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HISTORY

OF THE

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY
AMONG THE HEATHEN.



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HISTORY

OF THE

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE HEATHEN

Since the Reformation.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM BROWN, M.D.

Third Edition, brought down to the Present Time.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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HISTORY OF MISSIONS.

CHAPTER XXII.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE AMERICAN BOARD FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

SECT. I.—INDIA.

ART. 1.—BOMBAY—AHMEDNUGGUR—SATTARA.

IN June 1810, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was appointed by the General Association of Massachusetts, in consequence of a statement and a request for advice, submitted to it by some students of divinity at Andover College, who were anxious to devote themselves to the service of Christ among the heathen.¹ The Board originally consisted chiefly of members of the Congregational churches in America; but afterwards included also members of the Presbyterian and Reformed Dutch churches. It was, in fact, constituted not on denominational but on broad Christian principles.²

In February 1812, the Rev. Messrs Judson, Newell, Hall,

¹ The following were the names of these excellent young men, Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, Samuel J. Mills, and Samuel Newell. The paper was drawn up by Mr Judson. It also contained at first the names of James Richards, and Luther Rice, but on further consideration they were withdrawn, lest the association should be alarmed at the probable expense of supporting six missionaries in a foreign land, and shrink back from the undertaking altogether.—Tracy's *History of the American Board for Foreign Missions*, p. 26. In the history of the American Board which these young men were thus instrumental in calling into being, we have a striking example how eminently useful even young and uninfluential individuals may sometimes be.

² *Panoplist*, vol. iii. (N. S.) p. 88.—Report of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1832, p. 184.



Nott, and Rice, sailed under the auspices of this Institution for Calcutta, with the view of commencing a mission in such part of the Eastern world as, on their arrival in India, should be deemed most eligible. Scarcely, however, had they reached the shores of India, when they were ordered by the British government to return in the same ships in which they came out, and they were given to understand that the vessels would not be allowed to depart without them. By the interposition, however, of the Baptist missionaries, and other friends of religion in Calcutta, these orders were afterwards relaxed, and they obtained permission to proceed to the Isle of France, which is not within the jurisdiction of the East India Company. Other circumstances, however, now occurred which occasioned a separation among the missionaries. Two of them, Messrs Judson and Rice, changed their sentiments on the subject of Baptism, and at their own request were baptized by the Serampur missionaries. It was therefore deemed expedient, both by themselves and their friends, that they should separate, and prosecute their labours in different fields.¹

Previous to this, Mr Newell had sailed for the Isle of France, agreeably to the arrangement with government. The voyage proved tedious, perilous, and distressing. In the course of it, Mrs Newell was delivered of a daughter, which died within five days after its birth, and was consigned to a watery grave. She herself now manifested symptoms of consumption, and soon after her arrival in the Isle of France, she followed her infant to the world of spirits. Amidst her various trials, she exhibited singular resignation to the will of God; or if a murmuring thought arose at times in her breast, she quickly silenced it by those powerful considerations which the gospel affords. "My wicked heart," she wrote, "is inclined to think it hard that I should suffer such fatigue and hardship. I sinfully envy those whose lot it is to live in tranquillity on land. Happy people! ye know not the toils and trials of voyagers across the rough and stormy deep. Oh! for a little Indian hut on land! But hush, my warring passions: it is for Jesus, who sacrificed the joys of his Father's kingdom, and expired on a cross to redeem a fallen world, that

¹ Report of the Board for Foreign Missions, 1812, p. 7.—Ibid. 1813, p. 10.—Ibid. 1814, p. 18.—Memoirs of Mrs Newell, 4th edit. pp. 161, 165.



I thus wander from place to place, and have nowhere a home. How reviving the thought! How great the consolation it yields to my sinking heart! Let the severest trials and disappointments fall to my lot, guilty and weak as I am, yet I think I can rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of my salvation." In the early part of her illness, she had some fears respecting her spiritual state; but these doubts were soon dispelled, and she used to talk in the most familiar manner, and with great delight, of death, and of the glory that would follow. She wished it to be distinctly made known to her friends in America, that she had never regretted leaving her native land for the cause of Christ. A few days before her death, after one of those distressing fits of coughing which rapidly wasted her feeble frame, she desired Mr Newell to sit on her bed-side, and receive her dying message to her relatives. "Tell my dear mother," said she, "how much Harriet loved her: tell her to look to God and keep near to him; and he will support and comfort her under all her trials." Then thinking of her brothers and sisters, she said, "Tell them from the lips of their dying sister, that there is nothing but religion worth living for. Oh! exhort them to attend immediately to the care of their precious and immortal souls. Tell them not to delay repentance. Let my dear brothers and sisters know that I loved them to the last. I hope to meet them in heaven: but oh! if I should not"—Here she burst into tears, and was unable for the present to proceed further: her feelings, at the thought of an eternal separation from those she loved so dearly, were too big for utterance. As her dissolution approached, Mr Newell told her she could not survive another day. "O joyful news!" she replied, "I long to depart." Shortly after, when he asked her how death appeared to her now, she answered, "Glorious! truly welcome!" Thus died the amiable and accomplished Harriet Newell, at the early age of nineteen. Her cultivated understanding, her enlarged benevolence, her ardent piety, her cheerful fortitude, her active zeal, her entire devotedness to the cause of missions, had raised her high in the estimation of her Christian friends, and gave no ordinary promise of usefulness among the heathen;¹ yet mysterious as her early removal from the world may appear, it is not improbable, that her death con-

¹ Memoirs of Mrs Newell, pp. 167, 174.



tributed more to promote the glory of Christ among mankind, than would have been effected by her life, in consequence of the deep and general interest in the cause of missions, which was excited both in America and Britain by her interesting character, her affecting history, and her early death.

Messrs Hall and Nott intended following Mr Newell to the Isle of France; but during their stay at Calcutta, they received such information as led them to hope they might yet find it practicable to settle in some part of India. Having obtained a general passport from the police at Calcutta, they engaged a passage to Bombay, and were already contemplating their prospects with much satisfaction, when they met with a new and unexpected trial. After their luggage was on board the ship, they received notice from the police, that it was the will of government to have them conveyed to England, and that a passage would be provided for them in the fleet then under despatch. Having in vain used means to procure a repeal of this order, they resolved that as their passports were not revoked, they would go on board the vessel in which they had paid their passage, and in which they were regularly reported to the police as passengers, and there wait the event. The ship remained in the river a little below Calcutta, five or six days; and though the police-officers knew perfectly well where they were, they never inquired after them. Having at length put to sea, they flattered themselves that all danger was now over; but on arriving at Bombay, they found that a recommendation had already reached that presidency, from the supreme government in Bengal, to send them to England. By means, however, of a respectful memorial to Sir Evan Nepean, the governor, they not only succeeded in explaining the circumstances under which they had left Calcutta, but they so entirely satisfied him with regard to their designs, that he assured them of his disposition to render them every service in his power. He accordingly wrote a private letter to Lord Minto, the governor-general, with the view of removing any unfavourable impression which their abrupt departure from Calcutta might have made upon his mind, and of procuring permission for them to remain at Bombay, or to go unmolested to some other part of the world. By this letter, he seems to have satisfied his lordship with respect to the character and proceedings of the



missionaries; but as intelligence was in the meanwhile received of the commencement of hostilities between Britain and America, he considered himself as obliged by the orders he had received to send them to England. He wrote, however, once more in their behalf to Lord Minto; but yet he provided a passage for them on board a ship which was expected soon to sail.¹

Having in the meanwhile received various communications from Ceylon, encouraging them to come and settle on that island, the missionaries presented a memorial to Sir Evan Nepean, entreating that if they could not be allowed to remain in Bombay, they might be permitted to remove thither; but though the governor was personally anxious to grant their request, he did not feel himself at liberty to deviate from the letter of his instructions. The ship in which they were to proceed to England was now on the eve of sailing, and there appeared scarcely a gleam of hope of their being able to remain in the East. Having heard, however, of a vessel going to Cochin, and that she would give them a passage, if they could be ready to embark in four or five hours, they formed a sudden resolution to proceed by her, especially as they understood she would be able to convey them from thence to Ceylon. The ship, however, did not, on its arrival at Cochin, proceed immediately to Ceylon; and while they were waiting for a passage by some other conveyance, and just as one seemed to present itself, a cruiser arrived from Bombay with orders to bring them back to that presidency.

On returning to Bombay, they found Sir Evan Nepean much displeased with their private departure to Cochin, as, from the favour he had shewn them, it might subject him to censure from the supreme government for connivance or delinquency. In a respectful and able memorial, however, which they presented to him, they justified their procedure on the principle that the authority of Christ Jesus, under which they had been sent forth to preach the gospel to the heathen, was paramount to any civil authority which would frustrate or counteract their labours; and that, if prevented from prosecuting their mission in one place, they were expressly commanded by their Master "to flee to another." Though the governor was so far satisfied by this faithful appeal

¹ Panoplist, vol. ix. p. 129; vol. x. p. 182; vol. xi. p. 132.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1813, p. 130.—Ibid. 1814, pp. 5, 18.



to his understanding and conscience, as to allow them to leave the vessel in which they had returned to Bombay, he still considered himself as under the necessity of sending them to England by the first regular conveyance.¹

In the meanwhile, Earl Moira arrived in Bengal, as governor-general in the room of Lord Minto, and an application was made to him by the friends of the missionaries in that quarter, for permission to them to remain in Bombay. His lordship having manifested a favourable disposition toward them, private information of this was immediately transmitted to them; but though the intelligence was communicated to the governor, he still considered himself, as he had received no official notice of it, bound by his previous instructions and engagements to send them to Europe. Shortly after, they were informed that a passage was provided for them on board a vessel which was to sail within two days. On receiving this painful intelligence, they presented another memorial to the governor, as a last appeal to his conscience and heart, entreating him not to send them to England, by the consideration of the spiritual miseries of the heathen, who were daily perishing before his eyes and under his government, by the precious blood which Jesus shed to redeem them, by the solemn command He gave his servants to go and preach the gospel among all nations, by the grand solemnities of the Judgment-day, when he would meet his pagan subjects before the tribunal of God, and by other powerful arguments of a similar nature.

Having made this last effort to obtain liberty to remain in Bombay, until official notice of the intentions of the supreme government should be received from Bengal, they proceeded with their preparations for sailing to England. Their packages were ready; the porters had come to carry them away; the boats were engaged to convey them on board the ship; every thing, in short, was prepared for their departure.

Meanwhile, the last solemn appeal of the missionaries to the governor had made so powerful an impression on his mind, that though it was intended merely as a private communication to himself, as a man and a Christian, he was so kind as to lay it before the council, who agreed to allow them to remain at Bombay, until further instructions regarding them should be re-

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1814, pp. 9, 24, 30, 32.



ceived from Calcutta. Distressed as they were previously, this intelligence raised their drooping spirits, and filled them with wonder, gratitude, and joy. The whole matter, and the correspondence connected with it, was laid before the Court of Directors in England, and they were on the point of sending despatches to India, censuring all their servants, civil and ecclesiastical, who had in any way abetted the proceedings of the missionaries, and requiring the removal of the latter from the country. At this critical juncture, that early and steadfast friend of missions, Charles Grant, Esq., who was then one of the directors, drew up an apology for the missionaries from their own documents then before the court, which happily satisfied them, and led them, in their despatches to the governor, to leave him at liberty to allow them to remain should he think fit. Sir Evan accordingly communicated to Mr Hall his permission to them to remain in the country, with an expression of his cordial wishes for the success of their labours.¹ We cannot close this account without expressing our admiration of the wisdom and prudence, the decision and fortitude, the patience and devotedness of the missionaries, under these trying and difficult circumstances. At the same time, much praise is due to Sir Evan Nepean for the magnanimity, candour, and kindness which he manifested in the whole course of his conduct toward them. The successful issue of this critical and long unequal struggle was a signal interposition of Divine Providence on behalf of the cause of Christian missions, and particularly as carried on by the Churches of America. This was the first mission which our American brethren had sent to a foreign land; the spirit of missions was as yet scarcely kindled among them; and had this their earliest attempt been crushed in its infancy, and the missionaries been sent back whence they came, it is impossible to say what might have been the effect of this upon the churches of that vast continent, which since that time have made such distinguished and such successful efforts for the evangelization of the world.

At Bombay, Messrs Hall and Nott were joined by Mr Newell, who, after the death of his wife, had proceeded to Ceylon, and afterwards by other missionaries from America. In carrying on their labours among the natives they pursued much the same

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1814, pp. 9, 24, 30, 32.—Ibid. 1816, p. 6.—Bardwell's Memoir of Gordon Hall, p. 73.



course as was common in other missions; and it is therefore not necessary that we should enter into much detail on the subject.

In March 1817, they commenced printing operations by the printing of a small Scripture tract of eight pages. There were then no means of printing the Scriptures, tracts, or school-books in the Marathi language in all western India; there was, consequently, a necessity for establishing a press in connexion with the mission. It was small in its beginnings, but the call from time to time for increased means of printing gradually led to the extension of the establishment, until it became at length an enlarged and powerful engine for diffusing Christianity and useful knowledge in this part of India. It had eight printing presses in use, ten native founts of type, and had the means of printing to any extent in Marathi, Gujarati, Hindustani, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Zend, Pehlvi, and English, besides several small founts of type in other languages, for printing extracts, quotations, or criticisms. A lithographic press, a type-foundry, and a book-bindery, were also connected with the establishment. It did the work not only of the American mission, but also of other missions on that side of India; and it was likewise extensively employed by the Bombay Bible Society, the Bombay Tract and Book Society, and by other religious and benevolent institutions. The printing establishment was conducted with so much system and economy that it came to be no expense to the Board.¹

In March 1824, the missionaries established a female school in Bombay, under the care of a competent female teacher named Gunga, the first which is known to have been established on that side of India; but within about two months the cholera visited the island with terrible violence, and among the thousands who fell victims to it was the schoolmistress Gunga. The school was at once broken up, as they knew of no one qualified to fill her place. When we consider the prejudices which the native female had to break through, and the obloquy which she had to brave in engaging in such an employment; and also that the Hindu Shastras denounce misfortunes, early widowhood, and early death to the female who dares to teach or to learn to read, this could not but appear a dark and mysterious providence, particularly as the

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1817, p. 8.—Ibid. 1844, p. 151.—Ibid. 1845, p. 127.—Ibid. 1848, p. 178.



Hindus might not unnaturally, according to their views, conclude that it was a judgment upon her for her wickedness and temerity.¹

The attempt to establish female schools was afterwards renewed. A number were opened which were attended by upwards of 500 girls, several of them the daughters of Brahmans, and many others of high caste. The experiment was thought to have succeeded beyond the expectations of those who were acquainted with the difficulties attending it. The opposition which formerly existed to female education appeared to be gradually dying away. Still, however, it was but lightly esteemed, even by those parents who thought most favourably of it; while many, and they not unfrequently the great and the learned, retained in undiminished force all their old prejudices against it. Here, as in many other parts of India, female schools did not fulfil the sanguine hopes that were early formed of them. For some years past they have been on the decline; and the number of girls now attending them is very small. The schools for boys were also at an early period more numerous than they are now, and were attended by many more scholars. It would, however, have been easy to increase the number of schools for both boys and girls, as the missionaries often had applications to establish others; but they judged it best not to have more schools than could be frequently visited and effectually superintended. Unless they were often inspected, it was found impossible to prevent many heathenish and idolatrous practices being followed, and improper books being read and copied in them.²

In December 1831, Messrs Graves, Hervey, and Read, commenced a new station at Ahmednuggur in the Deccan. Other stations are occupied at Seroor, Sattara, and Kolapur; and besides these there are several out-stations.³

In March 1847, the Old Testament in the Marathi language was completed at the American Mission press, Bombay. The New Testament, translated by the American missionaries, was originally printed twenty years before. The Old Testament now printed was translated partly by one of their number, Mr Graves,

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxi. p. 136.

² Miss. Her. vol. xxiii. p. 181; vol. xxv. p. 85; vol. xxxvi. p. 497. Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, p. 39.—Ibid. 1845, p. 129.—Ibid. 1852, p. 95.

³ Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 323.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, pp. 93, 97, 99.



and partly by the Rev. J. B. Dixon, of the Church Missionary Society. The whole underwent in the present edition a thorough revision by a committee of the Bombay Bible Society, consisting of missionaries of different denominations, and other gentlemen acquainted with the Marathi language.¹ Much care appears to have been taken upon the version; though, from the extent of country over which the Marathi language is spoken, and the diversities of dialect which probably prevail in it, it may not be found everywhere equally intelligible. This, in fact, is a disadvantage which will commonly attend all languages spoken by a numerous and diversified population, especially those in which there is no considerable popular literature; and hence arises a strong temptation to make new translations into mere dialects, instead of confining them, as should generally be done, to languages.

In 1852, the whole number of persons received in Bombay into Christian fellowship since the commencement of the mission, was about sixty, and the members were then twenty. A number had died, and some had been excluded. In the same year, the communicants at Ahmednuggur were 115.²

It is perhaps commonly thought that there is less hope of the conversion of Brahmans than of other Hindu castes. But on this side of India, the number of Brahman converts bore a good proportion to that of the other classes. The Brahmans, it is true, are more proud, but they are also less stupid and ignorant, and are better able to understand the statements of divine truth, and the force of an argument. There is less danger of spurious conversions among them than among other castes; they have less to expect, and more to lose, by a profession of Christianity. If converted, they may, as a general thing, be expected to become much more useful than others. They are better qualified intellectually to engage in missionary labours among their countrymen; they have more decision of character, and are less likely to become lukewarm Christians than the lower classes.³

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xliii. p. 274.

² Rep. Board For. Miss. 1846, p. 133.—Ibid. 1847, p. 128.—Ibid. 1848, p. 170.—Ibid. 1849, p. 137.—Ibid. 1852, p. 25.—Ibid. 1853, p. 95.

³ Miss. Her. vol. iv. p. 370.



ART. 2.—MADRAS—MADURA—ARCOT.

IN July 1834, the Rev. Henry R. Hoisington and William Todd commenced a station at Madura in the south of India. This became the centre of an extended system of operations in that part of the country, other stations being established in Dindigul, Tirupuvanam, Sivagunga, Tirumungalum, Periaculum, Pasumalie, and Mandapasalie.¹

In 1836, the Rev. Mirom Winslow and John Scudder, M.D. removed from Ceylon, where they had been engaged for many years in missionary labours, to Madras, with a particular view to the establishment of a printing press in that city, for the purpose of supplying the stations in the south of India with copies of the Holy Scriptures, and other books and tracts. Two years afterwards the mission purchased the extensive printing establishment of the Church Missionary Society in that city, consisting of eighteen printing presses, a lithographic press, a hydraulic press, about sixteen founts of types, English, Tamul, and Telugu, a type-foundery, and also a book-bindery. The printing establishment in Madras became eventually one of the most valuable connected with missions in India. A large amount of printing was executed at it, not only on account of the missions of the Board in the south of India, but also on account of other societies.²

In the Madura, or southern mission, the people in many villages offered to renounce their idols, and to place themselves under the instruction of the missionaries; but it must not be supposed that this generally arose from any knowledge of Christianity, or any serious impression of divine truth on their minds. The state of the native mind, among both Hindu and Romanists in this part of India, appeared to be such that the missionaries might have had as many villages to instruct as they could take under their care; but in some instances, when they were not able, from the inadequacy of their numbers, to take them immediately under instruction, the people returned to heathenism or Popery. Hinduism appears to sit more lightly

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxxi. p. 179.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1852, p. 103.

² Rep. Board For. Miss. 1837, p. 73.—Ibid. 1848, p. 178.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. p. 484.—Ibid. vol. xliii. p. 281.—Ibid. vol. xlv. p. 390.



on many of the inhabitants of the south of India than of other parts of the country; but, as we have already stated in our account of other missions in Tinnevely and Travancore, the great mass of those who professed to renounce their idols, and to place themselves under Christian instruction, did so, in the first instance, in the hope of obtaining some temporal good; and on finding themselves disappointed in this, many afterwards fell away. Still, however, it was encouraging to the missionaries that so many in their village congregations continued to receive their instructions. Considering the great amount of influence which was brought to bear against Christianity, it was wonderful that they were willing, while yet unregenerated, to listen statedly to truths so much opposed to their long-cherished opinions and customs. The congregations were in general very small; but a knowledge of the truths of the gospel made evident progress among them. ¹

In 1852, the number of communicants connected with the several stations of the Madura mission, was 335, and the persons under instruction amounted to 3746. In the Madras mission, the members of the churches were only forty-two; and in that of Arcot, which had only been lately established, there appear to have been three. ²

ART. 3.—CEYLON.

In October 1815, the Rev. Messrs Warren, Meigs, Richards, and Poor, sailed for Ceylon, and on their arrival at Colombo they met with a cordial reception from Sir Robert Brownrigg, the governor, Sir Alexander Johnston, the chief-justice, and other distinguished persons. Having received permission from the governor to establish a mission in Jaffnapatam, the northern district of the island, Messrs Warren and Poor settled at Tillipally, and Messrs Meigs and Richards at Batticotta, which were about seven or eight miles distant from each other. At each of these places there was a large church, though without a roof, and a dwelling-house, to which were attached three or four acres of land, containing a variety of fruit-trees. The churches and

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xlv. p. 103; vol. xlv. p. 48; vol. xlviii. p. 167.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 189.

² Miss. Her. vol. xlix. pp. 167, 169.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, pp. 101, 104.



mansion-houses were built by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. Of these, and similar buildings and glebes in several other parishes, the missionaries received a grant from the British government.¹ The following table shews the principal stations established by them:—

Begun.	Stations.
1816.	Tillipally.
1816.	Batticotta.
1820.	Oodooville.
1820.	Panditeripo.
1821.	Manepy.
1834.	Chavagachery. ²

In August 1820, Mr James Garret, who had been sent out to take charge of a printing establishment in connexion with the mission, landed in Ceylon; but on his arrival being reported, Sir Edward Barnes, the lieutenant-governor, gave notice that government did not deem it proper to allow of any increase of the American missionaries on the island, and issued an order that he should leave it within three months. The missionaries presented a respectful memorial to him, in which they stated that the mission had been established with the permission and encouragement of Sir Robert Brownrigg, the late governor, and that he had also authorised them to establish a printing press. They likewise gave him an account of their labours among the natives, with the view of shewing him their utility, in the hope that he might yet grant Mr Garret permission to settle on the island, or at least allow him to remain until the result of an application to the home government for leave of residence should be known; but Sir Edward was inexorable, and would not even allow of an extension of the time for his departure, which was requested on the ground of the difficulty of leaving the island during the rainy season, which was then at hand. He himself probably made a representation on the subject to the home government, for an injunction was subsequently received from the Secretary for the Colonies against any additions being made in future to the mission. This restriction was in force eleven years, and might have

¹ Panoplist, vol. ii. p. 533.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1817, p. 10.—Ibid. 1818, p. 10.

² Rep. Board For. Miss. 1817, p. 13.—Ibid. 1821, p. 38.—Ibid. 1822, p. 32.—Ibid. 1834, p. 77.—Ibid. 1835, p. 62.



proved the extinction of the mission; but, in the good providence of God, none of the missionaries previously in health were removed by death, or permanently disabled through sickness.¹

Though the number of stations was increased in the course of a few years, yet the system of the missionaries was rather to cultivate a little ground well, than to scatter their labours over a great extent of country. This, we are satisfied, is a wise policy. We are far from disapproving of missionaries itinerating occasionally through the surrounding country, and even to distant places; but yet, we apprehend, they should, for the most part, concentrate their labours within bounds which they can constantly and thoroughly cultivate. Much effort has been expended to little purpose in distant and desultory labours.²

The education of the young was an object to which the missionaries directed special attention. They established week-day schools for both boys and girls, in which many thousands of children received a common education. Though there were, as in India, strong prejudices among the natives against the education of girls, yet these were, after some years, partially removed, and a thousand or twelve hundred girls might be found attending the week-day schools. The American missionaries in Ceylon entertained much more favourable views of week-day schools than many missionaries in India; hence the enlarged scale on which they carried them on.

They also established boarding-schools for both boys and

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1820, p. 25.—Ibid. 1821, pp. 34, 168.—Mémorial of Mrs Winslow; London: 1838; p. 135.

Sir Edward said, he wished to see only missionaries of the Church of England employed in converting the natives; but if they were proved to be insufficient in point of numbers (there were only *four* on the island, while the population is stated to be 1,421,631!) he "would prefer," next to them, the Wesleyan missionaries, "rather than have recourse to foreign aid for that purpose."—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1821, p. 172. Whether Sir Edward cared much for any class of missionaries is, perhaps, doubtful. We cannot, at least, forget the countenance which he gave to idolatry in Ceylon.—See vol. i. p. 19.

In 1831 Sir Robert Wilmot Horton came out as governor of Ceylon, and soon after his arrival he gave permission for other missionaries to be sent from America. He also granted the missionaries liberty to establish their printing press. From that time the mission received all due countenance and encouragement from government, and also from persons in high official situations, both in Ceylon and in England.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1833, pp. 59, 66.—Ibid. 1844, p. 169.—Ibid. 1845, p. 152.—Ibid. 1848, p. 202.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxix. p. 33; vol. xxx. pp. 109, 351; vol. xxxiv. p. 284.

² *Miss. Her.* vol. xxiv. p. 302; vol. xxviii. p. 145.



girls, the expense of their board being provided for by contributions, specifically appropriated by the donors to this object. In these the children were removed from the corrupting influences of heathen society, and enjoyed, in a great degree, the advantages of living in a Christian family. It was at first difficult to get the natives to give up their children to the care of the missionaries. They were suspicious of their designs, and could not understand how mere benevolence could induce men of another and a distant nation to come among them, and feed, clothe, and educate their children; but their views became so changed, that parents were anxious to have, not only their sons, but even their daughters, received into them; and they, as well as the girls themselves, were sadly disappointed when, the number of pupils being limited, their application could not be granted. Even the prejudices of caste gave way to a great extent, and the children cheerfully consented to prepare and eat their food on the mission premises. The boarding-schools were, after some years, considerably modified. Those for girls were concentrated in a seminary at Oodooville, while those for boys were concentrated in a similar institution at Tillipally, and a new arrangement was made in regard to it. English day-schools were also established at most of the stations.¹

The missionaries proposed establishing a college for the instruction of Tamil and other youth in the literature of the country, and also in the English language, and the elements of European science; but though the plan met with much encouragement, the government, which was then unfriendly to the mission, would not sanction the establishment of a college, alleging, that if a higher seminary were instituted, it should be under the direction of teachers from England. They had therefore to content themselves for the present with establishing a central school at Batticotta, with a special view to the training up of native teachers and preachers. The course of education in this institution came afterwards to be much extended and improved, embracing the English, Tamil, and Sanskrit languages, history, geography, arithmetic, mathematics, astronomy, natural philosophy, chemistry,

¹ Winslow's Mem. pp. 165, 291.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1818, p. 10.—Ibid. 1821, p. 184.—Ibid. 1834, p. 79.—Ibid. 1840, p. 125.—Ibid. 1847, p. 156.—Miss. Her. vol. xix. p. 62; vol. xxxvii. p. 89; vol. xl. pp. 84, 85.



mineralogy, logic, and theology. It is not unworthy of notice that a decided partiality was generally manifested by the pupils for mathematical and astronomical studies. Much of the instruction given in the institution was by native teachers, who had themselves been educated in it; but experience weakened the confidence of the missionaries in the native assistants, as thorough and faithful instructors in either science or morals. The number of pupils educated in the seminary was considerable. Many of them were taken into the service of the mission, or of other missions, as teachers and helpers, and several were licensed as preachers. Some were in the service of government, and in other respectable situations. The natives, seeing the advantages which were derived from being educated in the seminary, were anxious to get their sons into it; and arrangements were made for their providing the clothing of the pupils, and paying for their board, which was a very important step towards placing education upon its natural and healthy basis,—the efforts of the people themselves. There was an increasing disposition on the part of parents, not only to incur expense, but to compromise established customs, and even caste itself, in order to obtain such an education as was given in the seminary, as it presented new openings for young men to improve their condition in life.¹

The native churches were, in a great measure, the offspring of the school establishments, more especially of the boarding-

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1826, p. 41.—Ibid. 1833, p. 63.—Ibid. 1837, p. 148.—Ibid. 1841, p. 133.—Ibid. 1844, p. 175.—Ibid. 1845, p. 150.—Ibid. 1846, p. 153.—Ibid. 1847, p. 155. Miss. Her. vol. xxvii. p. 71; vol. xxxiii. p. 329; vol. xli. p. 23; vol. xliii. p. 354.

The seminary was attended with many difficulties, and it was sometimes very perplexing how to meet them.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxi. p. 216. In 1843, very painful discoveries were made relative to a considerable portion of the pupils. After a protracted and thorough investigation, it was found that attendance on heathen dances, the secret practice of unnatural sins, the seduction and corruption of the younger boys, lying, and deception, had become fearfully prevalent in the seminary; and what added greatly to the grief and disappointment of the missionaries, was the fact, that not a few of the church members, nearly the whole of the select class, and some of the native teachers, were not only implicated as conniving at these evils, but had in some instances taken a leading part in them. Prompt and efficient measures were immediately adopted. The whole select class, and sixty-one from the other classes, were sent away. The teachers implicated were also dismissed; and from those who were retained, most of the responsibility before devolved on them was transferred to the missionaries.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1844, p. 174. The severe discipline exercised on this occasion, which produced for a time only murmurs and complaints, appeared to increase ultimately the confidence of the natives in the institution.—*Ibid.* 1845, p. 151.



schools and the seminary. Considerable accessions were also received from among the teachers, the domestics, and others, in the employment of the mission. It appears that, with a very few exceptions, the members of the churches were gathered, not from the general mass of the people, but from certain select classes, who had been brought under the influence of prospective worldly advantages, and who, in many instances, improved their condition in life by making a profession of Christianity. This is a startling fact, and throws a degree of doubt on a profession of religion made under such circumstances. It is also a somewhat startling circumstance, that a large number of the admissions was of young persons between ten and fifteen years of age.¹ There were, at several successive periods, what were considered as revivals of religion in connexion with the mission. They were chiefly, though not entirely, confined to the boarding-schools and seminary. Many of the pupils, both boys and girls, it is stated, were much affected; numbers were convinced of their sinfulness, and of their need of a Saviour; and not a few, it was hoped, experienced a change of heart. It was as the fruit of these revivals that a large portion of the youthful members were added to the church, a circumstance which does not increase our confidence in the genuineness of their conversion; as in seasons of general religious excitement there are commonly many whose goodness passeth away as the "morning cloud, and as the early dew." At the same time, we feel much pleasure in stating that the missionaries appear to have looked specially to the piety of those whom they received, justly regarding credible evidence of "repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ," as an essential requisite for admission as members of the church. They felt that the great danger of self-deception as to personal piety, the sinister motives which might induce those in a state of dependence upon them to make an empty profession of Christianity, and the evils which result from filling the church with members who have "a name to live while they are dead," rendered much caution necessary in the admission of persons to Christian communion.²

¹ Up to 1839 the admissions were 492. Of these one was nine years of age, and 165 between ten and fifteen, or one-third of the whole. Other 148 were between fifteen and twenty, making together 314.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1840, p. 124.

Miss. Her. vol. xxi. pp. 27, 79, 348; vol. xxii. pp. 105, 274; vol. xxiii. p. 333



There is one peculiarity in the circumstances of the church members connected with the American mission in Ceylon which is not unworthy of notice, as compared with those of converts in most parts of India. On the continent one of the great trials of converts arises out of the difficulty of their obtaining a livelihood after they renounce the religion of their forefathers; but here most of the church members were educated men, whose services were in demand, and whose worldly prospects were inferior to those of none in the province. Their temptations in this direction were peculiar, and some, it was feared, while they gained the world, lost their souls.¹

As the raising up of a native agency has become of late years a special object of attention to missionaries in nearly every part of the world, we think it is of importance to note the results of attempts of this kind. In few missions have efforts for this end been carried on for a greater length of time, or perhaps, on the whole, in a more efficient manner, than in the American mission in Ceylon; but yet they do not appear to have realised the expectations which were entertained in regard to the number, and still less, perhaps, as to the quality, of the native agents raised up by them. In 1843, Mr Meigs, one of the first missionaries, and who had then been twenty-seven years engaged in the mission, thus writes, after returning from a visit to America:—"Many circumstances have occurred, since my return to Ceylon, which have greatly diminished my confidence in our native agents, both in respect to their fidelity, and the amount of good which we expected to accomplish by their instrumentality. The truth is, the people are not yet prepared to receive them, and to appreciate the labours of those who are faithful. Some of them, the people see by their conduct, are hollow-hearted, and serve us merely for the sake of their wages; and being habitually jealous of each other, they easily persuade themselves that none of our native assistants act from any higher motive. Hence, I have come to the conclusion, that I must preach more myself, and depend less on our native assistants than I had hoped to do. It

vol. xxvii. pp. 204, 269, 371; vol. xxviii. p. 144; vol. xxxi. p. 285; vol. xxxii. pp. 85, 141; vol. xxxiii. p. 326; vol. xl. pp. 89, 128; vol. xlvii. p. 50.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1840, p. 124.—Ibid. 1844, p. 170.

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 203.



is truly painful to come to this conclusion; but stubborn facts have forced it upon me. Our prospects of raising up efficient and faithful native preachers, in any considerable number, is by no means so fair as I expected it would be."¹ It even appears that the Mission Board in America were in doubt as to the plan of operation, in consequence of its failure in raising up a trustworthy native ministry, and in operating on the masses of the people.²

We have already seen that the missionaries directed much attention, and that in a variety of forms, to the education of the young; and it appears that a majority of the converts were the fruit of their schools; but it is of importance to know, also, how far they were a failure. In 1850, Mr Scudder, after mentioning that it was his regular practice to go out into the surrounding villages, visiting the people from house to house, and preaching the gospel in the houses and in the streets, as he found persons willing to hear, thus writes:—"It appears to me that too much importance cannot be attached to this form of preaching in the present state of progress among us. A whole generation have grown up since Christian schools were established among the people; and the land is filled with those who have in truth committed to memory the great truths of the Christian religion. Many of them have reached manhood, have settled down in different villages of our parishes, and are rearing families around them. Although these persons have been educated in our schools, they do not, so far as my observation extends, discover any particular disposition to attend at our places of worship, or to inquire more diligently after 'the truth as it is in Jesus.' Still, from the fact that they have been instructed in the doctrines of the Bible, and that the Spirit operates through the truth, they seem to be the most hopeful subjects for the saving power of God's grace. They must be reached, or the great object of those who laboured to instruct them will be lost; and I feel that the way to reach the great body of them, is to go from village to village, and from house to house, with the gospel message. It is to me a most trying work. I meet with much opposition among the people. Every boy of sixteen years old is acquainted with the common objections to Christianity, as well as with the popular arguments in favour of their own system.

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xl. p. 89.

² Tennant's Christianity in Ceylon, p. 183.



Being naturally fond of debate, the people, so far as my experience extends, are always ready to enter upon a discussion. They, however, usually treat me with politeness, and I generally secure an attentive hearing of my message before I leave them."¹

It is a melancholy fact, that many of those educated in the seminary and the boarding-schools, including some who at one time were very promising, and were even members of the church, afterwards apostatised, and returned to heathenism.²

In 1852, the whole number of members of the several churches connected with the mission was 385. There were many circumstances in the state of the mission which were peculiarly encouraging, and which promised to be sources of strength. It possessed an educated church, a large proportion of the members having been educated in the mission seminary and boarding-schools, and the remainder, with scarcely an exception, in the free schools. The majority of the members belonged to the most influential classes of society, and were extensively connected with the great body of the people; and the position of the families in the villages, and their privileges as owners of the soil, gave them means of aiding in the establishment of Christian institutions upon a firm and permanent basis. In some cases there was also seen the happy influence of Christian friends and relations. The number of cases was increasing in which many of a family were Christians, and where the current of family influence was no longer heathen, but Christian.

There was a considerable and well-educated native agency employed in the mission, some as catechists and others as teachers in the male and female seminaries, and the numerous vernacular and English schools. Most of the catechists were virtually preachers, though not so denominated, and were directly engaged in evangelical labours among the people, going from house to house, and from village to village, reading and distributing tracts and portions of Scripture, conversing with the people, and often addressing congregations; and it is an encouraging circumstance that the people were more ready than heretofore to assemble to hear the gospel preached by their own countrymen. Many of them were well qualified for their work, of long ex-

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xlv. p. 292.

² Miss. Her. vol. xlv. pp. 293, 365; vol. xlviii. pp. 99, 343.





perience, and of tried devotion, and were very valuable assistants. There were now, also, many in the villages who had received so much knowledge of divine truth in the mission schools as to be intelligent hearers, and all classes were accessible. Neither caste nor any other form of heathenism excluded the missionary or the catechist from the houses of the natives. It is worthy of observation, that much of the present pleasing and promising aspect of the mission was the fruit of this variously organized and efficiently conducted system of schools, which from the commencement of the mission formed so marked a feature of it.¹

SECT. II.—SUMATRA.

IN June 1833, the Rev. S. Munson and H. Lyman sailed for Batavia, with the view of exploring, in the first instance, the islands of the Indian Archipelago, especially the Malayan group, and acquiring information in regard to them, particularly as fields for missionary labour.²

In April 1834, they sailed with this view from Batavia to Padang, a Dutch settlement in Sumatra, and after visiting some other places, they undertook a journey into the Batta country, which constitutes nearly half the island. They were accompanied by a number of coolies to carry their baggage, an interpreter, and one or two other natives. The road soon became exceedingly difficult, the country consisting of hills and ravines, covered by thick forests. So steep were the hills in many places, that they were obliged to ascend them by means of rattans tied to the tops of rocks. The thickets, too, were dense; but they sheltered them from the burning sun. It was only at the end of each day's journey that they fell in with any thing like a village; they found no scattered houses, and they met but few natives in the course of the day. On arriving in a village, they were immediately surrounded by numbers of natives, men, women, and children, who shewed no sort of timidity, but came boldly up to them and examined their persons and dress with great curiosity. On the

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, pp. 113, 115, 116.

These last statements do not appear to quadrature well with the accounts immediately preceding, but we think it best to give both, as we doubt not there is truth in both.

² Miss. Her. vol. xxix. p. 256.



sixth day, about four o'clock in the afternoon, they came suddenly upon a log fort in which were a number of men armed with muskets, spears, and other weapons. They had advanced within about a hundred yards of it when about two hundred of these armed natives appeared coming upon them. The coolies immediately threw down their burdens and fled; the interpreter also disappeared. The Battas came on, shouting and brandishing their weapons in a very threatening manner. The missionaries pushed their weapons aside with their hands, and begged them to wait a little till they could come to an explanation. Mr Lyman then desired Si Jan, one of their own attendants, to call the interpreter, and he accordingly ran a short way to call him, but not seeing him he turned round to go back, when he heard the report of a musket, and saw Mr Lyman fall. The Battas shouted; the shout was returned from the fort, and a rush was made upon Mr Munson, who was immediately pierced through with a spear, and fell. Another shout followed. The cook was the next victim. On seeing the fate of the missionaries he attempted to escape, but was pursued and cut down by a cleaver. Si Jan now ran for his life, secreted himself in a thicket, and at length found his way to Tapanooly, a Dutch settlement on the coast. The wives of the two missionaries had remained behind them at Batavia, and it is not easy to describe their feelings when the sad tidings of the death of their husbands reached them.

The murder of Messrs Lyman and Munson was considered as the result of accidental circumstances, not as a catastrophe which is to be expected in travelling through the Batta country. It is stated that the Battas of the fort having had a quarrel with a neighbouring village, and seeing two strangers of an unusual appearance with a number of followers, attacked and killed them under the influence of those warlike passions which such a state of things is so apt to kindle in the savage breast. When it became known to the villages around, that they were good men and had come to do the Batta nation good, they leagued together and attacked the village of the murderers, set fire to their houses, laid waste their fields and gardens, and killed as many of them as they could.¹

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxxi. p. 98; vol. xxxiv. p. 434.



In June 1836, the Rev. Messrs Doly, Ennis, Nevins, and Youngblood sailed for Batavia, with the view of commencing a mission in some part of the Indian Archipelago; but the Dutch government of Java passed a resolution that no missionary from any foreign country should be permitted to establish himself anywhere in Netherlands India, except on the island of Borneo, and even the permission to settle there was accompanied with several vexatious restrictions and conditions. They had, therefore, no choice but to proceed to Borneo.¹

SECT. III.—BORNEO.

In 1839, the Rev. Messrs Doly, Nevins, and Youngblood proceeded to Borneo, with the view of commencing a mission in that island. Mr Doly took up his residence at a place called Sambas, near the western extremity of the island; and Messrs Nevins and Youngblood at Pontianak. The station at Sambas was afterwards given up, and a new one was begun at a village named Karangou, in the interior, about eighty miles from Pontianak.²

The native inhabitants of Borneo were called Dyaks; but besides them there were great numbers of Chinese, Malays, and Bugis from the island of Celebes. The Dyaks and Chinese were the chief objects of the mission; but after some years, when China was opened to foreigners, the Chinese branch of the mission was given up, and the missionaries engaged in it removed to the Celestial Empire itself. The Dyaks are among the simplest of nature's children; they live scattered through the country in small villages, and they frequently remove from place to place, seldom remaining more than a few years in the same quarter. It was often very difficult to reach their villages, the paths were so obscurely marked, so little trodden, and so devious in their course, and led not unfrequently over dangerous precipices and

¹ It was afterwards found that the exclusion of all foreigners from the interior of the Dutch possessions in the East, was a settled principle of state policy with the government of Holland.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1842, pp. 167, 221. Mr Tracy states that this did not arise from any hostility to missions, but from causes which would not be suspected by any person not minutely acquainted with the politics of Europe and India.—*Tracy's History*, p. 383. What these causes were he does not state, and we are unable to conjecture them.

² *Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1840, p. 143.—*Ibid.* 1843, p. 141.



cliffs, along deep ravines, and across rivers or streams. The missionaries spoke of them at first as an interesting people; but, as is usually the case as to heathen nations, after attaining a more thorough knowledge of them, they painted them in the darkest colours. They found them a poor, ignorant, debased, wretched race. They had not, so far as was known, any system of religious belief. No idols or temples were found among them; of a supreme Ruler of the universe, and his attributes, they had scarcely any conception; yet they were very superstitious, believing in invisible beings who presided over the woods, fields, and waters. They were ground down to the dust by the Malays, who appeared to have the rule over them, and many of the faults of their character probably arose out of the system of oppression under which they lived.¹

Many were the difficulties and trials which the missionaries experienced in labouring among the Dyaks. Though they were commonly well received by them, yet they shewed little interest in their message, and after some years, there appeared a settled and growing apathy among them on the subject of religion. With some knowledge of the truths of the gospel, there was the most perfect indifference to them. The missionaries tried to establish schools for the children, but the number who attended was small, though the few who came appeared much interested in their lessons. Appearances were at times promising, and occasionally they were ready to conclude that they had overcome all their difficulties, when suddenly their hopes were once more blasted. Many annoyances and embarrassments were thrown in their way by the Dutch resident on the island; ² and Malay influence also

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 260; vol. xlii. p. 97.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1843, p. 140.—Ibid. 1845, p. 162.

² The missionaries made a respectful yet dignified representation to the Governor of Java relative to the restrictions and annoyances to which they were subjected by the resident. A favourable answer was returned to their appeal, and he subsequently treated them in a friendly manner.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, pp. 192, 257.—Miss. Her. vol. xl. p. 307; vol. xli. p. 54; vol. xlii. p. 95. The restrictions in regard to missions in the Dutch dominions in the East, were such that the Board was doubtful as to the duty of continuing the mission in Borneo; and the Rev. Dr Ferris was sent from America to Holland with the view of getting all practicable information on the subject, and at the same time conciliating the Dutch government. He did not succeed in getting the restrictions wholly removed, but the Minister for the Colonies assured him that directions would be forwarded to the colonial authorities to give all countenance and facilities to the mission in Borneo.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1842, pp. 167, 221.



proved a powerful hindrance to their usefulness. They and their families were also severely tried by sickness and the loss of health. Some had on this account to leave the island, while others sank into an untimely grave. Yet, amidst all their trials and discouragements, those who survived and remained in the field still kept up a deep interest in the miserable and degraded Dyaks, and were anxious to labour on, in the belief that God would order all well, and not without the hope that He might yet grant success to the mission. But at length the whole of the missionaries were removed from the scene of their labours by disease and death, with the exception of Mr Steele, and it was deemed advisable that he also should leave the island and return to America; partly on account of the state of his health, and partly with the view of testing the expediency of continuing the mission by the success or failure of his efforts to create an interest in Borneo as a field of missions, and to obtain men for the work.¹ His efforts for this purpose proved ineffective, and so the mission was given up.

SECT. IV.—CHINA.

In October 1829, the Rev. E. C. Bridgman and David Abeel sailed for Canton, and they were afterwards followed by other missionaries; but the difficulties in the way of missionary efforts in China were found to be so many and so great, that it was deemed advisable to have a station beyond the bounds of the Celestial Empire, where they might be carried on without hindrance or danger of interruption.²

In July 1834, the Rev. Mr Tracy removed from Canton to Singapore, and other missionaries having been sent thither, a considerable establishment was formed at that settlement. It was designed to sustain a common relation to all the missions of the Board in eastern Asia, particularly for printing books, and for the distribution of them in the neighbouring countries, by means of the numerous junks and other vessels which frequent

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xl. p. 308; vol. xlii. p. 95; vol. xliii. p. 316.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1847, p. 173.—Ibid. 1848, p. 224.—Ibid. 1849, p. 162.—Ibid. 1852, p. 118.

² Miss. Her. vol. xxv. p. 364.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1847, p. 160.

that port, and also as the seat of a seminary for the education of Chinese, Siamese, Bugis, and Malay youths, with the view of raising up a native agency. The Board purchased an extensive printing establishment, and also a type-foundry, which belonged to the Rev. Mr Thomson, of the London Missionary Society. The printing of Chinese books was now entirely transferred to Singapore, though the materials were sent thither from China. The station was commenced on a scale and with expectations which subsequent events and researches did not justify; and after it had been continued six or seven years, the Board resolved on relinquishing it.¹ A mission was also commenced at Bankok, the capital of Siam, with a view partly to the Siamese and partly to the Chinese, who are settled in great numbers in that country; but after being carried on for a considerable number of years, it was given up.

In July 1837, Dr Parker and Messrs Williams and Gutzlaff embraced an opportunity which was presented to them of making a voyage to Japan, in the hope of ascertaining the prospects of missions in that country, which had hitherto been considered as still more effectually sealed against the entrance of the gospel than China itself. Seven Japanese sailors, who had been shipwrecked at sea, had arrived at Macao; and the house of Messrs Olyphant and Company resolved to despatch a ship to Yedo, the capital of Japan, with the benevolent view of restoring them to their native land, and at the same time ascertaining what prospects there might be of establishing a commercial intercourse with that country. On arriving in the bay on which Yedo lies, the Japanese sailors were delighted at seeing again their native land, and hoped to be shortly restored to their friends. Many fishing-boats came around the ship, and numbers of the natives came on board; but among them there was no one who appeared to be an officer of government, though a request to this effect, written both in Chinese and Japanese, was repeatedly sent on shore. There was, however, the firing of cannon from a neighbouring fort, the balls falling into the water at the distance of half a

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1835, p. 68.—Ibid. 1836, p. 74.—Ibid. 1837, pp. 89, 92.—Ibid. 1839, p. 122.—Ibid. 1840, p. 140.—Ibid. 1841, p. 144.—Miss. Her. vol. xxx. p. 311.

² Abel's Journal of a Residence in China, p. 202.—Miss. Her. vol. xxix. p. 257.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1850, p. 156.



league; and during the following night cannon were brought from the fort, and planted on the shore, opposite to where the ship lay at anchor. As the morning dawned, a firing was opened upon her. Orders were immediately given to weigh anchor, it being presumed the Japanese would be satisfied when they saw her getting under way. A white flag was hoisted to no purpose, but they fired faster than before. "Unaccustomed," says Dr Parker, "to hear the whizzing of cannon-balls, ourselves being the target, the effect upon our company is not easily described. The balls flew fiercely around us, fell into the water a few lengths of the ship short of us, passed over and beyond us, through the rigging, and one perforated a port-hole about mid-ship, pierced two deck planks, glanced and passed through the thick sides of the long-boat, and bounded into the water. After the anchor was up, and the ship under sail, there was a momentary panic, on the captain exclaiming, 'We are becalmed!' It was only for a moment, for all sails were again soon full, and the shore rapidly receded. As we escaped the reach of the guns on shore, a few rounds from a boat anchored in the direction of the fort were fired upon us. In a little time three gun-boats pursued us out to sea. Having, before we left the harbour, thrown overboard a canvass on which was written a request for an officer to come to us, and also for water, and having seen it taken up by fishermen, we waited for the government boats to come up to us; but it was in vain. The determination of the Japanese to have no communication with us was not to be shaken. In these circumstances, we had no choice but to put out to sea."

It was, however, resolved to make another attempt, and the ship put away for Satsuma, in the southmost island of Japan. Here a communication was opened with the shore, and it was apparently met by the Japanese in a friendly spirit. The officers who came on board knew no foreign flag except the Chinese, and said that no European vessel had been seen there before. The Japanese sailors were told by their countrymen that the empire was in a state of general rebellion; that decapitation was the order of the day at Yedo; and that Asacca, the third city of the empire, had been nearly reduced to ashes by the rebels. Intelligence of the arrival of the ship, it was stated, had been sent to the Prince of Satsuma, and that an answer would be received in



three days. No change of conduct or feeling was manifested by the officers or people on shore till the morning of the third day, when a fishing-boat, with half a dozen men, came off, and at some distance told the Japanese on board "that the ship had better put to sea," and said something of the authorities firing upon her. Warlike preparations were now seen on the shore. Objects were visible to which a better name cannot perhaps be given than portable forts. A fire of musketry and artillery was opened on the ship from different points; and both wind and tide being unfavourable, it was with great difficulty she made her escape. It is probable the firing was by orders from the prince, and from the tactics which were pursued there is ground to conclude that the object was not to drive away, but to capture the vessel. Despairing now of effecting the objects of the voyage, the captain returned to Canton. Even the Japanese sailors, unwilling to be set on shore and exposed to the suspicions and treachery of their countrymen, were, at their own request, taken back to China.¹ The history of this voyage corresponds with the accounts usually given of the Japanese policy in excluding foreigners from the country, and confirms the common opinion of the impracticability of there establishing a Christian mission.

Hitherto China had also been in a great measure closed against Protestant missionaries; but the war with England, as we have already stated, opened up the way for their admission into some of the principal ports of the empire. The American Board had long been anxious to cultivate this important field, and it now gladly embraced the facilities which were thus afforded of extending its operations. Its stations are three in number, Canton, Amoy, and Fuh-Chau-fu.

SECT. V.—SANDWICH ISLANDS.

IN October 1819, sailed from Boston for the Sandwich Islands, the Revs. H. Bingham and A. Thurston, Dr Thomas Holman, physician, Messrs D. Chamberlain, agriculturist, S. Whitney, mechanic, catechist, and schoolmaster, S. Ruggles, catechist and schoolmaster, E. Loomis, printer, and three natives of the Sand-

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. p. 203.—Rep. Bible Soc. 1839, p. 72.



wich Islands, named Honori, Hopu, and Kanui, who had been educated in the Foreign Mission School in America. These islands were formerly under different and independent chiefs, but the whole group had now been reduced by Ka-meha-meha, a man of great enterprise and energy, under one government, and he and some of the chiefs were making considerable advances towards a state of civilisation, circumstances which were highly favourable to the maintenance of peace among the natives, and to the propagation of the gospel among them.¹

After a voyage of about five months, the missionaries reached Owhyhee, or, as it is now called, Hawaii, in safety; and on their arrival, they were astonished to learn that Ka-meha-meha, the king, was dead, the tabus broken, the idols burnt, the morais destroyed, and the priesthood abolished. Just about the time they left America, Riho-riho, the young king, came to the resolution of destroying the whole system of idolatry. Orders were issued to set the morais and sacred buildings in Hawaii and the neighbouring islands on fire, and while the flames were raging, the idols were thrown into the devouring element.² Of the causes which led to the overthrow of idolatry in the Sandwich Islands we have no certain or satisfactory accounts. It was perhaps brought about by a train of circumstances which gradually and imperceptibly undermined the tabu system; but it is difficult to point to anything in particular as the cause of its overthrow. The following details, however, are probably not far from the truth:—

The idolatrous worship of the Sandwich Islanders was interwoven in many ways with the tabu system, which consists of restrictions and prohibitions, and prevails so extensively in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. This connexion was so close and indissoluble that the one could not be given up without the other. The prohibitions were very numerous, and often very burdensome and vexatious. They extended to sacred days, sacred places, sacred persons, and sacred things; and the least failure in observing

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1820, p. 60.—Dibble's History of the Sandwich Islands, p. 138.—Tracy's Hist. Amer. Board, p. 96.

² Miss. Herald, vol. xvi. p. 167; vol. xvii. pp. 111, 117; vol. xxiii. p. 247.—Stewart's Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands, p. 27.



them was at the risk of life. The prohibitions in regard to eating weighed perhaps as heavily as any other. Chiefs were prohibited from eating swine's flesh except in connexion with certain religious rites. Women were prohibited from eating swine's flesh on any occasion, and also from eating several species of fish, and many kinds of fruit. Males and females, even husbands and wives, were not allowed on any occasion to eat together. This prohibition was peculiarly grievous, and was the first to be violated; and on its violation hung more important events than could have been imagined. It was like removing the key-stone of an arch; the whole structure, both of tabu rites and idol-worship, fell at once to the ground.

The testimony of all foreigners, from their first arrival at the island, was also uniformly against tabu. Whatever might be the views of some of them in regard to religion and morality, all, without exception, found it agreeable to their feelings, and in accordance with their interests, to speak against that grievous system; for the numerous prohibitions were exceedingly perplexing and burdensome, not to the natives only, but also to visitors and foreign residents. This constant and united opposition of foreigners did much to undermine the system, for the natives looked up to them as beings of superior knowledge.

Foreigners not only gave their testimony against tabu, but they strengthened it by the weight of their example. They did more; they frequently presented strong temptations before particular persons, especially the chiefs, to break tabu. Even the introduction of ardent spirits into the island proved a means of its overthrow; for often, when in a state of intoxication, the chiefs heedlessly broke through its prohibitions and restrictions, and yet they found they were not killed by the gods, nor did any special evil befall them. In this way the superstitious dread of tabu was materially lessened.

Many of the highest classes were females, and they had long groaned under the burdensome and oppressive restrictions which the tabu system laid upon them. On the death of Ka-mehameha, it was proposed in a meeting of the chiefs, to dispense with the ceremonies customary on such occasions; and though the usual heathen rites were observed, the very proposal shews the state of



mind which had begun to prevail in the islands. On the very day, indeed, on which he died, many of the common people, males and females, and also some of the chiefs, ate together; and in the evening not a few women ate cocoa-nuts and bananas, things before tabued to them. A day or two after, most of the female chiefs ate articles of food which were prohibited to them, and even partook of swine's flesh, which was of all things held most sacred. Riho-riho, the young king, was not forward to promote these doings; but he also, when in a state of intoxication, broke the tabu and now he and the chiefs took measures for involving the common people throughout the islands in the violation of it, sending messages far and near authorising them to break it; and the body of the people on all the islands willingly obeyed the order. A chief named Keakuaokalaui, however, still clung to the old system; and great numbers of the people, when they found that there was a chief on the side of idolatry, flocked to him. The king and others of the chiefs sought to conciliate him, but in vain. He raised the standard of rebellion, but he and his wife were killed in battle, and the rebellious party was completely subdued. The war having thus resulted in the entire overthrow of the idolaters, both the chiefs and the people considered this as a conclusive proof of the impotency of the gods which they had hitherto worshipped. Their rage against their idols knew no bounds. Some they cast into the sea, some they burned, and some they contumeliously used for fuel. They rushed to the morais and pulled them down to the ground. It seemed as if God had permitted the war to convince the people of the vanity of their idols. It was not till after it that they made anything like thorough work in casting off the shackles of idolatry.¹

Such circumstances as these could scarcely fail to strike the missionaries, on their arrival, with astonishment, and to fill them with the most auspicious hopes; but they did not find the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands in that state of preparation for receiving the gospel which these circumstances might very naturally lead them to expect. The change was certainly extraordinary, especially when we consider the time when it took place; but there is no reason to conclude that on the part of the mass of the popu-

¹ Dibble's History, p. 143.



lation, it proceeded from any rational or heartfelt conviction of the folly and criminality of idolatry : it resulted in the first instance simply from the authority of an absolute prince, and was probably not a little promoted by that spirit of frenzy which in the work of destruction is so apt to seize upon the populace. Many of the people, indeed, still preserved their idols ; and the inhabitants generally were as destitute of any just views of religion, and were as much addicted to their accustomed vices, as before. When the views of the missionaries in undertaking so distant a voyage were stated to the king, Riho-riho, he was in no haste to grant them permission to settle in the country ; he even seemed to view them with considerable jealousy ; and when he did at last give his consent for them to remain, he wished them all to reside at one place, under his own immediate eye, and he expressly desired that no others should come out, unless perhaps it was a carpenter. Some apprehensions were started, that England might not be pleased were they to receive missionaries from America. Reports were circulated that the missionaries in Tahiti had usurped the government and monopolised the trade of the Society Islands ; and insinuations were thrown out that the Americans would come and take possession of the Sandwich Islands. But, notwithstanding these circumstances, some of the missionaries were allowed to take up their residence in the island of Oahu, at Honolulu, the principal harbour for shipping, now the seat of the government, and others in the islands of Hawaii and Kauai.¹

Having obtained houses for themselves, erected after the fashion of the country, the missionaries commenced their labours, by an attempt to collect a school at each station. The king, the chiefs, and the younger members of their families, were their first pupils. The missionaries instructed them at first in the English language ; but as this was of less importance to them than the reading and writing of their own, they, after acquiring some knowledge of it, printed a small spelling-book in it, and began to teach them their mother tongue. The king, notwithstanding his hereditary indolence and his intemperate habits, learned to read intelligibly in the New Testament, and to write a respectable letter. Many

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xvii. pp. 112, 116, 118, 120.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1821, p. 78.—Miss. Chron. vol. ii. p. 332.



others did the same. Females of distinction began to employ the pen in writing short billets to each other.¹

The missionaries began, as soon as they were able, to preach to the natives. Places of worship, in the native style, were erected at the different stations, and were attended by considerable numbers. The king and queen generally attended at Honolulu, when not absent from the place; and a number of the other principal chiefs, both male and female, were also among the regular hearers. The chiefs publicly acknowledged the Sabbath, and gave orders for its strict observance. Every Saturday night the king's crier went round Honolulu, proclaiming that the morrow was the Sacred Day, and that the people must not plant their gardens, build houses, make canoes, beat cloth, sell sandalwood, shoot birds, or follow any of their games or amusements; but go to the place of worship, and hear the Word of God. Several of the chiefs had prayers, morning and evening, in their houses, and shewed much outward reverence for Christian institutions. The common people everywhere said, that if the king and chiefs received the new religion, they would follow their example. Like most barbarous tribes, they were exceedingly influenced by the authority and example of the chiefs. They had scarcely, in fact, an opinion or will of their own; but if the chiefs led the way, they were ready to follow. For this reason, the missionaries paid particular attention to the instruction of the chiefs, that, through them, they might obtain influence over the common people. Without this, it appeared as if it would be vain to attempt to gain their attention.¹ It is a remarkable fact, that the hereditary chiefs of the Sandwich and other islands in the Pacific Ocean, are a higher order of men than the common people, both in their physical structure and in the character of their minds: even the female chiefs are often distinguished for native dignity and energy of character.²

In November 1823, Riho-riho, and his favourite queen, Kameha-maru, sailed for London on board an English whaler, accompanied by Boki, and two or three other chiefs, with the

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1821, p. 82.—Ibid. 1823, pp. 110, 183.

² Rep. Board For. Miss. 1823, pp. 109, 111.—Ibid. 1824, pp. 98, 104, 109.—Ibid. 1833, p. 85.—Miss. Her. vol. xx. p. 247.—Quarterly Chron. vol. ii. p. 409.



design of afterwards visiting the United States of America. His principal motive was probably curiosity; but it is likely he also entertained some vague desire of becoming acquainted with the laws, institutions, and customs of countries of which he had heard so much, and particularly with the way of carrying on commercial transactions, which were growing to be considerable in the Sandwich Islands. On the arrival of the king and queen in London, the government deputed the Honourable Frederic Byng to act as guardian to them, an office which he executed with much kindness and propriety. They were introduced to, or were visited by many of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, and they were carried to see Westminster Abbey, and others of the remarkable sights of London. Three weeks, however, had scarcely elapsed, when the king was taken ill of measles. One of the party had previously shewn symptoms of the disease; and after some days, the whole of the chiefs and their attendants were taken ill. They had the first medical advice which England could furnish, and they all recovered except the king and the queen, who died within six days of each other. Their remains were conveyed to the Sandwich Islands, by the orders of the British government, in the frigate *Blonde*, under the command of Lord Byron. The ceremonies of the funeral were conducted, not in the old tumultuous heathenish style, but in an orderly Christian manner. The brother of the late king, a youth about ten or twelve years of age, was unanimously acknowledged by the principal chiefs as his successor, a regency ruling the country during his minority.¹

Meanwhile, the mission was strengthened by a large reinforcement of new labourers. Others were afterwards sent out from time to time, and stations were commenced on all the principal islands.² The following table shews the chief stations established by them:—

¹ Quart. Chron. vol. iii. pp. 363, 369.—Miss. Her. vol. xxii. pp. 68, 72.

² Rep. Board. For. Miss. 1823, p. 114.—Ibid. 1828, p. 63.—Ibid. 1831, p. 49.—Ibid. 1833, p. 74.



Begun.	HAWAII.	Begun.	MAUI.
1820	Kailua.	1823	Lahaina.
1824	Kealakekua	1831	Lahainaluna.
1824	Hilo.	1832	Wailuku.
1831	Waima.	1837	Hana.
1837	Kohala.		
1841	Kau.		MOLOKAI.
	OAEU.	1832	Kaluaha.
1820	Honolulu.		
1832	Waialua.		KAUAI.
1834	Ewa.	1820	Waima.
1834	Kaneohe.	1834	Koloa.
1841	Punahou.		Waioli. ¹

In detailing the further history of this important mission, we shall arrange our statements under the following heads, with the view of giving a more distinct and connected view of the whole :—
Progress of Religion—Education—Books—Opposition of Foreigners—Romish Missionaries, and Interference of France and England—Temperance—Progress of Civil Government and Civilization—Decrease of Population—Concluding Statements.

Progress of Religion.

In 1825 ten of the Sandwich Islanders were received into the Church, of whom no fewer than seven were chiefs, and among them were the Queen-regent Kaahumanu, and Karaimoku, her prime minister. It is a remarkable circumstance that all the chiefs who had much influence in the affairs of the islands, were, after some time, the professed disciples of Christ. The change which appeared in some of them was truly wonderful. Several of them, both males and females, were particularly zealous and active in promoting the cause of religion; and not a few gave pleasing evidence of personal piety, both living and dying. There were also considerable appearances of seriousness among some of the people; and there were seasons when there appeared a special

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1852. p. 127.

interest among them on the subject of religion. Large places of worship were erected at the principal stations; yet, capacious as they were, they often could not contain the numbers who assembled for Divine worship. The congregations on the Sabbath amounted to from one to four thousand hearers, and were characterised by order, stillness, and attention to the preaching of the Word. The houses for public worship were all erected by the chiefs and the people. Prayer-meetings were also begun by both males and females; and these increased so much, after a few years, that the members of them amounted to many thousands. In the admission of the natives into the Church the missionaries exercised great care and caution: they were in no haste to baptize them, or admit them to the Lord's Supper; and though some may have been kept back for a time who might have been received more early, yet this was assuredly the safe side on which to err. It appears to have been common to keep them on trial for two years or more.¹

Though it was pleasing to witness the attention of the people to religious exercises, yet we must not attach too much importance to circumstances of the kind. The Sabbath was outwardly observed with greater strictness than either in England or America; yet, if one followed them from the house of prayer, he would see abundant evidence that very few had any considerable sense of the sacredness of the day; and their boisterous voices and light countenances, and perhaps broad laugh, would soon convince him that they were but little impressed with the truths which they had heard. With many, the observance of the Sabbath was chiefly negative; after attending on public worship, they would sleep away its sacred hours; yet we can scarcely wonder at this, considering that they were unaccustomed to thinking, and were at this time almost without books for reading. Family prayer, in Christian countries, is commonly a token of a stricter profession of religion than ordinary; yet, in the Sandwich Islands, a circumstance of this kind furnished no

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxi. p. 101; vol. xxii. pp. 176, 309; vol. xxviii. p. 156; vol. xxix. pp. 166, 236.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1826, pp. 67, 70, 75, 81, 83.—Ibid. 1827, pp. 85, 91, 100.—Ibid. 1828, p. 55.—Ibid. 1829, p. 53.—Ibid. 1830, pp. 65, 67.—Ibid. 1831, p. 53.—Dibble's History, p. 229.



ground for any such conclusion. "Here," say Messrs Thurston and Bishop, missionaries at Kailua, "there is scarcely a family where morning and evening prayers are not regularly offered up, and yet we have no hope that the majority of families live under any fear of God, or have any regard for their souls."¹ The following observations by Mr Tinker, another of the missionaries, are highly important, and may help to save us from the not unfrequent error of over-estimating the changes produced by the introduction of Christianity into the islands of the Pacific Ocean:—"The influence which the various elements of heathenism possess in modifying or affecting the Christianity with which it mingles, and to which it gradually gives place, is a subject worthy of careful consideration. The rites of heathenism are severe, and require a rigid observance, the form being the only thing of importance. This trait may readily transfer itself to the ceremonies of the Christian religion, without implying a due consideration of its spirituality. Family and secret prayer may be the general practice of a recently idolatrous nation, while as yet there is little progress in the devotement of the heart to the true God. The same external reformation does not, under all circumstances, prove the existence of the same depth of moral principle. The religious currency" (in plain language, the usages and phraseology) "of one country is subject to a discount or a premium when passing in another."²

It must not be supposed that the population generally were brought under religious instruction: there were many districts which missionaries had seldom or never visited, and into which the light of Divine truth had scarcely penetrated, where the people were enveloped in all the darkness of heathenism, and manifested the utmost stupidity on the subject of religion. Indeed, the great body of the people could as yet know but little concerning the nature of Christianity; and their views and feelings were probably very little changed since the destruction of the morais and tabus. Idolaters were still occasionally found among them; and it is probable that multitudes had a secret leaning towards idolatry, and that nothing more was wanting than the consent

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxvi. p. 107; vol. xxviii. pp. 220, 250.

² Hawaiian Spectator, vol. i. p. 100.



and countenance of the chiefs to make them rear again the fallen altars of heathenism.¹

There were few avowed contemners of the gospel where it was known, and less of open vice than may often be found in Christian countries; but there was ground to fear that there was much hypocrisy among the people, and not a little wickedness committed in secret. Crimes which formerly prevailed among them, such as murder, theft, and drunkenness, were now scarcely known; but the sin of uncleanness cleaved to them like the leprosy, and threatened to destroy many, both soul and body. The missionaries had long been aware that this vice, though driven from the open light of day by the arm of the law, still lurked in secret, and that many who professed to belong to the Christian party were sometimes overtaken by it and relapsed into their former practices. Their habits and modes of life were such as peculiarly exposed them to temptations of this kind. Their going in a great measure unclothed; their herding together in the same house at night, without separate apartments or even partitions between them,—men, women, and children, married and unmarried, lying upon the same mat; the unceremonious intercourse between the sexes, without any forms of reserve or any delicacy of thought and conversation; the indolent and idle habits of all, especially of the women, and their fondness for going from home during the night; and above all, the force of long-established habits, which, after a season of effort at reform, returned upon them with almost resistless force—were powerful causes and occasions of this aggravated evil among the Sandwich Islanders. Even those who were most civilized, and who on the whole gave evidence that they were the followers of Christ, were very slow to learn the exhortation of the Apostle,—“Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth.” Though they had forsaken their former vices, yet the poison of them remained in their constitution, and they still breathed a polluted atmosphere.²

In the Sandwich Islands there was a total want of family government, which also proved a source of numerous evils. The

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1833, p. 77.—Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 219.

² Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 219; vol. xxxii. p. 147; vol. xxxiv. p. 256.—Hawaiian Spectator, vol. i. p. 42.



vagrant habits of the children, and the total disregard which they shewed to the authority and wishes of their parents, were among the many unhappy fruits of this want of domestic discipline. Here began those habits of moral delinquency which grew with their growth and strengthened with their strength. It had therefore been an object with the missionaries for some time past, to introduce among the people family government. They felt that it was to a future generation they must look for desirable examples of Christian character. Not that there were no good examples among the present generation, for there were many; but there was even in those who appeared the best, a want of a quick moral sense of right and wrong, a bluntness of perception which even grace did not wholly eradicate. Early moral training alone can instil those feelings of virtuous perception, and lead to that strict love of virtuous conduct, which distinguish the enlightened Christian from the untutored and originally corrupted savage.¹

In June 1832, the Queen-regent Kaahumanu died; and in her death both the country and the mission sustained a heavy loss. She was a woman of great energy of character. Though naturally haughty and cruel, the gospel wrought a mighty change upon her. Endowed with a rare capacity for governing, she threw the whole weight of her influence and authority into the scale of Christian morals and piety; and under her administration, Christianity became in a manner the established religion of the islands, having the full benefit of the influence, example, countenance, and protection of the rulers, while there was no other system or form of religious worship which came into competition with it. The nation leaned upon her; and so also did the missionaries. As in life, so in death her deportment was most exemplary. Evidences of her Christian character seemed to multiply as she approached the world of spirits. One of her last expressions, referring to the Redeemer, was,—“I will go to Him and shall be comforted.”² To hear such words from the lips of a dying South Sea Island chief, is truly interesting. How different this from the death of chiefs in the days of heathenism! No ray of heavenly hope cheered their dying moments.

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 221.

² Rep. Board For. Miss. 1833, p. 85.—Ibid. 1834, p. 86.



Some months after the death of Kaahumanu, the young king took the reins of government into his own hands; and though he continued to conduct himself toward the missionaries in the most friendly manner, yet there was now a relaxation of some of the salutary laws which had of late years been in operation, and which had exerted a happy influence in promoting good morals among the people. This, combined with his own example, had a most pernicious effect on the people. There was in some places a great falling off in the attendance on public worship; many began to spend the Sabbath in sinful recreations. When the example of a chief could be quoted, it was a sufficient reason with many why they also should abandon the house of God, and find their own pleasure on His holy day. Licentiousness now stalked abroad, even at noonday; for here there was little of that shame which characterizes civilized society, and drives certain vices into darkness even among the most vile. Religion ceased to be popular, and many who heretofore had been acting under restraint, no longer hesitated to stigmatize and vilify those who dared to be religious, or even moral in their conduct. It now required more energy and independence of character, and more grace, to lead a religious life, than many even of the Church members possessed. Not that they were generally immoral; only a few cases of immorality were detected; but iniquity so abounded that "the love of many waxed cold."¹

This unfavourable state of things was not perhaps general, or at least it appears not to have been lasting. Religion, after a time, began again to make steady advances throughout the islands, and to take a stronger hold on the minds of the people. For several years after the first natives were received into the Church, the number of admissions was comparatively small; but they now rapidly increased from year to year, until they at length amounted to upwards of 1200.²

It is a curious and not uninteresting fact, that the Sandwich Islanders were peculiarly eager to be received as members of the Church. A *tabu* meeting (*i. e.* a meeting composed of *selected*

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxx. pp. 287, 341.—Ibid. 1831, p. 149.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1834, p. 88.

² Miss. Her. vol. xxxi. pp. 147, 339, 466; vol. xxxiv. pp. 104, 236.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1830, p. 64.—Ibid. 1833, p. 85.—Ibid. 1838, p. 111.



persons) was to the mind of a Hawaiian, one of the most desirable things on earth. Hence the constant pressure by them at the door of the Church. It would have been the easiest thing imaginable to have added as many to it in one day, as the Apostles did on the day of Pentecost. This, combined with their great adroitness at deception, and also the fact that lying and any kind of artifice or management, in order to obtain a thing which they desired, was scarcely deemed a sin by them, gave great reason for receiving their professions with much caution; and even after all the caution which the missionaries employed, they were not unfrequently deceived.¹

There were some other features in the character of the Sandwich Islanders which are not unworthy of notice. There was a strong propensity in them to trust in "a form of godliness without the power thereof." Many seemed to have little notion of religion beyond attendance on public worship and the prayer-meeting. No people on the face of the earth, perhaps, were more inclined to rest in their own doings for justification before God. They were slow to perceive the spirituality and extent of the law of God, their aggravated guilt in having broken it, and their utter inability to keep it. Hence the few cases of deep, pungent, heartfelt conviction of sin: a want of a sense of sin was one of the most discouraging features in the character of most Hawaiians. Hence their slowness to flee to the Saviour; and even in those who gave some evidence of piety, the want of that strong tide of affection to Him which so often characterizes new converts in Christian lands.²

In 1837 a remarkable religious awakening commenced in the Sandwich Islands, and it continued with some intervals and with more or less power during the next two or three years. At every station there was a revival of religion; many thousands professedly turned to the Lord; proud and rebellious sinners were humbled; and some of the most hardened and profligate were brought to bow to the Redeemer. These awakenings embraced persons of all ages, from opening childhood to decrepit old age. Hitherto few of the young had been impressed with a

Miss. Her. vol. xxix. p. 241; vol. xxx. pp. 284, 342; vol. xxxi. pp. 260, 463; vol. xxxii. p. 429; vol. xxxv. p. 310.

² Miss. Her. vol. xxiv. p. 177; vol. xxix. p. 240; vol. xlii. p. 249.



sense of religion; now, it was hoped, there were some hundred children converted. The standard of piety in the churches was raised, their purity promoted, and their moral influence increased.

Among the means employed for promoting these awakenings, what are well known in America under the name of protracted meetings held an important place. Such meetings were held at all the stations, and at many of them they were repeated from time to time. They were, it is said, greatly blessed, and were in most instances attended by a revival of religion.¹

At Hilo, in the island of Hawaii, and also in some other places, the awakenings were attended with great outward excitement, as wailing and loud praying of many simultaneously. This appeared to be the result of the awful and overwhelming impression of Divine truth upon the people at the time, which led them to quake with fear, and to cry out for mercy. Many, it was believed, "passed from death to life," without experiencing these agitating feelings, while others who had them continued in their sins. We do not feel ourselves competent to give an opinion as to these outward manifestations of excitement which attended, to some extent, the awakenings; yet it may be remarked that, among a rude and barbarous people strong emotion, of whatever kind it be, is expressed with little or no restraint; they give free and noisy vent to their feelings; even when merely acting a part, their simulation of passion is outwardly of the most violent description. How far these manifestations of feeling should be allowed or controlled, is a question of some difficulty. If restraint is imposed upon them, it may interfere with the natural and healthy movements of the convicted and inquiring soul; while, on the other hand, a latitude may be allowed which may give rise to wild extravagance and disorder.² Great watchfulness, however, should

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. pp. 141, 148; vol. xxxvi, p. 222.

² Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 195.

There is, we think, truth in the following observations of Mr Coan, one of the missionaries at Hilo:—"I venture to affirm that to keep an assembly of Sandwich Islanders quiet under deep excitement of mind, no matter what is the subject, is impossible. You might as well attempt to still the thunder, or hush the tempest. What might appear like extravagance or fanaticism in a people of severe mental discipline, may here be nearly indispensable to any evidence of wakeful interest on the subject of religion. And why should this people be allowed to give free vent to their feelings in other matters, and



be exercised under such circumstances, and no countenance or encouragement given to unscriptural views and feelings.

In the course of between two and three years, the whole number who were received into the churches, as the result of these awakenings, was about 20,000, making the total number from the commencement of the mission, 21,379. Of the above number a very large proportion was from the island of Hawaii; next to it were the islands of Oahu and Maui, the numbers from both of which were very considerable. On the other islands, whose population was less, the numbers were proportionably smaller.¹

It is impossible to look at these numbers without having a strong apprehension that due care and caution could scarcely have been exercised in the admission of persons into the Church. On this occasion some of the missionaries appear to have laid aside their former caution; though we cannot but think that in seasons of general excitement, special care is necessary in receiving members into the Church, particularly from among a heathen and barbarous people. There appears to have been a difference of opinion and a diversity of practice among the missionaries in regard to this important point. Some admitted members in great numbers, and very soon after their being awakened; others received comparatively few, and that not till after a much longer period of probation. At Hilo and Waimea, in the island Hawaii, the numbers received into the Church were particularly great, having amounted in three years to about 12,660, and at Honolulu and Ewa in the island of Oahu they amounted to near 3000. These numbers materially reduce the proportions for the other stations, the numbers at some of which were comparatively small.²

be kept as still as the grave on a subject of the most solemn interest? The fact is they cannot be, and if their feelings are deep they will burst out; and they will also flow in their own appropriate channel, and not in the artificial one we mark out for them." Miss. Her. vol. 39, p. 195.

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1838, p. 111.—Miss Her. vol. xxxvii. p. 146.

² Rep. Board For. Miss. 1837, p. 98.—Ibid. 1839, pp. 128, 175.—Ibid. 1841, p. 152.—Dibble's Hist. p. 346.

We are not singular in the apprehensions which we have here expressed; the missionaries themselves gave at the time the following united expression of their views:—"We fear that the increase of strength to our churches has not been in proportion to the increase of numbers. We fear that we may have erred in judgment, in receiving too hastily into the Church those who profess to have been converted; and we may



Periods of awakening are, perhaps, generally followed by seasons of deadness and declension; and this might especially be expected among a people just emerging from a state of ignorance and barbarism, and possessing little stability of character. Many, accordingly, fell back from their religious professions so soon as the first excitement passed away. In almost every case where large accessions were made to the churches, proportionally large defections occurred. It was to be expected that where such vast numbers were gathered into the churches, much chaff would be found among the wheat. A greater proportion of the fruits of this

have occasion hereafter to regret having done so. We fear we may find hereafter that many have deceived us and themselves in this important matter; and that they will live with the veil upon their hearts in this state of deception till the light of eternity shall tear it from them, and reveal to them their true characters."—*Dibble's History*, p. 346. But though the missionaries, as a body, made these and similar admissions, still, "there was but one opinion among them as to the fact that a great and glorious work of God had been performed in all the islands, and nearly at all the stations."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxvi. p. 243.

The following observation by Mr Baldwin is important, and is well deserving of the attention of other missionaries:—"For one, I am never captivated with promising appearances in a heathen land; but I always take it for granted that fair promises are more easily blasted here than in a land of greater knowledge and more settled habits. I do not think we should ever be hasty in gathering into the Church."—*Miss Her.* vol. xlii. p. 182.

In 1838, the second year of the revival, Mr Coan, of Hilo, in the island of Hawaii, who was among those who baptized great multitudes of the natives, mentions that about 400 children between five and fifteen years old were in communion with the Church in that district.—*Miss Her.* vol. xxxv. p. 193. Children of five years of age sitting down at the Lord's table! It is painful to read such a statement. We do not question there may be true piety at that early age; but yet it is evident that ministers, and still more missionaries among the heathen, must be very rash who would admit such young children to the communion of the Church.

The following account by Mr Dibble, while it contains some satisfactory statements, also reveals some very questionable, not to say painful, circumstances:—"At most of the stations, no measures were taken to excite the feelings, beyond a simple declaration of the truth. There were, however, some exceptions, as was to be expected among so many labourers, and at a time of such intense excitement. It may naturally be supposed that those pastors whose excited minds and peculiar views allowed of admitting professing converts into the churches by thousands, would be the persons to use special measures to operate upon the feelings of a congregation. Such was the fact. The special measures, however, were probably not so much designed, as naturally incident to a kind of uncontrollable state of tumultuous feeling on the part of both the pastor and the people. The pastor in some instances descended from the pulpit, and paced through the midst of the congregation, preaching and gesturing with intense emotion. Sometimes all the members of a large congregation were permitted to pray aloud at once. And again, at times, many expressed their fears and sense of guilt by audible groans and loud cries. Feelings were not restrained. Ignorant heathen are not accus-



revival gave afterwards little or no evidence of conversion, than of such as were received in more quiet and less exciting times; and not a few fell away altogether.¹

It is not unworthy of observation, that in the Sandwich Islands declension was of a different character from what it usually is in Christian countries. There backsliders had not that outward decency, that cold and dead morality, that heartless form of religion to fall back upon, which are so common in such countries as England or America. On the contrary, they were prone to return to their former heathenish habits, to plunge into open vice, and to throw off at once the profession and the form of religion. It was this that rendered a season of religious declension in a heathen land so much more marked than in a Christian country.²

Many of the fallen Church members, indeed, afterwards professed repentance, and were restored to their religious privileges. It was hoped their repentance was sincere; but in a majority of cases, the result shewed that this expectation was not well-founded. Most of them might remain in the Church for a time, and when their sins could be no longer concealed, they had again to be excluded. Experience shewed that when a Hawaiian member fell, there was but little hope of his recovery. Hence it appeared very advisable to be slow in receiving back those who professed repentance after they had fallen.³

tomed to restrain their feelings, but manifest their emotions by outward signs—more so, by far, than people who are intelligent and cultivated. Perhaps their feelings were too intense to be restrained, and necessarily burst forth in shrieks and loud lamentations. Certainly it is not for those whose habits are different and who have not been in such scenes, and felt thus intensely, and experienced such apparent power from on high, to say how far such expressions of intense emotion could, or should, have been controlled. Such measures and such indications of feeling were confined almost entirely to Eastern and Northern Hawaii. As a general remark, taking all the stations into view, very little use was made of special means. The missionaries merely aimed, with much simplicity and plainness, to impart correct conceptions of the character of God, the nature of sin, the plan of salvation, the work of the Spirit, and the nature of true religion; especially did they insist on the sin and danger of rejecting an offered Saviour. The hearts of the people were tender; and under such truths as I have named, the place of worship was often a scene of sighing and weeping.”—*Dibble's History*, p. 348.

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxxvii. p. 195; vol. xxxviii. p. 96.

² Ibid. vol. xlii. p. 280.

³ Ibid. vol. xl. p. 382.



Even, however, after the great awakening had ceased, the numbers who were received into the churches continued to be very considerable, and made up in some degree for those whom it was found necessary to suspend or exclude from the communion of the Church. Indeed, though there was no such great and general awakening as that of which we have now spoken, yet most of the churches enjoyed from time to time seasons of revival to a greater or less extent. Professors of religion were greatly quickened, and many who had hitherto lived "without God, and without hope in the world," were brought to inquire, what they should do to be saved. Every year, indeed, furnished new evidence that a great and glorious work was effected in the Sandwich Islands. Perhaps there was no part of the world where the power of the gospel was, in numerous instances, more visibly manifested than in these distant isles of the sea.¹

It did not appear, after some years, that religion was, on the whole, losing ground in the Sandwich Islands. It might be less lively than it was at some former periods, and many evils might be more active and more apparent. It was now, in fact, a time of trial. The nation was in a transition state. The whole polity of the people, civil, social, commercial, and moral, was undergoing change, and, it was hoped, improvement. Immoralities were becoming more and more prevalent. The influence of the gospel and the operation of the laws might keep the surface of society smooth and tranquil; but he must have been a very superficial observer who did not perceive a strong opposing under-current. The low standard of public morality—the little disgrace that attached to practices which in other countries would be the ruin of character—the looseness of the family contract—the want of watchfulness and control on the part of parents over their children—the unrestricted social intercourse of the sexes—and the grovelling propensities of a rude and sluggish people, were mournful indications of the low state of religion among the mass of the population. And though, even among the Church members, there were many of whom there was reason to stand in doubt, while the mass of them were only "babes in Christ," children in

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. pp. 324, 375, 378; vol. xl. p. 18; vol. xlii. pp. 183, 280; vol. xlv. p. 18.