, and

that two of his preachers had already gone back to Harbang. He called together all who were still in Chittagong, and heard from them their experiences of the Lord's goodness in their day of distress; but what chiefly rejoiced him was the tidings of how they had one and all borne witness in the most trying circumstances, to the reality of their christian faith. Dismissing them to their homes with a parting prayer, he himself prepared to follow.

On reaching the Mugh settlement, Mr. Fink found that the itinerant preachers had gone in different directions, that the Churches of Cox's Bazar and Manjariya were broken up, and that the Christians of these places, and others who had formerly lived in Chukuriya, had scattered themselves among the surrounding towns and villages. The Harbang Church was the only one that remained intact. This temporary dispersion however, could not be helped. The breaking up of the settlement consequent on the Burman invasion had been so entire, that on their return to their former places of abode, the people found themselves without the means of livelihood. Men who had lived by agriculture, returned to naked fields and gutted granaries. Handicraftsmen could find no one to give them work; provisions were scarcely procurable; and the people wandered about from place to place seeking food and employment. Every thing was in disorder, and yet, for reasons which will soon appear, no arrangements were being made for the permanent re-occupation of the old homesteads. In the meanwhile, Mr. Fink followed his people from town to town and village to village, seeking them out and strengthening their hands in God, determined to lose sight of none, meeting with them for Christian worship sometimes in groups of three or four, at other times in larger parties, but always helping them to bear their burdens, and always at hand to guide and counsel them in their perplexities.

Early in the history of their troubles, the Mughls had begun to hope that the cession of Arracan would be one of the fruits of the war which the Burman Government had been rash enough to provoke. It will be remembered that Arracan was their native land, from which they exiled themselves when it became a Burman province. Of the generation that left Arracan nearly all had died in exile, and their descendants had never seen the land of their fathers; nevertheless the traditions and memories in which they had been nurtured, were strong within them, and the determination became general, to move into Arracan the moment it should be declared to be British territory. Among those who had so determined, were the Christians, who had informed Mr. Fink of their plans before his illness and consequent visit to Serampore. He had even then decided with his usual promptitude, what to do; for, in a letter written in April 1824, immediately after the battle of Ramoo, he says:

‘As for the Mugh stations, they are in a state of confusion. The Mughls are determined, should the British conquer Arracan, that they will remove again to their native land from which they have been separated for so many years. From the present state of things it appears that the Mugh stations will soon cease to exist, if the British should keep possession of Arracan. I am afraid therefore, that before the next cold season, there will not be a single Mugh remaining. Under these circumstances, I should be thankful if you could speedily let me know what course I should take. *If Arracan comes under the British, send me to that place, where I may dwell altogether among the Mughls.*’

In addition to the independent will of the people, it soon became known that the political agent in Arracan had expressed a desire to facilitate the settlement of the Mughls in their own

country. Mr. Fink therefore only waited to see the action of the people and the authorities. His proposal to remove to Arracan obtained the joyful sanction of the Serampore brethren, and he was left free to move, whenever it should be desirable, to the new and enlarged sphere of labour. "

## CHAPTER VI.

*Baptism—Mr. Fink visits Arracan—Description of the country—Obtains a grant of land for the Christians—Influence of the Gospel on a Mugh boy—Establishment of Vernacular Schools.*

The contemplated disruption of the Mugh settlement, though causing much present confusion and threatening the indefinite postponement of systematic labour, did not interfere with the progress of the Gospel. At the very time when Mr. Fink's anxieties were greatest respecting the future of his flock and the probabilities of success in connection with the projected Arracanese mission, he was gladdened by a considerable accession of converts from heathenism. Going down to Harbang in September, he found them waiting for baptism, and having examined them, agreed to administer the rite on the following Sunday. The spectacle on the banks of the mountain stream that Lord's day morning, was of solemn interest. We will quote Mr. Fink's narrative :

' On the following Lord's day, the day appointed for their baptism, we had morning worship at the usual hour in the meeting-house which was thronged by both baptized and unbaptized Mughs and their children. After the discourses to the congregation and candidates were over, and our worship concluded we repaired to the stream which is near brother Kullafree's house, and about fifteen minutes' walk from the meeting-house. On our arrival at the place, and while we were preparing for the solemn occasion, an old woman who has been for three years, very punctual in her attendance at worship, and whose walk and conversation have been for a long time becoming the Gospel, but who had hitherto hesitated to come forward, having been impressed with the discourse of the morning, ran towards us and with trembling eagerness said, "What doth hinder me to be baptized?" I asked her; "Do you believe in the



Lord Jesus Christ?" She replied, "I believe that He is my Lord and my God, and that He is able to save me from all my sins." I immediately called all the brethren and sisters who were present, and asked them what they thought of this poor woman. They unitedly said that they were very well acquainted with her, and that they could not but consent to her baptism. The question was then put to her, "Do you think you will be saved by being baptized?" She answered, "No; but this will be a sign as well as a vow before God and man, that I am from this day a follower of Jesus Christ." I immediately gave her the right hand of fellowship, and proceeded towards the stream. After a short discourse and prayer at the water side, I led the candidates into the midst of the stream, and baptized them, one by one, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. While I was baptizing these people, a man who was standing on shore cried out, 'Oh that my heart were perfect and right like these persons!'

Could there be a more striking parallel to the case of the Ethiopian eunuch than that of this poor woman? How like the Scripture narrative does the account we have just quoted read! 'And as they went on their way, they came unto a certain water: and the eunuch said, See, here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized? And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. And he commanded the chariot to stand still; and they went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch; and he baptized him.'

Many would be disposed to censure Mr. Fink's conduct. Had they been consulted, they would have said, 'Tell the woman she cannot be baptized in such indecent haste. We must have time to watch her conduct; and if after the lapse of some months we find that her motives are pure and her character is

good, and feel satisfied that she is growing in holiness and devotedness, we will then consent to her baptism.' They forget that the criterion by which one's fitness for baptism ought to be judged is, not growth in grace, but an intelligent persuasion of the truth as it is in Jesus,—not Christian character, but Christian faith. Thorough reformation of character is not the work of a day; it is a gradual process, the result of a thousand diversified experiences, whose influence is employed by the Holy Spirit to mould anew the heart made plastic by Divine Truth. Shall we postpone the rite till the character is perfected, or at all events, till the candidate has been built up and established in the faith? Who is to determine the degree of personal holiness the attainment of which ought to constitute fitness for baptism? The fact is, no man has a right to deny to his brother the comfort of obeying the Lord, by interposing, as many churches do, an unauthorized standard of spiritual qualification. To refuse to baptize a man on the ground that time should be allowed for his Christian character to mature, is like refusing to admit the promise of fruitfulness given by the blossom-laden bough, until the ripe fruit has been plucked and eaten. The moment a man is persuaded of the truth and resolves to serve the Lord, he ought to be baptized, and no church has a right to stand in his way. 'Whosoever believeth and is baptized' said Christ, 'shall be saved.' If there is nothing to throw suspicion on the motive of the candidate, and no proof that his profession is hypocritical, he ought not to be put off. It is certainly desirable that the church with which he wishes to unite should ascertain the extent and correctness of his views of Divine truth, but this being done, let him 'put on Christ.' Grace will perfect its own work, and Divine power will meeten him for the divine service.

Two months after these baptisms, the Churches sent a deputation to Chittagong to acquaint Mr. Fink with their determi-

nation to remove to Arracan. The Burman war being ended, and the excitement of the Arracanese when they learnt that their country had been transferred to British rule, having in measure subsided, it was time for those Mughls who contemplated returning to their native land, to arrange for their departure. On hearing from the deputation that not only the Christian population but 'the whole of the Mughl inhabitants throughout the stations' purposed leaving the settlement, Mr. Fink cautioned his people against coming too hastily to a decision on the matter, but added, addressing the deputation, 'In case they should still abide by their resolution to quit the station for Arracan, let me know, and I will prepare also to go with them, and will lead them to their native land.' The people having been found to be of one mind, arrangements were immediately begun for the emigration. Leaving his family at Chittagong, Mr. Fink preceded his people to Arracan, with a view to obtain a suitable site for the new colony, and to build a house to which he might bring his wife and family.

Arriving in Arracan in the middle of December 1825, Mr. Fink proceeded, in the first instance, to the town of Arracan which stands at a considerable distance inland, on a river of the same name. The place, which presented the appearance of a huge, irregular fortification, had for ages been the strong-hold of the independent Rajahs of Arracan. Though still recognized as the capital of the province, it had, ever since the Burman conquest, lost the little commercial importance it once enjoyed. Indeed, at the time of the British occupation, the whole country was found to be suffering from the blighting influences of Burman misrule. Abounding in rice, salt, teak timber, iron-wood, and ivory, and possessing some of the most magnificent harbours of the world, and a sea-board extending from the river Naaf to Cape Negrais, the province had, nevertheless, no export trade. The islands alone,

which stretch along the entire coast, had a soil whose capabilities promised rich success to any agricultural enterprise; but they lay neglected. The wealth of timber in the forests of Arracan proper, lay untouched, and with abundant materials for the construction of vessels which might have conveyed the produce of the land all over the Eastern seas, there were only a few rude and rotten craft plying between the mainland and the islands, or, at farthest, visiting Chittagong and Dacca. In fact, the little importance the province had acquired under its independent Kings, died out under the oppressive sway of the Burmans, and at the period of the British annexation, it presented, to all intents and purposes, a virgin soil whose resources had yet to be discovered. But now at last, the day of better things had dawned, and there, inviting commerce and skilled labour, lay a land intersected by broad rivers and mountain streams whose rich loamy banks gave promise of rare fertility; a land of maiden forests choked with valuable timber, and natural harbours the depth and security of whose ample bosoms might well tempt the trading instincts of our race.

In a political point of view alone, Arracan was an important acquisition. Hitherto, it had been an open door by which the Burmans might, and frequently did, make inroads into our territory, molesting our subjects and interrupting our trade. To check these lawless incursions, it had always been necessary to have a large body of troops to garrison the frontier; but even this precaution did not prevent occasional conflicts. When the Mughls fled in thousands to the Dumbuck hills and scattered themselves through the forests that form our southern boundary, they were encouraged by the British Government to settle there, in the hope that the occupation of the frontier by these sworn foes of the Burmans would give additional security to our provinces in Bengal; but though this arrangement partially succeeded, it soon became the source of new trouble. Ambi-

tious spirits among the Mughls, fired by the tidings which frequently reached them of Burman outrage and devastation, longed to avenge themselves on the oppressor. Finding themselves beyond the reach of Burman espionage, they organized marauding expeditions, and crossing the frontier at various points, sought every opportunity to molest the brutal conquerors of their country. Indeed, in one case to which we shall hereafter advert, they undertook a bold and presumptuous scheme for freeing all Arracan from the galling yoke of Burman usurpation. The constant molestation the Burmans thus suffered from people whom the British sheltered, contributed as much as any thing else to the war the Burmans were so ill-advised as to provoke. And now as a result of that war, Arracan became a British possession, and the line of separation between Independent Burmah and British India was no longer the Teak-naaf which might be crossed and re-crossed with impunity, but the impassable barriers of the Yoma mountains.

A strong military force for the protection of our frontier being no longer a necessity, the troops hitherto quartered in Chittagong were almost entirely withdrawn, and a Mugh corps was raised which, with the aid of a few companies of Hindostani sepoy, was deemed sufficient for the security of the new province. But it was some time before the Government could organize a system of internal administration strong enough to cope with the countless bands of dacoits that roamed the country at will, and claimed the liberty to plunder as their birth-right. These predatory bands were strengthened by the return of the exiled Mughls, many of whom in their eager anxiety to dwell again within the borders of their own land, had thrown up their former occupations, and now found themselves, at home it is true, but without the means of livelihood. Desirous as the authorities were, to encourage the return of the Mughls, they could not but deprecate the disorder,

that was prevailing. They accordingly resolved to assign portions of land in eligible localities for the formation of settlements where the people might be encouraged to seek a living in some lawful way. Under these circumstances, Mr. Fink, immediately on his arrival in the town of Arracan, put himself in communication with the Commissioner of the Province, in the hope of obtaining in the neighbourhood of Akyab, a grant of land suited to the location of a Christian colony. Akyab, which was then only a rude collection of native dwellings, is now a flourishing sea-port, situated on the mouth of the Koladyne river. It was preferred, as the seat of government, to the town of Arracan, as well for its superior healthiness as for its promise of commercial importance.

Mr. Fink spent a week in the town of Arracan, doing his Master's business. As no voice of Christ's messengers had been heard in these regions before, he looked with interest to the reception the 'new religion' was to meet with. He was surprised to find that the people already had some acquaintance with Christian truth. He learnt on enquiry that many of the Burman Gospels and tracts distributed among the Mughs of the Mugh settlement in Chittagong, had found their way to Arracan, and had been read by those who had never heard the living voice of a preacher. 'The Gospel,' he writes 'is already introduced into this country.' On one occasion, after preaching in company with his native assistants to a large congregation and giving away upwards of three hundred copies of Gospels, the people, using various demonstrations of joy, declared their conviction that 'surely the light was now introduced into the midst of them,' and offered money for more Christian books. They followed the Missionary to his tent and listened for hours to the Mugh preachers as they read aloud to them out of the tracts. Leaving the town of Arracan, and turning aside for a couple of days to visit Poyda where he hoped to establish a school,



Mr. Fink directed his steps to Akyab, and was kindly received by the Executive Engineer who had been deputed thither by the Government to arrange for the construction of barracks. After being conducted by this gentleman along the proposed boundary of the new military cantonment, and inspecting the neighbourhood, Mr. Fink came to the conclusion that Akyab offered no proper accommodation for the Christians, and ultimately selected a most eligible piece of land on an island called Kruday, fifteen or twenty miles north of Akyab. This island stands at the mouth of the Mojay river, and has a fine creek dividing it into two sections. A wooden bridge thrown across this creek served to connect the eastern and western sides. The land intervening between Kruday and Akyab was covered with dense jungle through which, however, there was a road for foot-passengers.

To the comfortable asylum offered by this island Mr. Fink conducted his Mugh Christians, and in this pleasant retreat they erected their bamboo dwellings, and again gathered around them the long-missed comforts of home. The place was henceforward known as Christian Colony, or, Fink's Bazar.

A year elapsed before the Christians were properly settled in Arracan. The majority had removed thither, but Mr. Fink now found that there were some families which for various reasons had altered their plans, preferring to remain in the old Chittagong settlement. Even of those who removed to their native land, all did not take up their residence at Kruday. Some went to the old town of Arracan, others, who were fishermen, established a thriving business at Akyab; some enlisted in the Mugh corps now being raised by the Government, and others found employment in the island of Ramree and elsewhere. They were less scattered here than they had been in the Mugh towns and villages of the old settlement; nevertheless, the original scheme, that of gathering and keeping them together, neces-

sarily failed. Working at different trades and professions, they could not all find employment in the vicinity of the Colony and were compelled to remove, in some cases, to considerable distances, before they could procure a proper livelihood. Mr. Fink found it necessary to take up his own residence at Akynab in the military station, but he was at no inconvenient distance from the main body of his people at Kruday. •‘I visit the Christian village very often,’ he writes ‘and am happy to say that the Christians are situated far better here than when they were in their former stations. They are now united in one church and in one station with their families, with the exception of a few who are still dispersed in different places.’

• Shortly after his removal to Arracan, Mr. Fink became greatly interested in a Mugh boy, ten years of age, who had whilst in Harbang, been in the habit of going to the bazar every day to hear the preaching of the native assistants. It appears that on the emigration of the Christians to Arracan, his parents who were idolaters, followed them and took up their residence in the Christian village. Here the boy resumed the practice of accompanying the native preachers to the neighbouring bazars. Returning home on one occasion, he found his father offering rice to the image of Gaudama. ‘O father,’ he cried out, ‘you should not offer any thing to this deaf and dumb god; offer the food of your heart to the true God who is in heaven.’

‘Who told you that?’ asked his father, turning abruptly round, and facing his son; ‘and who is the true God?’

‘The Christians told me so; and Jesus Christ is the true God and our Saviour,’ was the courageous reply.

Oh, you are a foolish child! and the father laughed and walked away.

• So impressed did this boy become with the truths of the Gospel, that being unable to influence the adult heathen popu-

lation, he went amongst the children, telling them that it was a sin to worship idols, and exhorting them to become servants of Jesus Christ. The elder lads paid little attention to his message, and even beat him and tore his clothes when he attempted to address them; but he always found a willing audience among the younger children. Interested by all he had heard of him, Mr. Fink took an early opportunity to converse with him.

‘What is your name?’ he asked, on meeting the lad.

‘My name is Ra-onng,’ the lad replied.

‘And what do you think of yourself? Are you a good child?’

‘No, Sir; I think and I feel that I am a great sinner.’

‘What makes you suppose that you are a sinner?’

‘Because I know I have done many things which the preachers tell me are sinful.’

‘And how will you obtain the forgiveness of your sin?’

‘I must pray to Jesus Christ to forgive me.’

‘Who is Jesus Christ?’

‘He is our God and Saviour.’

‘And where is Jesus Christ now?’

‘He is in heaven.’

‘Do you believe in the Lord Jesus Christ?’

‘Yes, Sir, I do;’ and he added, ‘Sir, pray for me that I may be a good child.’

When we remember the lad’s tender age, the untoward influences in which he had been reared, and the difficulties in the way of acquiring divine knowledge, which his devoted perseverance alone overcame, we confess to a feeling of surprise at the clearness and accuracy of his conceptions of the nature of true worship and of the way of salvation. A Christian, and a bold rebuker of his father’s idolatry, he nevertheless met with no ill-treatment from his parents. Though they did not understand the influence that had transformed him, they had no ob-

jection to make to a religion which gave them a loving and obedient son.

One of the first things to which Mr. Fink turned his attention on settling in Arracan, was the establishment of vernacular schools. He had already formed two, one at Kruday, and the other in the fisherman's village outside the Akyab cantonment. His readiness to get up such schools, and the care with which he tended them, may be accounted for by the fact that he regarded them as valuable auxiliaries to the propagation of the Gospel; for not only did they give opportunities for indoctrinating the youthful and tender mind with Christian truth, but their influence often reached the parents of the children taught in them. He prized them, not as a vast preparatory means designed to procure the future triumph of the Gospel through the gradual spread of enlightenment, but as furnishing an immediate opportunity for imparting religious knowledge. But of this we may say more hereafter.

From Akyab where Mr. Fink had taken up his residence, he was now taking a bird's eye view of the regions beyond,—regions yet untrodden by the feet of Christ's messengers. There lay before him large tracts of country along the borders of the Yoma mountains and along the banks of the noble rivers of the province, the inhabitants of which had not yet heard the glad tidings; thickly-peopled island dependencies had not yet seen the 'great light;' and whichever way he looked, he heard, as it were, the Macedonian cry, 'come over and help us.' The prospect suggested solemn thoughts, and awakened within him a fresh resolve to throw every energy of soul and body into the great work: the only saddening reflection was, that he was alone, and that as far as he could see, there would for a long while be neither more men nor more means forthcoming for the reaping of the harvest-field. If ever he felt the necessity for the prayer taught by our Lord to the first disciples, it

was now : ' Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He would thrust forth more labourers into his harvest.' He was alone amid a population of 100,000 souls.

But man proposes and God disposes. Just as he had got his stations into working order, and had begun to systematize his own labours, his wife was overtaken by a dangerous sickness, and he was compelled to take her to Calcutta.

## CHAPTER. VII.

*Death of Ongjain—Mr. Fink visits the Akyab jail—Success among the prisoners—Locates an evangelist in the town of Arracan—Mugh Musulmans—Gaudama's claim to Divine honours.*

Leaving Calcutta early in January 1829, Mr. Fink went to Chittagong where he awaited the arrival of his wife who had been detained in Calcutta by sickness. By the end of March he had returned with his family to Akyab.

His first business, on resuming work, was to visit his people and learn how things had gone with them during his absence. He found that the ordinances of worship had been regularly conducted by the native evangelists, and that no unpleasantness had marred the peace and unity of the little Christian colony. The only intelligence sorrowful and yet not sorrowful, that awaited him, was that of the death of an old man who had originally belonged to the Church at Manjuriya. Ongjain was one of those converts, of whom we have many in our Churches, who, ignorant in other respects, yet thoroughly understand the secret of the Divine life in man. The fear of the Lord had been with him the beginning of wisdom; but when the love of God was shed abroad in his heart, it cast out servile fear, and, making him a conscientious and spiritual man, also made him a most cheerful and genial-hearted Christian. His prayers among his brethren furnished rare illustration of the fellowship that has power with God. A few minutes before his departure, he desired his wife to send two rupees to Mr. Fink as his last donation towards the printing of Mugh tracts. These tracts, some original, some altered from Mr. Felix Carey's and Dr. Judson's Burman versions, had for some years been in circulation. One of them had been the means, in God's hands, of enlightening the dark soul of Ongjain, and bringing



him to a knowledge of the Truth that makes free. Hence the dying expression of gratitude.

Mr. Pink at this time obtained permission from the authorities, to visit the prisoners of the Akyab jail. Missionaries in India have not, as a rule, found it easy to gain access to the inmates of prisons, whether criminals or debtors. The policy steadily adhered to by the East India Company, served to exclude all Christian teaching from their jails and military cantonments alike. Individual officers of Government there always were, who, ignoring the known policy of the Company, allowed missionaries free access to prisoners; but such cases were exceptional. Since the rebellion of 1857, a rebellion whose rallying cry was 'Religion,' the Indian Government has taken occasion publicly to signify its disapproval of missionary efforts being extended to the inmates of jails. When a missionary declares his message in an open thoroughfare, the people are free to listen or not. They cannot be forcibly detained, and compelled to hear statements subversive of their religious beliefs. But the prisoners of a jail enjoy no such freedom. In their confinement, they can not escape from the missionary's exhortation, however displeasing it may be to them. Knowing how ready the popular mind is to discover in every measure and movement of the Government, some new proselytizing scheme, and fearing lest it should be believed that missionaries were encouraged by high authority to visit jails, the Government of India in an order addressed primarily to the Panjab Government where the policy of such encouragement was first mooted, but designed for the guidance of the authorities all over the country, has ruled that missionaries shall not be permitted to visit jails, except when it is to see Christian prisoners, or such heathen prisoners as have expressly asked for an interview.

The policy that found expression in this order of Lord Canning's government, is, we have already intimated, nothing now

It has all along been more or less scrupulously adhered to, according as the convictions of individual officers have been favourable or otherwise to the dissemination of Christian knowledge. These things considered, it becomes worthy of note that Mr. Fink was allowed free access to the Akyab jail. It was the central jail of the province, and at that time, as well as for years after, held within its walls many of the desperate characters whom Burman misgovernment had nursed. Bands of dacoits, or robbers, who sought their booty both by land and water, continued to roam unmolested through the country for a considerable time after its annexation to our rule. What therefore with murderers, robbers, debtors, and criminals of every kind and degree, the Akyab jail, fed by the smaller jails of the districts, presented a motley though interesting element to work upon. It would obviously require no little tact to gain the attention and awaken the interest of desperadoes who had lived in reckless freedom from all restraints human and Divine. Their feelings towards their Burman rulers had all along been one of relentless hatred, nor did this hatred spontaneously give place to kindly sentiments towards us, the moment they and their land were transferred to British rule. The honest agriculturists and tradesmen of the province certainly hailed the advent of the British, whose presence promised to bring order out of chaos; but not so the numerous organized bands of professional robbers and river pirates. They had fattened on their peaceful neighbours, and had taken advantage of Burman inability or unwillingness to establish any thing like order in the interior, to extend their depredations in all directions, and cover the land with the terror of their misdeeds. Law and order were unpalatable to them, and they soon learnt that under the new rule, their calling must needs be a perilous one. Many of them found safe lodgement in the hands of justice, and were sent to occupy the Akyab jail.

Exasperated against the British administration which not only proscribed their profession, but had both the power and the will to make it as dangerous to its admirers as it had been to its victims, they were not likely to listen with unprejudiced minds to the doctrines of the religion of their rulers. Happily, both the tact and discretion necessary in dealing with such unpromising hearers, were possessed by Mr. Fink. His complete mastery of their language, and the rare power he had acquired by constant intercourse with the natives, of adapting himself to their habits of thought, helped to arouse interest in the Gospel. His efforts were not unsuccessful. Many began to listen the message he came to declare, and received his visits with pleasure. To one poor criminal, his words came like cold-water to the parched lips of the traveller: he heard and believed. After reading the tracts and Gospels that had been given him, he sat down and wrote thus to Mr. Fink:

‘I Meeja Myodee, prisoner in the Akyaß jail, send respects to our spiritual teacher Mr. Fink, and have to inform him, that ever since I heard the word preached by him, and read the books obtained from him, I have found them do me good. I have been snatched from darkness and brought into light. Therefore I beg that our spiritual teacher will remember me whenever he prays to the Lord Jesus Christ.’

A more interesting case soon after occurred. Among those confined for debt, was a young man, thirty years old, who had once been a priest. Being greatly superior, both in rank and education, to his prison-companions, he fretted and became very unhappy under the disgrace he was suffering. In this state of mind he joined the little group of prisoners that gathered weekly around the Missionary, when ever his presence was announced. He became a regular and attentive listener. His heart rendered susceptible by the troubles he had undergone, was soon impressed with the truths of the Gospel, and he found

joy and peace in believing. His conversion to Christianity made no small stir in the prison. Here was a man of uncommon abilities and high acquirements, thoroughly conversant with the sacred books of Buddhism, and revered for his learning by a large circle of friends and acquaintances, voluntarily renouncing the creed in which he had been brought up, and declaring his acceptance of the Christian religion. His conduct could not be ascribed to the hope that Christian friends would be found to pay his debt, for about this time he found independent means for its liquidation. From the moment of his release, he began a career of the most earnest and untiring evangelism. Kyojerhee, for such was his name, was baptized in the presence of a vast concourse of Mughls in a tank opposite the Court-house at Akyab.

His first act after undergoing the solemn rite, was to hasten to Praguing, his native place, and tell his wife, his aged parents, and his brothers and sisters, of Jesus the Christ of God. He did precisely what our Lord recommended to the restored Gadarene: 'Go home to thy friends and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee.' One who was well read in the Pali, or language of the sacred books of Burmah, who could speak Burmese, Arracanese, and Hindostani, and whose fluent and powerful utterance promised to be of great assistance in the Missionary field, was not an acquisition to be lightly estimated. 'He is not only a humble and zealous Christian,' writes Mr. Fink, 'but also has a good gift for preaching. He pleases me much; especially since I have found that in his arguments with the idolaters, his language is so suited to the doctrine he preaches to them.'

After a brief period of theological instruction, Kyojerhee was appointed to Praguing, in the hope that the personal influence he had among the friends and acquaintances of his native

town would aid the success of his labours. Here he established a school and spent some hours daily in preaching the Gospel to the adult population. Within a month after his arrival, five people were brought to a knowledge of the truth. The number of boys in his school had increased so rapidly that immediate measures had to be taken to erect a roomy school-house. The native Christians of Akyab and Kruday, subscribed liberally towards this object; and the amount of their gifts, aided by a donation from the European residents of Akyab, enabled Kyojerhee to construct a building which could be used as a chapel as well as a school-room. The readiness with which the Christians came to his assistance, furnished pleasing proof of the lively interest with which his labours were watched.

The year 1829 sped in the steady and unintermitted working of the various agencies connected with the mission. One of its most experienced and devout itinerants, Kheppoo, who had latterly occupied the new station of Kimkywon, closed his labours during this year, and entered into rest.

Ever since his settlement in Arracan, Mr. Fink had felt it desirable to occupy the town of Arracan. It was not the seat of Government, nor was it the point of communication between the province and foreign ports, for it stood on the eastern frontier, under the shadow of the great Yoma mountains. The Burman Government had no doubt been influenced in their retention of this place as the capital, by a belief that in case of foreign invasion, communications and a way of retreat to Burmah could always be kept open. A similar consideration, among other reasons, induced us to transfer the seat of power to the coast, where we should have no fear of being cut off from Calcutta, the central seat of Government. Necessarily as the town of Arracan must, from the period of the British occupation, have begun to fall in importance, it nevertheless still comprised a large native population whose trade connections



with the interior were extensive. It was needful that such a place should have its evangelists; but the slender resources of the mission admitted of the location of only one preacher. 'Kong-ong, a promising young man who had for a year or more been under preparatory instruction, was sent with his family to this new sphere of labour. To attract his heathen neighbours and allow them every opportunity to form an opinion respecting the new religion, he encouraged them to attend the daily worship he conducted with his household. Thus many became acquainted with the Scriptures, and gradually learnt to take pleasure in following Christian prayers. This plan not only brought him into daily and familiar contact with them, but helped to give him favour in the sight of the people generally, who, whatever may have been their ignorance or prejudices, were quite able to appreciate a pure and consistent demeanour.

There were six baptisms during the year at Akyab, Kruday and Kimkywon. All the baptized were converts from heathenism, with the exception of a Mr. Aldwell, a clerk in one of the Government offices. His conversion was the first-fruits of an effort which Mr. Fink made to reach the English-speaking section of the Akyab community. Mr. Aldwell was an intelligent and zealous young man, and promised to become a most useful Christian, but disease brought his career to an untimely close. He died only a few months after his baptism, and carried to the grave the sincere regrets of many hearts.

Mr. Fink's journals make frequent mention of Mugh Musulmans, of whom a passing notice seems desirable. They were not Mughls converted to the Mahomedan faith, but bona fide Musulmans whose ancestors had been imported into the province from Bengal. They are supposed to have been brought away as slaves during the time when Arracan was an independent kingdom and the incursions of its monarchs into Ben-



gal were of frequent occurrence. Many of these Mugh Musulmans still retain the language and habits of their forefathers; many have to all intents and purposes identified themselves with the natives of the soil; but all have adopted the style of dress and some of the habits of the country. They even keep long hair which is worn intertwined in the folds of the *gambong* or head-dress, and coiled round the head. The only difference in outward appearance between them and the Mugh is their long and solemn beards, which, being a badge of discipleship, can on no account be dispensed with. Many, at the period of which we speak, gained their livelihood as fishermen, and occupied the fishermen's village in the neighbourhood of Akryab. There, as well as in the bazars and other places of public resort, they frequently fell in with the Missionary and his native preachers; but if they were not so strongly prejudiced against Christianity as their brethren in Hindostan and more western regions, where the antagonism between it and Islam is better understood, they were nevertheless greatly prejudiced in favour of their own faith, and that as much perhaps from the fact of their having been able to maintain it intact for generations in a foreign land, as from any belief in its pretensions to Divine authority. Indeed, they had heard little or nothing of Jesus Christ; but as an illustration of their impressibility we may quote an incident which Mr. Fink has recorded.

He was preaching to them in their village one evening, and had given them an account of our Lord's incarnation, of His miracles and sufferings, and of His death, resurrection and ascension, with a view to show His Godhood, when with one voice they shouted out, 'There is no God but God, and Jesus Christ is God.' The Mahomedan formula is, 'There is no God but God, and Mahomed is His prophet.' The substitution of the name of Jesus Christ for

that of Mahomed, and of the word 'God' for 'prophet,' was equivalent to a dethronement of Mahomed and a simultaneous exaltation of the Christ to a position higher than that ascribed to their prophet. The incident serves to show how the simple story of the Redeemer's life may overcome the bigotry of the heart even after the keenest logic has failed.

'My God is as good as your God,' cried out a Buddhist Mugh one day from the midst of a crowd of listeners. He evidently despised the multitude for consenting to be told that their gods were vanity and that Jesus Christ was the only Saviour. Looking his contempt at the people, he undertook to champion the cause of Gaudama; but he had reckoned without his host. 'Your books say,' rejoined the preacher, 'that Gaudama was a licentious man, without purity,—so much so that he had sixteen thousand wives; that when he had repented of his sins and carnality, he forsook all his wives and entered singly into the jungles where he devoted himself to the attainment of future happiness; and that while in the jungles, he received a full portion of the Spirit of God, and became God himself. Yet your books go on to say that after he became God, he established himself on an earthly throne of gold, and after some time went forth to travel towards the north; but that at Chukurya, he ate too much pork, and dying of bowel-complaint, was burnt on the Sitakoond hill.' The inference was conclusive that if Gaudama was not what he ought to have been as a man, he certainly could have no claim to Divine honours. The idea of his having succumbed to bowel-complaint seemed so ludicrous to the crowd, that they laughed outright. The man who had undertaken to defend his Godhood, slunk away and no further interruption was offered to the story of Jesus Christ.

---

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Dacoities increase in the province—extended itineracies are thereby prevented—English and vernacular schools—Failure of Mission Funds—Mr. Fink becomes Thoojee of the town of Akyab.*

The itineracies of Mr. Fink and his native preachers were beginning to be seriously circumscribed by the rapid growth of dacoity in the province. The Police were utterly unable to cope with an evil that was becoming most dangerous to life and property. Extended journeys into the interior, which could only be performed by water, became impracticable on account of the certain risk of being plundered and even murdered. The trade of a large part of the province was paralyzed, and a feeling of insecurity became general. Not only were the Police unable to check the depredations, but they were themselves overawed by the daring of the robber-bands. The dacoits, with a foresight worthy of a better cause, boldly attacked the police-stations, and in some instances, murdered the policemen at their posts. They went about on the rivers in long narrow boats constructed so as to carry thirty or forty men. These boats, sometimes twenty or twenty-five feet long, were only wide enough to accommodate two men seated abreast, and were propelled by a double row of paddles which could be worked as noiselessly as muffled oars. Always being well-manned, these canoes darted along the water with astonishing rapidity and swiftly and stealthily gliding up to some boat marked for a prey, the robbers had boarded it with their *daos* before the sleepers became aware of their danger. Every article worth taking away was quickly transferred to the robber-canoe, and resistance was instantaneously met by a bullet or a fatal gash from a *dao*. To check this reign of terror, the Government organized a river-police armed with muskets and swords,

and furnished with boats similar to those in use among the dacoits; but the numbers of the latter instead of lessening, only increased.

This state of things continued till the arrest and execution of the leading dacoits, when marauding expeditions became less frequent and less daring. But the passion for plunder, when once aroused is not soon curbed. Ngamoukree, a notorious robber chieftain, continued to harass the Government and keep the surrounding country in terror for nearly a year after severe examples had been made of some of the ringleaders. He was, however, eventually attacked in his strong hold by a party of sepoys aided by a thousand armed Arracanese, who succeeded in driving him into the mountains and restoring quiet to the country.

No venture out on extended itineraries so long as the dacoits ruled on the waters, was out of the question, and for a time the labours of Mr. Fink and his native co-adjutors were confined to the Mission-stations and the small islands in their immediate vicinity. But when the robber-bands of Ngamoukree and other leaders were broken up and dispersed, they resumed their journeys into the interior where their presence was hailed as a token of returning security. Inimical as the disorganized state of the country had been to Missionary activity, it is worthy of remark that the Mission itself was considerably extended during the year 1829. In addition to Akyab and Kruday, there were now Praguaing, Kimkywon, and Arracan, occupied by active and zealous native preachers. Kruday had been made over to Mr. Fink by the Government on a temporary tenure. When he first obtained the island in January 1826, there

were only eleven houses on it; now, the number had increased to three hundred, distributed among several villages. It must not be inferred that the inhabitants of these villages were all Christians. The Christians formed the nucleus of the population around whom in a few years gathered hundreds of heathen families attracted to the island by the security and comfort to be enjoyed under a zemindar of Mr. Fink's character. As their numbers increased, they offered a pleasant field for missionary labour, and from time to time furnished converts to Christianity.

We have already said that one of the first things Mr. Fink did on settling in Arracan was to establish vernacular schools. He desired to make these schools directly subservient to the cause of evangelization by making them the means of conveying religious knowledge to the rising generation. He now found, however, that the school at Akyab which he had hoped would be a most useful auxiliary, was fast dwindling away. It soon became apparent that this decline was owing, not to neglect on the part of those appointed to conduct the duties of the school, but to the only difficulty that had threatened the enterprise from the beginning, namely, the inability to compete with the schools of the monasteries. To explain this we must remind our readers, that it was a practice with the Buddhist priests occupying the monasteries to be found in every town and large village of the province, to board and lodge as well as educate Mugh boys. Each monastery was a school where reading, writing, and arithmetic were gratuitously taught to all who would attend. The priestly brotherhood were fed and clothed by daily gifts from all sections of the Mugh community, and the food thus obtained was shared by their pupils. Thus parents not only got their children taught for nothing, but had them fed for nothing too. Sending them to school to a monastery, therefore, was not a question of outlay but of clear saving.

Against such competition it was impossible for Mr. Fink's

schools to stand, unless he offered to parents the same advantages as were to be had at the monasteries. In other words, he must pay the children for their attendance. But such a course was out of the question. Not only was the idea in itself too outrageous to be entertained, but even if Mr. Fink had been disposed to give the plan a trial, he had not the means to do so. The funds of the Mission were low : as it was, the appropriations for Arracan were smaller than they ought to have been, and needed to be husbanded with the utmost economy, and it was impossible to devote any part of them to so doubtful a purpose.

Whilst in this dilemma, Mr. Fink was informed by the local authorities that owing to some projected improvements in the town, he would be required to remove his chapel to some other site. The European public generously undertook to defray the expenses, not simply of removal and re-construction, but also of enlargement, if it could on week days be made available for an English school for Mugh boys. In this case they also engaged to supply the school-furniture. The proposition was referred to Serampore where it met with favour, the only fear expressed being, that the monthly expenditure of such a school which would be greater than that of a vernacular one, might exceed the ability to meet it. The conductors of the Mission felt and acknowledged that it was vain to 'introduce important knowledge by means of common schools using the language of the country,' and admitted the importance of an English Missionary school in a province where the newly-awakened desire to acquire English would open the way to the reception of Christian truth. 'An English school,' observed they, 'having peculiar benefits to offer, the value of which is felt by all who live under an English government, it is hoped it will be able to attract scholars without the lure of support. And the custom of the country once being broken through,



there may possibly be less difficulty hereafter in establishing common schools.'

A notable difference between the heathen schools of Bengal and those of Arracan and Burmah, is to be found in the fact that whilst the latter support their pupils, the former are supported by them. The 'Gooroo Mohashoy' is an immemorial 'institution' (if we may be allowed an Americanism,) in Bengal. He settles down in a village and opens school either in the house of the Zemindar or under some shady banian tree. All the children of the village are sent to it. They pay him according to their means, some four annas, some two, and some one. Those that have no money bring him a few measures of rice. Once established, he does not soon leave the village. Now, when the Serampore missionaries established vernacular schools in Bengal they secured large numbers of pupils by providing them with gratuitous instruction, and the scheme succeeded; for, not only had the pupils no Gooroo Mohashoy to pay, but they received better teaching and more knowledge. But in Arracan, a vernacular free school was not enough. Here the pupils required not only to be taught free of charge, but fed and lodged as a recompense for being instructed. This was out of the question, and so the Akyab school dwindled away.

As we had occasion to remark in a former chapter, Mr. Fink regarded schools only as an auxiliary to more important missionary operations; and from the quotation made above it will be seen that his views on this subject were only in unison with those of the Serampore brethren. They regarded schools not as an engine by which that enlightenment may be secured which is the best preparative for a general reception of Christian truth, but simply as a means for the immediate communication of Divine knowledge. They did not primarily intend that their schools by freeing the next generation from the thralldom of ignorant superstitions, should make them better

prepared than their fathers for the acceptance of Christianity. They desired that the children who attended them should become Christians. Hence the establishment of numerous vernacular schools, whose standard of instruction, though somewhat higher than that of the surrounding heathen schools, comprised little more than writing, geography, the elementary principles of grammatical construction, cyphering, and the reading of portions of the Bengali Scriptures. This was the case in Akyab. The school here, though only elementary, was conducted on sounder principles than those of the kyoungs, or monasteries, and taught such portions of the Bible and Christian tracts as had been prepared in Burman. The Christian element in the course of instruction, most important in the Missionary point of view, was of no importance in the estimation of the parents of the pupils. Hence it was at first thought that the offer of secular knowledge would be a sufficient inducement to them to surrender their children to Christian teaching. When this plan failed, it became a question whether some other scheme should be tried, or the school should be entirely given up. The offer of an education in their own vernacular was not a sufficient bait; but rather than see the rising generation abandoned to the ignorant superstitions and vices of heathenism, it was resolved to establish an English school. There could be no doubt that such an institution would in time distance all competitors, and if adequately supported, would open a wide field for the diffusion of Christian knowledge. It would enable children, as they grew up, to qualify themselves for the service of Government. So long as Arracan was a Burman possession, English was disregarded; but under the British administration, it could no longer be neglected. It became necessary now for all who desired office under the State, to be acquainted with the language of the conquerors. Perhaps at the particular time of which we speak, that is, the first few years after

the cession of the province, the necessity of acquiring English had not begun to be felt to anything like the extent to which it subsequently influenced the views of the people. Like many other things it was of gradual growth; but there could be no doubt that the establishment of an English school, even at this early date, would, by meeting a growing demand, be increasingly appreciated. If therefore the time had not already arrived, it was near at hand, when the schools of the priests would no longer be competent to meet the educational requirements of the people, especially in places like Akyab and Kyouk-Phyoo, the one the centre of a growing commerce, and the other the seat of Government.

The idea of an English school, was, as we have already said, viewed with favor by the Serampore missionaries whose only apprehension was on the score of expense. And their fears were too early realized. The school was opened by Mr. Fink, and in due time his eldest son Charles was sent from the Serampore College to assist him in its management; but owing to causes which we shall detail in another paragraph, its interests yielding to others which were deemed more important, were suffered to languish, until the want of funds compelled the Serampore brethren to abandon not only it but the Arracan mission. Mr. Charles Fink under whose superintendence the school was more than once favourably reported on by the local authorities, was compelled, owing to his declining prospects in Akyab, to seek an engagement elsewhere. The place happened at this time to be visited by Sir Edward Ryan, Chief Justice of Bengal who, perceiving in young Mr. Fink talents which might be made eminently serviceable to the State, obtained for him an appointment in Bengal in the Education Department.\* In the course of a few years,

---

\* Mr. (now Sir) Charles Trevelyan, who was then Secretary to the Government of India, also took a lively interest in Mr. Charles Fink.

Mr. Fink became known as one of the most successful educationists in the country, and at the time of his death in 1847, he held the office of Visitor General of Schools in the North West Provinces.

The year 1833, opened in gloom. Circumscribed as the finances of the parent Mission had already become, the sudden failure of the mercantile firms with which its funds were deposited, threatened to paralyze all its labours. Indeed so unexpected and complete were the failures of Messrs. Alexander and Co., and Messrs. Mackintosh and Co., that the Mission was obliged to borrow money from the Bank of Bengal in order to supply its stations. Under these distressing circumstances, the Serampore brethren felt that there were only two alternatives that could be adopted with a view to bring their expenditure within the limits of their resources. They found that they must either relinquish some of the stations that the others might continue to receive the support hitherto furnished, or reduce the expenditure of all the stations. Neither alternative was pleasant to contemplate. To relinquish even the most unpromising field at a time when years of watering and tending may have brought the crop very close to the surface,—at a time, too, when the area assigned to Missionary effort needed to be enlarged instead of contracted,—was not to be thought of except under the pressure of an inexorable necessity. And yet to reduce the expenditure of all the stations would scarcely be less hurtful. On diminished allowances, and compelled to depend on secular labour for a part of their support, the efficiency of the agents of these stations could not but be seriously impaired; the dismissal of some of the native preachers would become inevitable; schools would have to be given up, and it appeared doubtful whether, under such circumstances, the latter alternative did not threaten to be as disastrous as the former. Nevertheless, the Serampore brethren

selecting what they regarded as the lesser evil, resolved on a general reduction of expenditure; but as this measure could not be carried out without the co-operation of the Missionaries occupying the stations, the following letter was addressed to them :

‘ Dear Brethren and Fellow-Labourers in the Gospel :

‘ The circumstances which have recently happened in the commercial world, while they afflict multitudes around us have so affected the Mission as to compel us to lay its present state before you.

‘ By the failures of Messrs. Alexander and Co., and Messrs. Mackintosh and Co., the Mission has lost a Fund of Rs. 16,000 devoted to the Station of Dinagore by our deceased brother Fernandez, and two Funds nearly to the same extent raised for schools. But while the loss of the interest arising from these Rs. 31,000 affects our permanent Missionary resources, the failure of Messrs. Mackintosh and Co., has affected our immediate supplies. Our Missionary Funds were lodged in their hands; and as these were so exhausted as to leave a balance of about Rs. 200 against us on the 31st ult., we had no other means of supplying the stations for this month than borrowing money of them on the credit of supplies expected soon from home. Their failure renders them unable to advance a rupee; and in the present state of things, not knowing to what house we could apply for the loan of a sum sufficient even for the present month, we have obtained credit with the Bank of Bengal only through the kindness of a Friend.

‘ In addition to this we have reason to fear that when Funds arrive from Europe, they may not be adequate to the present scale of our necessities. Repeated letters from home

‘have informed us, that the agitation of the public mind  
 ‘through political causes, and the distress and consequent  
 ‘exertions occasioned by the Cholera at home, have so affected  
 ‘the contributions, as to make them fall far short of those  
 ‘raised last year; indeed some letters have expressed a fear  
 ‘that they would fall short of them by more than half.

‘In these circumstances we fear that although our Friend has  
 ‘been kind enough to advance the Funds required before supplies  
 ‘can arrive from Europe, we shall be constrained to break up  
 ‘some of the Stations in our connexion. This is a step, how-  
 ‘ever, to which we cannot bear the thought of resorting, when  
 ‘ten times the present number of Missionary Stations in India  
 ‘would not be sufficient to bring the word of salvation fully  
 ‘before the millions of heathen perishing around. Still we  
 ‘see no alternative between breaking up some of them, and  
 ‘retaining them all by reduced expenditure.

‘We cannot, however, think of taking any step of this nature  
 ‘without consulting you, dear Brethren, whom we have found  
 ‘faithful in the work, and who, we are certain, feel as deeply in-  
 ‘terested in the salvation of the heathen as we ourselves. We  
 ‘therefore without the least reserve submit the real state of  
 ‘things in the Mission to your consideration; and ask you  
 ‘individually, whether you would not prefer submitting to a  
 ‘degree of privation yourselves, to breaking up any of the  
 ‘present Missionary Stations.

‘We are convinced that you cannot make any reduction in your  
 ‘present incomes without submitting to such privation. But  
 ‘while from the beginning the Gospel has been chiefly pro-  
 ‘pagated by the friends of the Redeemer so denying themselves  
 ‘as to preach the Gospel to the heathen “without charge,” and  
 ‘assisting others to go forth among them “for his name’s



‘sake, taking nothing of the gentiles;’ we are convinced  
 ‘that it can never be given fully to the numerous millions of  
 ‘India, without the same course of generous sacrifice for the  
 ‘Redeemer’s sake being pursued, both in India and in Europe,  
 ‘in a degree scarcely yet seen; a course of sacrifice, however,  
 ‘which will combine with it nobler enjoyment than the highest  
 ‘worldly gratification.

‘We have ever held it to be an essential principle in the con-  
 ‘duct of Missions, that whenever it is practicable, Missionaries  
 ‘should support themselves in whole or in part through their  
 ‘own exertions. In the circumstances in which some of you  
 ‘have been placed, such a course was to you, dear Brethren,  
 ‘impracticable; and in those circumstances, we account it as  
 ‘honorable to sacrifice for the Gospel’s sake the independence  
 ‘of support by your own exertions, as in other circumstances  
 ‘it would be to maintain it. On the other hand, several of  
 ‘our brethren have had opportunities of helping their families  
 ‘by small schools and similar means; and hence they  
 ‘have drawn from the Mission Funds salaries which would  
 ‘otherwise have been quite inadequate to their support. Now we  
 ‘wish all our brethren to know distinctly, that we perfectly  
 ‘approve of such a course, and should be happy if at a time  
 ‘like this it could be extended. According to our often avowed  
 ‘opinion, every brother is master of whatever he acquires by  
 ‘his own means. We would merely urge upon all, the necessity  
 ‘of entering into such engagements only as would not obstruct  
 ‘them in their Missionary labours.

‘In this way, perhaps, a considerable deduction might be  
 ‘made from the present claims upon the Funds of the Mission, dear  
 ‘Brethren, without any great decrease in your present incomes.  
 ‘If so, an undoubted benefit would result from the measure  
 ‘in the immediate relief it would give to our present necessities.

‘ A still happier consequence of it, however, would be, that a  
 ‘ Mission manifestly founded and conducted on such principles,  
 ‘ would increasingly commend itself to the approbation of the  
 ‘ Christian Public, and be furnished by them with the means of  
 ‘ farther extension ; whilst its own constitution remarkably fits  
 ‘ it for continued extension into regions yet unblessed with the  
 ‘ knowledge of the grace of God to men.

‘ It would be to us a high gratification, and equally so we  
 ‘ doubt not, to you, were a time to arrive when the whole num-  
 ‘ ber of our present Stations could become totally independent  
 ‘ of support from Missionary Funds which go through our  
 ‘ hands ; for then these could be directed to the introduction  
 ‘ of the Gospel into other places equally in need of it. And  
 ‘ if these new stations, likewise, became independent of support,  
 ‘ we should be able to spread the Gospel still wider : and  
 ‘ gradually the Churches at these stations losing the character  
 ‘ of Missionary posts, would acquire the stability and energy  
 ‘ of independent Churches in a Christian community at home,  
 ‘ and instead of being the branches of one Mission, become each  
 ‘ the Root of many branches themselves, for the illumination  
 ‘ of the tracts of country more immediately surrounding them.  
 ‘ Thus with such help as the friends of the Redeemer at home  
 ‘ might be able to afford, the whole of India might be gradually  
 ‘ filled with the Gospel. We beg each one of you therefore to  
 ‘ mention any prospects you may have of doing any thing for  
 ‘ your own support, and what sum monthly your love to the  
 ‘ Redeemer may now determine you to give up for the sake of  
 ‘ preserving all the Stations where his Gospel is now made known  
 ‘ among us. And we are ready to hope that he will so smile  
 ‘ on this labour of love to his cause on your part, as not only to  
 ‘ render it the means of preserving all the Stations already  
 ‘ formed, but of increasing their number by stirring up his  
 ‘ people at home to make “ the riches of their liberality ” so

abound even in "their deep poverty," as to form many more Stations in this land of darkness.

We remain,

28th January 1833.

Beloved Brethren,

With the most cordial affection,

Yours in the Lord Jesus,

Signed, W. CAREY.

„ J. MARSHMAN.

„ W. ROBINSON.

„ J. C. MARSHMAN.

„ JOHN MACK.

„ J. LEECHMAN.

It was not fair to men who were bearing the heat and burden of the day, and whose incomes, during the palmiest times of the Mission, barely kept them above want, to ask them 'what sum monthly their love to the Redeemer would determine them to give up.' It implied that their love was about to be measured by a monetary standard, and that those who surrendered most would be regarded as the most devoted. A man thus appealed to, might be induced to give up his whole salary, but it might be a question whether he ought to do so. He might on the contrary, after debating the matter in his mind, come to the conclusion that the claims of his family or other circumstances, made it impossible for him to give up a single rupee: would it be right to infer that he was a lover of filthy lucre, and unwilling to make a sacrifice for the propagation of the truth?

Besides, experience has not corroborated the view here announced respecting the 'essential principle in the conduct of Missions.' So far as European agency is concerned, no man

who in India is required to find independent means of support, can give his strength to Missionary labour. He may be able to pay an occasional visit to a school, and preach now and again by the way-side or in a neighbouring village; he may minister to a church, and direct the efforts of native preachers; but he cannot give missionary labour the precedence over his secular avocations. The former must be subordinate to the latter. Nor can the Mission or Society that claims him as an agent, expect any thing more. He may be willing to accept counsel, but he cannot be required to submit to control, and without control no Society can carry out an organized plan of action. If the preaching of the Gospel in heathen lands is to be the care of Societies, then a paid agency is the only agency that will work with harmony and efficiency.

In a year or two from this time, the supplies from Serampore became so irregular and uncertain, that Mr. Fink found it necessary to accept secular employment. His large family had to be educated as well as fed and clothed. No educational advantages existed in Akyab, and to provide these he found it would be necessary to accept some secular engagement which, without fettering his missionary action, should enable him to keep his head above water. As an evidence of the thorough disinterestedness of his attachment to evangelistic labour we may mention, that at the time when his pecuniary difficulties well nigh amounted to want, and for more than half a year he had received no remittances from Serampore, the local Government being aware of his intimate knowledge of the language and character of the Arracanese, offered him a salary of Rs. 400 a month if he would undertake the duties of Fiscal Officer at Aeng. The offer was declined, because the arrangement would have had the double effect of bringing his missionary career to a close, and of taking him away from his beloved converts. He accepted an offer, subsequently made, of the Thoogyee-ship

of the town of Akyab. The word *Thoogyee* is Burman, and means, *great man*, but Mr. Fink's greatness was only that of a collector of taxes. The Government had recently imposed a capitation tax on the province, and as the people had been unaccustomed to any thing like systematic taxation, they viewed the impost with distrust. As, too, there was every likelihood of its being made an engine of oppression in the hands of native officials whose services as collectors it was desirable to dispense with as far as possible, the Government expressed satisfaction in being able to entrust the collection of the tax in Akyab to Mr. Fink. The office brought him about a hundred rupees a month, realized in the form of a percentage on the collections. For a long time this money was all he had to keep himself and his family from absolute want.

There can be no doubt that in accepting the office of *Thoogyee*, Mr. Fink took into account the leisure that would still be his for the pursuit of his favorite work. Indeed, he soon found that as *thoogyee*, his opportunities were in some respects greater than they would have been as a simple missionary. He employed a subordinate officer, whom he superintended, to grant receipts and keep the books; and this arrangement left him free to hold religious conversations with the crowds of taxpayers that flocked daily to his verandah. They came to pay their taxes and stayed to hear the Gospel. Day by day, and all day long Mr. Fink was engaged in talking to them of the great salvation, and people whom he would never have seen in the market-place now came within reach of the Gospel.

Owing to his thorough knowledge of the people and their language, and the entire confidence they had in him, the Government was induced to appoint him arbitrator in disputes which, it was agreed, would be better settled by arbitration than by an appeal to law. They were chiefly disputes that arose out of family or social dissensions. As arbiter, Mr. Fink had



to convene a certain number of the respectable inhabitants and direct them to investigate these cases and award such damages as the custom of the land required, giving his casting vote when the judges disagreed, and confirming their verdict when they were unanimous. Now, there can be no question but these varied powers entrusted to a good man, must be productive of good; and that in the present case, they were exercised in the fear of God and with a view of exalting Him among the heathen, was abundantly evident from the conduct of the people towards Mr. Fink in the rebellion which shortly after broke out in the province, and the regret they universally expressed when he was compelled finally to leave the country. The good he did was not only felt by the natives, but was acknowledged by the local authorities, who five years after his departure from Arracan were still regretting his loss.

---



## CHAPTER. IX.

*Mr. Fink is visited by men of the Khoo-moing-mro tribe—Returns the visit—The Kyang and Arrying savages.*

In the autumn of the year 1835, Mr. Fink was visited at Akyab by the chief of one of the wild hill-tribes occupying the eastern frontier of Arracan. The particular tribe of which he was chief, was that of the Khoo-moing-mro, whose principal settlement was at a place called Moinkhyong, about three days' journey from Akyab. Being subject to the British government, it was necessary that their chief should become acquainted with the laws he and his people were required to obey. With a view to information on this subject, he came with a number of retainers to Akyab, and being directed to Mr. Fink the Thyogee of the town, paid him a visit.

After enlightening him in respect to his duties to the Government, Mr. Fink invited him and his followers, all of whom could speak the Mugh language, into a private room where, having given them seats, he opened a religious conversation with them. In reply to his questions he learnt that this tribe worshipped no God, the only supernatural being they recognized being a *Nat* or demon, who was periodically propitiated with offerings of fowls, kids, pigs &c, and whose aid was invoked in sickness and calamity. The chief further stated that the Burmans had sought to persuade his people to adopt the worship of Gaudama, promising them happiness in the future birth if they would dig tanks, erect monasteries for poongyees (Gaudama's priests), and throw bridges over creeks for the convenience of travellers. The happiness in the future birth that was to reward this course of religious and philanthropic action, was to consist of an unlimited number of pretty wives, plenty of cattle, large houses, and an exhaustless supply of money.

Telling the chief and his followers how their demon-worship was incompatible with the service of the one true God, Mr. Fink proceeded to enlighten them respecting the creation of the world, man's sinful nature, and the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. He concluded with telling them that the Son of God was ready and willing to save even the most wretched man of the Khoo-moing-mro tribe. What are the feelings with which an unprejudiced but ignorant savage first receives the story of Jesus of Nazareth? 'After hearing this,' writes Mr. Fink, 'the chief rose from his seat and said, "Sir, you are my friend from this day. I hope you will come to my country in the cold season, and speak to my people about the one true God. I will protect you and your people." So saying he departed.'

• The Khoo-moing-mro tribe had no written character, consequently they had no idea of what it was to read and write. They kept their accounts by knotting strings or making charcoal-marks on a wooden-board kept for the purpose. In accepting the invitation of their chief, therefore, Mr. Fink's leading thought was how to establish schools among them. He who would preach the Gospel to these savages, must also undertake to teach them to read and write; and this Mr. Fink resolved to do. He proposed to give them the Burman character.

A little more than a month after the interview we have recorded, Mr. Fink left Akyab for the mountains, accompanied by his native preachers, Khapong and Kyjorhee. Going up the Koladyne to the foot of the hills, the party came to a Mugh village, whose headman informed them that the chief was at a house close to the village. On word being sent him, the chief hastened to the river-side, and expressing his joy at the meeting, urged Mr. Fink to make all haste to accompany him to his house on the mountain. As they entered the Mugh village, they were joined by the chief's sons, who carried spears in their hands and bill-hooks by their sides. Mr.

Fink was first conducted to the house contiguous to the village, where he was introduced to four of the Chiefs' wives. The other four were in the house on the mountain. At a word from the Chief, a band of mountaineers, each armed with a spear and bill-hook, appeared in marching order, ready to escort the party to the settlement in the hills. Himself armed with a spear, the Chief strode on in front, followed by the Missionary. The guard came up behind. On the way to the foot of the hills, the party passed through a dense forest tract abounding with trees of gigantic stature, and echoing the bark of deer. On arriving at the ascent, the Chief halted, and turning to his visitor said: 'We are now about to ascend one or two ranges of hills: let my men carry you.' But the offer was declined, Mr. Fink urging that he had scrambled up the steep sides of mountains before now, and felt quite competent to keep pace with his hardy companions. The ascent, which frequently lay along narrow and rocky passages, was in some places so perpendicular that it would have been impracticable were it not for the aid derived from the branches and roots of trees. After thus clambering up two high ranges of hills, they reached the Chief's mountain home, the plateau on which it stood being also occupied by houses belonging to several families of the tribe. Here the missionary and his native catechists were introduced to the four other wives of the Chief, whose ages varied from sixty years to twenty-five. To propitiate the great man, Mr. Fink had taken care, before he left Akyab, to provide himself with a goodly stock of glass-beads of different colours, and a few handkerchiefs of European manufacture. These he now produced and presented to his host with an air of ceremony. The chief was pleased, and in return for this token of respect ordered something to drink. The something to drink turned out to be the stuff commonly known in our Indian bazars as *arrack*, a liquor extracted from rice boiled with certain

fermented drugs, and kept until it has become stale. The manner in which the liquor was imbibed by these savages was characteristic. After being poured out into a basin three-fourths of which were filled by it, cold water was added, until the liquid reached the brim. A tube was then fixed to the bottom of the basin, through which the company were invited to suck in the liquor by turns. A menial was stationed near the basin whose duty it was to replenish it as it got emptied. The people are accustomed thus to keep drinking in rotation until they all become intoxicated. Refusing to partake of any of the liquor himself, Mr. Fink watched the proceedings of the Chief and his followers for a brief while, and then, at the risk of giving offence, told them of the sin of drunkenness. The Chief acknowledged it to be a vice, but he excused his conduct on the ground that his fathers had been drunkards before him.

To the drinking succeeded the smoking, which was also characteristic. The hookah, as most of our readers may be aware, is an Indian 'institution', and is made of a cocoa-nut shell or other vessel filled with water, into which are fixed two pipes. On one of these, which is perpendicular, rests the bowl containing the lighted tobacco; through the other, which usually comes out at the side of the shell or jar, the smoke is inhaled. In the case of the savages whom Mr. Fink was now visiting, the hookah was suggestive of the joint property of a joint Hindoo family. The Chief and his people gathered round the hard shell of a pumpkin filled with water, and surmounted by a gigantic bowl of tobacco. To this shell were attached as many pipes as there were smokers. Each smoker appropriated to himself a pipe, and so the entire group sitting in a circle around a common centre of attraction, smoked out of the same bowl. Each pipe, moreover, had connected with it a receptacle as large as a hen's egg into which was discharged the saliva that gathered during the operation of smoking. When the smoking was over, the saliva thus

collected was thrown into one vessel and handed round to the company to be tasted. This is an important ceremony among the people of the Khoo-moing-mro tribe, as also among the Kyangs. The delicacy was in due course offered to Mr. Fink, who was for a moment at a loss on what ground to decline it, especially as these people, like all savages, were very particular as to matters of social etiquette. He got over the difficulty at last, by pleading that the ceremony was not practised in his own country.

Distinction among these warlike savages is conferred according to the number of skulls of foreigners or people of hostile tribes that can be exhibited; and the hall of reception in this chief's house was decorated all round by these hideous tokens of personal prowess. The smallest provocation might have been an inducement to the chief or some of his followers to add the heads of the missionary and his native assistants to the number of horrid trophies; and Mr. Fink was careful to do or say nothing calculated to give them reasonable offence. But he did not on this account neglect his obligations as a preacher of righteousness.

While sitting and talking in the chief's house, his attention was arrested by 'curious music,' and the clanging of great gongs at the other end of the village. On inquiry he learnt that the chief's eldest grandson was engaged in a ceremony to propitiate the ruling *Nat* or demon. Repairing to the spot, he found a great concourse of people in the demon-temple. A large platform had been erected in front of the house, to one of the posts of which a pig was tied. Near the pig were placed two small pots of arrack, the intoxicating liquor of which mention has already been made. On asking particulars of the ceremony, he was told that one of the wives of the chief's grandson was ill, and that the pig was to be offered to the *Nat* in the expectation of a cure. He then attempted a few words of re-



monstrance which he addressed to those who understood Mugh, but his words were wasted. He desisted, seeing that they were all more or less intoxicated. No objection being made to his entering the temple, he went in, and found there two bowls of arrack on which both priest and people were making themselves drunk. He was told that the pig and liquor on the platform outside were intended for the demon.

Mr. Fink had not been long on this scene of rioting and drunkenness, before the sick wife made her appearance. A spear was placed in her hand, and with it she stabbed the pig, which was thereupon clubbed to death. She then seated herself in the centre of the platform with the dead pig and the liquor pots before her, whilst the assembly of drunken worshippers beat their gongs and danced wildly in front of her. This part of the very edifying ceremony being ended, preparations were made to cook the pig. After the animal was dressed, the whole party with the relations of the sick woman assembled on the platform. In the centre stood a huge bowl of arrack, a large quantity of boiled rice, which was afterwards distributed with pieces of pork on strips of plantain leaf; a small quantity of raw ginger scraped; and a pot of grease. The people then advancing to the centre, one by one, first put a little ginger into their mouths, and taking a mouthful of liquor blew it out upon the rice. A young man placed in charge of the pot of grease then took a little of the contents and rubbed it on the crowns of their heads. After being thus anointed, they ate a handful of the rice and pork, and retired. While the people were thus engaged, a drunken old man whom they called the demon-priest, taking in one hand a buffalo-horn in and the other a piece of green bamboo, began beating the horn and chanting an invocation to the demon. On the song being concluded, he rose with the party of musicians, and danced several times round the platform to the beating of a drum. And so the ceremony ended.



It was three o'clock in the afternoon when Mr. Fink retraced his steps down the mountain. He was accompanied by the chief, to whom he proposed the establishment of a school among his people. But this was objected to on the ground that it would excite suspicions among the people, who had no desire to have their children taught. The chief, however, suggested that a school should be got up in the Mugh village at the foot of the mountain, and engaged to send his own sons to it. But this scheme, in common with numerous others which Mr. Fink hoped to carry out, was arrested by the growing insecurity of the country. A conspiracy was being organized among the leading natives of the province, which had for its object the overthrow of the British Government. The co-operation of all the powerful dacoit-bands was obtained, and the inability of the officials in the interior to check their lawless proceedings made travelling hazardous. Owing to this and other causes, Mr. Fink's intercourse with the Khoo-moing-mros terminated with this first visit to their mountains.

As far back as the year 1830, Mr. Fink had, in the course of his itineracies, fallen in with small parties of the Khyeng or Kyang tribe inhabiting the Yoma range. The existence and some of the social and religious practices of this people had been brought to notice for the first time some years previously, when, on the conclusion of the first Burman war, a detachment of British troops returning to Bengal via Arracan had occasion to cross their mountains. The officer in command of the detachment reported concerning them, that they professed to be descended from the original inhabitants of Burmah and Pegu, who being expelled thence by a nation from the north, took refuge in these all but inaccessible mountains. They acknowledged no Supreme Being, and regarded sensual enjoyment as the sole end of existence. Every event of a domestic kind, whether a birth, a marriage, or a death, was an occasion

of festive rejoicing. Murders, robberies, and indeed any crime, might be expiated by the payment of a fine. Their definition of a good man was, one who took care of his hogs and cattle, ate voraciously, and drank immoderately. An abstemious man was counted wicked, his moderation being deemed a reflection on the bounty of nature. Mr. Fink fell in with parties of these people on more than one occasion. Thus, in one of his letters he says: 'A few of the hill tribes who could speak the Mugh language, came into the meeting house during the afternoon service and heard me preach. As soon as worship was over, one of them being much pleased with what he had heard, ran off to his lodging and shortly returned with half a seer (a pound) of fresh ginger, which he insisted that I should accept.' At another time he writes: 'A few of the hill tribes who could understand the Mugh language attended; one of them, an old man, was very attentive to the word. When the sermon was over, all of them stood up except the old man, and to him they made a sign to go; but he only looked at them and shook his head. The rest then went away leaving the old man, who continued till the service was over. When I asked him whether he understood me, he said: "Oh yes, Sir; and this is the first time I ever heard that there is a God in heaven, and that men have immortal souls." And he added: "Why has God despised the hill tribes, and left them in ignorance?"'

After the Arracan rebellion detailed in the next chapter had been quelled, Mr. Fink meditated not only a second visit to the Khoo-moing-mroo, but a visit to the Kyangs and to the Arrying savages, who dwelt far within the hills; but the failure of the funds of the Serampore Mission necessitated a relinquishment of the Akyab station, which soon after became occupied by the American Board. These Arrying savages, though they had never before seen the face of a European, had, on hearing of the disorder caused by the rebellion, come down with their

chiefs, and not only had they an interview with the Commissioner, but cemented an alliance with the Government, and the offered assistance of a large body of fighting men who were eager to advance against the rebels. Lieutenant Rainey, one of our officers, who was in the jungle upon the mountains with them, marched in company with these fighting savages for five days, and was treated with every attention by them. They paid no revenue to the Government, claiming the mountains as their own property.

But though the interest was great that drew Mr. Pink's thoughts to the hill-tribes, circumstances prevented him from doing any thing for them. The supplies of money sent from Serampore were but barely sufficient to support the operations among the Mughls to whom, and not to the dwellers in the mountains, his chief attention was to be given. From the occasional intercourse he had with the mountain savages, his impression was, that they were in some respects more accessible to Christian influence than the people of the plain. With all their hideous usages and revolting orgies, they were simple in their manners, frank and trustful in their disposition, and far more impressionable than the sordid trading population of the plain; and it seems likely that if a missionary interest could be established and diligently worked among them, it would soon become the centre of a rapidly growing enlightenment. An attempt was made, some years later, by certain missionaries of the American Board, who established schools in the hills; but the undertaking was early relinquished. From that time to the present, these mountain dwellers have been left to themselves, and the regretful lament of the grey-haired savage chieftain remains unanswered, 'Why has God despised the hill-tribes?'

## CHAPTER. X.

*Early incursions into Arracan—Nga-thandé—Kheng-Brenq—the rebellion—Onggojyn's conspiracy—his arrest and that of his co-conspirators—the restoration of quiet.*

It is as much a social and political law as a law of nature, that a certain oppressive stillness should precede a storm. Take the case of a man meditating a great crime. As the moment draws near for its commission, he is gloomy and reticent. A strong will armed with a deadly resolution keeps the flaming passions chained and under control till the crisis comes; then suddenly like hell-hounds they are let loose, and with a fury all the more impetuous for the previous restraint, they hunt their victim to destruction. It is the same in the political world. A Government need not be in much fear of a people so long as they only bluster about their wrongs; but when the blusterings are repressed and men mutter between their teeth, then let the Government beware. The ominous stillness foretells a revolutionary storm.

Something similar was the case in Arracan at the time to which our narrative has brought us. When the depredations of the dacoits forced themselves upon the serious notice of the Government, active measures were adopted to crush their lawless proceedings. Many were hunted to their lair, others dispersed, and to all appearance tranquillity and security were restored to the country. But the lull so induced was only the lull that precedes the bursting forth of a storm. The circumstances we are about to narrate will show that a wide conspiracy was being matured the design of which was to overthrow the British administration; and if the result was by no means so disastrous as it would have been had the local authorities failed to adopt prompt precautionary measures, it was owing to Mr. Fink's interference that they became at all aware of the extent to which the evil intentions of the conspirators had

already matured. But to understand the origin and progress of the conspiracy we must go back some years.

In the year 1781, Nga-thandé, a native of the province, having for some reason become disaffected towards the Government of the Rajah (for Arracan was at that time an independent kingdom,) found his way to Burnah, and persuaded the king of the White Elephant to send an army to annex the country to his own dominions. The Burmans who were by no means slow to scent plunder, having from time immemorial had a dispute of some kind or other with the neighbouring kingdom, seized the opportunity. The Arracanese were defeated, and their government overthrown, and the Burmans thence forward occupied the country. As a reward for his traitorous services, Nga-thandé received from the Burman Government the office of Mroosoogree, or head revenue officer of the district of Arracan. But he had no love for a quiet and peaceful life, and the reward given to him fell below his expectations. The same traitor spirit that moved him to invite the Burmans to Arracan, now urged him to conspire against the foreign yoke. Collecting a large force, he engaged in open rebellion, subjugating for a brief space no inconsiderable section of the country. But when the Burman troops being put in motion, hunted him into the jungles, and he found himself unable to withstand them, he judiciously fled to Ramdo, a frontier town in British territory, and there died. Numbers of Arracanese, or Mughas as they were now called, had by this time exiled themselves with a view to escape Burman oppression, and had taken refuge in the district of Chittagong. All of them were moved with bitter hatred against the conquerors of their land; and when their numbers increased, and they could organize schemes of revenge at a distance from Burmese espionage, they made repeated inroads into Arracan for the purpose of overthrowing the government.

Nga-thandé who, as we have said, died at Ramoo, bequeathed the legacy of his hate to his son Kheng-breng. The name has been corrupted by English writers into King Berring, but the owner of it, who was in no way related to royalty, was never made aware of the honor thus conferred upon him. Kheng-breng, using his influence, for he was a man of property, as well among the Arracanese that remained in their own country as those who now formed the Mugh colony in Chittagong, collected a sufficient number of followers to venture on the invasion of Arracan. The attempt was only partially successful; but though he was soon compelled to return to British territory, it was not long before his restless spirit suggested the organization of a second expedition. His plans, this time, were more carefully concerted, and his arrangements more complete, and it followed that the second invasion was more successful. He subdued, and for a considerable period held in subjection, the whole province of Arracan, with the exception of the fortified places, which were still occupied by Burman troops. The effects of his devastating incursions were for years after visible in various parts of the province. But the advantage thus obtained was only temporary; for being without the resources necessary for the organization of a government, Kheng-Breng was obliged once more to retire to Chittagong. From this time his fortune in the kind of warfare he had selected, was very various. At one time he was at the head of a powerful army carrying fire and sword wherever he went; at another he was an outlawed rebel, without a follower, and fleeing from the invaders of his country.

At length, the fact that he had his residence within British territory whither he invariably retired when discomfited, came to the knowledge of the king of Burmah, who concluded that he was aided in his incursions with British gold, or at all events with British countenance. An indignant remonstrance



was accordingly addressed to the Governor General in Calcutta, in which the king threatened to hold the British Government responsible for these frequent disturbances. But these menaces did not go for much. Still, we had no object whatever in provoking hostilities, and it was determined that Captain Canning should proceed to Rangoon, and if necessary to the Burman Court, to satisfy the King of Burmah that Kheng-Breng had received no encouragement from us. Captain Canning went as far as Rangoon, but inferring from the insulting treatment he received from the officials of that place that it would not be safe to venture further, he returned without establishing any proper understanding between the two governments. Not long after, the British Government with a view to convince the Burmans of its good will, took occasion to send a small force into the field against Kheng-Breng, who had again begun his depredations. Kheng-Breng was defeated, and from that time to his death, which happened shortly after, he ceased to trouble his enemies.

But the conduct of the British, simply intended to remove from the mind of the Burman King the impression that we were hostile to him, was interpreted as an indication of fear. He conceived the idea of expelling us from the neighbourhood of his empire, and accordingly fitted out an expedition of 80,000 troops for the purpose. The result of this fool-hardy and vain-glorious measure was the first Burman war. Whereas the Burmans threatened to invade our territory, we carried the war into theirs, and indemnified ourselves by taking possession of Arracan among other provinces. By this means the object for which the exiled Arracanese had so long fought under Kheng-Breng, was in some sort secured. The Burmans having been compelled to retire from their land, it was signified to the Arracanese that they were free to return to it. This they did in overwhelming numbers, and were glad once again to sit down

under their own vine and their own fig tree, protected by a powerful and upright Government. Nevertheless, it soon appeared that it was no pure patriotism that had animated the followers of Kheng-Breng in the incursions they had formerly made into Arracan. The Government under which they now lived, was calculated to give every encouragement to peaceful and industrious pursuits; but such pursuits were no longer to their taste. The same arm that protected the industry and commercial enterprise of the working population, was strong to repress crime; and this was distasteful to men who had for years lived by plunder. Extensive bands of dacoits were organized and became the terror of the country, until they were broken up and chased into the mountains by our troops.

But these were for the most part vulgar dacoits. The ambitious spirit of Kheng-Breng had not perished with his life. It had descended to his nephew Ongyojyn, his son-in-law Doongue, and his brother-in-law Onguerree; men who, now that Arracan was a British possession, were restless and unhappy so long as they were debarred from attaining high position in the State. They had already been advanced, owing to their superior abilities, to the highest situations in the Revenue department that natives could hold; but having reached this limit they began to hanker after more power. The system of revenue that prevails in Arracan is what is well known as the *Pyotwaree*; a system which does not admit, as does that of Bengal of a single individual becoming the all-powerful owner of large and extensive landed properties. Could these men have found scope for their ambition as leading Zemindars, their interest in the peace and prosperity of the province would have been too great to have suffered them to stake their all in the success of a conspiracy to overthrow the British power. But having but little interest in the soil, and hoping that the success of their scheme would make them the rulers of the country; in a word having

nothing to lose and every thing to gain by some such bold measure, they forthwith began to arrange a plan of operations. If they failed by secret machinations to obtain the introduction of the Zemindari system into Arracan, they resolved by open force to obtain the paramount authority. They cherished the hope that by throwing the local administration into disorder, the Government would be induced to relinquish the possession of so disturbed and unprofitable a country, or at least would withdraw the European management, and entrust the administration to them; but if they failed in bringing about such a consummation, they were prepared for an open appeal to arms. So bold a programme necessarily required two or three years to mature. The scheme for raising disturbances throughout the country failed; the reign of terror caused by the bands of dacoits, that infested the province ceased with their dispersion; and there was no hope for the conspirators but in the second act of the drama they had sketched for themselves. According to the outline of this act, they contemplated wresting the province from the British and dividing it into four Kingdoms to be presided over by Ongyojyn, Doongue, Ongueee, and Shwebiang. The last named individual is represented in the official reports of the period as having been a Government pensioner, but a most respectable character, and one who during the Burman time was forced to flee to Ava, having escaped out of jail and from the punishment due to the perpetration of a cruel and cold-blooded murder.

The conspiracy began to be organized as far back as the month of July 1831, but was not disclosed till 1836. Indeed, though the conspirators were aware that their plans, to be successful, would require the co-operation of a large body of men, they divulged the secret to those whose aid was needed, only at the moment when that aid had to be rendered. In the meanwhile, they laid out a large portion of their

funds in the purchase of muskets from Calcutta. But fortune was not propitious. One of the vessels in which Ongyojyn was expecting a supply of arms and ammunition, was wrecked before it could reach its destination; a subsequent supply which reached safely, was made over to a notorious dacoit named Keechami, who for security's sake buried the muskets, three hundred in number, in the river bank. When the monsoons set in and the river rose, more than half the store was washed away, and only one hundred and twenty muskets were recovered. Whilst, on the one hand, the means for conducting an insurrection were being cautiously provided and distributed among the chief dacoits and most influential Kyonks in the province, the conspirators addressed a petition, on the other, to the Supreme Council in Calcutta commenting in highly presumptuous and disrespectful language on the conduct of the European public servants of the province. Indeed, their seditious feelings were apparent in almost every sentence of the letter. In the paragraph in which they prayed to have possession of Arracan, they quoted the fact that the Government had, on the conquest of the countries tributary to Ava, restored possession of them to their former rulers. They accordingly suggested with characteristic modesty, that Arracan should be placed under a native ruler to be selected from among themselves who, it was added, were all descended from the race of Rajahs of Arracan; and that all the Government functionaries now holding the country, whether European or Native, should be dismissed. The petition concluded with the threat that if the scheme they proposed was not adopted, they would be under the necessity of retiring with their goods and families into the jungles; nor ought they, under the circumstances, to be regarded as rebels or ungrateful subjects.

This petition was forwarded to the Supreme Council in December 1831, but it seems to have lain unnoticed. A copy of

it was found, in company with other seditious documents, in the possession of the conspirators, and was one of the papers on which their prosecution was subsequently based. In the meanwhile they had succeeded in collecting a considerable number of adherents, among whom were several Kyouks and some of the native officers and men of the Local Battalion. Mr. Fink was the first European officer who became acquainted with their design, and communicating with the Magistrate on the subject, he recommended the immediate arrest of the four leaders of the conspiracy. When this functionary refused to credit the rumour, Mr. Fink went with his information to Captain Dickenson, the Commissioner of the province. Captain Dickenson seemed to think the attempt to raise an insurrection possible; but he paid little attention to the report, confident that any outbreak would be immediately suppressed with the aid of the handful of Regulars who guarded the Treasury. But Mr. Fink, whose intercourse with the people and whose opportunities for gaining a knowledge of all that was passing among them were greater than those of any other European functionary, was convinced that his information was correct. He soon discovered that a strongly armed band of rebels had already been collected in the interior of the district. The fresh tidings he received from day to day of the rebel movements and intentions, were punctually communicated to Dr. Morton the Magistrate, who being forced to bestir himself by the increasingly serious nature of the rumours, directed an enquiry to be made. People then came forward to confirm the rumours that had been in circulation. As soon as the chief conspirators saw that the suspicion of the authorities was aroused, they sent immediate instructions to Kheechungway who was in command of the armed rebels, to commence operations. Village after village was attacked and pillaged, the old town of Arracan was burnt, the lives of peaceful inhabitants were taken,



and the district was in a terrible state of anarchy and confusion. A detachment of the Arracan Local Battalion was despatched, under command of Captain Bunbury, to the scene of disturbance. It was followed up by a detachment of Mugh Sepoys under Captain White.

This latter officer on reaching the neighbourhood of the rebels, made the disagreeable discovery that his men were not to be relied on. He therefore took prompt measures to be independent of them. Returning to Akyab, he despatched an express to Kyouk-Phyoo, and obtained a strong force of Regulars from there. While these troops were on their way to Akyab, he and Mr. Fink occupied themselves with collecting all the information that was procurable respecting the intended movements of the insurgents. Acting on Mr. Fink's advice, Captain White determined to secure the persons of the four leaders, and gain possession of the correspondence it was believed they had carried on with the leading dacoits of the province. Urging the people to rise, aiding the insurrection with their money, and indeed directing their operations, these four leaders had, nevertheless, been careful not to identify their lot with that of the rebels. They remained like peaceable citizens, in the town of Akyab, as well in the hope of escaping with impunity in case the insurrectionary cause should fail, as with a view to keep themselves informed of the movements of the local Government. Though, therefore, there was no doubt in Mr. Fink's mind of their complicity, they had not suffered themselves to be betrayed into any overt token of sympathy with the rebels. Their complicity would no doubt appear from the documents in their possession, and these it was desirable to seize. The course of action was soon arranged. As these leaders were men of influence in the town, there would be nothing suspicious in Captain White's visiting them, and asking their counsel in the present emergency. This was



accordingly done. Captain White went to them with the ostensible object of consulting them respecting the best means of suppressing the revolt. He reminded them of the difficulty in the way of obtaining correct information of the rebel movements and places of concealment, and of communicating with them so as to reason them back to their allegiance, without the mediation of influential natives whose presence in his camp would alone be sufficient evidence to the insurgents of the good will of the Government. The men to whom this speech was addressed, affected the utmost indignation at the audacious conduct of their countrymen; and secretly thinking to further their own purposes, readily offered to accompany Captain White's camp. No doubt they congratulated themselves on being about to do a very clever thing, for they hoped thus to keep the rebel bands informed of all Captain White's intentions, and to aid their own cause. A very short time, however, sufficed to undeceive them. The day after their departure with Captain White, the Junior Assistant Commissioner, accompanied by Mr. Fink and some of the informers whom he had so successfully employed from the beginning, proceeded to their dwelling, and seizing their papers obtained from them ample confirmation of their guilt. Tidings of the discovery were instantly dispatched by an express to Captain White who astonished his 'highly respectable and influential native friends' by loading them with fetters and sending them back for safe lodgement in the Akyab jail.

From these papers and the disclosures made by several witnesses at the trial, it appears that the first care of the conspirators was to secure the co-operation of the Mugh corps stationed at Akyab. This was attempted through the non-commissioned officers, several of whom were induced to take an oath of allegiance to the rebel cause. The bait held out to the troops was, that in case the rebellion should be successful,

each Subadar was to receive Rs. 200 a month, each Jemadar Rs. 100, and each private Rs. 80. In the meanwhile, each man was required to record his oath on a strip of palm leaf or piece of paper, and read it aloud in the presence of the assembled conspirators. The document was then reduced to ashes, and these ashes having been dissolved in a bowl of water in which spears and musket barrels had been previously washed, the water was drunk by the person taking the oath. The oath obliged those who took it to do whatever might be required of them by the four leading conspirators. Besides bespeaking the services of numerous non-commissioned officers and privates of this corps, Ongyojyn and his party secured the co-operation of the leaders of all the most notable bands of dacoits that infested the interior, to whom arms and ammunition were liberally served out. Upwards of fifty Kyouks, officers holding subordinate police authority, were bribed, and for upwards of a year the conspiracy grew and gained adherents without the Government becoming aware of its existence.

It further appeared from Ongyojyn's papers and the testimony of witnesses, that the conspirators had arranged that whilst the authorities and regular troops were engaged in the interior seeking to quell the disturbances created by the dacoit-bands, Ngamouki, the most formidable of the dacoit leaders, should attack the town of Akyab by night; that on his arrival, the conspirators belonging to the Mugh corps should each murder the commissioned or non-commissioned officer he had been previously appointed to assassinate; that one of the men should kill the Magistrate; that, then, the detachment guarding the Treasury should plunder it; that the prisoners of the Jail should be released; and that lastly, the town should be fired. The scheme was a very amiable one, and writing of it at this distance of time we are forcibly reminded of the very similar arrangements the mutinous sepoys of Bengal made during the

memorable rebellion of 1857. In Bengal the diabolical plan was in more than one instance successfully carried out; but this, we are happy to say, was not to be in the case of the conspiracy we are describing. The seizure of Ongyojyn's papers prevented the execution of the scheme. Mr. Fink, to whom had been entrusted the task of examining these papers, found among them a slip in Ongyojyn's own handwriting in which were detailed the names of the European gentlemen, officials as well as non-officials, that were to be got rid of, and the names of the various rebel leaders who were to be rewarded with the wives of their European victims. The whole scheme was most amiably constructed; only it was nipped in the bud. Knowing now the intentions of the rebels, and the particular night on which Ngamouki might be expected, Mr. Fink, to whose good sense and activity the safety of the town had been entrusted, lost no time in arranging to meet the crisis. Fearing lest the evil-disposed inhabitants should take advantage of some false alarm to plunder the town and murder the families of the European residents, these families were for the most part sent on board the ships or Chinese junks that lay in the harbour; strong pickets were placed at convenient distances along the entire river frontage of the town, it being well known that Ngamouki and his band could come only by water; the police was strengthened all over the town; the people were not suffered to loiter about any where in groups; and the whole night was spent by Mr. Fink in visiting his guards, and seeing that they did their duty. But Ngamouki had been informed of the discovery of the conspiracy, and declined to make his appearance. The night passed over quietly and though, through many subsequent nights, the people were fearful and anxious, no attack was made, the town remained undisturbed, and the officers of the Mugh corps were not shot down by their loyal sepoys.

The dacoit bands in the interior lost heart as soon as they heard of the arrest of the leading conspirators. The cause of the rebellion became hopeless, and the government troops no longer found it difficult to re-establish order. The charge brought against Ongyojyn, Shwebaing, Ongueree, and Doóngue at their trial held during the special sessions of 1836, was sedition in tampering with, and administering oaths and distributing money to, the native officers and men of the Arracan Local Battalion, promoting disturbances, and aiding and abetting in the perpetration of dacoities, by conspiring with Kheechame Sirdar dacoit, late Kyouk of Chapaguing, and furnishing him and his gang with arms and ammunition, and assembling the kyouks and village officers, and collecting arms and ammunition and taking and administering oaths to usurp the government of the province, from about July and August 1834, to 12th January 1836. The evidence elicited at the trial, was very voluminous; government officials, officers and privates of the native corps, and natives of the city all united to fix the guilt of sedition on the prisoners. Their testimony could not be gainsayed, and the trial which lasted three weeks, ended in the conviction of the conspirators. Ongyojyn and Shwebaing were sentenced by the Sudder Nizamut of Calcutta to imprisonment in transportation beyond sea for life; Ongueree to be imprisoned for fourteen years in banishment, and Doóngue on account of old age, and previous good character, to be imprisoned for seven years without labour.

Thus ended the first and last attempt made by the people of Arracan to throw off the British yoke.



## CHAPTER XI.

*Funds fail—Mr. Fink resigns connection with Serampore—  
Résumé—Brief Sketch of the American Mission in Arracan.*

The want of funds was now forcing on the Serampore directors a curtailment of their operations. With many of their agents they were deeply in arrears, and the difficulty of collecting a sum of money equal to the wants of so extensive a mission, was annually increasing. Hoping to carry out his project of visiting the mountain tribes, Mr. Fink applied for some money to be laid out in presents to them; but as the Serampore Brethren did not feel free to sanction any expenditure for the purpose, the visits had to be foregone. The mountain chiefs were, like all savages, very punctilious with respect to their forms of etiquette, and they exacted a rigid observance of them from all visitors to their fastnesses. Etiquette required that no visitor should approach a chief without suitable presents for him and his wife, without which, indeed, the reception he met with would be very doubtful. In desiring money for presents, therefore, Mr. Fink only desired the means of access to the hill tribes,—such access as might by degrees lead to friendly intercourse with them, but as neither money for this purpose nor that for itineraries could be hoped for in the existing financial state of the Mission, Mr. Fink was fain to relinquish the idea of exploring the mountains, and to content himself with his accustomed labours among the Mings.

Mr. Fink had lived on a mere pittance for years, content to be able to feed and clothe himself and his family; but when added to failing funds, the brethren at Serampore were, as not unfrequently happened, unable for want of opportunity to remit any money at all to Arracan which at that time was at an all but impracticable distance from Calcutta so far as commer-



cial intercourse was concerned, the reader will not be surprised to learn that for months together Mr. Pink was left to prosecute his labours oppressed with the burden of a distress that was next door to absolute want. Such a state of things could not be suffered to continue. It soon became apparent that either the Serampore Society must abandon Arracan, or Mr. Pink's connection with that Mission must cease. Letters were received from Serampore full of cordial sympathy with him in his distress, but empty of substantial relief; and as matters could not be suffered to remain in their existing state, Mr. Pink wrote to resign connection with the Mission. His resignation was accepted. In the reply he received the growing financial difficulties of the Mission, were acknowledged but not a syllable was added in recognition of the single-hearted labour of years, or a single wish expressed for the success of his future career. After twenty years of self-denying toil, and when he was forced to resign from inability to support a family of nine children on nothing a month, all that Serampore had to say was: 'The brethren have read your letter and cannot but regret that the difficulties of the Mission should have led you to resign your connection with it; they however hope, that the cause of souls will still be near your heart, and that you will not cease to pray for it, and do all that lies in your power to promote its interests in the place of your future residence.' Mr. Pink's inability to support a large family without an income was not regarded as a sufficient reason for resigning his connection with the Serampore Mission, and the Brethren could only hope that he would not altogether lose his zeal for 'the cause of souls'! What a gratifying insinuation from the lips of 'brethren'?

But Mr. Pink never had any idea of abandoning Missionary work. His desire for it, whatever might be thought in some quarters, was unabated. He left Akyab in the year



1838, and awaited in Calcutta the result of an application he had made to the London Baptist Missionary-Society. The churches in Arracan remained connected with Serampore a little time longer; but when Mr. Fink removed to Chittagong in the beginning of 1839, as an agent of the London Society, the Akyab Mission was transferred to this Society. One of the first things he did on reaching his new station, (we might have said, his old one,) was to propose to visit Arracan every year, and superintend in some degree the labours of the local catechists. His proposal was approved of in Calcutta, only it was intimated that the expense of the itineracies should be kept within the smallest possible limits. But when the London Committee came to consider the matter, it appeared more reasonable that Arracan should be transferred to the American Board of Missions which already had its agents in the southern section of the province, than that it should drag along in precarious dependence on Chittagong. Dr. Kincaid of Burmah, then Mr. Kincaid, accepted charge of Akyab, and from that time Mr. Fink's connection with the province ceased.

Having arrived at this stage in our narrative, let us glance back for a moment at the history of the Arracan Mission, identified as it was in its origin and progress with the best years of Mr. Fink's toilsome life. Driven from their homes by Burman oppression, the Mughs took refuge in British territory, and there first received Christian teaching. Many of them having embraced Christianity, remained in the Chittagong district till the close of the first Burman war, when the British annexation of Arracan induced them to return to their native land. Either they were followed, or rather preceded, by Mr. Fink who spared no trouble in getting them comfortably settled on the island of Krue-day, and in the neighbourhood of Akyab. Laboring diligently as was his wont, in his new

field, his converts multiplied until five out-stations had been formed, and his itineracies had extended from the northernmost limits of the province to Ramree in the south, and covered the islands lining the coast. The ten years thus spent in Arracan were perhaps the most remarkable in his missionary career. The brief account we have given of them may not show any brilliant success, but the record is not therefore unprofitable. The reader may, after its perusal, be tempted to say: 'Well, I see nothing particularly worth preserving in all this. Here is a man who labours steadily for a number of years, and no doubt does his work conscientiously; but he achieves no great success, and does not make converts by thousands, as they have done among the Karens.' All this may be true; nevertheless, may it not be the very reason why his labours should be recorded? We have biographies which gleam with Missionary triumphs, but the much toil and little success of the great majority of the men who, equally with their more fortunate brethren, have endured the heat and burden of the day, are seldom counted worthy of record. We gaze with kindling emotion on the achievements of the man who penetrates into unknown regions, and subdues thousands by the power of the cross. But is that man's labours nothing, who with the same courage and the same persistent energy does battle, alone and for years, though without the same success? Is the name of the one to be embalmed in Christian literature, and must the name of the other perish? Is it right to estimate a man's labours by the extent of his success? Whilst we turn admiringly to those who can say, 'We have won souls by thousands,' do we do right to overlook the services of those who, although they bring the same resources into the field, and the same devotedness, show the same brilliant results? Is it morally sublimer to hope when our hearts are borne along on the swelling tide of hope, than to hope against hope? Is it morally grander to march against an enemy and

defeat him, than to maintain one's ground undismayed against overwhelming odds? Is the man who labours on, encouraged by success at every step, a greater hero than he who also labours on, but uncheered by success? And whilst we regard *him* as a great Missionary, and think *his* history worth embalming whose labours have borne early and abundant fruit, is it a weariness to study that man's work of faith whose reward God has garnered up as a surprise for him against the resurrection day? When we think of the army of self-denying men 'sanctified to the truth,' who have gone forth into the dark places of Satan's empire and there fought and died unknown to fame, we feel that in the Missionary enterprise, as in so many others, the truest heroes have often been those whose names find no mention in the records of men. It is well for such that 'God is not unfaithful to forget their work of faith and labour of love.'

Those who are interested in the Missionary enterprise, can form but an imperfect estimate of the arduous character of the work from the biographies which record great successes. Take rather the men whose work attracts no public attention,—who after long years of toil can show no fruit worth talking about. Ransack Mission reports for information respecting their steady devotement, their resolute energy, their hopes, their fears, their sufferings, their disappointments, their death in the breach; read these records in the light of that stern martyr-faith that maintains its foothold in the roaring tide of hostile forces, in the light of 'the strong-will and the endeavour' which enables men, even when faint, to be pursuing,—and then say whether the seemingly dry and monotonous narrative of commonplace details will not sparkle with the eloquence of a Divine power. Who has not heard of Carey, Marshman, and Ward? The imposing results which their faith wrought have rendered them illustrious, and their names will never perish. But whilst

the lives of these men have found a fitting memorial in the 'History of the Serampore Mission,' who knows any thing of the men who worked the various stations established by them? Who shall say how much of the success Missionaries in India are reaping, is owing to the germination now of the seed sown by these all but unknown agents of the Serampore Mission!

It is not to be supposed that Mr. Fink could leave the churches he had established in Arracan without poignant regret, or that his people could regard his departure with indifference. But their mutual sorrow was mitigated by the hope which he at that time entertained, of visiting the province annually from Chittagong. Though circumstances ultimately prevented him from ever again seeing Akyab, he continued to correspond with the Mugh converts, and at length had the satisfaction of knowing that the Mission had been taken over by the American Board.

The American Board had had a Mission at Kyouk-Phyoo, in Arracan, ever since the year 1835; and Mr. and Mrs. Comstock, the Missionaries of the station, had, from the time of their arrival, maintained fraternal intercourse with Akyab. In 1838, Mr. Fink was visited by Mr. Comstock and the Rev. Mr. Maleplun, a deputation from the American Board, who having occasion to visit Kyouk-Phyoo, extended his journey to Akyab. The Kyouk-Phyoo station was re-enforced the following year by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Hall, both of whom fell victims to the malarious fever of the province, and died before their work was begun. Two years later, the Rev. Lyman Stilson and his wife established themselves on the island of Ramree, whither also Mr. and Mrs. Comstock removed. In 1840, Mr. Kincaid went to occupy Akyab, whilst Mr. Abbott who had been compelled to retire from Burmah Proper, took up his residence at Sandoway, in the hope of finding access thence to the Karens within the Burman territory. Reorganizing a church by means of the converts that remained in Akyab after Mr. Fink's depar-

ture, Mr. Kincaid devoted himself to the preaching of the word, and was early rewarded by the growing interest which the people took in his message. Converts were made here and in the neighbouring island of Krue-day, and at the invitation of the chief of a mountain tribe called the Kômmees, Messrs. Kincaid and Stilson paid his people a visit. Mr. Stilson reduced the elements of their language to writing, and prepared a spelling-book and reader for their use. But the climate of the province began to tell on the missionary band. Sickness compelled Mr. and Mrs. Kincaid to return for a season to the United States; and in 1843, Mrs. Comstock died at Ramree, and she was soon followed by two of her children. In 1844, the American Mission sustained one of its severest losses in the death of Mr. Comstock, than whom no more devoted, wise and useful missionary ever trod a heathen shore. Mr. and Mrs. Stilson who were now alone in the province, removed to Moulmein; and in the autumn of 1848, the Rev. C. C. Moore and his wife sailed for Akyab, the first of the 'six men for Arracan' for whom Mr. Comstock had written home. In 1848, Mr. and Mrs. Knapp and Mr. and Mrs. Campbell arrived at Kyouk-Phyoo. Mr. Campbell died of cholera very soon after his arrival, and Mr. Knapp, having to return to America on account of ill-health, expired at sea. Mr. Kincaid, on returning from America, was re-appointed to his old field in Burmah, and did not go back to Arracan. Mr. and Mrs. Rose arrived in Akyab in 1854. A few months after, Mr. Ingalls returned to Akyab, but was subsequently at his own request, transferred to Burmah. Mr. Moore's health having failed, he sailed for the United States; Mr. Rose withdrew from the Mission; and the year 1855 found Arracan without any labourers except native catechists. That same year, Mr. and Mrs. Saterlee were appointed to the province; but after a few months' residence at Akyab, Mr. Saterlee was stricken down by cholera. Arra-



can was thenceforth abandoned. In the report of the American Board for the year 1857, it is written: 'The mission to Arracan bereaved in the death of Mr. and Mrs. Saterlee remained for a short period in care of Mrs. Knapp who subsequently retired to Rangoon. Akyab station is now vacant. The Committee in view, not only of the unhealthiness of the Arracan climate, but also of the demand for labour in Burmah Proper and elsewhere, and of the diminished supply, respectfully suggest that the Mission be brought to a close.' No attempt has been made to renew missionary operations in the province.

It may be asked how it happened that whilst the American missionaries achieved such wonderful successes in Burmah, Mr. Fink should have made but few converts in Arracan. But let it be remembered that this disparity of results is equally manifest between the labours of the American brethren in Burmah and the same men in Arracan. The difference of results in the two countries is owing, not to any difference in the amount of consecrated activity brought to bear on the work, but to differences of soil. Among the Karens, the American missionaries found a people prepared by national disabilities, by their freedom from the deadening influences of Buddhism, and by their own cherished traditions, to receive the message of Christianity. The case was different in Arracan. Here the people were Buddhists, and they had had long intercourse with the Mahomedans of Bengal. Indeed, no small part of the population, though Arracanese, was Musulman. Having a settled system of belief which had taken firm root in the land, and having been to some extent indurated by intercourse with the outer world, the considerations to deter them from embracing Christianity or rather to make them pause before they did so, weighed heavily in the scale, and made conversions among them slow and infrequent. Had Mr. Fink's comparatively small success been owing to the



want of missionary power or activity, then the American brethren who came after him, and who were subsequently so successful in Burmah, ought to have been able to show greater progress. But such was not the case. During the twenty-two years that the American Board occupied Arracan, they sent thither eleven missionaries and their wives; but they were ultimately compelled to retire from the province. Mr. Fink had laboured alone for seventeen years, had organized five stations from which the word sounded forth, and when he left the country, it was not because the slowness of success had discouraged him, but because the Society that hitherto supported him and his operations, was no longer able to do so. Had he been free to choose, he would have elected to spend the remainder of his days in Arracan. But God ordained otherwise. Most men are full of buoyant energy and stirring purpose when they are being borne along on the tide of success; few can keep their energies perseveringly on the stretch when both wind and tide are against them. It is glorious to triumph; but it is sublime to suffer God's will and be strong. The sublimity that belongs to the steady discharge of duty was Mr. Fink's.

## CHAPTER. XII.

*Mr. Fink returns to Chittagong—The Sitacund Mela—Mr. Fink as a preacher—Removes to Serampore and ultimately to Calcutta—Last days.*

The interval between his removal from Akyab and his engagement by the London Baptist Missionary Society was spent by Mr. Fink in Calcutta, where his children were at school, and where he owned a small house which the family occupied. The greater part of 1838 was spent in preaching in and about Calcutta. At the end of the year, being taken on the staff of the London Society, he returned to Chittagong, where he laboured unremittingly till his removal to Serampore in the year 1846. He was now forty-three years of age, had had his constitution greatly impaired by a long residence in Arracan, and moreover, was subject to gout, a disease inherited from his father. Still, with removal to a healthier part of the country, and freedom from the harassing pecuniary anxieties he had suffered during the latter period of his connection with Serampore, he had the prospect before him of years of comfortable labour. His work now required a knowledge of Bengali, and his first business was to re-apply himself to that language. Before his settlement in Arracan, he had been in the habit of speaking it, and it only needed a little effort to qualify him to renew his labours in it.

Among the more important fairs of the Chittagong district is one held annually at Sitacund, one of a range of hills running right along from Arracan through Chittagong and Independent Tipperah. In this range, and about twenty-five miles north of Chittagong, there are two hills which are the annual resort of crowds of Hindoo pilgrims from all parts of India. The road to Sitacund from Chittagong lies, for some distance, along a narrow valley between hills whose dense vegetation gives shelter to innumerable tigers, leopards, and

other wild beasts. To travel here at night is accordingly a dangerous undertaking, except when a party of men go together with lighted flambeaux. Many belated pilgrims have been destroyed in this pass, commonly known as the tiger-pass. Travelling through, one night, on his way to Sitacund, Mr. Johannes who accompanied Mr. Fink on the occasion, suddenly found himself in a very awkward predicament. He was being carried in a palanquin accompanied, as was the practice, by a torch-bearer. In one of the narrowest parts of the road, and where the jungle was densest, an enormous tiger suddenly bounded across the path with a tremendous roar, a few paces in front of the travelling party. The bearers of the palanquin instantly dropped their burden, and ran away; the torch-bearer followed their example, and Mr. Johannes was left alone in an open palanquin, at the dead of night, in the dreaded tiger-pass, with the certain knowledge that one of these royal gentlemen was in the immediate neighbourhood. But his suspense was not of long continuance. Mr. Fink whose palanquin lagged behind, came up a few minutes after, and the fugitive bearers being recalled, the journey was resumed.

At the time when Mr. Fink was in the habit of visiting the Sitacund Melá, the concourse of pilgrims used to be immense. Pilgrims and traders came to it from Rangoon on the east, and Lahore in the north-west; and for a whole week or more, the plain facing the sacred hills was crowded with the booths and temporary sheds of shop-keepers and devotees. Under a grove of mango trees, and just a little removed from the boothed pilgrim-city, Messrs. Fink and Johannes pitched their tents. The audiences they gathered, used to be very great, and in those early times, the opposition was sometimes most determined. The bitterest hostility came, as indeed it always does at such melás, from a class of men called byragees, who make it their business to go from village to village persuading old women

and young to undertake the pilgrimage under their conduct. For days before a *melá* begins, herds of native women headed by these *byrgees*, may be seen wending their weary way with bundles on their backs, to the holy shrine. These guides, for it is their profession to conduct pilgrim parties, know quite well how to indemnify themselves for their trouble; and because their occupation is a lucrative one, their hostility to missionary teaching has always been great. They perceive that their craft is in danger. At the Sitacund Melá, on one occasion, they stirred up a mob to such a pitch of rage against Mr. Fink and his party, that they might have been murdered had he not called in the assistance of the Police.

The Sitacund and Baracund hills lie about three miles apart from one another. On the Sitacund hill there are three temples, one at the foot, dedicated to Mahadeb; a second half way up, sacred to Chundronath; and a third at the very top, the temple of Shumbhunath. The pilgrim is required to visit all these temples; but there is a ceremony to be observed before the ascent can be made. He must first be purified in a sacred tank which lies at the base of the hill. On reaching this spot, he descends into the water, and on paying a couple of pice to the officiating brahmin, is taught to repeat a *mûdra*. This part of the ceremony he performs with his head bowed, his hands joined, and the tips of the fingers dipped in the water. He then bathes, and on retiring from the tank, brings away a brass vessel full of the water. With this in his hand, and joined, it may be, by half a dozen other pilgrims, he follows the brahmin seven times round a sacred tree growing close by, pouring the water, as he proceeds, over the trunk and roots, and stopping every now and then to hug and kiss the tree. This over, he is qualified to make the ascent. On reaching the Mithant's residence which is in the same enclosure as Mahadeb's temple, he lays down a sum of

money according to his means. If poor, he will give 10 annas or so; if rich, his gift will vary from Rs. 5 to 10. At the temple of Chundranath, a second contribution is demanded; and he pays for the third time when he gains the top of the hill. And thus ends the first day's work. On the following day he starts for Baracund. A fee placed in the hands of the presiding brahmin, procures for him a sight of what is known as the burning well. This well is an artificial reservoir which receives the waters of a contiguous spring. Flames play upon the surface of these waters as they fall into the reservoir. The most natural explanation of the phenomenon is, that the water is charged with carburetted hydrogen, which ignites when brought into contact with fire. The Hindu pilgrims, however, are taught to worship the water as endowed with divine power.

The nine years spent in Chittagong were entirely devoted by Mr. Fink to missionary labour. He rendered occasional assistance in the English chapel, and took an active interest in the welfare of the native christian families of the station; but his chief strength was devoted to preaching the Gospel in Chittagong, and among the Mughls of Harbang and Cox's Bazar. He never acquired that correctness, fluency, and power in the use of Bengali that had characterized his ministrations among the Arracanese; but this was hardly to be expected at his time of life. His natural cheerfulness of disposition betrayed itself in the genial tone and manner of his addresses; and though he said many severe things about the gods of Hindu idolatry, and the vices and sins of heathen society, it was seldom that his audiences betrayed the irritation that such rebukes have excited when coming from others. Of remarkable simplicity of mind and manner, he never beat about the bush, or clothed his denunciations of sin in the refined drapery of a pointless phraseology. The heathen never had a bolder preacher of righteousness, or one who more successfully united the intensest

human sympathy with a full and most scrupulous declaration of the counsel of God. To arrest attention, he frequently began with some remark suggested by the occasion or the locality, which caught the ear of the people by its promise of pleasant talk. His broad Dutch face lighted up with the animation of his theme, and his clear strong voice reaching across a dense mass of black heads, and making the passers on the outskirts of the crowd stop and listen, at once gave the idea of a man of earnest mood, of fearless mien, and of a soul passionate in its desire to 'persuade men.' Considerably versed in Hindu mythology, it was a difficult matter for any opponent in argument to defend the character of his gods and goddesses against the facts and the ridicule that Mr. Fink could bring to the discussion; but the most remarkable feature in his preaching was the fulness with which the Gospel message was declared. In his anxiety to impress the fundamental truths of the Christian system, he sometimes became prolix; but on such occasions his prolixity was overlooked for the sake of the sallies of genial humour with which his discourses were frequently enlivened. Sometimes a crabbed disputant would try to turn the laughter of the crowd against the good man, by criticising his grammar or mocking his foreign accent; but Mr. Fink had this advantage over all such ill-tempered sneerers, that he never lost *his* temper. He would tell them, perhaps, that bad grammar and false accentuation were preferable to ignorance and sin; or that God would not bring men into judgment for bad grammar, though He certainly would for their wicked lives. Thus an audience however mischievously disposed, soon found that it was not easy to disconcert him. He was preaching in a bazar one day at Santipore in the Nuddea district, the hot-bed of Brahminism, and was in the midst of a description of Vishnu riding on the back of a calf; when a real calf finding itself hemmed in by the gathering crowd of listeners, made a rush to escape, and got-



ting between Mr. Fink's legs, lifted him on its back! The position was most ludicrous, and the people did not fail to perceive it. 'Horribol! horribol!' shouted the crowd; and they clapped their hands as they beheld the Missionary in Vishnu's attitude. Mr. Fink fully alive to the awkwardness of his position, nevertheless did not lose either his temper or presence of mind. Releasing the calf or rather himself, he laughed as heartily as any one else, and resumed his discourse as if it had suffered no interruption.

But now the Gout from which he had occasionally suffered for years, began to tell upon his constitution. The attacks of it became more serious, and sometimes even dangerous. On one occasion, it was only very prompt medical aid that saved him from sudden death. Disease adding its enervating influence to the toil and exposure of a protracted Missionary career, began to tell visibly upon his originally robust frame, and it became desirable that he should remove from Chittagong. Bishop Spencer, then Bishop of Madras, arrived at this time at Chittagong, having undertaken a visitation-tour through the diocese of Bishop Wilson who was too infirm to bear the fatigues of travel; and his Lordship very kindly offered Mr. Fink a free passage to Calcutta on board his own steamer. The offer was thankfully accepted, and in due time Mr. Fink arrived at Serampore, whither his family had preceded him. He obtained the consent of the Society to take up his residence here, more particularly as his younger sons were now of an age to require schooling. Seeing that disease and age debarred him from rendering any thing like sustained service to the Missionary cause, the Society voted him a pension which helped to support him till the time of his death.

But though thus removed from the effective staff of labourers, Mr. Fink went out among the heathen whenever his health permitted. During the six years that he lived at Serampore,

he made sundry itineracies into the adjoining districts; and seldom missed the large Hindu festivals in the neighbourhood of Serampore. In the year 1851, the Joseph of the family, his youngest son, died of brain-fever; the associations of the place became oppressive to him and Mrs. Fink; and as some of their children were living in Calcutta, they resolved to remove thither. They took a house in Intally, in the suburbs of the city, and there Mr. Fink laboured in a quiet, unobtrusive way. In the year 1855, he established a school in the neighbourhood of his house, for the benefit of the children of *chumars*, the shoemaker caste, the most degraded, and most neglected class of Hindu society. Interested himself in its success, he inspired his assistants in the school with a corresponding interest, and soon the number of pupils increased to fifty or sixty. They were taught to read and write Bengali, and were daily instructed in Christian truth. Mr. Fink looked after the school to the last, and left it, at his death, to the care of his sons, who continue to superintend it and to interest the Christian public in its support.

The infirmities of disease and old age were now fast bringing Mr. Fink to his grave. He suffered from frequent and lingering attacks of gout, which kept him confined to his room for weeks and even months at a time. The disease was evidently gaining ground. Many doctors tried many remedies; but the 'thorn in the flesh' was not removed. But the Lord Jesus made His grace sufficient for the sufferer, and he submitted to the pains of sickness with a cheerful mind. Men suffering from gout are, as a rule, irritable and captious; Mr. Fink on the contrary was like 'a weaned child.' Never indeed, was he more cheerful, more genial in conversation, more christian, or more spiritual, than when suffering the torture of disease. Often impatient in health, pain made him forbearing; and to those who loved the old man and visited him in his

affliction, his chamber was a school of heavenly wisdom, a sanctuary of heavenly peace. During the latter months of his life, he was almost incessantly ill. Though fully aware that his end was at hand, he was not on that account less cheerful or contented. During these protracted confinements to his chamber, the one thing he deplored was his inability to go out, as had been his wont, among his heathen neighbours, and talk to them of the great salvation. He was on one occasion seen to weep bitter tears under the influence of this regret. But the evening of his life was not rendered restless by doubts. He had, from the beginning, so thoroughly comprehended the sublime doctrine of grace, that no sin-clouds intercepted the light from the Sun of Righteousness. When the gates of death were opened to him, and he gazed within the door of the shadow of death, it was with no perturbed ~~and trembling~~ heart. With a spirit calmly reposing on the bosom of God's grace; with an eye, not tracing the labyrinths of a deceitful heart, but steadfastly fixed on the Cross whence cometh our help, he felt bold to trust the God-man in the darkness of death. In the spirit of this unsuspecting faith, he placed his hand within that of the Elder Brother, and said, 'Lead on; I will fear no evil.' This is the testimony of those who knew him best, and who communed with him most frequently during the gloaming of life.

In his sick chamber he had long sat and watched the approach of the night when no man can work, and now the moment came for its curtains to fall around him. Not many hours before his death, he called his wife to him, and began to tell her how he felt that he had done with earth. He had for many years been given to the use of tobacco, but now he made his cigar ~~box~~ over to her and bid her put it away, adding, 'I shall not wait it any more.' On the following morning he was able to come out of his room; at noon, feeling uncomfor-

table in his easy-chair, he asked his wife to assist him to his bed. Here he lay down, and turning on his side, said he would sleep. Mrs. Fink on this withdrew to an adjoining room, but a moment after, she heard an unusual sound from his chamber. She hastened back to him, but he was speechless, dying; and in another instant, he was dead. He said he would sleep; and he 'slept.' There was no time to summon his children to receive his parting breath. Understanding the nature of his own disease, he had forewarned them that his summons might come in a moment. And he was right. He was alone when the final strife began; his sorrow-stricken wife came to him just as he breathed out his spirit. And this was how God gave His beloved sleep. The bustle of the great city went on as usual; the noisy activities of the vast population was not interrupted for a moment; some were making money, others were deploring the deceitfulness of riches; but no noises prevented his slumber. The labour of a long day was done, and the rest that followed was sweet.

'O earth, so full of dreary noises!

'O men, with wailing in your voice!

'O delved gold, the wailer's heap!

'O strife, O curse that o'er it fall!

'God strikes silence through you all,

'And giveth His beloved sleep.'

Mr. Fink died on the 10th of September 1856. He was buried on the following evening in the Circular Road Cemetery. Being followed after an interval of nearly five years by his grief-stricken widow, they both sleep in the same grave, 'heirs together of the grace of life.'

FINIS.