ported to one of the Oases of Libya; and he finally died in Upper Egypt. But though persecuted himself, his cause was taken up by his countrymen in the East, particularly in the famous school of Edessa in Mesopotamia, where many Christian youths of Persia were educated; and the numbers who favoured his views so increased, that they became the dominant Christian sect in that country. One remarkable feature of the Nestorians, was their missions in Central and Eastern Asia. At what time these were commenced, is uncertain; but the more active periods of them are supposed to have been between the 7th and the 13th centuries. Previous to the overthrow of the Caliphs in 1258, the Nestorians had become widely extended throughout the East. They are said to have had churches not only in Persia, but in Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, in Malabar in the East Indies, in the vast regions of Tartary, from the Caspian Sea to Mount Taurus, through the greater part of what is now-known as Chinese Tartary, and even in China itself. "Under the reign of the Caliphs," says Gibbon, "the Nestorian Church was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus, and its numbers, with those of the Jacobites, were computed to surpass the Greek and Latin communions." Most of these churches, there is ground to conclude, have long since become extinct; the Nestorians are now found chiefly in the district of Urumiah, and in the neighbouring mountains of Kurdistan.[1]

The number of the Nestorians is not well ascertained. Mr Perkins estimates them at about 140,000,—namely, in the Moun-

[1] Perkins, pp. 1, 5, 7.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. pp. 289, 297.—Gibbon, vol. viii. p. 345.

An interesting account of the missions of the Nestorian Christians in Central and Eastern Asia, may be found in *Miss. Her.* vol. xxxiv. p. 289. But though the general fact is not without interest, they were probably, in consequence of their defective Christian character, of no great importance. Such, at least, was the opinion of Neander, the distinguished ecclesiastical historian. "As late," says he, "as the ninth century, the Nestorian Church had some flourishing seminaries (especially that at Nisibis in Mesopotamia) for the education of the clergy, but after that period they seem to have declined, for the information we possess respecting the itinerant clergy in Asia, proves them to have been men greatly deficient in theological erudition, Christian knowledge, and a deep tone of Christian feeling. It is true that they were animated with a zeal for making proselytes, but frequently they were satisfied if a number of people made an outward profession of Christianity, and observed a certain round of Christian and ecclesiastical ceremonies. We must, therefore, receive with suspicion the accounts which the Nestorians themselves, inclined to extol the merits of their sect, and accustomed to

tains, 110,000, and in the district of Urumiah, between 30,000 and 40,000. The town of Urumiah contains about 25,000 inhabitants, but of these not more than 600 are Nestorians. They are numerous in the villages of the plain; in some cases occupying a village exclusively, in others, living in the same village with Mahommedans. In their manners, they partake much of the suavity and urbanity of the Persian character. Compared with them, the Nestorians of the Mountains, though originally of the same stock, are a rude, wild, uncivilized race. According to the traditions current among them, they are of Jewish descent; they dislike exceedingly the name of Nestorians, and call themselves Chaldeans.[1]

The Nestorians are much more simple and scriptural in many of their views, than the Romish, Greek, Armenian, and other oriental Churches. They professed the greatest reverence for the Holy Scriptures, were desirous of having them in their vernacular language, which all could understand, and in theory, at least, exalted them far above all human traditions. They abhorred image-worship, auricular confession, and the doctrine of purgatory. On the subject of the divinity of Christ, in relation to which the charge of heresy is made against them by the Romish Church, and many of the oriental sects, their belief is orthodox

the hyperbolical style of Asia, have given of their labours for the conversion of heathen tribes. They spread in those regions of Asia, in which a tendency to a mixture of various religions has always been observable. Opportunities for adding to this mixture some Christian elements, could easily be found, and these may have been represented by the Nestorians as conversions to Christianity."—*Neander's Church History*, vol. ix. p. 58, in *Calcutta Christ. Observer*, vol. xii. p. 719.

[1] Perkins, pp. 2, 8, 9, 175.

Dr Grant published a work entitled *The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes*, in which he endeavoured to shew that they are the descendants of the long-lost ten tribes of Israel. We do not find that any of the other missionaries adopted his views. Dr Edward Robinson, the distinguished traveller in the East, after examining Dr Grant's theory, rejected it. His argument, drawn from the resemblance between certain customs and observances of the Nestorians, and some of the rites and practices of the Israelites, he considers as proving too much, as they are not, in general, either Jewish or Nestorian distinctively, but Oriental, in the broad sense of the term, and it might, consequently, be applied with equal propriety to most eastern nations, and shew them to be all of the same origin.—*Perkins*, pp. 2, 320. There is, besides, often much of fancy in discovering and drawing correspondences between different tribes and nations, while points of difference are overlooked, when a writer has in view the establishment of some peculiar and favourite opinion. Indeed, in regard to matters of this kind, it is scarcely possible to arrive at anything like certainty, and there will always be room for doubts and hesitation.

and Scriptural; but yet they were wofully ignorant of other and most important truths of Christianity. Of the great doctrine of justification by faith, they knew little or nothing. Of the nature and necessity of regeneration, they were equally ignorant. Repentance for sin they confounded with outward rites and bodily austerities. Many human and childish traditions were current among them, and their expositions of Scripture were at once mystical and puerile.[1]

The worship of the Nestorians in their churches consists merely in chanting portions of the Psalms, and reciting their liturgy, which are all in the ancient Syriac language, and are understood by few, either of the priests or the people. Their religious services appear to be a mere heartless form; the exercises of the people seemed to consist chiefly in bowing, kneeling, and crossing themselves.[2]

It was painful to see to what an extent the Sabbath was profaned among the Nestorians. A few of them attended prayers at the church early in the morning; the rest of the day was spent in transacting business, in visiting, feasting, amusement, and dissipation, though working does not seem to be allowed.[3]

Among the Nestorians, fastings are very frequent. About a hundred and seventy days, or nearly one-half of the year, are devoted to them. During their fasts, they abstain from animal food, but not for a single day from food altogether. Each fast is anticipated and followed by a festival, to make up for their self-denial during the fast. In this way, nearly the whole year is cut up between fasts and feasts, into seasons of partial abstinence and of gross indulgence, of senseless mummery or noisy revelling. By common consent, it is held lawful and proper among the Nestorians to labour and transact business during their fasts; the only difference between these and other times, is abstinence from animal food. It matters nothing how richly their vegetable dishes are served up; indeed the palatable preparation of Fast dishes is quite a science among them. During the festivals, on the contrary, it is reckoned very improper to labour.

[1] Grant's Nestorians, p. 6.—Perkins, pp. 20, 205, 247, 257, 417.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 61.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1842, p. 128.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiii. p. 33.—Perkins, pp. 182, 188.

[3] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. pp. 300, 305.—Perkins, p. 247.

The whole time must then be devoted to eating, drinking, and carousal. It is not easy to conceive what an amount of evil results from the weeks of idleness, and the general check to industry, caused by this prohibition of labour. The people proclaim with great self-complacency the number and the length of their fasts; they consider them as the great badge and proof of true Christians; they would sooner die than taste animal food on one of their fast days.[1]

Among the Nestorians, falsehood, swearing, and intemperance, were prevailing sins. The great majority of them, both priests and people, indulged in lying. Truth was held in small estimation among them, and falsehood was little or no reproach. Lying, they alleged, was often indispensable to save them from being overreached and oppressed by their Mahommedan masters. This want of veracity led to the frequent and general use of oaths among them. From the man of gray hairs to the child who had just learned to talk, swearing was universal. They interspersed it in their conversation on all subjects, however trivial they might be. Intemperance was in like manner exceedingly prevalent among them. With few exceptions, they were a nation of wine-bibbers. Their fertile country being like one great vineyard, they alleged that their facilities for indulging in the use of wine the only privilege left them to cheer and sustain their spirits was a precious boon vouchsafed to them by Heaven, and almost under the intolerable oppressions of their Mahommedan rulers.[2]

The morals of the Nestorians were, however, in some respects, vastly superior to those of their Mahommedan neighbours. The virtue of chastity, for example, was scarcely found among the latter, while by the former it was, to a considerable extent, held sacred.[3]

Few of the Nestorians were able to read or write. Few even of the ecclesiastics could read intelligibly. A majority of the priests could merely chant their devotional services in the ancient Syriac language, while neither they nor their hearers knew any-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiii. p. 33; vol. xxxiv. p. 299; vol. xxxix. p. 61.—Perkins, pp. 247, 254.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxviii. p. 266; vol. xxxix. p. 60.—Perkins, pp. 247, 248.

[3] Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 279.

thing of their meaning. Even some of the bishops in the Mountains were equally ignorant.[1]

The number of books among the Nestorians was very limited, and copies of them were extremely rare. The library of the patriarch, which had often been represented to the missionaries as altogether prodigious, and might appear so to these simple-hearted people, was found to consist of not more than sixty volumes, a part of which were duplicates; yet there was no other collection of books among the Nestorians to be compared with it. Not a single complete copy of the Holy Scriptures was to be found in the possession of any of them. Even a whole copy of the New Testament was rarely to be seen. They had the whole Scriptures in their hands, but it was in detached portions, some of which were very rare. As a consequence of this, there was great ignorance among all classes, both clergy and laity.[2]

With a name to live, and with a rigid punctiliousness in observing the outward forms of their religion, the Nestorians as a body were dead. The vitality and power of Christianity were gone. Scarcely a symptom of spiritual life remained. Indeed, in both an intellectual and religious point of view, the flame of their candle had long been flickering, and it now appeared as if ready to expire.[3]

But though Christianity was in a very decayed state among them, we must not conclude that it cost them no sacrifices. It cost them the rights and privileges of freemen, and brought upon them every kind of oppression and ignominy. Christians in England and America know nothing, in comparison with the Nesterians, of suffering for the *name* of the Lord Jesus. They are habitually called by the Mahommedans, unclean, infidels, dogs, and they are treated in accordance with such appellations. Often their property, and sometimes their children, are wantonly taken from them, on account of their profession of Christianity; while their renunciation of it would place them at once beyond the reach of such indignities and sufferings. It is wonderful that they have clung so tenaciously, from century to century, to the

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. p. 306; vol. xxxix. p. 62.—Perkins, pp. 17, 249.
[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxviii. p. 266; vol. xxxix. p. 62.—Perkins, pp. 14, 351.
[3] Perkins, pp. 247, 249.

religion of Christ, when they had to pay such a price for it, while yet they were uncheered and unsustained by its living power and consolations.[1]

On coming to Urumiah, the missionaries were very favourably received by the Nestorians, particularly by some of the bishops. It is also due to the Mahommedans, and especially to the higher classes, Moolahs as well as others, to state, that they uniformly treated them with great kindness and respect. The governor shewed them great consideration; and Malek Kasem Mirza, one of the princes of the royal family, who appeared very desirous of promoting the improvement of his country, was on a most friendly footing with them. The ready access which they had to persons of the highest rank in Persia, commended them to the respect and confidence of all classes, and contributed much to secure them from danger and annoyance.[2]

One of the first objects to which they directed their attention, was the education of the people. With a view to this, they commenced a seminary of a superior kind, for the purpose of preparing native agents, some for the office of teachers, and others of priests. Among their early pupils were several bishops, priests, and deacons, some of them advanced in years, who availed themselves of the advantages of the institution.[3]

Besides the seminary, the missionaries established common schools in the villages. Nearly all the more populous villages in the plain of Urumiah were, after some years, supplied with the means of education. The teachers were generally priests or deacons, or persons who had been educated in the seminary.[4]

They also, after some time, established a female boarding-school. To educate females appeared to the Nestorians at first strange and novel, and even as overstepping the bounds of modesty and propriety. A few girls had previously been received both into the seminary and the village schools, as it was thought better to bring them together, in the first instance, with the boys, than to establish a separate school for them, lest a prema-

[1] Perkins, p. 248.

[2] Ibid. pp. 208, 228, 231, 259, 282, 287, 290, 293, 300, 325, 342, 374, 383, 397, 418, 430.

[3] Ibid. p. 250.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 279; vol. xxxix. p. 344.

[4] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1837, p. 64.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 387; vol. xlviii. p. 205.

ture attempt of the kind should excite undue notoriety, and perhaps call forth opposition. The boarding-school which they at length established was not attended at first by many scholars, but the few who did attend made good progress. Ultimately, it was eminently successful, and had a powerful effect in doing away with the prejudices of the people against female education. The course of study pursued in it had reference to thorough training. While the Bible, studied geographically, historically, and doctrinally, was the principal text-book, arithmetic, geography, physiology, natural philosophy, and profane history, also received a due share of attention. As regards system, order, studiousness, good conduct, and rapid improvement, the school was thought not to be surpassed by any in America.[1]

The missionaries, from the time of their arrival in the country, had sought, in their intercourse with the bishops and priests, to communicate to them Scriptural views of Christianity. They had also held meetings for religious worship with the pupils in the seminary, and such others as chose to attend. They had long looked forward to the time when the way would be opened for their preaching to the people in their own language; and this having been desired by some, they proposed making a beginning in a private house, if a convenient place could be found, rather than, by meeting in the church at Urumiah as was proposed, run the risk of exciting the jealousy and opposition of the priesthood. But on mentioning their views to several of the ecclesiastics, they assured them that there would be no objections to their preaching in the church; that bishops, priests, deacons, and people would all approve of it. They accordingly preached in the church on the following Sabbath, when about forty or fifty people assembled, and listened in perfect silence, and with encouraging attention. The Nestorians were hitherto unaccustomed to preaching in their churches; indeed, the priests, from their ignorance, were incapable of preaching.[2]

Having made a commencement of preaching in the church at Urumiah, they soon began to preach also in the churches of the neighbouring villages. The people attended in considerable num-

[1] Perkins, pp. 290, 336.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 66; vol. xlviii. p. 67.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1852, p. 87.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 493.—Perkins, p. 333.

bers, and listened with apparent interest and attention. Indeed, the missionaries were obliged to refuse many applications from villages as promising as those in which they held religious services. It must not, however, be supposed that the people were so eager to hear the gospel, that they themselves made these applications. The priests of the villages were the movers; and it was, doubtless, in many cases, in the hope of finding employment as teachers of schools, or in some other way in connexion with the mission.[1]

In October 1839, Dr Grant, after a difficult and perilous journey from Constantinople, by way of Mosul, arrived at Julamerk, the metropolitan village of the independent Nestorians, who inhabit the mountains of Kurdistan, to the west of Urumiah. They were a bold hardy race; and though surrounded by powerful neighbours, had always maintained their independence, and had hitherto set at defiance even the predatory and lawless Kurds.[2] Dr Grant had been warned of the danger of penetrating into their country; and though his heart had been long set on visiting them, yet, in entering it, he was not without apprehensions as to the reception he might meet with. He gives the following account of his approach to Lezan, the first of their villages:—"I set off at an early hour in the morning; and after a toilsome ascent of an hour and a half, I found myself at the summit of the mountain, where a scene indescribably grand was spread out before me. The country of the independent Nestorians opened before my enraptured vision like a vast amphitheatre of wild precipitous mountains, broken with deep dark-looking defiles and narrow glens, into few of which the eye could penetrate, so far as to gain a distinct view of the cheerful smiling villages, which have long been the secure abodes of the main body of the Nestorian Church, the home of a hundred thousand Christians, around whom the arm of Omnipotence had reared the adamantine ramparts, whose lofty snow-capped summits seemed to blend with the skies in the distant horizon. I retired to a sequestered pinnacle of a rock, where I could feast my eyes upon the sublime spec-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvii. pp. 53, 382, 386; vol. xxxviii. p. 266.

[2] It was only, however, the more populous districts of Diss, Tyary, Jelu, Bass, and Tehoob, which could be called independent; the less populous districts were subject to the Kurdish tribes who dwell in the same parts, and, being far more numerous than the Nestorians, grievously oppressed and often plundered them.—*Perkins*, pp. 6, 501.

tacle, and pour out my heartfelt gratitude that I had been brought at length, through so many perils, to behold a country from which emanated the brightest beams of hope for the long benighted empire of Mahommedan delusion, by whose millions of votaries I was surrounded on every side.

"After gazing and wondering at the scenes before me, I sped my course down the steep declivity of the mountain, now cautiously climbing along the precipitous descent, and over the rocks, which obstructed our course; now resting my weary limbs under the inviting shade of some wild pear-tree; and anon, mounted on my hardy mule, winding along the narrow zig-zag pathway over the mountain spurs, and down, far down to the banks of the rolling, noisy, dashing Zab, where lay one of the large populous villages of the independent Nestorians, which extended, amid fertile gardens, for more than a mile in length.

"What reception shall I meet with from these wild sons of the mountain, who have never before seen the face of a foreigner? How will they regard the helpless stranger, thrown so entirely upon their mercy? One breath of suspicion might blast my fondest hopes. But God was smiling upon the work in which I was engaged; prayer had been heard; and the way was prepared before me in a manner truly wonderful. The only person I had ever seen from this remote tribe was a young Nestorian, who came to me about a year ago, entirely blind. He said he had never expected to see the light of day, till my name had reached his country, and he had been told that I could restore his sight. With wonderful perseverance he had gone from village to village, seeking some one to lead him by the hand, till in the course of five or six weeks he reached my residence at Urumiah, where I removed the cataract from his eyes, and he returned to his mountains seeing. Scarcely had I entered the first village in his country, when this young man, hearing of my approach, came, with a smiling countenance, bearing in his hand a present of honey, in token of his gratitude for the restoration of his sight, and affording me an introduction to the confidence and the affections of his people."

On arriving at Diss, the residence of the patriarch, Dr Grant met with a very friendly reception from Mar Shimon, who appeared to enter very cordially into the measures he proposed for

educating the people, providing them with the Holy Scriptures, and raising up a well-instructed priesthood.[1]

Dr Grant subsequently made repeated visits to the independent Nestorians. He travelled through the whole length and breadth of their country, traversing the mountains in almost every direction, and gained, as he thought, the friendship and confidence, not only of the patriarch and his people, but of the Kurds, with whom he was brought, in his capacity as a physician, into very intimate and friendly intercourse. Having now the prospect of being joined by other missionaries, he made arrangements for forming stations at various places; and he began to build a house for the accommodation of three mission families at a village called Asheta, in the district of Tyary; but all his plans were suddenly broken up by the calamities which now overtook the Nestorians of the Mountains.[2]

In July 1843, the forces of Nurulah Bey and Bader Khan Bey, two powerful Kurdish chiefs, made a descent upon the districts of Diss and Tyary. The Kurds and the Nestorians dwelling in the same mountains had always maintained a hostile attitude to each other. Mar Shimon, the present patriarch, had excited the violent hostility of his own people, by what they called his grasping at political power, which had been claimed by none of his predecessors, but by the Meleks only. He also roused the jealousy and hatred of his neighbour Nurulah Bey, the powerful chief of the Hakary Kurds, whose very existence as Emir would be endangered, should the Nestorians rise in political influence, as would certainly be the case if they became united under one supreme head. Nurulah Bey had himself to contend against the party of Suleiman Bey, the son of the former Emir, in his own territory; and the friendly intimacy which subsisted between the patriarch and Suleiman roused all the fears and vindictive passions of the Kurdish chief. There was, besides, no want of personal grudges and old quarrels to keep up and fan the flame of mutual hostility between Mar Shimon and the Hakary chief, who, only two years before, had burned the residence of the patriarch at Diss, and driven him to take refuge in the district of Tyary. Nurulah Bey now sought the aid of Kader Khan Bey, the chief

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. pp. 126, 305; vol. xxxvii. pp. 114, 123.—Perkins, p. 18.
[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxviii. pp. 44, 215, 257; vol. xxxix. p. 66.

of Buhtan, who had been extending his dominion on every side, and was now the most powerful man in Kurdistan, though nominally subject to the Porte. The combined forces of the two chiefs came down upon the small district of Diss, and then on the more populous district of Tyary, with all the fury of their own mountain storms. The Nestorians were much divided among themselves; they had no leader; there was no concert among them. It was impossible there should, there existed so much animosity between different tribes and individuals. The whole war might be called a massacre; for it was little more than a succession of slaughters. The Kurds passed from village to village, killing or taking captive the inhabitants, plundering and burning their houses, and laying waste their fields and gardens; and, except in one or two instances, without even the shadow of resistance. Each village cared only for itself; every man sought only his own personal safety; and hence they became an easy prey to their enemies. The Kurds spared neither age nor sex; in many instances they exercised the most wanton cruelties on the miserable Nestorians. Their ravages, however, were chiefly confined to the districts of Diss and Tyary. The tribes of Tehoma, Bass, and Jelu, suffered comparatively little, except in the loss of their property and independence.[1]

Immediately on the commencement of hostilities Dr Grant made his escape, though not without some difficulty, from the Mountains, and returned to Mosul, which had for some time past been the head-quarters of several missionaries who had come to co-operate with him in his labours among the Nestorians. Some of them, including their wives, had died, and that not long after their arrival; yet the survivors, notwithstanding these afflictive visitations, were not disheartened, but, putting their trust in God, resolved to persevere in the arduous work which they had undertaken. Now, indeed, a new and heavy trial befel them. Their noble pioneer and coadjutor, Dr Grant, had not long returned to Mosul when he was seized with typhus fever, and died after an illness of less than three weeks. People of every rank, men of all sects and religions, watched the progress of his disease with the utmost anxiety. The French consul visited him

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. pp. 67, 435, 453; vol. xl. pp. 23, 135, 202, 263; vol. xli. pp. 117, 121.

almost daily. The Turkish authorities sent to inquire for him. Mar Shimon, the patriarch, who had also fled to Mosul, said, "My country and my people are gone; now Dr Grant is also taken, and there remains nothing to me but God."[1]

The whole country was now in the power of the Kurds; but with the exception of a poll-tax, they imposed no burdens upon the Nestorians, nor was there any Kurdish military force or even ruler left to secure their obedience. Those who had been taken captive or driven away returned in considerable numbers. They appeared to be slowly collecting flocks and herds around them again, and gradually resuming the cultivation of the soil. Their sufferings had made them feel the importance of union; but yet the several districts took little interest in the welfare of each other, and fierce contests not unfrequently sprung up between them. There appeared to be a singular want of law and order among them. If Bader Khan Bey had taken them under his own immediate authority, their condition would probably have been improved by the change, and their subjugation have turned out a blessing rather than a curse. In one district to which his rule appears to have extended, the people, though they spoke of their oppressions, acknowledged at the same time that they were in better circumstances than they had been formerly. Previous to its coming under his stern rule, this part of Kurdistan was the theatre of constant struggles between petty chiefs, and the Christian population became the prey, now of one and then of another.[2]

In November 1844, Messrs Perkins and Stocking proceeded to Tehran, the capital of Persia, for the purpose of submitting to the government a correct view of the nature and object of their operations. The French Jesuits had pushed their proselyting measures so vigorously among the Armenians of Ispahan and Tabriz, that they were ordered away from the country two years before; and in connexion with this measure the Persian government issued a permanent order, that no native Christians should in future be proselyted from one Christian sect to another. Whether Russia, regarding French Jesuit missions with a jealous eye on account of their political bearing, was at all concerned in

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 435; vol. xl. pp. 164, 264.
[2] Miss. Her. vol. xlii. p. 407.

this order, is not known; but it is very probable she was the instigator of it, as it is quite in accordance with her policy. The French government, after some delay, was induced to send an envoy to Persia, to effect, if possible, the return of the missionaries; but before he reached that country, they had clandestinely made their way to Urumiah, been seeking to gain over the Nestorians to Rome, and, in consequence of this, been ordered a second time to quit the country. The demand of the envoy that permission should be granted to the Jesuits to return having been refused, he then required the expulsion of the American missionaries, as being obnoxious to the same law. The Russian ambassador, under whose protection they had been since the withdrawal of the English embassy some years before, denied that it was the object of the mission to proselyte in the sense contemplated by the law. The French envoy then demanded an investigation, and to this the ambassador and the Persian government readily consented. Two Mahommedan mirzas were sent from Tabriz to Urumiah, to inquire into the truth of the allegation, that the missionaries had drawn away certain Nestorians from their original ecclesiastical connexion. The report of the mirzas was very artfully drawn up, and bore manifest traces of the influence of the Jesuits. Not all the Persians in the country could, uninstructed, have framed such a document. After Messrs Perkins and Stocking had given such statements and explanations as they judged necessary, the Russian ambassador procured a firman, directing that the three Nestorians, who were said in the report of the mirzas to have been drawn off to a new ecclesiastical organization, should be summoned to Tabriz, and declare upon oath whether the charge was true or not. The individuals referred to accordingly repaired to Tabriz in company with Dr Wright; and after they were examined on the subject, a full report of the proceedings was sent to the Shah at Tehran, and also to the Russian ambassador. This report having proved satisfactory to the government, the threatened storm passed away.[1]

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1845, p. 120.—Miss. Her. vol. xli. pp. 213, 253, 256.

Circumstances of this kind are not perhaps likely to occur again. In 1851, Colonel Shiel, the English minister at the court of Persia, succeeded in obtaining an order from the king which grants equal protection to all his Christian subjects, including the right of proselytism, and of change from one sect to another.—*Miss Her.* vol. xlviii. p. 141.

In 1847, the Turkish government sent an army into Kurdistan for the purpose of subduing the Kurds. The strongest and most inaccessible fortresses of that wild and mountainous region were quickly occupied by the Turkish troops. Even the lofty rocky castle of Julamerk, at once the pride and the terror of the mountain tribes, was in the hands of an Osmanli garrison. Bader Khan Bey, the Buhtan chief, was a prisoner of the Turks, while the Hakary chief, Nurulah Bey, was flying before them, like a partridge, from mountain to mountain; and though he crossed the boundary of Kurdistan, and took refuge in an old fortress on the borders of Persia, he was still closely pursued, and was at length taken captive by the Turks. Thus the power of the Kurds, so terrible for centuries, was broken. There was something sublime as well as interesting in the movements of the Turkish troops in these rugged mountainous regions; and though the wild and lawless mountaineers did not much relish the Turkish sway, it ultimately conduced to their safety and security.[1]

Mar Shimon, the Nestorian patriarch, who had resided during the last four years at Mosul, nominally the guest of the Turkish authorities, though in reality the prisoner, now very unexpectedly made his appearance at Urumiah. He left Turkey and came into Persia without the knowledge or consent of the Turkish government. The Porte, in the view of the subjugation of the Kurds, had recently sent a requisition to him to come to Constantinople, with the design, it was supposed, of impressing him with the power of the Sultan, and sending him back to the mountains duly authorized as the patriarch and governor of his people; but he, jealous, perhaps, of the intentions of the Turkish government, instead of obeying the order, made the best of his way to Urumiah. At first he appeared very friendly to the missionaries; he often expressed to his people a deep sense of his obligations to them for the kindness they had shewn to members of his family in their afflictions, his confidence in them, and his satisfaction with their operations; but either won over by their enemies, among whom were two of his own brothers, or

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xliii. pp. 349, 375; vol. xlv. pp. 195, 248; vol. xlvii. p. 59.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 162.

what is as likely, throwing off the mask which he had hitherto worn, he, after some months, set himself in opposition to them, first secretly, and then openly, without any disguise. He first attacked the seminary; he next sought to withdraw the native assistants from co-operating with the missionaries, at one time calling into exercise all his powers of persuasion, at another abusing them in the most violent and insolent manner, threatening them with personal injury, and even pronouncing on some of them the extreme and once dreaded sentence of excommunication. In short, he endeavoured to arrest the whole operations of the mission among the Nestorians. The schools must all be closed; the preaching of the gospel must cease; and even the missionaries who had done so much for his people must be driven away. In regard to the means which he employed to accomplish his purposes, he appears to have been perfectly unscrupulous; there was nothing which he was not prepared to do, provided only he could thereby destroy the mission.

But the native preachers and other helpers were not to be deterred from prosecuting their labours by his opposition and violence. They still went about as before, proclaiming, both in the plains and in the mountains, the glad tidings of Divine mercy; nor were the people hindered by his threats from listening to the word of life. A priest, who was also the teacher of a school, being ordered by the patriarch to suspend his labours, and to discourage the preaching of the gospel, though he was not at that time considered a pious man, made him the following answer: "Please your reverence, then let a paper be drawn up with your seal upon it, saying, 'I forbid the bishops, priests, and deacons, to preach any more the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that the children be taught any more to read; and declare that I, Mar Shimon, take it upon myself to answer for all this before the judgment seat of Christ.' Give me such a paper, that I may be relieved of all responsibility in this matter." Such a paper, however, the patriarch did not give him.

After some time, the patriarch was almost wholly forsaken by the ecclesiastics of Urumiah. The four bishops of the province, and nearly all the priests and deacons, and many other leading persons among the Nestorians, united in a representation to the

Persian government, very commendatory of the character and objects of the mission, with the view of counteracting his machinations. The cheerfulness with which the body of the Nestorian ecclesiastics of Urumiah thus came forward to the help of the mission, at a time when they might have embarrassed it by taking a different course, was truly gratifying. It was also matter of gratitude to God, that those among the Nestorians who were regarded as pious, with scarcely an exception stood by the mission nobly, and that in the face of trial and reproach, and manifested much of the spirit of Christianity during the whole course of the patriarch's violent career; and that many who were not regarded as pious also manifested a decision in favour of what was right, which could scarcely have been expected of them under the circumstances. Indeed, though the Nestorians, like all other Orientals, were greatly disposed to reverence their ecclesiastical head, and to yield submission to his injunctions, yet Mar Shimon had now entirely lost his influence in the province of Urumiah. Hence there were times when his destructive efforts were intermitted. Having received a letter from the governor of the Nestorians, then at Tabriz, rebuking him for his conduct toward the mission, and advising him to desist from his opposition, he professed to regret his past course, and made overtures of peace to the missionaries. They, on their part, appear to have done all which they could do, as faithful servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, to restore amicable relations; but it was to no purpose. From that time forward he became more and more reckless, scattering his anathemas on every hand, and abetting measures of extreme lawlessness and violence.[1]

Though the mission was thus not without its difficulties and trials, yet it made important advances in all its branches. There were, in particular, several seasons of what are usually called *revivals*, which deserve special notice.[2]

On all these occasions the work commenced in the male and female seminaries. Many of the pupils, both boys and girls, manifested deep concern about their souls, and a large number

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xli. p. 410; vol. xliii. pp. 349, 374; vol. xliv. pp. 414, 416; vol. xlv. pp. 26, 196, 200, 243.—Report Board For. Miss. 1849, p. 126.

[2] These revivals were four in number; they all commenced in the month of January, in the years 1846, 1849, 1850, and 1851.

of them, it was hoped, were savingly converted. Every day resembled a Sabbath, so much did they give themselves up to reading, meditation, and prayer. A more delightful employment could scarcely be imagined than training up these young immortals in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and in faith and love, and other Christian graces.[1]

Though the work commenced in the male and female seminaries, it was not confined to them. It also extended to the Nestorians in the town of Urumiah, and in several of the neighbouring villages. In Geog Tapa, the largest Nestorian village in the province, there was an unusual interest manifested in religion; the whole village appeared as if awaking out of a deep sleep. In passing along the streets, one might hear the voice of prayer in not a few houses; and if he entered the fields and vineyards in the vicinity, the same hallowed sounds would reach his ears. Among those who gave evidence of piety were a number of ecclesiastics, several of them persons of influence.[2] Females also shared

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlii. pp. 235, 238, 253, 261, 289; vol. xlv. pp. 198, 279; vol. xlvi. pp. 160, 201; vol. xlvii. pp. 163, 181.

[2] Mar Yohannan, one of the bishops, who had been connected with the mission from its commencement, and been long employed in its service, and who had even accompanied Mr Perkins to America, where he excited much interest, had afterwards greatly disappointed the missionaries, by his worldliness and backslidings. Probably he was injured by the foolish and flattering attentions which are so often shewn to persons coming from the field of missions, at least if there happen to be anything special or popular about them. It was hoped, however, that he had become of late a subject of renewing grace. In writing of him, Mr Stocking gives us the following touching narrative:—"On Sabbath morning, a special messenger was sent to Urumiah, requesting Mar Yohannan and myself to come to Geog Tapa, and aid the people in the services of the day. On reaching the village, we found a large assembly at the house of Mar Elias, listening to an exhortation from priest Abraham. Mar Yohannan was called on to address the assembly, which he did in an affecting manner, not having seen them before since the change in his own feelings. He spoke of himself as the chief of sinners, as having led more souls to destruction than any other of his people, and as being all covered with their blood. In regard to the sheep or people of his diocese, he said, the fattest of them he had eaten; the poorest he had cast away; the maimed, the lame, the sick, he had wholly neglected. He declared that an awful weight of sin rested upon him; and he entreated them to look no longer to their bishops for salvation, but to repent immediately, and turn to God.

"At the close of an earnest appeal, the younger priest Abraham, the acting priest of the village, arose and made a most humble confession of his sins, as their own priest, in leading them quietly along in carnal security and unbelief, and, next to the bishops, as stained most deeply with their blood. In a most pathetic manner, he entreated them, one and all, to attend to the salvation of their souls. This priest has been recently awakened for the first time; and he now gives evidence, by an humble Christian life, and by his efforts to save the souls he has been leading to ruin, of having come to an ex-

largely in the blessings of this work of grace. In a word, persons of all classes and ages, young and old, the learned and the wholly illiterate, were among its hopeful subjects. Even persons of the most abandoned character were awakened; numerous crimes, some of them committed twenty-five years before, were confessed, and restitution made of stolen property.[1]

The revival among the Nestorians was characterized by features

perimental knowledge of the truth."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlii. pp. 260, 292; vol. xlv. pp. 200, 201.

Deacon Isaac, a brother of the patriarch, is another interesting example. He was a man of much vigour of mind, and had formerly opposed the missionaries; but now (1846) he became one of their constant hearers, and manifested much concern about his spiritual condition. Mr Stoddard gives the following account of a visit which he received from him :—" As I inferred from his manner that he wished to converse on the subject of religion, I began by asking him if he rejoiced in what the Lord was doing for his people. He replied, 'None but Satan can help rejoicing. I do certainly rejoice. But I am like a man that stands on the shore of a lake, and, seeing a beautiful country on the other side, is gladdened by the prospect, but has no means of reaching that beautiful country himself. Would that I were a child, that I might repent too. But no, it cannot be. My heart is ice. There is no such sinner among the people as I am. I do not believe it is possible for me to be saved.' I reminded him of the freeness of Christ's love, and his willingness to receive the vilest sinner that will come to him. After some hesitation, he admitted that it was indeed so. 'But,' said he, 'the great obstacle is myself. My heart is perfectly dead. You may cut and thrust me with a sword, but I am insensible to the stroke. And if you kindly pour ointment on my wounds, it is all the same. I choose sin : I love sin. The wild beasts in the mountains are enticed by the hunters, and seize the bait, not knowing what they do. But I take this world with my eyes open, knowing that I am choosing destruction, and eating death. It is a shame for me to remain in such a miserable condition, while these boys are weeping over their sins; and I am ashamed. But such is the fact, and I expect to die as I have lived, and go to hell.'"

Three years afterwards (1849) we have the following account of him :—" Deacon Isaac, the most intellectual and influential brother of the patriarch, appears to be a penitent and sincere believer in Jesus. Our pious natives behold, with wonder and admiration, the change in this man. By nature proud, but frank, and disdaining everything like hypocrisy, he now seems to be humble, and very much afraid of self-deception. And though he is competent, by his superior knowledge of the truths of revelation, to teach the more intelligent of the people, he feels that he is benefited by the conversation and prayers of the humblest pious child. His habits are entirely changed from those of a prayerless and worldly man, to one who daily commends himself and family to God, with the reading of the Holy Scriptures. He bears testimony, in public and in private, to the power and excellency of the gospel of Christ; and promises to become an able and valuable helper, both here and in the mountains. His greatest apprehension now is, that he may not endure to the end."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlii. pp. 257, 347; vol. xlv. p. 200.

We have given these examples, not simply for their own sake, but also as an illustration of the intelligent views, and the serious and powerful impressions of the Nestorian converts.

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlii. pp. 237, 289; vol. xlv. pp. 200, 241, 281; vol. xlvi. pp. 202, 237; vol. xlvii. p. 183.

which give us much confidence in its reality and purity. The following are some of these circumstances:—

1. It was characterized by *a deep and vivid sense of their own sinfulness.* Persons under convictions were, in most cases, for a considerable time in awful distress, often so intense as to shake the stoutest frame; but this arose, in general, much more from a strong impression of the number and aggravation of their iniquities, than from any apprehension of danger or punishment. "My sins," they would say, "are greater than the mountains, and more in number than the sand on the sea-shore." This, and similar expressions which were used by them, were not so much the language of oriental imagery, as the honest utterance of their burdened souls.

2. *An overwhelming sense of their lost and undone condition as sinners, and of their utter inability to save themselves,* remarkably characterized the subjects of this revival. To inquiries relative to how they were, the common reply, uttered often with difficulty, and amidst tears and suppressed sobs, was, "I am lost, I am utterly lost!" This answer appeared to be given not merely through the teachings of revelation, but still more through the convicting energies of the Holy Spirit powerfully operating on their hearts.

3. The subjects of this revival *intelligently recognized and cordially embraced the doctrine of salvation as the gift of free sovereign grace alone.* Indeed, much in proportion to the number and cumbersomeness of the dead formal religious observances of their Church, was the strength of their abhorrence of them as in any manner of way a substitute for justification by faith in the righteousness of Christ. No language could express more aptly their feelings on the subject than the words of Isaiah, which they often repeated,—"All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags." It was alike interesting and affecting to observe the artless fervour with which they turned in their prayers to the cross of Christ, as the only ground of their hope of pardon and salvation. "Blessed Saviour, we will cling to the skirts of thy garment for mercy, till our hands are cut off," was an expression employed in a prayer meeting, by a man whose heart seemed ready to burst with yearnings which appeared to be unutterable. Such an expression may be regarded as a fair example of the ardour of feel-

ing, and strength of language, with which, yet with no lack of reverence, they pressed their suit at the feet of Christ, as their all-sufficient and only Saviour.

4. *The self-consecration of the subjects of this revival to Christ and his service*, appeared to be remarkably hearty and entire. They seemed fully to comprehend, and cordially to adopt, the doctrine, that as they had before "yielded their members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity unto iniquity, so now they should yield their members servants to righteousness unto holiness." Those who hoped that they had "passed from death unto life," appeared to regard themselves, and all they possessed, as no longer their own, but as His who had purchased them with His blood. A very common petition which they used in their prayers, was, "O Lord, we pray that we may never deny thee, even till the blood of our necks;" an expression full of meaning in a land where the heads of condemned persons were so commonly cut off with a scimitar.

5. *An ardent desire for the salvation of their friends and countrymen*, strikingly characterized the subjects of this revival. It was with difficulty that the missionaries could retain many of the pupils of the seminary till the close of the term, so intense was their solicitude for the salvation of their parents, and brothers, and sisters, and neighbours, and so irresistible their desire to go and beseech them to be reconciled to God. The prayers which they offered up for them, and which were often continued during a considerable part of the night, were most importunate and affecting; while the numerous letters which they wrote to their relations were very touching and impressive. Even illiterate persons were hardly less earnest and active in their attempts to bring their relatives and neighbours to the knowledge of the truth.

6. *A remarkable quickening of the intellectual and moral powers*, was remarkably characteristic of the subjects of this revival. Even persons who were unable to read, were distinguished by the amount of their religious knowledge, and by their acquaintance with the Scriptures. The clearness and discrimination with which illiterate persons expressed their views of gospel truth, and the ability and pertinency with which they prayed, in public as well as in private, were very surprising. The limited range of

their knowledge on other subjects, seemed to occasion a concentration of their thoughts and feelings on the subject of religion. Having little to do with science, commerce, or politics, the cross of Christ, for the time, filled the whole field of their intellectual and moral vision, and wrought in them a change at once marvellous and glorious.[1]

The Nestorians themselves, particularly the pupils in the seminaries, and several pious and zealous priests, and the native helpers, were greatly instrumental in promoting these revivals. The interest of the native preachers in the work was very deep, and their ability for it was much greater than could have been expected. Their views of Divine truth were clear and discriminating, and their statements of it very impressive. In their ability to present Divine truth to the native mind distinctly and strongly, in their careful discrimination of character, and their discernment of what constituted true and false religion, the missionaries had great confidence. In preaching, they, as well as the missionaries, sought not to excite the passions, but to inform the judgment, and impress the heart by a plain and faithful exhibition of the truths of the gospel, especially of the great doctrine of Christ and him crucified.[2]

Some of the native evangelists made tours into distant and almost unexplored districts of the mountains, travelling in most cases on foot, that they might make known the glad tidings of salvation to their benighted countrymen, who in general received them favourably, and allowed them to preach in their churches. The missionaries also occasionally penetrated into the mountains, and were received no less favourably. Even the Kurdish chiefs, though Mahommedans, granted them their powerful protection in travelling through the country.[3]

The printing-press had also been established for some years at Urumiah. The number of works printed at it was not, indeed, considerable, the population among whom they could chiefly be circulated, the Nestorians of the plains, not being great, and only a small proportion of them being able to read. Among them

[1] Miss. Her. vol xlii. p. 349; vol. xlv. pp. 202, 280; vol. xlvi. p. 201.—Stoddart's Narrative of the Revival of Religion among the Nestorians, pp. 16, 28.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xlii. p. 349; vol. xlv. pp. 200, 202.

[3] Miss. Her. vol. xliii. pp. 53, 232, 294, 341; vol. xliv. pp. 54, 415; vol. xlvii. p. 91.

were the Old and New Testaments, translated into modern Syriac by Dr Perkins, with the ancient Syriac in parallel columns. There was also the *Pilgrim's Progress*, than which there are probably few works of Western origin more suited to Oriental minds.[1]

In November 1851, Messrs Coan and Rhea began a station among the Mountain Nestorians at the village of Memikan, in the district of Gawar, about seventy miles north-west of Urumiah. This place is within the boundaries of the Turkish empire; and, though the mission met with much hostility from the pacha, and also from the people, there is now the prospect of their enjoying the protection of the local authorities.[2]

With a view to the mission among the Mountain Nestorians, some missionaries, as we have already mentioned, had, in former years, remained at Mosul, on the western side of Kurdistan. They were severely tried by sickness and death, and that often under peculiarly distressing circumstances. After a few years, this branch of the mission was suspended; but it has of late been again renewed, not so much with a view to the Nestorians, as to the remains of the ancient churches in that quarter.[3]

We have thus given an account of the missions of the Board among the Greeks, the Armenians, the Syrians, and the Nesto-

[1] Perkins, p. 443.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1846, p. 131.—Ibid. 1848, p. 169.—Ibid. 1853, p. 88.

It was not till 1840 that the mission printing-press was established.—*Perkins*, p. 443. It is an interesting fact, however, that printing had been introduced into Persia previous to this. "While at Tabriz," says Dr Grant, writing in 1839, "I visited a Persian printing-office and type-foundry, where beautiful types were cast, and two lithographic presses were in constant operation. The whole was the work of Persian ingenuity. The presses were made by Persians, and worked by Persian printers. They had discovered that the Tabriz marble would make very good lithographic stones, and they wrought them with great nicety for that purpose. The type-foundry, though on a small scale, was by far the most interesting sight I have seen among the Mahommedans in Persia. As we examined the punches, matrices, and type, all made by a self-taught Persian, and saw, as the result of his ingenuity, the most beautiful specimens of Persian printing which have ever met our eye, I could not but feel that a day-star of hope was rising on this benighted land.

"A new fount of type is preparing for printing a large work of Universal history, and the presses now in operation are multiplying other works of Oriental literature."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxv. p. 284.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xlviii. pp. 106, 362; vol. xlix. p. 21; vol. l. p. 40.

[3] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1850, p. 110.—Dr Grant and the Mountain Nestorians, by the Rev. T. Laurie, pp. 407, 410.

rians. All these missions were originally begun on the principle of not interfering with their respective churches, of abstaining from exposing directly the error of their creeds, or the superstition of their rites and ceremonies; but it was designed to circulate among them the Holy Scriptures, and to endeavour to lead both the priests and the people to take them as the foundation of their faith and the rule of their practice. If converts were made, it was proposed not to form them into separate churches, but to leave them to remain in the communion of those to which they originally belonged.[1] It was supposed that the communication of the simple truth could not fail to eradicate error; that, in this way, these churches might be expected to become the instruments of their own reformation; that evangelical doctrine would spread among them, and spiritual life be infused into them.[2]

We have already stated our views of this theory in our account of the mission of the Church of England Society in Travancore, on the coast of Malabar. But yet the experiment made by the American Board was very important; and, as it was considerably varied, the results are the more valuable. Though the missionaries were, for the most part, favourably received at first, yet, when the objects and the tendency of their labours came to be better understood, and especially when a spirit of inquiry and of serious religion was awakened, the hierarchy, including patriarch, bishops, and priests, were armed against them, and sought to put an end to their labours, and to persecute their followers. Among the Greeks no church was formed; among the Armenians and Syrians, it was found necessary to form the converts into separate churches, and very special advantages have resulted from this measure, particularly as regards the Armenians.[3]

The missions of the London Missionary Society in the Ionian Islands, and of the Church Missionary Society in Greece, in Egypt, and in Abyssinia, were all undertaken on the same principles as those we have just mentioned, but none of them effected the smallest reformation in the Greek, the Coptic, or the Abys-

[1] Mr Schauffer, the missionary to the Jews at Constantinople, went so far as to propose turning Jewish converts over to the Greek or the Armenian Church.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxii. p. 137.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. pp. 117, 123, 125, 462; vol. xxxv. p. 41.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1836, p. 47.—Ibid. 1837, p. 53.—Perkins, pp. 31, 352.

[3] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 124.

sinian churches; and, so far as we know, they even produced little or no fruit as regards individuals. Thus far, therefore, the experiments have gone to confirm the views which we have expressed on this subject.

The Nestorians, however, may appear an exception to this; but we do not apprehend that the experiment as to them has proceeded far enough to warrant any such conclusion. The bishops and priests, it is true, were generally favourable to the missionaries, and several of them, from the beginning, assisted them in their labours. The people, too, were friendly; numbers, we trust, became partakers of Divine grace; and some laboured with much zeal and activity in making known the gospel to their countrymen. On the other hand, however, the patriarch, the head of their Church, though he, at first, professed himself friendly to them, afterwards became decidedly opposed to them, and nothing but the want of power kept him from following the same course as the heads of the other Churches. The Nestorians, too, of the plains were an oppressed people, and comparatively but a small body. They also derived temporal advantages from the residence of the missionaries among them; and some of the bishops and priests were actually in the service and pay of the mission, circumstances which will readily account for the want of opposition from them.[1] But, what it is of special importance to remark, though individual converts were made from among the Nestorians, the Church itself remained unreformed. Its doctrines, its rites and ceremonies, its dead forms, with its unscriptural constitution, continue the same as before, and are in the course, just as in past ages, of being handed down to future generations, so that there is no security or provision that the good which has been effected will be permanent, and go down to bless posterity. Between the prospects of an unreformed, corrupt church, such as that of the Nestorians, and those of churches constituted on Scriptural principles, like those of the evangelical Armenians in Turkey, there is all the difference in the world.[2]

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1846, p. 130.

[2] The only exception which we have observed as to this was in the village of Geog Tapa. In 1849, there did begin a reformation of evil in the church in that village.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlv. p. 396. How far it went, and whether it was permanent, we do not know.

It will be recollected, that Mr Merrick was sent out with the special view of collect-

SECT. XI.—WESTERN AFRICA.

In November 1833, the Rev. John L. Wilson, and Mr S. R. Wyncoop, sailed for Cape Palmas on the western coast of Africa, in a vessel chartered by the Maryland Colonization Society, to carry out its first Black and coloured emigrants for the purpose of commencing a colony in that part of the world. This was merely a preliminary visit for the purpose of examining that part of the coast of Africa as a field of missions, and selecting a suitable spot where to make a commencement. Having accomplished these objects, they returned to America and made their report to the Board; and in the following year, Mr Wilson proceeded again to Cape Palmas to commence a mission.[1]

Here Mr Wilson was afterwards joined by other missionaries, but the progress of the mission was considerably checked by the

ing information relative to the character and condition of the Mahommedans in Persia and Central Asia, and of ascertaining where it might be expedient to form missionary stations. The general result of his inquiries and experience do not appear to have been favourable to the establishment of missions among the Mahommedans. Though Persia appeared to be making considerable advances in civilization; though there was a disposition in high quarters to encourage education; though most of the reigning family, and thousands of men of rank and influence, daily trampled under foot the precepts of the Koran, drinking wine, and eating proscribed articles of food, and advancing sentiments adverse to the tenets of Mahommed; though the increase of European influence, and the growing conviction of the superiority of Christian nations, were awakening a desire to imitate them in the knowledge of the sciences, literature, and the arts; though the missionaries among the Nestorians were not only protected, but were treated by all classes with respect and kindness,—yet there was no reason to suppose that open and direct efforts for the conversion of Mahommedans would be tolerated. The power of the priesthood is still very great, and they have at their back a fanatical populace; while the government, even were it so disposed, is too feeble to set itself in opposition to them, for the sake of an object to which, to say the least, it is altogether indifferent. —*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1837, p. 68.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxiii. p. 64; vol. xxxiv. pp. 63, 66; vol. xxxv. pp. 276, 283, 286; vol. xxxviii. p. 300.—*Perkins*, p. 184.

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxix. p. 400; vol. xxx. p. 73.

In the report which they made to the Board, they mention the remarkable fact of the invention of an alphabet by one of the negro tribes on that coast. "The Vey people, the tribe residing on Grand Cape Mount," they say, "have recently invented a system of writing entirely new, and altogether different from any other we have seen, in which, although it is not more than two years since it was first invented, they write letters and books. Some of their characters resemble the Arabic, some resemble Hebrew letters, others, Greek; but all of them, except those resembling the Arabic, are merely fanciful. The alphabet is syllabic."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxx. p. 215.

Mr Wyncoop gives the following account of the origin of the invention:—"A few in-

early death or ill health of several of them. Besides the station at Cape Palmas, there were several out-stations in the neighbouring country. Not much was effected in the way of preaching; the attendance on it was small. There were several small schools which were generally taught by native teachers, and there was a boarding-school or seminary for both boys and girls, one great object of which was the raising up of native teachers, and suitable helpmates for them. The printing press was also introduced, and there were printed at it school books, the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, and other portions of Scripture, and various tracts in the Grebo language, and also a grammar and a dictionary of the language itself. The children in the seminary were taught the English as well as their own language. It was a comparatively easy task for them to learn to read their own language, and they readily received and understood instruction communicated to them in it; but it required years of irksome labour to acquire even an imperfect and superficial knowledge of the English language; and when learned, they seemed to derive little

dividuals of this people are engaged in reducing their language to a written form. It was commenced about a year since. An old man dreamed that he must immediately begin to make characters for his language, that his people might write letters as they did at Monrovia. He communicated his dream and plan to some others, and they began the work. The progress they have made has satisfied them that it can be accomplished."—*Ibid.* vol. xxx. p. 336. It was in fact a complished. About 200 symbols represented the sounds of all the syllables occurring in the language, which is simple in its construction. Many of the symbols, however, appeared to be superfluous, and were never used in their books. The real number of syllables in the language was not more than 100:—*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1850, p. 68.

The Vey tribe were in some degree a civilized people. Mr Wilson says there was a very striking difference between them and all other tribes he saw on the coast. Nor were they ignorant of the existence of alphabetical characters; there was a school at Grand Cape Mount, under a Foulah man, for teaching Arabic, and they had before them the example of the colonists of Liberia, of which their country now formed a part, writing the English language. Still the invention of an alphabet for themselves, and reducing their language to writing, is a very remarkable fact. We know no other example of this in modern times, except that of the Cherokee Indians; and it is a singular circumstance, that the alphabet invented by both should have been syllabic. From the number and diversity of alphabets in the world, there must have been many examples of such an invention in ancient times; and it is the more singular that this should now be so rare, when, from the greater intercourse of nations, we might have expected it would be more frequent. Indeed the observation may be extended to civilization generally. In ancient times, there must have been many examples of nations rising to a considerable height of civilization, and to great proficiency in many of the arts; in modern times, we have no examples of savage or barbarous tribes rising to a similar height of civilization, and similar skill in the arts. The fact is remarkable.

advantage from it in the way of acquiring knowledge. But as soon as books were put into their hands in their own language, their progress in knowledge was exceedingly rapid. In fact, the English language was but imperfectly understood even by those who could read it mechanically, and this will always be the case with the great body of any people who, though taught to read it, do not use it as their ordinary medium of communication with their fellow-men. The English language may be of great use to those who are training to be instructors of others, on account of the treasures of knowledge which it opens up to them; but to think to communicate religious, or other knowledge, to a people through the medium of any other language but their own, will always be found a vain attempt.[1]

After some years, it became necessary to look out for another field of labour, in consequence of the embarrassments to which the mission was subjected by the laws of the colony. The colonial authorities appear to have been adverse to attempts to civilize and Christianize the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts of Africa, as being calculated to interfere with the temporal interests and prosperity of the colony.[2] A more short-sighted and narrow-minded policy it is not easy to conceive.

In June 1842, Mr Wilson commenced a new station at a place called Baraka, on the north side of the Gaboon river, about eight miles from its mouth, and after some months, the other missionaries removed thither from Cape Palmas. The Gaboon negroes, though not numerous, were greatly superior to most others on the coast of Africa. In their houses, dress, and manner of transacting business, in their treatment of females, and in their habits generally, they made some approach to civilized nations; and they appeared very desirous of instruction, thinking, no doubt, that by increasing their knowledge they would improve their

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1836, p. 36.—Ibid. 1837, p. 41.—Ibid. 1838, p. 56.—Ibid. 1839, p. 53.—Ibid. 1841, p. 85.—Ibid. 1842, p. 97.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. pp. 351, 358; vol. xxxvi. pp. 219, 221; vol. xxxvii. p. 351.

"Our present policy," the missionaries afterwards write, "is to teach those whom we expect to make teachers, both languages; but we would regard it as a needless waste of time and money, to introduce the English language into our schools generally."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxvi. p. 222.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1842, p. 47.

condition, and, in their mercantile transactions, be more on a level with White men.[1]

The labours of the missionaries in the Gaboon country were much of the same nature as at Cape Palmas. Besides Baraka, one or two other stations were occupied by them more in the interior. Schools were opened by them, but the preaching of the gospel was their chief employment. Besides school books, they printed the gospels of Matthew and John, and several religious pieces, in Mpongwe, as the language of the Gaboon people is called. They also prepared a grammar and vocabulary of that

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxviii. p. 497; vol. xxxix. p. 232.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1843, pp. 83, 86.

The Gaboon river, near the ocean, is from eight to fourteen miles wide. The Senegal, the Niger, and the Congo, are navigable to a greater distance; but for the last thirty miles of its course, it is fully equal in size to any of them, and much superior in grandeur and beauty. The entire trade of the river, exclusive of slaves, was estimated at upwards of 100,000 dollars.

"The native merchants," says Mr Wilson, "through whose hands the whole of this trade passes, are, for uneducated men, much more respectable than any I have known in Africa. Some of them are frequently trusted with goods by the captain of a single vessel, to the amount of two, three, or four thousand dollars; and as a general thing, I believe they are honourable and punctual in discharging their debts. There are a few who transact business to the amount of twelve or fifteen thousand dollars a year; how they manage a business of this extent, in the smallest fractions and driblets, without the aid of written accounts, is very surprising. It is done, however, and with the utmost accuracy, without any other aid than that of the memory. These merchants live in a respectable style, and associate with foreigners on terms of general equality. Their houses are supplied with many useful and costly articles of European furniture, and their tables, though spread with articles of food peculiar to the country, are nevertheless sufficiently tempting, even to the most fastidious appetites."

"The people," he says afterwards, "are inquisitive, and much pleased at the prospect of being taught to read and write. A few of them, impressed with the need of some knowledge of figures, have obtained sufficient acquaintance with arithmetic for the ordinary purposes of trade; so that we have here what may appear a little anomalous, good arithmeticians who do not know a letter of the alphabet."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxix. pp. 229, 231, 233.

The following statement by the missionaries is also remarkable, and is deserving of further investigation:—"There is probably no people on the Western coast of Africa, who have made further advances towards civilization, than those who reside upon the Gaboon, unless it be some who have been long under Christian instruction. And it may be questioned whether there are any of this description who have all the urbanity of manners, and kindliness of feeling, uniformly manifested by natives on this river. The cause of such a state of society, with barbarians on every side, is to us unknown. We have not yet learned that they have had any more, or even as much, intercourse with Europeans, as many other people, who are still as fierce and barbarous as ever. We cannot learn their origin, even from tradition; and we know not the causes that have been operating upon them to make them what they are.

"They have many improbable traditions of a man who lived long since (no one pretends to say when), and who holds the same rank, in the estimation of this people, that

language, which were printed at New York. Some small pieces in the Bakele language were likewise prepared and printed by them.[1]

SECT. XII.—SOUTH AFRICA.

ZULU COUNTRY.

In December 1834, the Rev. D. Lindley, the Rev. A. E. Wilson, M.D., and the Rev. H. I. Venable; the Rev. A. Grout, the Rev. G. Champion, and N. Adams, M.D., sailed from Boston for the Cape of Good Hope, with a view to missionary operations in the Zulu country; the first three in the interior, the last three on the coast at Port Natal or its vicinity.[2]

After arriving at the Cape of Good Hope, Messrs Lindley, Wilson, and Venable proceeded by way of Griqua town and Kuruman, stations of the London Missionary Society, to Mosika, where the French missionaries had begun a station a few years before among the Baharutsi, who then occupied that part of the country, but who were afterwards driven from it by Moselekatsi,

Confucius does in the opinion of the Chinese. Ragombe, however, has left his sayings to be handed down by tradition, and magnified by ten thousand rehearsals, until they are truly wonderful. They give him the credit of making their language and laws, and they ascribe to him superhuman wisdom and power. There can be little doubt that the real or fancied wisdom of some remarkable man has exerted a powerful influence on the character of this people."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xl. p. 185.

"The Gaboon people were once much more numerous than they are now. According to their own statements, they have greatly diminished within the last half century; the causes of this are not certainly known. Mr Wilson supposed that the Gaboon people, properly so called, did not exceed 6000. Including their slaves and the bushmen (negroes from the interior), who are living among them, they may amount to 25,000. Most of the men, perhaps four-fifths, spoke intelligible English. They had learned the art, not only of amassing property, but what is very rare in Africa, of keeping it also. The women were treated with much more consideration and kindness than in most heathen countries. They were required to perform less hard labour, and were more constantly employed in those pursuits which were appropriate to their sex, sewing, washing, cooking, &c. The general disposition of the people was mild and peaceful. In their intercourse with White men, they were uniformly civil and polite, and carefully avoided everything like obtrusiveness.

"Still, however, this was a heathen land. Slavery, polygamy, belief in witchcraft, intemperance, licentiousness, were prevailing evils."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxix. p. 230; vol. xl. p. 185.

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xl. pp. 112, 184; vol. xliii. p. 256.—Ibid. vol. xlix. p. 227.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 133.—Ibid. 1850, p. 96.—Ibid. 1853, p. 53.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxi. p. 32.

a Zulu chief who was the terror of all his neighbours; but the new missionaries had been there only three or four months when that chief, without any provocation, attacked a small body of Dutch farmers, who, being dissatisfied with the English government, had removed to the northward, far beyond the limits of the colony, and had come into the neighbourhood of what he claimed as his country. In his first attacks upon them he was successful, and carried off great numbers of their cattle, sheep, and goats. The farmers fell back toward the colony, and being reinforced by new emigrants, they returned and attacked Moselekatsi's people. "One morning, some time before sunrise," say the missionaries, "we were aroused by the startling cry, 'A commando, A commando!' Instantly a brisk fire commenced on a kraal a few hundred yards from our house. In a few minutes we were in the midst of the slaughter. The people fled towards our house, some of them that they might find protection in it, and others that they might hide themselves among some reeds growing in a small stream near it. Those who fled were pursued by the boers, with a determination to avenge themselves for the injuries they had received This brought us into the midst of the carnage. Several balls passed over our house, some struck it, and one passed through Mr Venable's chamber window, and, rebounding from the opposite wall, fell on his bed, in which he and his wife were lying at the time. The boers attacked and destroyed thirteen, some say fifteen kraals. Few of the men belonging to them escaped, and many of the women were either shot or killed with assagais." The farmers were determined to continue hostilities until they had either destroyed the power of Moselekatsi, or driven him and his people out of the country. As the prospects of the mission appeared thus completely darkened, the missionaries accepted the invitation of the boers to leave the country under their protection, and to join their brethren at Port Natal.[1]

In May 1836, Messrs Champion, Grout, and Adams had arrived at Port Natal; and they commenced a station at Umlazi, a few miles from that place, and another at Ginani, within the territory of Dingaan, the Zulu chief. After the arrival of the missionaries from the interior, three other stations were formed,

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiii. pp. 187, 236, 338, 416.

one on the Ilova river, another at Klangezoa, and a third at Umhlatusi, the last two within the country of Dingaan. But it was not long before the whole mission was broken up.[1]

It seems the design of the Dutch farmers in emigrating from the colony was to make, if possible, their principal residence near Port Natal. Accordingly, after destroying the power of Moselekatsi, a portion of them moved in that direction. When within five or six days' journey of Dingaan's capital, they encamped, and Mr Retief, their governor, with about sixty other persons, came on to that place for the purpose of obtaining his consent to their settling in that quarter. He appeared to receive them in the most friendly manner, and gave his consent to their settling in the country. On the morning of the day fixed on for concluding the negotiation, and for their taking leave, he invited the whole party to the town under this pretext; and while they were partaking of his hospitality, they were treacherously seized by his soldiers, and put to death, their carcases being left to be devoured by the vultures and hyenas.[2]

In March 1838, the missionaries, alarmed by the massacre of the boers, made the best of their way to Port Natal, and as even that part of the country was in a very unsettled state, they sailed to Port Elizabeth in the colony. Dingaan now sent his army to attack the body of the boers in their encampment; hostilities also commenced between him and the settlers at Port Natal, who sought to co-operate with the farmers. He was at first completely successful in his attacks upon them, but was afterwards defeated with great loss. His own brother, Umpandi, now revolted from him, and was joined by a large body of his subjects; and his army having again been completely routed in battle, he fled, and it was reported he was taken and put to death by Sapusa, a hostile chief, in the north-east of the Zulu country. The boers were now masters of an extensive tract of country; and Umpandi was acknowledged by them as the chief of the Zulus.[3]

In June 1839, Dr Adams and Mr Lindley returned to Port

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1837, p. 45.—Ibid. 1838, p. 58.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1838, p. 59.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. p. 307.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 43.

[3] Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. p. 310; vol. xxxv. pp. 49, 109, 268, 384; vol. xxxvi. pp. 58, 122, 385, 503.

Natal: the station at Umlazi was resumed; and another station was afterwards begun in Umpandi's country; but it was given up in about a twelvemonth, in consequence of the jealousy and hostility of that chief. Natal was now declared to be a British colony. Great numbers of the Zulus emigrated thither in the hope of finding that protection which they could not enjoy under the cruel and despotic rule of their own chief; and the British authorities adopted the plan of assigning to them considerable tracts of country, in different parts of the colony, on which they might settle; and as it was their wish that the missionaries should settle among them and instruct them, a number of stations were in the course of a few years formed in various parts of the country.[1]

The progress of the mission appeared for some years to be encouraging; but, as the character of the Zulus developed itself, the difficulties of their conversion became more manifest. One which met the missionary in the threshold of his labours, was their deep ignorance. It seemed scarcely possible to cast even one ray of light into minds so darkened and perverted by sin. This was especially true of the female sex, whose condition, both temporal and spiritual, seemed almost beyond the reach of improvement. As the Zulus obtained some knowledge of the nature and requirements of the gospel, they appeared to become more settled in their conviction that it was not the religion for them, and more resolved not to receive it. Their conduct was characterized, not so much by hostility, as by stupid indifference, though instances were not wanting of their shewing the most determined and inveterate opposition. A niggardly selfishness was also most thoroughly wrought into the very fibres of the Zulu character; and unless the gates of the church were guarded with double vigilance, unconverted persons might find entrance into it. This may seem inconsistent with their general disposition to reject the gospel. But for self-interest the Zulus will forsake their friends, and people, and customs. For gain, they will become slaves to God, or Satan, or man, apparently indifferent as to the nature of their service, whether it be to pray or to ridicule, to be honest, or to deceive. Yet, they are most at home in lying and deceit;

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1840, p. 78.—Ibid. 1842, p. 94.—Ibid. 1843, p. 81.—Ibid. 1844, p. 81.—Ibid. 1847, p. 73.

and however ignorant of other arts, in this they are practised from youth to old age. Could it be shewn to be for their worldly interest to receive the gospel, they would soon rush to the Church of Christ, abounding in counterfeit penitence, faith, and prayer. "Whether any, or how many of our church members," say the missionaries, "are such from mercenary motives, we do not know. But we fear and tremble, when we see the vileness and selfishness of some who know, and ought to do, better. They love the mercy of the gospel when tendered to them; but the strictness of the law is uncongenial to their tastes and habits. And hence it is, that some who appear exemplary and conscientious, when under the eye and enjoying the kindness of a missionary, assume a different character, when placed in different circumstances."[1]

Nor were the missionaries without their difficulties and dangers of another kind. Mr Butler having occasion to go to Amahlongwa, to make some arrangements for the preservation of the house and premises, until he should be able to remove thither, had to pass the river Umkomazi; but on coming to it, there being no natives at hand to manage the boat, he ventured to cross on horseback, though it was then deep and turbid. As he got over safely, when he returned the next day he again ventured into the river in the same manner. When about two-thirds of the way across, his horse suddenly kicked and plunged, as if to disengage himself from his rider; and the next moment, a crocodile seized Mr Butler's thigh with his horrible jaws. The river at this place is about 150 yards wide, if measured at right angles to the current, but from the point at which one enters, to that at which he comes out, is three times as broad. The river at high tide, and when it is not swollen, is from four to eight or ten feet deep, and on each side the banks are skirted with high banks and reeds.

Mr Butler, when he felt the sharp teeth of the crocodile, clung to the mane of his horse with a deathlike hold. Instantly he was dragged from the saddle, and both he and the horse were floundering in the water, often dragged entirely under it, and rapidly going down the stream. At first the crocodile drew them again into the middle of the river; but at last the horse gained shallow water, and approached the shore. As soon as he was within

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlix. pp. 35, 38, 227.

reach, natives ran to his assistance, and beat off the crocodile with spears and clubs.

Mr Butler was pierced with five deep gashes, and had lost much blood. He had left all his clothes, except his shirt and coat, on the opposite shore, with a native, who was to follow him; but when the struggle commenced, the native returned, and durst not venture into the water again. It was now dark, and without clothes, and weak from loss of blood, he had seven miles to ride before he could reach the nearest missionary station. He borrowed a blanket from a native; and, after two hours' riding, he succeeded in reaching it more dead than alive.

His horse also was terribly mangled; a foot square of the flesh and skin was torn from his flanks. The animal, it was supposed, first seized the horse, and when shaken off, caught Mr Butler, first below the knee, and then by the thigh. There were five or six wounds, from two to four inches long, and from one half to two and a half inches wide. For eight or ten days he seemed to recover as fast as could be expected; but he was then seized with fever, which threatened to be fatal. There was a tendency to lock-jaw. He, however, recovered so far, as to be able to return to his family.[1]

In June 1853, the number of church members at the various stations, in good standing, was 141.[2]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xlix. p. 229.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xlix. p. 386.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.

SECT. I.—BURMAH.

In May 1814, the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions,[1] was instituted at Philadelphia. Nearly two years previous to its appointment, Messrs Judson and Rice, two missionaries of the American Board for Foreign Missions, had, on their arrival in Bengal, changed their sentiments on the subject of baptism, and were baptized at Calcutta, by the Serampur missionaries. Scarcely, indeed, had they landed, when they received orders from the India government to return immediately to America, in the same ship in which they came out; but this mandate was afterwards so far modified, that they obtained permission to go to the Isle of France, which is not within the Company's dominions. But as they were not immediately able to obtain a passage to that island, the government, probably imagining that they designed to remain in Bengal, issued a peremptory order for their being sent on board one of the Company's ships bound to England, and their names were accordingly inserted in the public papers as passengers. Having heard, however, of a vessel which was to sail for the Isle of France in two days, they applied for a passport from the chief magistrate, but this was refused. They, therefore, made known their circumstances to the captain, and asked him whether he would take them on board without a passport; to which he replied, that he would be neutral: there was his ship, they might do as they pleased. Having, with the assistance of

[1] In 1846 the name was changed to "The American Baptist Missionary Union."—*Report*, 1846, p. 7.

the gentleman in whose house they resided, obtained coolies to convey their baggage on board, they embarked at twelve o'clock at night. The vessel, however, had proceeded down the river only two days, when a despatch was received from government, prohibiting the pilot to go farther, as there were passengers on board who had been ordered to England. It was one o'clock in the morning when this order arrived; but yet they immediately went on shore. They knew not, however, what course now to take, feeling assured that if they returned to Calcutta, they would be sent to England, and yet, if they continued at that place, they would as certainly be discovered. They, therefore, went down the river as far as Fultah, about fifty miles below Calcutta. Here they partook, in some measure, of the feelings of a fugitive who is every moment expecting to be discovered; and though they were conscious of having done their duty in refusing to comply with the orders of government, they could not help being alarmed at the arrival of every boat, and the appearance of every new face. In this painful situation they remained four days, anxiously applying to every ship which passed down the river to receive them on board, to whatever port it was bound. At last, when they had given up all hope of escape, and were thinking of returning to Calcutta, a letter was handed to Mr Judson, containing a pass to go on board the ship they had so lately left. The vessel, however, had already gone down the river four days, and was probably out at sea. It was then dark; but they immediately went on board their boats, and after rowing hard all night, and all next day, they had the inexpressible pleasure of discovering the ship at anchor in Saugur Roads, having been detained much longer than was expected, from the circumstance that some of the Lascars had not arrived. On reaching the Isle of France, Mr Rice proceeded to America, with the view of interesting the Baptist churches in that country in the mission, and obtaining their support. His efforts in this respect were eminently successful, and led to the appointment of the Convention for Foreign Missions, and to the organization of numerous auxiliary societies over the whole country for its support.[1] Thus,

[1] Proceedings of the Baptist Convention for Missionary Purposes, 1814. pp. 3, 27.—Reports of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, pp. 12, 68, 142.—Mrs Judson's Account of the American Baptist Mission to the Burman Empire, p. 10.

the change in the sentiments of Messrs Judson and Rice, on the subject of baptism, which, combined as it was with other inauspicious circumstances, threw a dark cloud over the first efforts of America to extend Christianity beyond her own boundaries, terminated in calling forth more powerfully the energies of a numerous body of Christians in that country in support of missions to the heathen; and, like the difference between Paul and Barnabas of old, contributed ultimately "to the furtherance of the gospel."

In the meanwhile, Mr Judson and his excellent wife, after waiting in vain at the Isle of France for a passage to some of the Eastern islands, sailed for Madras, with the view of proceeding from thence, as circumstances might direct. On their landing, however, they were reported at the police-office, and an account of their arrival was transmitted to the supreme government in Bengal. As, therefore, it was highly probable that, as soon as an order could arrive from Calcutta, they would be arrested and sent to England, their only safety consisted in escaping from Madras before such instructions were received. Under these circumstances, it may easily be conceived with what anxious feelings Mr Judson inquired the destination of the vessels in the roads of Madras. To his great disappointment, he found that none would sail that season, except a small Portuguese vessel to Rangoon. A mission to the Burman Empire they had been accustomed to contemplate with feelings of horror, from the accounts which they had received of the sanguinary character of the government of that country, and of the barbarity of the people. The matter, however, was now brought to a point; either they must go thither, or be sent to England. Contrary to the advice of all their friends, they resolved to proceed to Rangoon, as, from finding their path so hedged in, they thought the hand of Providence pointed to the Burman Empire as the scene of their future labours. With what truly Christian feelings they proceeded thither, is finely depicted in the following extracts of a letter from Mrs Judson, to her friends in America:—"My heart," says she, "often sinks within me, when I think of living among a people whose tender mercies are cruel. But when I reflect on their miserable state, as destitute of the gospel, and that it is easy for our heavenly Father to protect us in the midst

of danger, I feel willing to go, and live and die among them; and it is our daily prayer, that it may please God to enable us to continue in that savage country. Farewell to the privileges and conveniences of civilized life! Farewell to refined Christian society! We shall enjoy these comforts no more; but Burmah will be a good place to grow in grace, to live near to God, and to be prepared to die! Oh, my dear parents and sisters, how little do you know how to estimate your enjoyments, in your quiet homes, with all the comforts of life! How little do you know how to prize Christian society, as you have never been deprived of it! How little can you realize the toils and perplexities of traversing the ocean; and how little can you know of the solid comfort of trusting in God, when dangers stand threatening to devour! But these privations, these dangers, these comforts are ours, and we rejoice in them, and think it an inestimable privilege that our heavenly Father has given us, in allowing us to suffer for his cause."

Just as they sailed, a valuable European servant, whom they were taking with them, dropped down on board, gasped a few times, and then expired. Mrs Judson received such a shock from this solemn and striking event, that she was immediately taken dangerously ill. She thought that the time of her departure was at hand, and that all her toils and perplexities were at an end; while her excellent husband experienced all those painful feelings which naturally resulted from the prospect of an immediate separation from one whom he loved, and who was now the only remaining companion of his wanderings. After some time, however, she began to recover, though, on arriving at Rangoon, she was still so feeble, that she was scarcely capable of being removed ashore. At the first sight of that place, they felt very gloomy and dejected; but, by degrees, they became not only reconciled, but attached to the country. "We had never before," says Mr Judson, "seen a place where European influence had not contributed to smooth and soften the rough features of uncultivated nature. The prospect of Rangoon, as we approached it, was quite disheartening. I went on shore at night, to take a view of the place; but so dark, and cheerless, and unpromising did all things appear, that the evening of that day, after my return to the ship, we have marked as the most gloomy and distressing we ever passed. Such was our weakness, that we felt we had no

portion here below, and found consolation only in looking beyond our pilgrimage, which we flattered ourselves would be short, to that peaceful region, where 'the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest.' But if ever we commended ourselves sincerely, and without reserve, to the disposal of our heavenly Father, it was on this evening; and, after some recollection and prayer, we experienced something of the presence of Him who cleaveth closer than a brother; something of that peace which our Saviour bequeathed to his followers, and which endures when the fleeting and unsubstantial riches of this world have passed away. We soon began to find that it was in our hearts to live and to die with the Burmans."[1]

Having now reached the scene of their labours, they took up their residence in the mission-house, which had been erected by the Baptist missionaries from Serampur, and which lay about half a mile from the town, in the midst of woods. They found it necessary to proceed with extreme caution, as one unadvised step might excite the suspicion of so despotic a government, and plunge all in ruin. The language they found extremely difficult, and they had no teacher who understood both Burman and English. Their only way of ascertaining the names of objects which met their eye, was to point to them in the presence of their teacher, who gave them the names in Burman. They then expressed them as nearly as possible in the Roman character, till they had sufficiently acquired the Burman. They spent their time in great solitude, and passed through much personal and family affliction. They were often harassed with midnight alarms, and, on account of the frequent and daring robberies committed in their neighbourhood, they removed to Rangoon; but, in the course of a few weeks, they were driven from thence, as the whole of that town was laid in ashes.[2]

In October 1816, they had the pleasure of welcoming to their lonely habitation Mr and Mrs Hough, who had been sent from America to assist them in their labours. After a seclusion from

[1] Judson's Account, p. 15.—New York Christ. Her. vol. iii. p. 277.—Rep. Bapt. Board For. Miss. p. 38.

[2] Rep. Bapt. Board For. Miss. pp. 38, 102, 154.—Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 486; vol. vi. pp. 63, 228.—Circular Letters relative to the Bapt. Miss. Soc. vol. ix. pp. 276, 297.—Judson's Account, pp. 22, 61.

all Christian society for three years, it was no common gratification to them to meet again with friends and fellow-labourers from their native country. Mr Hough possessed a knowledge of printing, and having visited Bengal in his way to Burmah, he received from the Serampur missionaries the valuable present of a press, and types in the Burman character. He immediately proceeded to print a tract by Mr Judson, containing a Summary of the Principles of the Christian Religion; a Catechism by Mrs Judson, and a translation of the Gospel by Matthew.[1] The circulation of these small pieces excited considerable attention among the Burmans, and many called at the mission-house to make inquiry about the new religion; but they remarked that their visitors often betrayed a fear lest others should discover their errand. Sometimes, when two or three intimate friends were seriously engaged in conversation on religious subjects, if others with whom they were unacquainted called, they became silent and went away. In several instances, the hopes of the missionaries were raised by the apparent seriousness of some of the Burmans; but their goodness proved like "the morning cloud and the early dew, which passeth away."

Mr Judson was now anxious to commence in a more public manner the preaching of the gospel; but he, at the same time, felt the importance of beginning in a way the least calculated to excite the prejudices of the Burmans. He had heard of the conversion of several Arracanese at Chittagong, one of the stations connected with the Baptist Mission in India, and thinking that, as they spoke the Burman language, he might find among them some one who would be able to afford him assistance in communicating Divine truth to the Burmans, he proceeded thither, partly with this view, and partly for the sake of his health, which had of late been on the decline. The voyage did not usually occupy more than ten or twelve days, and the vessel was expected to return immediately. Three months, however, had nearly expired, when a boat arrived from Chittagong, bringing the distressing intelligence, that neither Mr Judson nor the vessel had been heard of at that port, a report which was corroborated by communications which were about the same time received from Bengal. Such intelligence must have been exceedingly painful to

[1] Judson's Account, pp. 74, 76, 89, 96, 98.

Mrs Judson; yet she was doomed to experience for other four months that agonizing state of suspense, which is often more distressing than the most painful certainty.[1]

Two or three days after the arrival of this painful intelligence, Mr Hough received an order, couched in the most menacing language, to appear immediately at the court-house. The message spread consternation and alarm among their domestics and adherents, several of whom followed him at a distance, and heard from some of the petty officers, that a royal order had arrived for the banishment of all foreign teachers. As it was late when Mr Hough reached the court-house, he was merely ordered to give security for his appearance at an early hour next day, when he was told, "If he did not tell all the truth relative to his situation in the country, they would write with his heart's blood." The embarrassments of the missionaries at this period were greatly increased by the circumstance, that the Viceroy and his family, who had always been their steady friends, had been recently recalled to Ava, and the present Viceroy, with whom they had but a slight acquaintance, had left his family at the capital. Mr Hough was not sufficiently acquainted with the language, to allow of his appealing in person to the Viceroy; and as it is not customary for females to appear at his court in the absence of his lady, they had nothing before them but the prospect of being obliged to submit to all those evils which it is often in the power of petty officers to inflict on those who are unprotected by higher authority.

The two following days, Mr Hough was detained at the court-house, and was under the necessity of answering through an interpreter, the most trivial questions, as, what were the names of his parents, how many suits of clothes he had, all which were written down in the most formal manner imaginable. The court would not allow him to retire for any refreshment, and this, together with several other petty grievances, convinced them that it was the object of the court to harass and distress them as much as possible, thinking that they were not in circumstances to appeal to the Viceroy, who does not usually attend these courts, but has cases of importance submitted to him privately for his decision. Next morning, which was Sabbath, another message was

[1] Judson's Account, pp. 103, 112, 118.

received from the court-house for Mr Hough's appearance, that the examination might be continued. They now, however, resolved to ascertain whether these orders emanated from the Viceroy, or whether he was entirely ignorant of them. Mrs Judson's teacher having come in just at that time, drew up a petition to the Viceroy, stating the grievances to which Mr Hough had been subjected, and the order for his appearance that day, which was their sacred day, and requesting that his highness would give directions that he should no longer be molested. Accompanied by Mr Hough, Mrs Judson proceeded to the government house; and on reaching the outer court, she caught the eye of the Viceroy, who sat surrounded by the officers of his court; but having recognized her, he, in a very condescending manner, called her to come in and make known her request. She therefore presented her petition to one of the secretaries, who was immediately ordered to read it; and after hearing it, the Viceroy inquired in an austere manner, at the very officer who had been most forward in making Mr Hough's situation unpleasant at the court-house, "why the examination of this foreign teacher had been prolonged." He, at the same time, gave orders that he should be no longer molested. The officers of government now saw their plan defeated, which probably was to extort from Mr Hough a large reward for his liberation. It was, however, a fact, that a royal order had been received for the banishment of all the Portuguese priests in the country. To ascertain who they were, the Viceroy had issued an order that all foreign priests should appear at the court-house, not intending that any but the Portuguese should undergo an examination, farther than to ascertain that they were not Portuguese.[1]

The trials and dangers of the missionaries were not a little increased at this period, by a report that differences had arisen between the English and Burman governments, and that an attempt would soon be made by the English to take possession of the country. This report appeared to be confirmed by the circumstance, that there had been no arrivals from any English port for some months past, and that the few remaining captains were making every possible effort to hasten the departure of their ships. The only vessel which remained was now on the point of taking

[1] Judson's Account, p. 113.

its departure, and unless the missionaries embraced this opportunity of leaving the country, there was no saying what dangers might await them. Mr Hough had for some time past been anxious to remove with his family and Mrs Judson to Bengal; but as, amidst their other trials, she had heard nothing of Mr Judson, she was unwilling to leave the country until she received some intelligence concerning him. She at last, however, acquiesced, though with the greatest reluctance, in Mr Hough's proposal, and actually embarked with him and his family for Bengal; but as the vessel was detained several days in the river, she, with a singular degree of Christian heroism, resolved to give up the voyage and return to Rangoon. She reached the town in the evening, spent the night at the house of the only Englishman who remained in the place, and next day returned to the mission-house, to the great joy of all the Burmans left on the premises. Here, surrounded by dangers on every hand, and without any earthly friend or protector, she felt calm and tranquil, persuaded that, though the course she pursued might appear to others rash and presumptuous, it was the path of duty. Ten days after her return, the vessel in which Mr Judson had sailed arrived at Rangoon. The captain had not been able to reach Chittagong, and after being tossed about in the bay near three months, he made Masulipatam. There Mr Judson left the ship, and proceeded immediately to Madras, in the hope of finding a passage from that place to Rangoon. This intelligence was some relief to the mind of Mrs Judson, as she had hitherto been apprehensive that the ship and all on board were lost; yet still she was in a state of suspense as to Mr Judson's return. She, however, daily pursued her studies, which she found one of the best means of preserving her mind from dejection; and, indeed, her conscience would not allow her to sit idly down, indulging in feelings of despondency, which she conceived to be inconsistent with the Christian character. Mr Judson at length arrived in safety, after an absence of about eight months, during which time he had passed through various trials, as well as experienced much anxiety from the painful circumstances in which he was placed. Mr Hough and his family had also in the meanwhile returned to the mission-house, the ship not having been able to proceed on its voyage for some weeks.[1]

[1] Judson's Account, pp. 118, 125.

In November 1817, the Rev. Edward W. Wheelock and James Colman, sailed from Boston for Calcutta, with the view of joining the Burman mission. Both of these excellent young men burned with desire to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation to the perishing heathen. Scarcely have we ever seen the passion for missions more ardently expressed, than in the letter which Mr Wheelock addressed to the Board when he offered himself as a missionary. "Language fails me," says he, "when I attempt to describe my feelings on this subject. 'Thought is poor, and poor expression.' To you, honoured fathers, I offer, freely and joyfully offer myself to become your missionary, to aid those already under your patronage, in turning the poor Burmans from idols to serve the living and true God. And O! if it is consistent that one so unworthy and so unqualified as myself should engage in this glorious work, deny me not, I beseech you, the unspeakable privilege; deny me not the fondest, the most ardent desire of my soul that can in this world be gratified. To deny me this, would be to deny me the greatest happiness which in this world I can possibly enjoy. I had rather be a missionary of the cross, than a king on his throne. Let the men of this world possess its glittering toys; let the miser grasp his cankered gold; let the voluptuary enjoy his sensual pleasures; let the ambitious ascend the pinnacle of earthly honour; but let me enjoy the sweet satisfaction of directing the poor pagans to the Lamb of God. I covet no greater good; I desire no greater joy; I seek no greater honour. To Burmah would I go; in Burmah would I live; in Burmah would I toil; in Burmah would I die; and in Burmah would I be buried." The parting scene with these missionaries and their wives was truly affecting. Their parents, brothers, and sisters, and indeed all who were present, wept; many fell on their necks and kissed them, "sorrowing most of all that they should see their faces no more." None discovered so much fortitude as the missionaries themselves. While their friends were weeping around them, they manifested the greatest firmness. As Mrs Wheelock stepped on the plank which connected the vessel with the wharf, she said to a female friend, "I would not exchange situations with any of you." When the vessel began to move, the father of Mr Wheelock, with all the tenderness of a parent, took off his hat and said, "Well, Edward, my dear son, let me see your face

once more." Edward came to the side of the vessel. The father gazed on his amiable son, then covered his head, and immediately forced his way through the crowd to his carriage.[1]

In September 1818, the missionaries reached the scene of their labours; but Mr Wheelock, who had of late been attacked with successive colds, had been only a week in Rangoon when he was seized with a spitting of blood. The disease gradually made progress, and insensibly exhausted his strength. He still wished to live, that he might preach among the Burmans "the unsearchable riches of Christ;" but yet he manifested in this respect the utmost resignation to the will of God. During the whole of his illness, he was never heard to utter a murmur or complaint of any kind. His mind was completely occupied with divine things; he seemed to have much enjoyment in communion with God. Thinking, however, that it was his duty to use every means for the restoration of his health, he embarked for Bengal, in the hope that a change of air and medical advice might prove beneficial to him. For about a week after his departure, he was in the same tranquil and happy frame of mind in which he had been for some months past; but about five days before the fatal catastrophe, his spirits became much depressed, his fever greatly increased, his head was affected with a severe pain, and his temples were much swelled. In other respects, Mrs Wheelock saw no particular change on him, till one morning, as she was reading to him, he suddenly rose from the chair on which he sat and went into the quarter gallery. Being surprised at his starting so suddenly, she instantly followed him, and was just in time to save him from jumping out at one of the windows of the ship. When she had helped him to bed, and was a little recovered from the shock she had received, she tried to converse with him, but he was perfectly insensible. He answered her questions with great solemnity, but with a strange wildness. Next day, he seemed tranquil and happy for a short time, and said that "Christ was precious to him, and that His comforts delighted his soul." But soon the fever began to rage as before, and he was in a state of violent delirium. Early next morning, he expressed great anxiety to know where he was; and after Mrs Wheelock had told him, she asked him if he knew her, to which he replied, "No, sir, it is impossible to

[1] Judson's Account, p. 132.—New York Miss. Herald, vol. iv. p. 342.

know who, or what you are, or what you will be." In the forenoon, his reason appeared to return, and in the afternoon, he seemed to fall into a gentle sleep. Mrs Wheelock left him for a few moments to write a short note, to inform their friends in Calcutta of their arrival; but it was not two minutes after, when she heard the quarter gallery door close. She instantly rose to shut it, fearing the noise it made would awake him, but when she turned round, she saw he was gone; she hastened to the place, but, alas! it was too late. Search was made through the ship, but he was nowhere to be found. Either he had fallen overboard, or, what is more probable, he had in a fit of frenzy thrown himself into the sea. Such was the melancholy end of this interesting young man! It is scarcely necessary to remark, that Mr Wheelock cannot for one moment be considered as chargeable with suicide, nor can his precipitating himself into the river, if this was actually the case, be viewed as affecting the evidence of his piety. In cases of delirium, wherein reason is completely overpowered by the force of disease, we cannot suppose a person more accountable for what he does than for what he says, and many can recollect persons distinguished for their piety, who, in the delirium of a fever, have uttered things of which in their sober senses they would have felt the utmost abhorrence.[1]

Previous to the death of Mr Wheelock, Mr Judson had commenced the public preaching of the gospel. With this view, a zayat, the Burman name for a place of worship, was erected in the neighbourhood of the mission-house, on one of the principal roads leading from the city to the great pagoda. His hearers were at first few in number; and much disorder and inattention prevailed among them, most of them not having been accustomed to attend Burman worship. Mrs Judson also held meetings with the females, and she had often much pleasure in reading the Scriptures to them, and in explaining to them the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. There was certainly a considerable number of the Burmans whose sentiments were changed, and who might be considered as in the state of many nominal Christians, somewhat enlightened and partially convinced. The small number of inquirers was frequently diminished by the removal of some of them to other parts of the country, or

[1] The Friend of India, 1819, pp. 387, 493.—Amer. Miss Her. vol. xv. p. 63.

by a sudden alarm from government; and again increased by new acquaintances. Several, however, appeared to be seriously impressed with divine truth, and, after a short time, Mr Judson had the pleasure of baptizing three of them.[1]

In December 1819, Messrs Judson and Colman proceeded to Amarapoora, the capital, with the view of presenting a petition to the new king, for a toleration of the Christian religion in Burmah. Some time before the baptism of the last two Burmans, the death of the king changed the aspect of religious affairs in that country: his late majesty having been hostile to the priests of Budhu, while the present king was supposed to be favourable to them. Schway-gnong, one of the inquirers, a man of learning and influence, was accused to the Viceroy of heretical sentiments, and in consequence of this he went to the head of ecclesiastical affairs in Rangoon, made his peace with him, and from that time visited the missionaries only occasionally, and that privately. This circumstance spread an alarm among all their acquaintances, and with the exception of the baptized, occasioned a complete falling away of their visitors. Messrs Judson and Colman now thought that they had no resource left but "to go up to the golden feet, and lift up their eyes to the golden face," in other words, to go directly into the royal presence, lay their designs before the king, and solicit toleration for themselves and their converts.[2]

After a dangerous voyage of more than a month up the river Irrawaddy, they reached the capital in safety; and, through the friendly interposition of the late Viceroy of Rangoon, they early obtained permission to visit the king. Having proceeded to the palace, they were detained a long time at the outer gate, until the various officers were satisfied that they had a right to enter; after which they deposited a present for the private minister of state, Moung Zah, and were ushered into his apartments in the palace-yard. He received them very pleasantly, and now, for the first time, they disclosed their character and object, that they were missionaries or "propagators of religion;" that they wished to appear before the king, and present to him their sacred books, accompanied with a petition for toleration to them-

[1] Judson's Account, pp. 97, 144, 146, 148, 156, 176, 179, 201.
[2] Judson's Account, pp. 200, 206, 209, 217, 219.—Miss. Reg. vol. ix. p. 103.

selves and their converts. He took the petition into his hand, looked over part of it, and then asked them several questions about their God and their religion. Just at this crisis some person announced, that the "golden foot" was about to advance; upon which the minister hastily rose, and put on his robes of state, saying, that he must seize that opportunity of presenting them before the king. When he was dressed, he said, "How can you propagate religion in this kingdom? But, come along." He then conducted them through various splendour and parade, until they ascended a flight of stairs, and entered a most magnificent hall. He directed them where to sit, and took his place on one side, while on the other was placed the present which they proposed to offer to the king, consisting of that book which they wished to translate, under his patronage,—the BIBLE, in six volumes, covered with gold leaf, in the Burman style, and each volume enclosed in a rich wrapper. The spacious extent of the hall, the number and magnitude of the pillars, the height of the dome, the whole of which was completely covered with gold, presented a grand and imposing spectacle. Very few were present, and these evidently principal officers of state.

Here they remained about five minutes, when every one put himself into the most respectful attitude, and Moung Yo, one of the officers, whispered that the king had entered. They looked through the hall, as far as the pillars would allow, and presently caught a view of his majesty. He came forward, unattended, in solitary grandeur, exhibiting the proud gait of an eastern monarch. His dress was rich but not distinctive; and he carried in his hand a gold sheathed sword, which seems to have taken the place of the sceptre of ancient times. But it was his high aspect and commanding eye that chiefly riveted their attention. Every head, excepting the missionaries', was now in the dust. They remained kneeling, with their hands folded, and their eyes fixed on the monarch. When he drew near, he stopped, and turning towards them, said, "Who are these?" "The teachers, great king," replied Mr Judson. "What! you speak Burman—the priests that I heard of last night?—When did you arrive?—Are you teachers of religion?—Are you like the Portuguese priests?—Are you married?—Why do you dress so?" When they had answered these and other similar questions, he appeared

to be pleased, and sat down on an elevated seat, his hand resting on the hilt of his sword, and his eye intently fixed on them. Moung Zah now began to read the petition, which was as follows:

"The American teachers present themselves to receive the favour of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea. Hearing that, on account of the greatness of the royal power, the royal country was in a quiet and prosperous state, we arrived at the town of Rangoon, within the royal dominions; and, having obtained leave of the governor of that town to come up and behold the golden face, we have ascended and reached the bottom of the golden feet. In the great country of America, we sustain the character of teachers and explainers of the contents of the sacred Scriptures of our religion. And, since it is contained in those Scriptures, that if we pass to other countries, and preach and propagate religion, great good will result, and both those who teach and those who receive the religion will be freed from future punishment, and enjoy without decay or death the eternal felicity of heaven—entreating that royal permission be given, that we, taking refuge in the royal power, may preach our religion in these dominions, and that those who are pleased with our preaching, and wish to listen to or be guided by it, whether foreigners or Burmans, may be exempt from molestation by government, they present themselves to receive the favour of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea."

The king having heard this petition, stretched out his hand, when Moung Zah crawled forward, and presented it. His majesty began at the top, and deliberately read the whole. In the meantime, Mr Judson gave Moung Zah a copy of a tract, which was put into the handsomest style and dress possible. After the king had perused the petition, he handed it back without saying a word, and took the tract. The hearts of the missionaries now rose up in prayer to God for a display of his grace. "Oh! have mercy on Burmah! have mercy on her king!" He held the tract long enough to read the first two sentences, which assert that there is one eternal God, who is independent of the incidents of mortality, and that, besides him, there is no God; and then, with an air of indifference, he threw it on the ground. Moung Zah stooped forward, picked it up, and handed it to the mission-

aries. He now made a slight attempt to save them, by unfolding one of the volumes, which constituted their present, and displaying its beauty; but his majesty took no notice of it. After a few moments, Moung Zah interpreted his royal master's will in the following terms:—"Why do you ask for such permission? Have not the Portuguese, the English, the Mahommedans, and people of all other religions, full liberty to practise and worship according to their own customs? In regard to the objects of your petition, his majesty gives no order. With respect to your sacred books, his majesty has no use for them: take them away." Something was now said about Mr Colman's skill in medicine, on which the king said, "Let them proceed to the residence of my physician, the Portuguese priest: let him examine whether they can be useful to me in that line, and report accordingly." He then rose from his seat, strode on to the end of the hall, and threw himself down on a cushion, where he lay listening to the music, and gazing at the parade spread out before him.

As for the missionaries and their present, they were huddled up and hurried away, without much ceremony. They passed through the palace gates with much more facility than they had entered, and were afterwards conducted two miles through the sun and dust of the streets of Amarapoora, to the residence of the Portuguese priest, who speedily ascertained that they were in possession of no wonderful secret which would secure the king from all disease, and insure him immortality. They were accordingly allowed to take leave of the reverend inquisitor, and return to their boat. It afterwards appeared that he gave a very false representation of them, particularly that they were a sect of Zandees, a race very obnoxious to former kings.[1]

Before leaving Amarapoora they made some further attempts to obtain the great object of their wishes; but every account they received confirmed them in the opinion that no toleration would be granted them; and, indeed, we cannot see how they could expect that a heathen government like the Burman would grant them formal permission to convert its subjects to a new religion; their labours might be winked at, but a legal toleration of them they had no reason to expect.[2]

On returning to Rangoon, Messrs Judson and Colman com-

[1] Judson's Account, pp. 220, 225, 240. [2] Ibid. p. 236.

municated to the three converts a full account of their reception at the capital, apprehending that when they saw their teachers driven away in disgrace from the presence of their monarch, they would have little zeal for a cause thus virtually proscribed at court; but in this they were happily mistaken. They themselves, in fact, appear to have been more discouraged than the converts, and proposed retiring from Burmah to Chittagong, which was under the British government, and where a language similar to the Burman was spoken. But the three baptized Burmans shewed so much steadfastness, and vied with each other in explaining away difficulties, and encouraged them with hopes of other inquirers, that the missionaries could not refrain from tears at their representations, and told them that as they lived only for the promotion of the cause of Christ in Burmah, they had no desire, if there was any prospect of success in Rangoon, to go to any other place. They however thought it very important that Chittagong should not be neglected, and Mr Colman accordingly proceeded thither; but he died after being there only about two years. Meanwhile, Mr Judson was encouraged in his labours by the appearance of new inquirers among the Burmans, several of whom he baptized. It may, however, be remarked that baptism was in most instances administered at night, for the sake of concealment; and, except in their own private circle, it was scarcely known that a single individual had renounced Budhism, and been initiated into the Christian faith.[1]

In August 1822, Mr Judson and Dr Price, who had lately come to his assistance, proceeded to court, having been summoned thither in consequence of the medical skill of the latter. As soon as the king was informed of their arrival, a royal order was issued for their immediate introduction. They were obliged to submit to no ceremony; but as they entered, his majesty, with the impatience of a despotic prince, asked which was the doctor. They were taken into an open court, and seated on a bamboo floor, about ten feet from the chair of the monarch. He then interrogated Dr Price as to his skill in curing eyes, cutting out wens, setting broken bones, besides many other things to which his skill did not extend. His medicines were then called for, and all his stock inspected. The surgical cases were much admired.

[1] Judson's Account, pp. 245, 249, 258, 300, 309, 318, 325.

After looking at them, the king sent for his own, one case of which being unlike Dr Price's, he immediately gave it into his hands, which might be considered as equivalent to saying that he must in future make the capital the place of his residence. After the king and his courtiers had amused themselves with his galvanic pile for an hour, the missionaries were dismissed with an order to look out a place which they liked, and he would build a house for them. His majesty apparently had the good of his people, as well as the glory of his empire, at heart; and encouraged foreign merchants, and especially artizans, to settle in his capital.[1]

At Ava, Mr Judson had frequent interviews with the king and several members of the royal family, and some of the chief officers of state. He was anxious to obtain a piece of ground on which to build a kyoung, and he at length obtained a small spot from the chief minister of state. It was the wish of the king that he would settle at Ava; and accordingly, though he went back to Rangoon, it was with the view of returning to the capital. While he was at Rangoon, Mrs Judson, who two years before had gone to America on account of her health, arrived again in the country; and immediately after her arrival, they both proceeded to Ava.[2]

Mrs Judson had come along with Mr and Mrs Wade, two new missionaries, by way of Calcutta. While there, they were informed, on the best authority, that there was every likelihood of war between the English and the Burmese, and they were urgently advised by their friends to delay proceeding to Rangoon. It was well ascertained that the King of Burmah cherished the design of invading Bengal; and, with this view, he had collected in Arracan an army of 30,000 men, under the command of his most distinguished general Bandoola. The Bengal government, however, resolved to anticipate the blow, by invading the Burman Empire. The encroachments of the Burmese government on the Company's territories had long been a subject of complaint, and

[1] Judson's Account, p. 321.—Miss. Her. vol. xix. p. 189.

[2] Memoir of Mrs Judson, pp. 181, 201, 213, 217.

In 1823, Brown University, in the United States, conferred on Mr Judson the degree of D.D., but he declined the intended honour, deeming such titles inconsistent with the "commands of Christ, and the general spirit of the gospel."—Wayland's *Memoir of the Rev. A. Judson*, vol. i. p. 259.

He no doubt had in view such passages as Matthew xx. 25-28; xxiii. 1-12.

all attempts to obtain redress had hitherto been met with neglect, and at last by preparations for invasion, on the part of the Burmans.

In May 1824, a fleet of ships, having on board about 6000 troops, under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, appeared at the mouth of the Rangoon river, to the great dismay of the Burmans, who were little prepared to repel any attack. This event proved an occasion of inexpressible sufferings to the missionaries and other foreigners in Rangoon. Nearly all the English gentlemen were dining that day, in a Spanish gentleman's garden, and before they had finished dinner, they were seized by about fifty armed men, it being the order of the yahwoon, who acted at this time as viceroy, that every person accustomed to wear a hat, should be conveyed to the king's godown, and confined in chains. Messrs Hough and Wade hoped that they would escape, being Americans; but while they were at tea, a king's linguist appeared with about a dozen of men, and escorted them to the godown, where they were put with the other foreigners, and were bound to each other by irons round their ankles. Orders from the yahwoon were communicated to their guards, that the moment the ships should open a fire upon the town, they were to massacre all the prisoners. The guards immediately began to sharpen their instruments of death with bricks; and brandishing them about the heads of the prisoners, shewed with how much dexterity and pleasure they would execute the order. On the place which was intended for the scene of butchery, a large quantity of sand was strewed to receive their blood. Among the prisoners reigned the gloom and silence of death. Mr Hough and Mr Wade threw themselves down upon a mattress, scarcely expecting ever to rise again, and calmly waited to hear the first gun that should be fired upon the town as the signal for their execution. Meanwhile, an account of their situation, which they had used various means to conceal, reached the ears of their wives, whose feelings may be more easily conceived than described. At length the fleet arrived, and the attack commenced. The first ball thrown into the town came with a tremendous noise over their heads. The guards, filled with consternation and amazement, and seemingly unable to execute their murderous orders, slunk away into a corner of the prison, where they remained perfectly quiet, until a broadside from the *Liffey*, which made the

prison shake to its very foundation, so frightened them, that they cried out through fear like children, and resolved on breaking open the door, and making their escape. This they soon found the means of doing; but they took the precaution to secure the door again, by fastening it with rattans on the outside. A few moments after the firing ceased on both sides, and the prisoners, who were now left alone, began to indulge the hope of deliverance by the English troops.

Meanwhile, the wives of the missionaries heard the firing commence, under the impression that at that moment the Burmans might be embruing their hands in the blood of their husbands; and they had reason to fear that they themselves might shortly share a similar fate, as they were told that the Burmans would come in search of them; it being an invariable practice with them, when they put a man to death under such circumstances, to sacrifice also his wife and children, and other relatives. Apprehending that they could not remain in their house with safety, they secreted their most valuable articles of furniture; and having taken a few clothes, a pillow, and a Bible, they sought refuge within the walls of a Portuguese church, a little way off; but on begging the priest to open the doors to them, he drove them from the church, from his own house, and even out of his verandah. They then disguised themselves, as they were obliged to go out into the streets, which were filled with Burmans. For this purpose they obtained clothes from the servants who attended them, which they put over their own, dressing their heads in the Burman style, and blackening their faces and hands. In this disguise they mixed with the multitude, and passed along undiscovered, while they frequently heard Burmans inquiring for the teachers' wives, which kept them in constant fear lest they should be known. After going some distance, they came to the house of a Portuguese woman, into which they entered, and begged protection; and though she refused their request, saying, if she gave them protection she would endanger her own life, yet, being entirely exhausted with fatigue and distress of mind, they threw themselves down upon a mat, feeling that they were unable to proceed any further.

Meanwhile, all remained quiet in the prison for about half an hour, but in a moment the whole scene was changed. About

fifty armed Burmans rushed into it, like so many madmen. "We were instantly seized," says Mr Wade, "dragged out of the prison, our clothes being torn from our bodies, and our arms drawn behind us with cords, so tight, that it was impossible to move them. We were now put in front of several armed men, whose duty it was to goad us along with the points of their spears. Others had hold of the cords which bound our arms, and they would pull us, first one way, then another, so that it was impossible for us to know in what direction they would have us to go. Sometimes we were impelled forwards, then drawn backwards; and again our legs were so entangled with our chains, as to throw us down. In short, they seemed to study methods of torturing us; but complaints were useless.

"After making an exhibition of us through almost every street of the town, they brought us to the yongdau, or place where all causes are tried, and sentences passed. Here sat the dispenser of life and death, surrounded by other officers of the town. He ordered us to be placed before him in a kneeling posture, with our faces to the ground, to which we submitted in the most respectful manner. On one side of us was a noisy rabble, crying, 'Let them be put to death! Let them be put to death!' Between us and the yahwoon were two linguists kneeling, and, with tears, begging for mercy to us. The cries of the multitude prevailed. The executioner, who stood on one side, with a large knife in his hand, waiting the decision, was ordered to proceed; but just as he was lifting the knife to strike off the head of the prisoner who was nearest to him, Mr Hough begged permission to make a proposal to the yahwoon; who having beckoned to the executioner to desist a little, demanded what he had to say. The proposal was that one or two of the prisoners should be sent on board the ships, in which case he would at least promise that the firing on the town should cease directly. At this moment a broadside from the *Liffey* occasioned great alarm. The yahwoon and other officers instantly dispersed, and sought refuge under the bank of a neighbouring tank. The firing increased, and the multitude began to flee with great precipitancy. Though our ankles were already miserably galled with our chains, the cords intolerably painful to our arms, and we were destitute of clothes except pantaloons, yet, urged along with spears, we were obliged