



to keep pace with those whom fear impelled with hasty step. Having passed through the gate of the town, they kept close under the walls, that they might not be cut down by the cannon balls, which were falling in every direction around us. At length they bent their course toward the place of public execution, whither we supposed they intended to carry us. We passed directly by the Portuguese woman's house, where our wives had but a few minutes before turned in to ask protection. They saw us as we passed. They knew that they were driving us toward the place of execution, and said to each other, 'This is the last time we shall ever behold our husbands!' They thought, till now, that we were already dead; it was therefore a little relief to them to know that we were still living. Their first impression, as they afterwards told me, was to follow us, and share our fate; but a moment's reflection convinced them of the impropriety of such a step: it would make the parting intolerable, both to them and us, to be murdered before their eyes. Happily for us, we did not know that they saw us until all was over.

"We soon after found that they did not design to carry us to the place of execution; for, having passed by that spot, they proceeded in the direction of the great pagoda. Looking behind, we saw the yahwoon and his officers following us on horseback. When they had overtaken us, they alighted, and having seated themselves in a zayat, ordered us to be placed before them a second time, but not in so humiliating a posture as before; indeed, their whole treatment of us was somewhat more mild. After a few moments' consultation upon the proposal made by Mr Hough, it was assented to; and his chains were taken off. He asked to have me sent with him; but this was refused.

"Mr Hough being gone, the other prisoners were committed to the charge of an inferior officer, with strict orders, if he did not succeed, to put us to death; which was also the substance of the message sent by the yahwoon to the English general by Mr Hough, on whose success now hung all our hopes of life. The officer directed that we should be deposited in a building which stood on the base of the great pagoda, and be treated hospitably, until Mr Hough's return.

"Mr Hough delivered his message from the yahwoon to Sir Archibald Campbell, who said in reply, 'If the Burmans shed



one drop of White blood, we will lay the whole country in ruins, and give no quarter.' He returned to the place where he had left the yahwoon, for the purpose of delivering the general's answer; but as he neither found him, nor was he able to gain any information about him, he went back to the town. It appears that the yahwoon and his attendants, being informed that a company of troops was advancing upon him, had fled to the jungles.

"It was now near eight o'clock, and the firing from the ships still continuing, gave us reason to apprehend that Mr Hough had done little good by his message to the general. Exhausted by hunger and the fatigues of the day, we laid our naked bodies upon the ground, in hopes of gaining a little rest; but our situation was too uncomfortable to admit of sleep. Early next morning a party of Burmans came, evidently with the design of putting us to death, or carrying us with them into the jungle; but finding the door of the place where we were locked, they were about to burst it open, when some person from the outside cried that the English were coming, on which they were alarmed, and fled with great precipitation. Now the most sanguine hopes succeeded to fear. All the Burmans had fled, and the English troops were near; we even heard some of their voices distinctly. But we were soon again plunged into the depths of despair. The English troops passed by, and the Burmans again took possession of the pagoda. At length, however, the moment of deliverance came. Another party of troops, headed by Sir Archibald Campbell himself, advanced. The Burmans, seeing them at some distance, fired two guns, which they had planted on the pagoda; but no sooner were they discharged than they all took to their heels and fled; and, about ten minutes after, we had the unspeakable pleasure of discovering to the troops the place of our confinement. It was General Campbell, I believe, who burst open the door. We crawled out of our dungeon, naked, dirty, and almost suffocated. The general welcomed us to his protection, and ordered our chains to be taken off immediately; but they were so large and stiff, that all attempts were ineffectual, so that we were obliged to walk two miles into the town, still in irons. Clothes, victuals, &c., were immediately given us. Mrs Wade had no intelligence of me until I returned to the mission-house. I need



not attempt to describe the feelings produced on meeting again, after we had passed through so many and so great dangers; but at length we found ourselves again all together, well, and beyond the power of barbarous and unmerciful Burmans. For my part, I was rendered almost delirious, by so sudden a transition from the deepest distress to the highest pitch of joy."¹

After the landing of the British, Rangoon was completely evacuated by the Burmans, who fled into the jungle or into the interior of the country. Messrs Hough and Wade, with their wives, returned soon after to Bengal, their stay in Rangoon not being without danger, while they had no opportunity of carrying on the work of the mission.²

The situation of the missionaries at Ava now became a subject of much anxiety to the friends of the mission. There was reason to fear they might have fallen victims to the resentment of a barbarous and vindictive government. For nearly two years a thick cloud concealed their fate from their friends and relatives; and when it was at length dispelled, it was found they had passed through a series of sufferings scarcely paralleled in the history of missions.

The first certain intelligence which Mr and Mrs Judson received of the war, was on their arrival at Tsenpyoo-kywon, about a hundred miles from Ava, where part of the troops under the command of Bandoola had encamped. Proceeding on their voyage, they met Bandoola himself, with the remainder of his troops, gaily equipped, seated in his golden barge, and surrounded by a fleet of gold war-boats, one of which was despatched to the other side of the river to hail them, and to make the necessary

¹ Judson's Memoir, p. 217.—Miss. Reg. 1825, p. 279 (Baptist).—Miss. Her. 1825, p. 6.

² Judson's Memoir, pp. 223, 225.

Mr Hough, some time after his arrival in India, not only ceased to be a missionary, but, in an article in a Calcutta periodical, entitled *Missionary Adventures in Burmah*, scoffed at his former zeal in having ever engaged in such a work, ascribing his doing so to "a spice of fanaticism or enthusiasm, or both, in his nature, which, coming in contact with the glowing representations of the state of the heathen," led him "to forsake a father in the decline of life, to tear a wife from a numerous family of affectionate relations, and leave a land of liberty, of republican institutions, for one whose monarch was a god of despotic power, whose subjects breathed for him alone, whose will was the fountain of law and life."—See *Cal. Chris. Obser.* vol. i. p. 129. What a melancholy story is that of Mr Hough! Surely it may well lead candidates for missionary service to scrutinize well their own character and motives before offering themselves for it.



inquiries. They were allowed, however, to proceed, when they had informed the messenger that they were Americans, not English, and were going to Ava in obedience to the command of his majesty.

On their arrival at Ava, they found that Dr Price was out of favour at court, and that suspicion rested on most of the foreigners then in that city. Mr Judson visited at the palace two or three times, but found the king's manner toward him much changed from what it had been formerly; and the queen, who used to express wishes for Mrs Judson's speedy arrival, now made no inquiries after her, nor expressed any wish to see her. Mrs Judson consequently made no effort to visit at the palace, though invited almost daily to visit some of the branches of the royal family, who were living in their own houses without the palace enclosures. Under these circumstances they judged it most prudent to prosecute their original design of building a house, and commencing missionary operations as opportunities might offer, thus endeavouring to satisfy the government that they had nothing to do with the war.

Intelligence at length arrived that Rangoon was taken by the English; and some now began to conclude that the few foreigners resident in Ava were spies. Three Englishmen, Messrs Gouger, Laird, and Rogers, were put in confinement first, and shortly after, orders were given for the arrest of the two missionaries, Mr Judson and Dr Price.¹ We shall give the account of the scenes through which they passed, in the words of Mrs Judson, and, though it is long, we doubt not it will be read with deep interest.

"One day," says she, "just as we were preparing for dinner, an officer, at the head of a dozen Burmans, with one whose spotted face indicated him to be an executioner, rushed into the house, and asked for Mr Judson. 'You are called by the king,' said the officer to him,—a form of speech always used when about to arrest a criminal; and instantly the man with the spotted face seized him, threw him on the floor, and tied his arms behind him. The scene was now dreadful. The whole neighbourhood had collected; the masons at work on the brick-house threw down their tools, and ran; the little Burman children were

¹ Judson's Memoir, p. 225.



screaming and crying; the Bengali servants stood in amazement at the indignities offered to their master. I offered money to the executioner, and entreated him to untie Mr Judson; but my tears and entreaties were in vain. They led him away, I knew not whither; and I was left guarded by ten men, who had received strict orders to confine me close, and let no one go out or in. I retired to my room, and attempted to pour out my soul to Him who for our sakes was bound and led away to execution; and even at that dreadful moment I experienced a degree of consolation hardly to be expected. But our faithful Moungr Ing followed them at a short distance to see what would become of him. I had then no doubt but that I could procure his release (if he had not been executed) by getting a petition presented to the queen. But I also was a prisoner, and could not move out of the house. After dark, Moungr Ing returned with the intelligence that he saw Mr Judson conducted to the court-house, thence to the death-prison, the gates of which were closed, and he saw him no more.

“Next morning I sent Moungr Ing with a piece of silver to gain admittance into the prison, and to ascertain the situation of Mr Judson. He soon returned with the information that Mr Judson, Dr Price, and the three Englishmen were all confined in the inner prison, each with three pairs of iron fetters, and fastened to a long pole. The day dragged heavily away, and another dreadful night was before me. I endeavoured to soften the feelings of my guard by giving them tea and cigars for the night, and they allowed me to remain inside of my room, without threatening me as they did the night before. But the idea of my husband being stretched on the bare floor in irons and confinement, haunted my mind like a spectre, and prevented my obtaining any quiet sleep, though nature was almost exhausted.

“On the third day I sent a message to the governor of the city, who has the entire direction of prison affairs, requesting him to allow me to visit him with a present. This had the desired effect, and he immediately sent orders to the guards to permit my going into town. The governor received me pleasantly, and asked me what I wanted. I stated to him the situation of the foreigners, and particularly of the teachers, who were Americans, and had nothing to do with the war. He told me



it was not in his power to release them from prison or irons; but that he could make their situation more comfortable; there was his head officer, with whom I must consult relative to the means. The officer, whose countenance at the first glance presented the most perfect assemblage of all the evil passions of human nature, took me aside, and sought to convince me that myself, as well as the prisoners, was entirely at his disposal; that our future comfort must depend on my liberality as to presents; and that these must be made in a private way, and unknown to any officer of the government. 'What must I do,' said I, 'to obtain a mitigation of the present sufferings of the two teachers?' 'Pay to me,' said he, 'two hundred tickals,¹ two pieces of fine cloth, and two pieces of handkerchiefs.' I had taken money with me in the morning, our house being two miles from the prison, and I could not easily return. This I offered to the officer, and begged he would not insist on the other articles, as they were not in my possession. He hesitated for some time; but fearing to lose the sight of so much money, he concluded to take it, promising to relieve the teachers from their present painful situation.

"I then procured an order from the governor for my admittance into prison; but the sensations produced by meeting Mr Judson in that wretched, horrid situation, and the affecting scene which ensued, I will not attempt to describe. He crawled to the door of the prison (for I was not allowed to enter it), and gave me some directions relative to his release; but before we could make any arrangement, I was ordered to depart by the iron-hearted jailer. The same evening, however, the missionaries, together with the other foreigners, who paid an equal sum, were taken out of the common prison, and confined in an open shed in the prison enclosure. Here I was allowed to send them food, and mats to sleep on, but was not permitted to enter again for several days.

"My next object was to get a petition presented to the queen, whose brother is by far the most powerful man in the empire; but as no person is admitted into the palace who is in disgrace with his majesty, a personal interview with her was impossible. I was obliged, therefore, to address her through the medium of her brother's wife, who, as are all the relations of the queen, is

¹ About one hundred dollars.



of low origin, and consequently proud, haughty, and ambitious. I had visited her in better days, and received particular marks of her favour. But now, times were altered. Mr Judson was in prison, and I in distress, which was a sufficient reason for giving me a cold reception. I took with me a present of considerable value. She was lolling on her carpet as I entered, with her attendants around her. I waited not for the usual question to a suppliant, 'What do you want?' but in a bold, earnest, yet respectful manner, stated our distresses and our wrongs, and begged her assistance. She partly raised her head, opened the present I had brought, and coolly replied, 'Your case is not singular; all the foreigners are treated alike.' 'But it is singular,' said I; 'the teachers are Americans; they are ministers of religion, and have nothing to do with war or politics, and came to Ava in obedience to the king's command. They have never done anything to deserve such treatment; and is it right they should be treated thus?' 'The king does as he pleases,' said she; 'I am not the king; what can I do?' 'You can state their case to the queen, and obtain their release,' replied I. 'Place yourself in my situation: were you in America, your husband, innocent of crime, thrown into prison—in irons, and you a solitary, unprotected female, what would you do?' With a slight degree of feeling, she said, 'I will present your petition; come again to-morrow.'

"Next day, Mr Gouger's property, to the amount of 50,000 dollars, was taken and carried to the palace. The officers, on their return, politely informed me that they would visit our house on the morrow. I felt obliged for this information, and accordingly made preparations to receive them, by secreting as many little articles as possible, together with considerable silver, as I knew if the war should be protracted, we would be in a state of starvation without it. But my mind was in a dreadful state of agitation, lest it should be discovered, and cause my being thrown into prison. Had it been possible to obtain money from any other quarter, I would not have ventured on such a step.

"The following morning, the royal treasurer, Prince Tharyawadees, and Koung-tone Myoo-tsa, who was afterwards our steady friend, attended by forty or fifty followers, came to take possession of all we had. I treated them civilly, gave them chairs to



sit on, tea and sweetmeats for their refreshment; and justice obliges me to say, that they conducted the business of confiscation with more regard to my feelings than I could have thought it possible for Burmese officers to exhibit. The three officers, with one of the royal secretaries, alone entered the house; their attendants were ordered to remain outside. They left us many articles, which were of inestimable value to us during our long imprisonment.

"As soon as they had finished their search, and departed, I hastened to the queen's sister-in-law, to hear what had been the result of my petition, when all my hopes were dashed, by her coolly saying, 'I stated your case to the queen, but her majesty replied, The teachers will not die; let them remain where they are.' With a heavy heart, I departed, and on my way home attempted to enter the prison gate, to communicate the sad tidings to Mr Judson; but I was harshly refused admittance; and for the ten days following, notwithstanding my daily efforts, I was not allowed to enter. We attempted to communicate with each other by writing; but after being successful for a few days, this was discovered. The poor fellow who carried the communications was beaten, and put in the stocks; and the circumstance cost me about ten dollars, besides two or three days of agony, for fear of the consequences.

"Notwithstanding the repulse I had met with in my application to the queen, I could not remain without making continual efforts for his release, while there was the least probability of success. Time after time my visits to the queen's sister-in-law were repeated, till she refused to answer my questions, and told me, by her looks, I had better keep out of her presence. For the seven following months, hardly a day passed that I did not visit some one of the members of government, or branches of the royal family, in order to gain their influence in our behalf; but the only benefit which resulted from this was, that their encouraging promises preserved us from despair, and induced a hope of the speedy termination of our difficulties, which enabled us to bear our distresses better than we might otherwise have done. I ought, however, to mention, that by my repeated visits to the different members of government, I gained several friends, who were ready to assist me with articles of food, though in a private manner, and



who used their influence in the palace to destroy the impression of our being in any way connected with the war. But no one dared to speak a word to the king or queen in behalf of a foreigner, while there were such continual reports of the success of the English arms.

“ During these seven months, the continual extortions and oppressions to which Mr Judson and the other White prisoners were subject, is indescribable. Sometimes sums of money were demanded, sometimes pieces of cloth, and handkerchiefs. At other times an order would be issued that the White foreigners should not speak to each other, or have any communication with their friends without. Then, again, the servants were forbidden to carry in their food, without an extra fee. Sometimes for days together, I could not go into the prison till after dark, when I had two miles to walk, in returning to our house. Oh, how many many times have I returned from that dreary prison at nine o'clock at night, solitary, and worn out with anxiety and fatigue, and thrown myself down in my rocking-chair, and endeavoured to invent some new scheme for the release of the prisoners! Sometimes, for a moment or two, my thoughts would glance toward America, and my beloved friends there; but for nearly a year and a half, so entirely engrossed was every thought with present scenes and sufferings, that I seldom reflected on a single occurrence of my former life, or recollected that I had a friend in existence out of Ava.

“ But the point, the acme of my distress, consisted in the awful uncertainty of our final fate. My prevailing opinion was, that my husband would suffer a violent death, and that I would of course be a slave, and languish out a miserable, though short existence, in the tyrannical hands of some unfeeling monster. But the consolations of religion were, in these circumstances, neither few nor small. It taught me to look beyond this world, to that rest—that happy, peaceful rest—where Jesus reigns, and oppression never enters.

“ So great was the hatred of the Burmans to the very appearance of a foreigner, that I frequently trembled when walking the streets; and that I might not be immediately recognised as a stranger, and sometimes gain admittance into Mr Judson's prison, I adopted the Burman dress altogether. The means which we



invented for communication were such as necessity alone could have suggested. At first I wrote to him on a flat cake, baked for the purpose, and buried in a bowl of rice; and he in return communicated his situation on a piece of tile, on which, when wet with water, the writing became invisible, but when dried, perfectly legible. But, after some months' experience in the art of deception, we found the most convenient, as well as safest, mode of writing, was to roll up a sheet of paper, and put it in the long nose of a coffee pot in which I sent his tea. These circumstances may appear trivial, but they serve to shew to what straits and shifts we were driven.

"We at length gave up all idea of being released from prison until the termination of the war; but I was still obliged to visit constantly some of the members of government with little presents, particularly the governor of the city, for the purpose of making the situation of the prisoners tolerable. I generally spent the greater part of every other day at the governor's house, giving him information relative to American manners, customs, government, &c. He used to be so much gratified with my communications, as to feel greatly disappointed if any occurrence prevented my spending the usual hours at his house.

"Some months after Mr Judson's imprisonment, I was permitted to make a little bamboo-room in the prison enclosures, where he could be much by himself, and where I was sometimes allowed to spend two or three hours with him. It so happened, that the two months he occupied this place was the coldest part of the year, when he would have suffered much in the open shed which he had previously occupied. After the birth of my little girl, I was unable to visit the prison and the governor as before, and found I had lost considerably the influence which I had previously gained; for he was not so forward to hear my petitions when any difficulty occurred as he had been formerly. When my infant was nearly two months old, her father sent me word one morning that he and all the White prisoners were put into the inner prison, in five pairs of fetters each, that his little room had been torn down, and his mat-pillow, &c. taken by the jailer. This was to me a dreadful shock, as I at once thought it was a prelude to greater evils.

"I should have mentioned before this the defeat of Bandoola,



the Burman general, of whose success in conquering the English the most extravagant expectations had been entertained; his escape to Danoofoo, the complete destruction of his army, and the consternation this intelligence produced at court. The English army had left Rangoon, and was advancing towards Prome, when these severe measures were taken with the prisoners.

"I went immediately to the governor's house. He was not at home; but he had ordered his wife to tell me when I came, not to ask to have the additional fetters taken off, or the prisoners released, for it could not be done. I went to the prison gate, but was forbidden to enter. All was as still as death. Not a White face was to be seen, nor a vestige of Mr Judson's room remaining. I was determined to see the governor, and know the cause of these new oppressions; and for this purpose I returned into the town the same evening, at an hour when I knew he would be at home. The old man's heart was melted by my appeal, for he wept like a child. 'I pity you,' said he; 'I knew you would make me feel; I therefore forbade your application. But you must believe me when I say, I do not wish to increase the sufferings of the prisoners. When I am ordered to execute them, the least I can do is to put them out of sight. I will now tell you what I never told you before, that I have three times received instructions from the queen's brother to put all the White prisoners to death privately; but I would not do it. And now I repeat it, though I should execute all the others, I will never execute your husband. But I cannot release him from his present confinement, and you must not ask it.' I had never seen him manifest so much feeling or so resolute in denying me a favour, which circumstance gave me reason for thinking dreadful scenes were before us.

"The situation of the prisoners was now dreadful beyond description. It was at the commencement of the hot season. They were in the common prison, where they were so crowded with Burman thieves and robbers, that they had not sufficient room to lie down. There were nearly a hundred prisoners all in one room, without a window or hole for the admission of air, and the door was kept closed. I sometimes obtained permission to go to the door for five minutes, when my heart sickened at the wretchedness I witnessed. The White prisoners, from incessant perspira-



tion and loss of appetite, looked more like the dead than the living. I made daily applications to the governor, offering money, which he refused; but all that I gained was permission for the foreigners to eat their food outside; and even this continued but a short time.

"After continuing in the inner prison for more than a month, Mr Judson was taken with fever. I felt assured he would not live long, unless removed from that noisome place. To effect this, and in order to be near the prison, I removed from our house, and put up a small bamboo room in the governor's enclosure, which was nearly opposite the prison gate. Here I incessantly begged the governor to give me an order to take Mr Judson out of the large prison, and place him in a more comfortable situation; and the old man, being worn out with my entreaties, at length gave me the order in an official form; and he also gave orders to the head jailer to allow me to go in and out at all times of the day, to administer medicines, &c. I now felt happy indeed, and had Mr Judson instantly removed into a little bamboo hovel, so low that neither of us could stand upright in it, but yet a palace in comparison with the place he had left.

"Notwithstanding the order the governor had given for my admittance into prison, it was with the greatest difficulty that I could persuade the under-jailer to open the gate. I used to carry Mr Judson's food myself for the sake of getting in, and would then remain an hour or two, unless driven out. We had been in this comfortable situation but two or three days, when one morning, having carried in Mr Judson's breakfast, which, in consequence of fever, he was unable to take, I remained longer than usual, when the governor sent for me in great haste. I promised to return as soon as I had ascertained the governor's will, he being much alarmed at this unusual message. I was very agreeably disappointed, when the governor informed me that he only wished to consult me about his watch, and seemed unusually pleasant and conversible. I found afterwards, that his only object was to detain me until the dreadful scene about to take place in the prison was over. For when I left him to go to my room, one of the servants came running, and, with a ghastly countenance, informed me that all the White prisoners were carried away. I would not believe the report, and instantly went back to the



governor, who said he had just heard of it, but did not wish to tell me. I ran hastily into the street, hoping to get a glimpse of them before they were out of sight, but in this I was disappointed. I ran first into one street, then into another, inquiring of all I met, but no one would answer me. At length an old woman told me the White prisoners had gone towards the little river, for they were to be carried to Amarapoora. I then ran to the banks of the little river, about half a mile, but saw them not, and concluded the old woman had deceived me. Some of the friends of the foreigners went to the place of execution, but found them not. I then returned to the governor to try and discover the cause of their removal, and the probability of their future fate. The old man assured me that he was ignorant of the intention of government to remove the foreigners, till that morning; that since I went out, he had learned that the prisoners were to be sent to Amarapoora; but for what purpose, he knew not. 'I will send off a man immediately,' he said, 'to see what is to be done with them. You can do nothing more for your husband,' continued he; 'take care of yourself.' With a heavy heart I went to my room, and having no hope to excite me to exertion, I sunk down almost in despair. For several days previous I had been actively engaged in building my own little room, and making our hovel comfortable. My thoughts had been almost entirely occupied in contriving means to get into prison. But now I looked towards the gate with a kind of melancholy feeling, but with no wish to enter. All was the stillness of death—no preparation of my husband's food—no expectation of meeting him at the usual dinner hour—all my employment, all my occupations seemed to have ceased. I had nothing left but the dreadful recollection that he was carried off, I knew not whither. It was one of the most insupportable days I ever passed. Towards night, however, I came to the determination to set off the next morning for Amarapoora; and for this purpose, I was obliged to go to our house out of town.

"Never before had I suffered so much from fear in traversing the streets of Ava. The last words of the governor, 'Take care of yourself,' made me suspect there was some design with which I was unacquainted. I saw, also, he was afraid to have me go into the streets, and advised me to wait till dark, when he would



send me in a cart, and a man to open the gates. I took two or three trunks of the most valuable articles, together with the medicine chest, to deposit in the house of the governor, and after committing the house and premises to our faithful Mounng Ing and a Bengali servant, who had continued with us (though we were unable to pay his wages), I took leave, as I then thought probable, of our house in Ava for ever.

"On my return to the governor's, I found a servant of Mr Gouger, who happened to be near the prison when the foreigners were led out, and followed on to see the end, who informed me that the prisoners had been carried before the Lamine Woon, at Amarapoora, and were to be sent the next day to a village he knew not how far distant. My distress was a little relieved by the intelligence that Mr Judson was yet alive, but still I knew not what was to become of him. The next morning I obtained a pass from government, and with my little Maria, who was then only three months old, Mary and Abby Hasseltine (two of the Burman children), and our Bengali cook, who was the only one of the party that could afford me any assistance, I set off for Amarapoora. The day was dreadfully hot, but we obtained a covered boat, in which we were tolerably comfortable till within two miles of the government house. I then procured a cart, but the violent motion, together with the dreadful heat and dust, made me almost distracted. But what was my disappointment, on my arriving at the court-house, to find that the prisoners had been sent on two hours before, and that I must go in that uncomfortable mode four miles further with little Maria in my arms, whom I had held all the way from Ava! The cart-man refused to go any further, and after waiting an hour in the burning sun, I procured another, and set off for that never-to-be-forgotten place, Oung-pen-la. I obtained a guide from the governor, and was conducted directly to the prison-yard. But what a scene of wretchedness was presented to my view! The prison was an old shattered building without a roof; the fence was entirely destroyed; eight or ten Burmese were on the top of the building trying to make something like a shelter with leaves; while under a little low projection, outside of the prison, sat the foreigners, chained together two and two, almost dead with suffering and fatigue. The first words of my husband were, 'Why have you



come? I hoped you would not follow, for you cannot live here.' It was now dark. I had no refreshment for the suffering prisoners, or for myself, as I had expected to procure all that was necessary at the market of Amarapoora, and I had no shelter for the night. I asked one of the jailers if I might put up a little bamboo house near the prison; he said no, it was not customary. I then begged he would procure for me a shelter for the night, and on the morrow I could find some place to live in. He took me to his house, in which there were only two small rooms, one in which he and his family lived, the other, which was then half full of grain, he offered to me, and in that little filthy place I spent the next six months of wretchedness. I procured some half-boiled water instead of my tea, and, worn out with fatigue, laid myself down on a mat spread over the paddy, and endeavoured to obtain a little refreshment from sleep. The next morning, Mr Judson gave me the following account of the brutal treatment he had received on being taken out of prison:—

"As soon as I had gone out at the call of the governor, one of the jailers rushed into his little room, roughly seized him by the arm, pulled him out, stripped him of all his clothes, excepting shirt and pantaloons, took his shoes, hat, and all his bedding, tore off his chains, tied a rope round his waist, and dragged him to the court-house, where the other prisoners had previously been taken. They were then tied two and two, and delivered into the hands of the Lamine Woon, who went on before them on horseback, while his slaves drove the prisoners, one of the slaves holding the rope which connected two of them together. It was in May, one of the hottest months of the year, and eleven o'clock in the day, so that the sun was intolerable indeed. They had proceeded only half a mile when Mr Judson's feet became blistered, and so great was his agony, even at this early period, that, as they were crossing the little river, he ardently longed to throw himself into the water to be free from misery. But the sin attached to such an act alone prevented him. They had then eight miles to walk. The sand and gravel were like burning coals to the feet of the prisoners, which soon became perfectly destitute of skin, and in this wretched state they were goaded on by their unfeeling drivers. Mr Judson's debilitated state in consequence of fever, and of having taken no food that morning, rendered him less



capable of bearing such hardships than the other prisoners. When about half way on their journey, as they stopped for water, he begged the Lamine Woon to allow him to ride his horse a mile or two, as he could proceed no further in that dreadful state. But a scornful, malignant look, was all the reply that was made. He then requested Captain Laird, who was tied with him, and who was a strong healthy man, to allow him to take hold of his shoulder, as he was fast sinking. This the kind-hearted man granted for a mile or two, but then found the additional burden insupportable. Just at that period Mr Gouger's Bengali servant came up to them, and seeing the distress of Mr Judson, took off his head-dress, which was made of cloth, tore it in two, gave half to his master, and half to Mr Judson, which he instantly wrapt round his wounded feet, as they were not allowed to rest even for a moment. The servant then offered his shoulder to Mr Judson, who was almost carried by him the remainder of the way. Had it not been for the support and assistance of this man, he thinks he would have shared the fate of the poor Greek, who was one of their number, and who, when taken out of prison that morning, was in perfect health; but he was a corpulent man, and the sun affected him so much that he fell down on the way. His inhuman drivers beat and dragged him until they themselves were wearied, when they procured a cart, in which he was carried the remaining two miles; but the poor creature expired in an hour or two after their arrival at the court-house. The Lamine Woon seeing the distressed state of the prisoners, and that one of their number was dead, concluded they should go no further that night, otherwise they would have been driven on until they reached Oung-pen-la the same day. An old shed was appointed for their abode during the night, but without even a mat or pillow, or anything to cover them. The curiosity of the Lamine Woon's wife induced her to make a visit to the prisoners, whose wretchedness considerably excited her compassion, and she ordered some fruit, sugar, and tamarinds, for their refreshment; and the next morning rice was prepared for them, and poor as it was, it was refreshing to the prisoners, who had been almost destitute of food the day before. Carts were also provided for their conveyance, as none of them were able to walk. All this time the foreigners were entirely ignorant of what was to become



of them; and when they arrived at Oung-pen-la, and saw the dilapidated state of the prison, they immediately concluded that they were there to be burnt, agreeably to a report which had previously been in circulation at Ava. They all endeavoured to prepare themselves for the awful scene; and it was not until they saw preparations making for repairing the prison, that they had the least doubt that a cruel lingering death awaited them. My arrival was in an hour or two after this.

“The next morning, I arose and endeavoured to find something like food. But there was no market, and nothing to be procured. One of Dr Price’s friends, however, brought some cold rice and vegetable curry from Amarapoorra, which, together with a cup of tea from Mr Lansago, answered for the breakfast of the prisoners; and for dinner, we made a curry of dried salt fish, which a servant of Mr Gouger had brought. All the money I could command in the world I had brought with me, secreted about my person, so you may judge what our prospects were, in case the war should continue long. But our heavenly Father was better to us than our fears; for notwithstanding the constant extortions of the jailers during the whole six months we were at Oung-pen-la, and the frequent straits to which we were reduced, we never really suffered for the want of money, though frequently for want of provisions, which were not procurable. Here my personal bodily sufferings commenced. While Mr Judson was confined in the city prison, I had been allowed to remain in our house, in which I had many conveniences left, and my health had continued good beyond all expectations; but now I had not a single article of convenience, not even a chair or seat of any kind, except a bamboo floor. The very morning after my arrival, Mary Hasseltine was taken ill with the natural small-pox. She, though very young, was the only assistant I had in taking care of little Maria. But she now required all the time I could spare from Mr Judson, whose fever still continued in prison, and whose feet were so dreadfully mangled, that for several days he was unable to move. I knew not what to do, for I could procure no assistance in the neighbourhood, or medicine for the sufferers, but was all day long going backwards and forwards from the house to the prison, with little Maria in my arms. Sometimes I was greatly relieved by leaving her for an hour when asleep by the side of her father,



while I returned to the house to look after Mary, whose fever ran so high as to produce delirium. She was so completely covered with the small-pox, that there was no distinction in the pustules. As she was in the same little room with myself, I knew Maria would take it; I therefore inoculated her from another child, before Mary's had arrived at such a state as to be infectious. At the same time, I inoculated Abby and the jailer's children, who all had it so lightly as hardly to interrupt their play. But the inoculation in the arm of my poor little Maria did not take. She caught the disease of Mary, and had it the natural way. She was then only three months and a half old, and had been a very healthy child; but it was above three months before she perfectly recovered from the effects of this dreadful disorder.

"I had never had the small-pox, but was vaccinated previously to leaving America. In consequence of being for so long a time constantly exposed, I had nearly a hundred pustules, though without any previous symptoms of fever, &c. The jailer's children having had the small-pox so lightly, in consequence of inoculation, my fame spread all over the village, and every child, young and old, who had not previously had it, was brought to me for inoculation. Though I knew nothing about the disorder, or the mode of treating it, I inoculated them all with a needle, and told them to take care of their diet—all the instructions I could give them. Mr Judson's health was gradually restored, and he found himself much more comfortably situated than when in the city prison.

"The prisoners were at first chained two and two, but as soon as the jailers could obtain chains sufficient, they were separated, and each prisoner had but one pair. The prison was repaired, a new fence made, and a large airy shed erected in front of the prison, where the prisoners were allowed to remain during the day, though locked up in the little close prison at night. All the children recovered from the small-pox; but my watchings and fatigue, together with my miserable food, and more miserable lodgings, brought on one of the diseases of the country, which is almost always fatal to foreigners. My constitution seemed destroyed, and in a few days I became so weak as to be hardly able to walk to the prison. In this debilitated state, I set off in a cart



for Ava to procure medicines and some suitable food, leaving the cook to supply my place. I reached the house in safety, and for two or three days the disorder seemed at a stand, after which it attacked me so violently, that I had no hopes of recovery left, and my only anxiety now was, to return to Oung-pen-la to die near the prison. It was with the greatest difficulty that I obtained the medicine-chest from the governor, and then I had no one to administer medicine. I got, however, at the laudanum, and by taking two drops at a time for several hours, it so far checked the disorder as to enable me to get on board a boat, though so weak that I could not stand, and I again set off for Oung-pen-la. The last four miles was in that painful conveyance the cart, and in the midst of the rainy season, when the mud almost buries the oxen. You may form some idea of a Burmese cart, when I tell you that the wheels are not constructed like ours, but are simply round thick planks with a hole in the middle, through which a pole that supports the body is thrust.

"I reached Oung-pen-la just when my strength seemed entirely exhausted. The good native cook came out to help me into the house, but so altered and emaciated was I, that the poor fellow burst into tears at the first sight of me. I crawled on to the mat in the little room, to which I was confined for more than two months, and never perfectly recovered until I came to the English camp. At this period, when I was unable to take care of myself, or to look after Mr Judson, we must both have died had it not been for the faithful and affectionate care of our Bengali cook. A common Bengali cook will do nothing but the simple business of cooking, but he seemed to forget his caste, and almost his own wants, in his efforts to serve us. He would provide, cook, and carry Mr Judson's food, and then return and take care of me. I have frequently known him not taste food till near night, in consequence of having to go so far for wood and water, and in order to have Mr Judson's dinner ready at the usual hour. He never complained, never asked for his wages, and never for a moment hesitated to go anywhere, or to perform any act we required. I take great pleasure in speaking of the faithful conduct of this servant, who is still with us, and has been, I trust, well rewarded for his services.

"Our dear little Maria was the greatest sufferer at this time,



my illness depriving her of her usual nourishment, and neither a nurse nor a drop of milk could be procured in the village. By making presents to the jailers, I obtained leave for Mr Judson to come out of prison and take the little emaciated creature round the village, to beg a little nourishment from those mothers who had young children. Her cries in the night were heart-rending, when it was impossible to supply her wants. When in health, I could bear the various trials and vicissitudes through which I was called to pass. But to be confined with sickness, and unable to assist those who were so dear to me when in distress, was almost too much for me to bear; and had it not been for the consolations of religion, and an assured conviction that every additional trial was ordered by infinite love and mercy, I must have sunk under my accumulated sufferings. Sometimes our jailers seemed a little softened at our distress, and for several days together allowed Mr Judson to come to the house, which was to me an unspeakable consolation. Then again they would be as iron-hearted in their demands as though we were free from sufferings, and in affluent circumstances. The annoyance, the extortions and oppressions to which we were subject, during our six months' residence in Oung-pen-la, are beyond enumeration or description.

"It was some time after our arrival at Oung-pen-la, that we heard of the execution of the Pakan Woon, in consequence of which our lives were still preserved; for we afterwards ascertained that the foreigners had been sent to Oung-pen-la for the express purpose of sacrificing them, and that he himself intended witnessing the horrid scene. We had frequently heard of his intended arrival at Oung-pen-la, but we had no idea of his diabolical purposes. He had raised an army of fifty thousand men (a tenth part of whose advanced pay was found in his house), and expected to march against the English army in a short time, when he was suspected of high treason, and instantly executed without the least examination. Perhaps no death in Ava ever produced such universal rejoicings, as that of the Pakan Woon. We never to this day hear his name mentioned, but with an epithet of reproach or hatred.

"The time at length arrived for our release from that detested place, the Oung-pen-la prison. A messenger from our friend, the governor of the north gate of the palace, who was formerly



Koung-tone Myoo-tsa, informed us that an order had been given the evening before in the palace for Mr Judson's release. On the same evening, an official order arrived, and with a joyful heart I set about preparing for our departure, early the following morning. But an unexpected obstacle occurred, which made us fear that I should still be retained as a prisoner. The avaricious jailers, unwilling to lose their prey, insisted, that as my name was not included in the order, I should not go. In vain I urged that I was not sent there as a prisoner, and that they had no authority over me; they still determined I should not go, and forbade the villagers letting me have a cart. Mr Judson was then taken out of prison and brought to the jailer's house, where, by promises and threatenings, he finally gained their consent, on condition that we would leave the remaining part of our provisions which we had recently received from Ava. It was noon before we were allowed to depart. When we reached Amara-poor, Mr Judson was obliged to follow the guidance of the jailer, who conducted him to the governor of the city. Having made all necessary inquiries, the governor appointed another guard, which conveyed Mr Judson to the court-house in Ava, at which place he arrived some time in the night. I took my own course, procured a boat, and reached our house before dark.

"My first object the next morning was to go in search of Mr Judson, and I had the mortification to meet him again in prison, though not in the death prison. I went immediately to my old friend, the governor of the city, who was now raised to the rank of a Woon-gyee. He informed me that Mr Judson was to be sent to the Burmese camp, to act as translator and interpreter; and that he was put in confinement for a short time only, till his affairs were settled. Early the following morning I went to this officer again, who told me that Mr Judson had that moment received twenty tickals from government, with orders to go immediately on board a boat for Maloun, and that he had given him permission to stop a few moments at the house, it being on his way. I hastened back to the house, where Mr Judson soon arrived; but he was allowed to remain only a short time, while I could prepare food and clothing for future use. He was crowded into a little boat where he had not room sufficient to lie down, and where his exposure to the cold damp nights threw him into



a violent fever, which had nearly ended all his sufferings. He arrived at Maloun on the third day, where, ill as he was, he was obliged to enter immediately on the work of translating. He remained at Maloun six weeks, suffering as much as he had at any time in prison, except that he was not in irons, nor exposed to the insults of those cruel jailers.

“ For the first fortnight after his departure, my anxiety was less than it had been at any time previous, since the commencement of our difficulties. I knew the Burmese officers at the camp would feel the value of Mr Judson’s services too much to allow their taking any measures threatening his life. I thought his situation, also, would be much more comfortable than it really was; hence my anxiety was less. But my health, which had never been restored since the violent attack I had at Oung-pen-la, now daily declined, till I was seized with the spotted fever, with all its attendant horrors. I knew the nature of the disease from its commencement; and, from the shattered state of my constitution, together with the want of medical attendants, I concluded it must be fatal. The day I was taken with the fever, a Burmese nurse came and offered her services for Maria. This circumstance filled me with gratitude and confidence in God; for though I had so long and so constantly made efforts to obtain a person of this description, I had never been able; when at the very time I most needed one, and without any exertion on my part, a voluntary offer was made. My fever raged violently, and without any intermission. I began to think of settling my worldly affairs, and of committing my dear little Maria to the care of a Portuguese woman, when I lost my reason, and was insensible to all around me. At this, dreadful period, Dr Price was released from prison, and, hearing of my illness, obtained permission to come and see me. He has since told me that my situation was the most distressing he had ever witnessed, and that he did not then think I would survive many hours. My hair was shaved, my head and feet covered with blisters, and Dr Price ordered the Bengali servant who took care of me, to endeavour to persuade me to take a little nourishment, which I had obstinately refused for several days. One of the first things I recollect was seeing this faithful servant standing by me, trying to induce me to take a little wine and water. I was in fact



so far gone, that the Burmese neighbours who had come in to see me expire, said, 'She is dead; and if the king of angels should come in, he could not recover her.'

"The fever, I afterwards understood, had run seventeen days when the blisters were applied. I now began to recover slowly; but it was more than a month after this before I had strength to stand. While in this weak, debilitated state, the servant who had followed Mr Judson to the Burmese camp, came in, and informed me that his master had arrived, and was conducted to the court-house in town. I sent off a Burman to watch the movements of government, and ascertain, if possible, in what way Mr Judson was to be disposed of. He soon returned with the sad intelligence, that he saw Mr Judson go out of the palace yard, accompanied by two or three Burmans, who conducted him to one of the prisons; and that it was reported in town, that he was to be sent back to the Oung-pen-la prison. I was too weak to bear ill tidings of any kind; but a shock so dreadful as this almost overwhelmed me. For some time I could hardly breathe; but at last gained sufficient composure to despatch Mounng Ing to our friend, the governor of the north gate, and begged him to make one more effort for the release of Mr Judson, and prevent his being sent back to the country prison, where I knew he must suffer much, as I could not follow. Mounng Ing then went in search of Mr Judson; and it was nearly dark, when he found him in the interior of an obscure prison. I had sent food early in the afternoon, but being unable to find him, the bearer had returned with it, which added another pang to my distresses, as I feared he was already sent to Oung-pen-la.

"If I ever felt the value and efficacy of prayer, I did at this time. I could not rise from my couch; I could make no efforts to secure my husband; I could only plead with that great and powerful Being who has said, 'Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear, and thou shalt glorify me;' and who made me at this time feel so powerfully this promise, that I became quite composed, feeling assured that my prayers would be answered.

"When Mr Judson was sent from Maloun to Ava, it was on five minutes' notice, and without his knowledge of the



cause. On his way up the river, he accidentally saw the communication made to government respecting him, which was simply this: 'We have no further use for Yoodathan; we therefore return him to the golden city.' On arriving at the court-house, there happened to be no one present who was acquainted with Mr Judson. The presiding officer inquired from what place he had been sent to Maloun. He was answered, from Oung-pen-la. Let him then, said the officer, be returned thither. He was then delivered to a guard, and conducted to the place above mentioned, there to remain until he should be conveyed to Oung-pen-la. In the meantime, the governor of the north gate presented a petition to the high court of the empire, offered himself as Mr Judson's security, obtained his release, and took him to his house, where he treated him with every possible kindness, and to which I also was removed as soon as returning health would allow.

"The rapid strides of the English army towards the capital at this time threw the whole town into a state of the greatest alarm, and convinced the government that some speedy measures must be taken to save the golden city. They had hitherto rejected all the overtures of Sir Archibald Campbell, imagining, until this late period, that they could in some way or other drive the English from the country. Mr Judson and Dr Price were daily called to the court-house and consulted; in fact nothing was done without their approbation. Negotiations for peace were now renewed with the English, and the Burman government pled sore for a relaxation of the terms, but the general and commissioners would abate nothing, except that the hundred lacs¹ of rupees demanded by them might be paid at four different times, the first twenty-five lacs in twelve days, or the army would continue its march. In addition to this, the prisoners, including the missionaries, were to be given up immediately, if they themselves wished to leave the country. After much hesitation and some delays, the Burman government found it necessary to submit to the terms which were dictated to it by the English. Mr Judson had been employed in the negotiations which led to the conclusion of peace, and some of the members of the government said to him, 'You will not leave us; you shall become a great man if you will

¹ A lac is 100,000.



remain.' He then sheltered himself from the odium of saying that he wished to leave the service of his majesty, by recurring to the order of Sir Archibald Campbell, that whoever wished to leave Ava should be given up, and that I had expressed a wish to go, so that he of course must follow. In two days from the time of Mr Judson's return, we took an affectionate leave of the good-natured officer who had so long entertained us in his house, and who now accompanied us to the water side when we left the golden city and all its magnificence, and turned our faces towards the British camp, then within forty miles of Ava.

"It was on a cool, moonlight evening, when, with hearts filled with gratitude to God, and overflowing with joy at our prospects, we passed down the Irrawaddy, surrounded by six or eight golden boats, and accompanied by all we had on earth. The thought that we had still to pass the Burman camp would sometimes occur to damp our joy, for we feared that some obstacle might there arise to retard our progress. With what sensations of delight did I then next morning behold the masts of the steam-boat, a sure presage of our being within the bounds of civilized life! The British general received us with the greatest kindness, had a tent pitched for us near his own, took us to his own table, and treated us with the kindness of a father, rather than as strangers of another country. We feel that our obligations to General Campbell can never be cancelled. Our final release from Ava, and our recovering all the property that had there been taken from us, was owing entirely to his efforts. The treaty of peace was soon concluded, signed by both parties, and the termination of hostilities publicly declared. We left the English camp after a fortnight's residence, and safely reached the mission-house in Rangoon, after an absence of two years and three months."¹

¹ Judson's Memoir, p. 231.--Miss. Her. 1827, pp. 1, 12.

Long as is the preceding account, we have omitted many of the details in Mrs Judson's letter contained in her Memoir. We have also, in many instances, substituted and combined with it the statements, and in some cases, merely a sentence or part of a sentence, from another letter written by her, printed in the *Missionary Herald* of the Baptist Missionary Society.

It might appear from Mrs Judson's own letters as if her services were nearly confined to her husband; but from the following account, published in a Calcutta newspaper by an English gentleman, who was in prison at Ava along with him, it will be seen that her care extended also to his fellow-prisoners:—

"Mrs Judson was the author of those eloquent and forcible appeals to the govern-



By the late treaty the Burman government ceded to the British the province of Arracan on the west, and on the south, the provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim, which are commonly called the Tenasserim Provinces. In these the English fixed on a spot about thirty miles up the Martaban River for the site of a town, which they called Amherst. Mr Crawford, who had been appointed to negotiate a secondary treaty with the court of Ava, begged Mr Judson to accompany the embassy, and promised, in the event of his complying with this request, to use his interest to obtain the insertion of an article in the treaty in favour of religious toleration, an object on which the heart of our excellent missionary had been for many years set, and which, though now, in consequence of the opening for missions in the English provinces, not so necessary as formerly, would yet be greatly favourable to the propagation of Christianity in other parts of the country. With these views, he thought it his duty to accede to Mr Crawford's request. Desirous, however, of making a commencement at Amherst as early as possible, and unwilling to disappoint the native converts, several of whom had proceeded to that place, in the expectation of his immediately

ment which prepared them by degrees for submission to terms of peace never expected by any who knew the *hauteur* and inflexible pride of the Burman court.

"And while on this subject, the overflowings of grateful feelings on behalf of myself and my fellow-prisoners, compel me to add a tribute of public thanks to that amiable and humane female, who, though living at a distance of two miles from our prison, without any means of conveyance, and very feeble in health, forgot her own comfort and infirmity, and almost every day visited us, sought out and administered to our wants, and contributed in every way to alleviate our misery.

"While we were all left by the government destitute of food, she, with unwearied perseverance, by some means or other obtained for us a constant supply.

"When the tattered state of our clothes evinced the extremity of our distress, she was ever ready to replenish our scanty wardrobe.

"When the unfeeling avarice of our keepers confined us inside, or made our feet fast in the stocks, she, like a ministering angel, never ceased her applications to the government until she was authorized to communicate to us the grateful news of our enlargement, or of a respite from our galling oppressions.

"Besides all this, it was unquestionably owing, in a chief degree, to the repeated, eloquent and forcible appeals of Mrs Judson, that the untutored Burman was finally made willing to secure the welfare and happiness of his country by a sincere peace."—Wayland's *Memoir of the Rev. A. Judson*, vol. i. p. 299.

Of Mrs Judson's influence in bringing about peace, we are not aware of any other evidence; but even though the writer should be mistaken as to this point, it would afford no ground for doubting his other statements, referring as they do to matters in which he was personally and deeply interested.



following, he accompanied Mrs Judson and family thither, and after seeing them comfortably settled he returned to Rangoon, and afterwards proceeded along with Mr Crawford to Ava.

About two months after his departure, Mrs Judson was seized with remittent fever; and the shocks which her constitution had sustained from previous attacks of disease, and during the heart-rending scenes through which she had passed at Ava, rendered her unable to withstand the violence of this new illness. From the first she was persuaded she would not recover; but her mind appeared to be calm and tranquil in the prospect of death. She only occasionally expressed regret at leaving her infant child, the native converts, and the schools, before her husband or another missionary could arrive. During the last days of her illness, her head was much affected, and she spoke but little. She sometimes, however, according to the accounts received from the native converts, would say, "The teacher¹ is long in coming, and the new missionaries are long in coming; I must die alone, and leave my little one; but as it is the will of God, I acquiesce in his will. I am not afraid of death, but I am afraid I shall not be able to bear these pains. Tell the teacher the disease was most violent, and I could not write: tell him how I suffered and died; tell him all that you see; and take care of the house till his return." When she was unable to notice anything else, she would still call for her child, which had been long in a declining state of health, and charge the nurse to be kind to it, and indulge it in everything until its father should return. The last day or two she lay almost senseless and motionless on one side, her head reclining on her arm, and her eyes closed, and at eight o'clock on the evening of October 24, 1826, with an exclamation of distress in the Burman language, she breathed out her spirit into the hands of her God and Saviour.

Mr Judson was still at Ava, when the painful tidings reached him of his wife's death, and nearly three months elapsed before he was able to return to Amherst. Mr Wade had, in the meanwhile, arrived at that place, and Mrs Wade had taken charge of his poor motherless infant. He was unable to obtain any accounts of the child at Rangoon, and it was only on his arrival at Amherst that he learned she was still living. "Mr Wade," says he, "met

¹ Mr Judson.



me at the landing-place, and as I passed on to the house, one and another of the native Christians came out, and when they saw me, they began to weep. At length we reached the house, and I almost expected to see my love coming out to meet me as usual; but no: I saw only, in the arms of Mrs Wade, a poor little puny child, who could not recognize its weeping father, and from whose infant mind had long been crazed all recollections of the mother who loved her so much. She turned away from me in alarm, and I, obliged to seek comfort elsewhere, found my way to the grave. But who ever found comfort there? Thence I went to the house in which I left her, and looked at the spot where we last knelt in prayer, and where we exchanged the last parting kiss." "Oh!" he afterwards adds, referring to the privations and trials through which she had passed at Ava, as having been a chief predisposing cause of her death, "Oh! with what meekness, patience, magnanimity, and Christian fortitude, did she bear these sufferings! And can I wish they had been less? Can I sacrilegiously wish to rob her crown of a single gem? Much she saw and suffered of the evil of this world, and eminently was she qualified to relish and enjoy the pure and holy rest on which she has entered. True, she has been taken from a sphere in which she was singularly qualified by her natural disposition, her winning manners, her devoted zeal, and her perfect acquaintance with the language, to be extensively serviceable to the cause of Christ. True, she has been torn from her husband's bleeding heart, and from her darling babe; but infinite wisdom and love have presided as ever in this most afflicting dispensation. Faith decides that it is all right; and the decision of faith, eternity will soon confirm."

But Mr Judson's cup of affliction was not yet full. His little Maria pined away, and six months after its mother she also breathed her last, to the unspeakable grief of her poor sorrowing father, who was thus bereaved, not only of a beloved wife, but of their only remaining child.¹

With respect to the main object of Mr Judson's visit to Ava, it had entirely failed. In the very commencement of the negotiations he found that it would be impossible to effect anything in favour of religious toleration. The Burmese government had

¹ Judson's Memoir, pp. 87, 264, 267.



merely agreed to make a commercial treaty, and its commissioners were resolved to confine the discussions to points strictly commercial; so that, instead of a treaty of twenty-two articles calculated to place the relations of the two countries on the most liberal and friendly footing, the new treaty was confined to four articles, and these utterly insignificant.¹

After the conclusion of peace, Dr Price returned to Ava, and remained there in the service of his Burmese majesty. His medical skill procured for him the favour of the king and the nobility, and he had frequent opportunities of conversing with them on the subject of religion. He received under his tuition a number of boys, the sons of some of the chief officers of government, to whom he communicated some knowledge of the gospel, as well as of the principles of science. He had even several interesting conversations with the king, and other persons of high rank, in which he was allowed to state the truths of the gospel, and to expose the absurdities of Buddhism. He hoped that the instructions which he imparted by public lectures, and by private conversations, on astronomy, geography, natural philosophy, and other branches of science, would tend indirectly to shake the popular system of faith, which in Burmah, as in many other countries, is closely interwoven with erroneous and absurd notions of science. But while he was proceeding in this course, he was attacked by consumption, and died, after a lingering illness.²

In 1827, the missionaries removed from Amherst to Maulmain, a new town, about twenty-five miles higher up the river Salwen or Martaban, as the expectations which had been entertained of the former place becoming a considerable town were not likely to be realized. Maulmain being within the British territory, the missionaries here enjoyed full protection and toleration, and it henceforth became the head-quarters of the mission.³

In April 1828, Mr Boardman began a new station at Tavoy, the chief town in the British province of that name. Here he baptized, shortly after his arrival, a Karen, named Ko Thay-byo, who had come with him from Maulmain. The Karens are a numerous, but a poor wretched people, scattered through Burmah

¹ Judson's Memoir, p. 266.

² Judson's Memoir, pp. 263, 289.—Miss. Reg. 1828, pp. 288, 395.

³ Miss. Reg. 1829, p. 67.



and the neighbouring countries, living in the jungles, on the banks of rivers, and in the mountains, in places almost inaccessible to any but themselves and the wild beasts. According to Mr Boardman they were atheists, in the fullest sense of the word, and were absolutely destitute of any kind of religion; but according to Mr Mason, another of the missionaries, they were so far from being atheists, like the Burmans and other Budhists, that they had among them many remarkable traditions or sayings, which embody much religious truth, and coincide, in a singular degree, with the representations of Scripture relative to the eternity, unchangeableness, omniscience, omnipresence, holiness, and other perfections of God, to his creation of all things, the fall of man, and also to the duties which we owe to Him, and to one another.¹

Ko Thay-byo, the first of the Karens who was baptized, was a poor man, and a slave, till Mr Judson set him free. He was a man of very ordinary abilities. His natural temper was exceedingly bad; he was a wicked and ungovernable boy, and when he grew up to manhood, he became a robber and a murderer. Yet was the heart of this man subdued by Divine grace, and he became a distinguished instrument in the hand of God of bringing many of his countrymen to a knowledge of the gospel. Immediately after his baptism he left Tavoy, accompanied by two of his countrymen, to visit the Karens beyond the eastern mountains, in the valley of the Tenasserim provinces, and several of these poor people were led, through his means, to come to the missionary, in order to obtain further instruction. Indeed, from the time of his baptism till his death, he never intermitted his labours in making known the gospel where Christ had not before been named—from Tavoy to Siam, from Martaban to the borders of Zimmay, and from Rangoon to Arracan. No fatigue, no difficulties, hindered him from seeking out his countrymen. In his excursions among them he was occasionally accompanied by one of the missionaries, and still more frequently by one or two of the converts. He had a passion for preaching; it was in fact his ruling passion. In every other work he was indolent and inefficient; but in preaching Christ crucified, his soul seemed nerved

¹ Memoir of G. D. Boardman, pp. 51, 54, 56, 59, 110.—Mason's Karen Apostle, or Memoir of Ko Thay-byo, pp. 7, 14, 72, 76, 95.



with more than mortal energy. On one occasion, when out in a boat with one of the missionaries, he was in danger of his life; but his great concern was, not that he should never again see his wife and children, nor did he utter a cry to God for mercy on his soul, but he said, "I shall be drowned, and never more preach the Word of God to the Karens." He was fitted in a special manner for the work he undertook. He was not adapted for the pastoral office. His work was that of a pioneer; for breaking up the fallow-ground, and casting in the first seed, he was singularly qualified. Send him to a new post, and everything seemed to give way before him. Allow him to remain, and the very individuals who a little before had blessed God for having made him the instrument of their conversion, were ready to exchange his services for those of any other man. Yet no man was more highly esteemed by the native Christians than Ko Thay-byo, while he applied himself to his proper work. In that he exhibited powers of a superior order, and few men have seen their labours attended with more success. With the great leading truths of the gospel he was as familiar as one is with the alphabet, and on these he delighted to dwell. In fact he knew but little else. He had felt their renovating influence on his own heart, and had proved in his own experience that they had power to change the lion into a lamb. "It was the death of Christ," he used to say with peculiar emphasis, "it was the death of Christ, as a substitute, that laid the foundation of all our hopes. It is because he stood in our place, and suffered the penalty due to our sins, that we who believe in him may now be saved." This great truth he used to bring, in various ways, into almost every sermon, so that those converted through his instrumentality, Mr Vinton states, had usually a more thorough knowledge of the doctrine of Justification by faith, than an equal number of persons whom he ever knew, either in heathen or Christian countries. Should the question still be asked, How was it that a man whose intellectual resources were so limited, should yet prove so powerful and so successful as a preacher? it may be answered, that he not only had the rare faculty of concentrating all his powers, and bringing them to bear on a single point, but he was in a remarkable degree a man of prayer. When not employed in preaching, he used to spend his time almost exclusively in read-



ing and praying. Sometimes he would spend whole days in this way, and occasionally, it was said, whole nights in prayer. Supposing there to be no exaggeration in the narrative, it is truly gratifying to find such an account given of a native preacher, and especially of one whose mental faculties appear to have been anything but of a high order. We are no advocates for the employment in the ministry, either at home or abroad, of persons of inferior understanding and limited education. Much evil has often resulted from such a practice; but yet, in some instances, the defect of intellectual qualifications has been made up, in a remarkable manner, by moral qualities, of which Ko Thay-byo appears to have been a striking example.¹

In February 1830, Mr and Mrs Wade paid a visit to Rangoon, where there was a small church of Burmans, which had been lately placed under the care of a native pastor. Many crowded to their present visitors to inquire and be instructed; great numbers of tracts were circulated among them. Mr Judson arrived a few months afterwards, and sailed up the Irrawaddy, distributing in most of the towns and villages which line its banks, large quantities of tracts, which were received by the people with great eagerness. Having arrived at the ancient town of Prome, he stopped there, "a great door and effectual" appearing to be opened to him. At one time, the whole town seemed to be roused to listen to the news of an eternal God, of the mission of Jesus Christ, and of the way of salvation through his atonement. But there was at length a threatening of opposition; the people became frightened, many sent back the tracts they had received, and there was a general falling off in the attendance at the zayats. Mr Judson was summoned to undergo an examination at the court-house, not, however, on the subject of religion, but concerning the whole of his past life since he had been in Burmah. The result was forwarded to Aya, where he had been regarded as a suspicious character ever since he declined remaining there at the close of the war, and joined the British. The king, it would appear, gave orders that he should be removed from Prome, and he was given to understand that he must confine himself to Rangoon. He accordingly returned to that place, and renewed his labours in this the original sphere of the mission, which had,

¹ Mason's Karen Apostle, pp. 3, 20, 33, 35, 40, 65.



however, been relinquished by the missionaries for several years. Rangoon may be considered as the key of the whole country. Besides being the chief centre of commerce, it attracts multitudes to it by its religious festivals, and thus furnishes unusual facilities for the circulation of books throughout the kingdom.¹

In April 1833, Mr Kincaid, accompanied by several native assistants, embarked at Rangoon, on the Irrawaddy, for Ava, with the view of renewing the mission in that city, which had been suspended for several years. In the voyage up the river, they preached the gospel in nearly three hundred towns and villages, and distributed great numbers of tracts. On arriving at Ava, a spirit of inquiry, it is stated, was awakened and increased so rapidly, that, in a few weeks, crowds of visitors came to them daily. One day about fifty priests called. It is an utterly false idea, that they are a learned class of Burmans. As a general body they are the most proud, stupid, ignorant class of people in the whole country. In Ava and the neighbouring cities, there are great numbers, particularly among the higher classes, who are free-thinkers. They do not openly oppose Buddhism, but they despise it in their hearts. These persons, when reasoned with, quickly yield to the truth, that there is only one living and true God; but the doctrine of the cross was to them, as to the Greeks of old, foolishness. Mr Kincaid suspected some of their visitors might be spies. They professed great anxiety to know more of geography and astronomy, but they did not care about the subject of religion. The gospel was often preached in *zayats* and market-places to listening crowds; but many who professed to be inquirers afterwards went back, and a general apathy appeared to prevail.²

In June 1837, Mr Kincaid again left Ava. The country had of late been involved in all the horrors of anarchy and civil war. It was also overrun with robbers. A few months before, he had made a voyage of about 350 miles, chiefly up the Irrawaddy, to Mogaung, the most northern city of Burmah; and on his return, when about a hundred miles to the north of Ava, he was attacked

¹ Report Bapt. Board for For. Miss. 1831, p. 13.—Miss. Reg. 1831, pp. 325, 353.—Ibid. 1832, p. 32.—Ibid. 1835, p. 92.

² Miss. Reg. 1835, p. 93.—Rep. Bapt. Board for For. Mis. 1834, p. 16.—Amer. Bapt. Magazine 1834, pp. 105, 277, 280.—Ibid. 1836, pp. 97, 98, 100.



by a body of about two hundred robbers. Not supposing there were more than two boats, with about twenty-five men on board, he made a show of resistance by taking a pair of pistols in his hand, upon which they rowed off; but, in a few minutes, six boats, filled with armed men, came on and surrounded his boat. When quite near, they fired a volley of twenty-five or thirty muskets. His boatmen, except the one at the helm, lay in the boat as closely as possible, to avoid the balls that whistled around them and fell in the water in every direction. It would have been madness to think of repelling so large a force with only one musket and a pair of pistols. He therefore laid down the pistols, and told them to cease firing. They, however, fired four or five more shots at him, when he held up his hands, and told them to look and see he was unarmed; that he would offer no resistance, and that they might take everything they wished from the boat. About seventy men, the greater part of them armed with muskets, and the others with spears and drawn swords, came and seized him; and in a few minutes they were on shore, before the head robber and the rest of the banditti.

On the following day, Mr Kincaid was attacked again, and stripped of his last rag of clothing, except a narrow cloth to fasten around his loins. The robbers then tied him with ropes, and led him away under a guard of 150 men. A large party demanded his execution, but another party opposed this as impolitic. He was carefully guarded; but, after about a week, he found means to escape to the mountains, and made his way, through a desolate region, to Ava.

A revolution was now effected in Burmah. Prince Tharawadi dethroned the king his brother, threw all the nobles and officers of the old government into prison, and loaded them with irons. Ava, Amarapoora, and Sagaing, were invested by his armies. The whole country, in every direction around Ava, presented a scene of desolation and misery truly heart-rending; indeed, the whole empire, in its length and breadth, was laid waste.

During the civil war, and after the new king came into power, Mr Kincaid had sanguine hopes that under him the prospects of the mission would be improved, and residence in the country rendered more permanent and secure. He had always been ready to hold intercourse with foreigners, and was remarkable for the



liberality of his opinions. He had often expressed his disapprobation of the exclusive and jealous policy of the former government, and had spoken disapprovingly of the harassing and vexatious course which it had pursued to Mr Kincaid himself during the first two years he was in Ava. There is no reason to doubt that he then expressed his honest opinions. But he now found himself in a new position. The first intimation which the missionaries had of a change in his sentiments was a message which he sent to them by Mr Edwards, the clerk of Colonel Burney, the British Resident. "Tell the American teachers," he said, "that they must give away no more religious books. I know the old government told them so, and still let them go on; but I shall not do so. My authority must be regarded." When they visited him some days after, he treated them with great personal kindness, came and sat down beside them, talked pleasantly, asked a great many questions, and evidently wished them to feel that he was not unfriendly. He, however, said, "I am now King of Burmah, and am therefore defender of the faith, and must support the religion of the country. You must give away no more of Christ's books." This he said before the whole assembled court, and added many expressions, intimating that the royal will must not be trifled with. Mr Kincaid inquired, "Has your Majesty any objection to scientific books?" "No, no," he replied; "bring up a press; print and circulate as many as you please; I will give you a good place to live in." Previous to this, he had also expressed his determination not to adhere to the treaty which was made with the English at the end of the late war, and that he would have no intercourse with them based on that instrument. Colonel Burney, the Resident, therefore left Ava, and the missionaries and other foreigners accompanied him.¹

The missionaries at Rangoon remained there some time longer; but in the following year they left that place also, in consequence of the distracted and dangerous state of the country. Burmah proper was thus once more left without a missionary. In Rangoon, the few converts were subjected to much persecution. Ko Sanlone, a native assistant, was arrested, beaten, imprisoned, loaded with irons, and at times subjected to severe labour; nearly every native Christian was fined; the members of the

¹ For. Miss. Chron. of the Board of Missions of the Pres. Church, vol. vi. p. 125.



church were scattered abroad; it might almost be said to be extinct. Though foreigners were allowed the free and full exercise of their religion, there was no such thing as toleration for the natives of the country.¹

But though obliged to leave Burmah proper, the missionaries continued to carry on their labours in the British territories without interruption, though not without opposition from the natives; nor were their stations confined to Maulmain, Tavoy, Amherst, and other places in the eastern provinces; several were also begun in Arracan, the western province. In carrying on the mission, they made great use of the native converts, chiefly Karens, as assistants in communicating the gospel to their countrymen, and that not only in the British provinces, but in Burmah Proper and the neighbouring countries. Some were employed as evangelists, and made extensive excursions for this purpose, visiting places whither the missionaries themselves could not have gone;² others were placed as pastors over native churches, and had from twenty to sixty families under their care. From the numbers who were thus employed,³ or who took part in the work, and considering their previous low mental cultivation, we cannot but apprehend that many of them must have been very imper-

¹ Amer. Bapt. Mag. 1834, p. 198.—Rep. Bapt. Board for Foreign Miss. 1836, p. 20.

² The hospitality of the Karens is remarkable, and must have facilitated greatly such visits. The Rev. H. Malcolm, of Boston, who was sent by the Board to visit its missions in Eastern Asia, gives the following account of the reception which he and Mr Vinton, one of the missionaries, met with on the island of Balu, which lies near Maulmain, and is inhabited chiefly by Karens:—"Though we lodged each night in the boat, we spent our time and ate among the people. The glance thus gained of native character, was very gratifying. We saw no house where poverty seemed to dwell (though we passed through four or five villages), and no disorder in any place. Wherever we stopped to eat, we entered a house freely, and were immediately offered clean mats, and treated with the utmost hospitality. Able and willing to supply our wants, they sometimes expostulated with the servant, as he was cooking our meals, that he had brought rice and fowls, instead of allowing them to furnish our table. This trait is prevalent among the Karens. Native assistants go from village to village among them, even where the gospel has never been heard, and take literally 'neither purse nor scrip.' They are bountifully supplied, even where their message meets only with opposition. Mr Vinton on one occasion went several days' journey among Karen villages, without servant or food. 'Everywhere they killed for him their best fowls, and spread before him rice, fruits, honey, and whatever they had, and gave him their best place to sleep in.'—Malcolm's *Travels in South-Eastern Asia*, vol. i. p. 56.

³ In 1846, the native preachers and assistants were about 90 in number.—*Bapt. Miss. Her.* 1847, p. 158.



fectly qualified for it. According to some accounts, indeed, they were a faithful, laborious, successful, worthy set of men; but according to another account, the amount of Scriptural knowledge possessed by even the most successful of them, was exceedingly small, and the graces of the Christian character were, in many instances, very imperfectly understood and exemplified by them. "Alas!" says Mr Mason, "they are very little in advance of the people they are set over, and one reason why help is so urgently requested, is to instruct them. Because the assistants are useful, it is not therefore to be taken for granted that they are well-versed in the truth. While the riches of Divine grace are displayed in converting Karens, who know very little of Christian doctrine, it is no less displayed in making very ignorant assistants instruments in the conversion of souls." He then proceeds to remark on the gross immoralities and improprieties into which some of the assistants fell, in consequence of former depraved habits, their exceeding incapacity to manage church difficulties on account of the violence of their temper and recklessness and extreme ignorance, and their frequently injudicious and unscriptural method of dealing with inquirers. "I am sometimes led to think," he adds, "that the people are converted to the truth in spite of their teachers." The missionaries took some of the converts under instruction with the view of better qualifying them for teaching their countrymen; and they ultimately established theological seminaries for giving candidates for the ministry, both Karens and Burmans, a more extended and thorough course of preparatory instruction and discipline.¹

In connexion with the distribution of books and tracts, the converts received into the several churches, were made chiefly through the instrumentality of the native preachers. These were not for some years ordained to the ministry, as it was not deemed prudent to intrust them with the power of baptizing and admitting persons into the fellowship of the Church; but this wise resolution was afterwards departed from, and then we find them baptizing their countrymen in great numbers. In 1846, the number of converts was estimated at upwards of 6000; those in Burmah alone, were supposed to be not fewer than 3000. We

¹ Proceed. Bapt. Convention, 1832, p. 16.—Rep. Bapt. Board, 1833, p. 13.—Ibid. 1843, pp. 35, 54.—Ibid. 1844, pp. 57, 61, 86.—Ibid. 1846, pp. 29, 32.



have strong testimonies by the missionaries, some years ago, to the simple, humble piety of the converts, and to their general exemplary conduct; but then the number was comparatively small. We are always jealous of the baptism of great numbers, and we have generally found, in the history of missions, that it ultimately turned out that our suspicions were well-founded. Even the missionaries baptized in such numbers, that we fear it must often have been on very slender evidence of their piety, consisting, as they commonly did, of persons who had received their chief instruction from the native assistants, whose own knowledge of Divine truth was in most instances so very imperfect.¹

Among the features of this mission, not the least remarkable was the extent to which books and tracts were circulated among the people. A number of presses were actively at work, furnished with founts of types in the Burman, Karen, Peguan, and English languages, and the missionaries also established a type and stereotype foundry. The Old and New Testaments were translated by Mr Judson into Burman. Versions of the New Testament were also made by others of the missionaries, into the Karen and Peguan languages. Great numbers of books and tracts, on a variety of subjects, were also prepared and printed in these languages, including elementary books for the schools, in history, geography, astronomy, trigonometry, surveying, and other branches of knowledge, it being justly thought of much importance to give the people correct views on these subjects, both as enlarging their minds, and as being calculated to undermine their religious system, which is founded on and closely interwoven with the grossest whims and conceits, particularly in regard to the solar system. Mr Judson also compiled a grammar and dictionary of the Burman language, the latter in two parts, Burmese

¹ Rep. Bapt. Board, 1843, p. 45.—Bapt. Miss. Herald, 1847, p. 157.—Mason's *Karen Apostle*, pp. 56, 76.

On one occasion, three of the missionaries visiting Maubee and its vicinity, where Ko Thay-byo had been labouring for some time, but where no missionary had ever been, baptized during the week 167 persons.—Mason's *Karen Apostle*, p. 59.

On another occasion, we find Mr Judson falling in with a perfect stranger, and baptizing him the same day before they parted.—*Rep. Bapt. Board*, 1833, p. 12. He appears, in fact, to have been in the practice of baptizing persons on a very short and slight acquaintance with them.—Wayland's *Memoir of the Rev. A. Judson*, vol. ii. pp. 3, 15, 18, 33.

In 1844, Myat Kyau, one of the native preachers, in an excursion from Arracan into



and English, and English and Burmese.¹ Mr Mason compiled a grammar, and Mr Wade a dictionary of the Karen language, which had never been reduced to writing till this was done by the missionaries.²

Much was said in the communications from the missionaries, and in the statements of the Board, of the great spirit of inquiry which was awakened in Burmah; of the eagerness with which books and tracts were received; of the conviction in the minds of multitudes of the falsehood of Buddhism and of the truth of Christianity; and high anticipations were expressed of the early triumph of the gospel in that country.³

Burmah of three or four months, baptized 1550 persons.—*Amer. Bapt. Mag.* 1845, p. 101.

In 1846, he and Ko Dwai baptized 812 persons, and 1427 were waiting for admission into the churches.—*Bapt. Miss. Her.* 1847, p. 157.

Mr Kincaid, some years ago, expressed by anticipation the fears we have stated on this subject. Speaking of the native preachers, he says, "It would be imprudent now to intrust them with power to baptize and admit persons to church membership. They must have more instruction in 'the mysteries of the Kingdom,' more experience and more knowledge of character, or there would be danger of their filling the Church with mere nominal Christians."—Mason's *Karen Apostle*, p. 83.

¹ He did not, however, live to complete it, but it was afterwards carried on by Mr Steven, another of the missionaries.—*Bapt. Miss. Her.* 1851, p. 164.

² *Miss. Reg.* 1835, p. 93.—*Rep. Bapt. Board For. Miss.* 1831, p. 10.—*Ibid.* 1833, p. 9.—*Ibid.* 1839, p. 16.—*Ibid.* 1845, pp. 31, 34.

³ We have often had occasion to regret the bright and sanguine prospects which have been held out by missionaries, and still more, perhaps, by the friends of missions at home, of the progress of the gospel in various parts of the world. A volume might be compiled of these disappointed hopes. Of nothing should man speak with so much caution and reserve, as of futurity. In reference to the spirit of inquiry which it was alleged was excited among the Burmans, it was asked, about the year 1832, "What means this excitement, pervading, as it were, a whole nation, if it be not a clear indication that, in the language of Mr Judson, 'the great renovation of Burmah is drawing near?'"

"His Majesty," writes Mr Judson, "has banished me from Prome, where I was spending a few months, and has forbidden my advancing above Rangoon. He has levelled our brick house at Ava to the ground; but on the subject of tracts, the government appears to be quite indifferent. If there should be no government prohibition, and we could be furnished with the means of throwing in an incessant flood of tracts for three years, I should hope, from what I know of the habits of the people, that Buddhism would be shaken to its base. The Burmans are a reading people beyond almost any other eastern nation; probably nine-tenths of the male population throughout the country can read. They are also a careful, deliberate people, who turn a thing over many times before they take it. They are not disposed to give much credit to the words of a missionary; but when a tract is put into their hands, they wrap it up carefully, deposit it in a fold of their waistcoat or turban, carry it home to their village, however distant, and when a leisure evening occurs, the family-lamp is produced, the man, his wife, and relations gather round, and the contents of the new writing receive a full discussion."



We have felt much difficulty in forming an estimate of such statements, and of the character of the effects referred to. We see no reason, however, for supposing that there was in all this any special work of the Spirit of God. That there were individuals who were the subject of his hallowed influences, we do not doubt; but that there was a general awakening of the people to attend to the great concerns of religion, appears to us very improbable; and this supposition is confirmed by the fact, that among the Burmans at least (whatever there might be among the Karens), there was comparatively little fruit of the spirit of inquiry, which is so often and so much spoken of. Perhaps, indeed, the whole may be partly explained by the facts, that the population of Burmah are said to be generally taught to read; that their books, being in manuscript, must have been comparatively rare and somewhat expensive; that printed books were a perfect novelty to them; that it was a singular thing to have books of any kind given away gratuitously among them;

"Our tracts are *pervading the whole country* from the frontiers of China to the banks of the Ganges, and from the borders of Cassay to the most southern village of British Pegu."—*Miss. Reg.* 1833, p. 36. Who but must see that this was a highly-coloured picture!

The Board in America was not less sanguine in its expectations. In 1832, a committee, to which the consideration of the Burman mission was referred, reported that, "in their opinion, the whole history of missions has recorded but very few opportunities for disseminating the gospel of Christ, so inviting as that which is now presented in Burmah." "Within a few years, the people have manifested a spirit of inquiry on the subject of religion, to which *scarcely any parallel is to be found in the history of pagan nations*; and, besides all this, the Holy Spirit has been poured out, and conversions in greater numbers, and under more interesting circumstances than common, have attended the preaching of the gospel at all the stations."

The Board itself, referring to the measures which it had adopted for increasing the printing establishment, says, "From the above facts, it appears that *we are rapidly approaching* a consummation long desired by the friends of Burmah. The power which the press is capable of wielding over the millions of that country, is no longer doubtful. The people *will* read when the truth is put into their hands. The spirit of inquiry increases as the means which are to awaken it are multiplied."

"From such an accession of strength as is now promised, the best results may be anticipated. *The thousands who ask for light*, from Yeh, Mergui, Tavoy, and the entire kingdoms of Burmah and Siam, *will receive it*." The sacred Scriptures, so long desired in Burmah, will be sent forth. The power of issuing new translations of the Word, as in the Taling (Peguan), and other languages, will be possessed, and *we may hope in a few years, those vast regions of darkness will be filled with the knowledge and glory of God*."—*Proceedings of the Bapt. Gen. Convention*, 1832, pp. 20, 31.

In the Report of the Board for 1834, p. 4, we have still more glowing anticipations of "the day of Burmah's renovation being at hand," but the passage is too long for us to extract. What a commentary on these representations is the present state of Burmah!



and hence might arise the readiness and even eagerness with which they received them, and perhaps, in the first instance, read them; and the effect of the whole might be increased, at least for a time, by the circumstance that it was strangers and foreigners who attacked their religion, and brought so many new and strange things to their ears. Missionaries and the friends of missions, we think, often attach far too much importance to slender circumstances as indicative of an interest on the part of the people among whom they labour, in the truths of the gospel, and even of the working of the Holy Spirit on their minds, which the result afterward shews, and which a little reflection at the time might have shewn, were the operation of mere natural causes, and admitted of a very simple explanation.¹

In 1852, the following were stated to be the numbers of the baptized connected with the Burman mission:—

Maulmain, Burman	181
Do. Karen	1750 (?)
<hr/>	
Carry forward	1931

The views we have expressed, particularly in reference to tracts, are confirmed and further illustrated by the Rev. Mr Malcolm, who visited, as the Representative of the Board, its various missionary stations in Burmah in 1836.

"It has been inferred," says he, "that a general spirit of inquiry has been excited throughout the empire. Alas! the very contrary is the fact. In general, tracts are received more cordially at first than ever afterwards; and often, on visiting a village a second or third time, few will accept of a tract at all."—*Malcolm's Travels*, vol. i. p. 123.

In giving an account of his voyage up the Irrawaddy to Ava, he says:—"We follow the remote windings of the river to avoid the powerful current of the main stream, and thus find many villages where no White face was ever seen. As no missionary has gone up the river to give tracts in the rainy season, there is little doubt that many of these people now for the first time receive the knowledge of the true religion. On the great river we often find persons who have had tracts, and now utterly refuse them. But in these by-ways all receive them with gladness."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 93.

"On the way up, we visited and distributed tracts in eighty-two cities, towns, and villages. In general the tracts were received with the utmost avidity, and those who got one would often clamour for another. Scores waded or swam to the boat after them; and often we were so thronged with applicants, when moored to the shore, that we could scarcely eat or sleep. But this fact is far from proving a general desire among the people for the knowledge of the true religion. A tract is in every respect a curiosity. They have never seen such *paper*,—their own books being made of palm-leaf, or black pasteboard, which is written upon with a steatite pencil. The *printing* is a great curiosity. The *shape of the book* is a curiosity. Besides, it is *property*, and no Burman will refuse a gift without a strong reason."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 105.



Brought forward	1931
Tavoy, Karen	1000 (?)
Arracan, Burman	59
Sandoway, Karen	5000 (?)
Ava	27
	<hr/>
	8017 ¹

SECT. II.—NORTH AMERICA.

THE Baptist Board for Foreign Missions established numerous stations among the North American Indians; but as they resemble in many respects other missions among the Indians, of which we have already given an account, we shall not enter into particular details regarding them.

For many years the efforts of the Board for the evangelization and civilization of the Indians seemed of little avail; and many began to question the wisdom of expending large sums annually on what seemed the vain attempt to elevate the character and ameliorate the condition of this degraded and miserable portion of the human family. Many of the stations were originally in the country to the east of the Mississippi; but the great body of the various tribes of Indians having after some years been removed by the American government to a tract of country west of that river, the Board not only followed them, but extended its operations among them. Schools were opened at most of the stations; at that among the Shawanoes a press was also established, and books in several of the Indian languages, including translations of portions of the Holy Scriptures, were printed; a considerable number, chiefly among the Cherokees, were, it is hoped, brought under the influence of religion, and were baptized; several were even ordained as preachers, and laboured as missionaries among their countrymen. The Indians at some of the stations were greatly improved in their character and condition, and made considerable progress in agriculture and other useful arts.²

In 1852, the following were the numbers of the baptized connected with the missions among the Indians:—

¹ Wayland's Memoir of the Rev. A. Judson, vol. ii. p. 419.

² Reports Bapt. Board For. Missions, *passim*.



Ojibwas	22
Ottawas	25 (?)
Shawanoes	107
Cherokees	1225 (?)
	<hr/>
	1379 ¹

Besides establishing missions in Burmah and among the North American Indians, the Baptist Board sent missionaries to Hayti, to Greece, to Liberia on the coast of Africa, to India, to Assam, to Siam, and to China; but as they also furnish few details materially different from those we have given in our accounts of other missions, we must content ourselves with this general enumeration of them.²

¹ Wayland's Memoir of the Rev. A. Judson, vol. II. p. 419.

² Reports Bapt. Board For. Missions, *passim*.



CHAPTER XXIV.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE AMERICAN METHODIST
EPISCOPAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

IN April 1819, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States was organized. The Methodist Church in America consisted of a number of annual conferences, under a general conference, which met every four years. It appears to have been chiefly through these district conferences that the various missions of the Methodists were carried on. Their first and chief efforts, as regards the Heathen, were directed to the Indian tribes of North America; but they also sent missionaries to Liberia, on the Western coast of Africa, and to China.

Many of the Indians, among whom missionary stations were established, were compelled by the government of the United States to remove west of the Mississippi; but the missions were still continued among them. In 1851 the number of Indians of various tribes who were members of the Methodist Church, amounted to about 5200.¹ Many of them, particularly at some of the stations, made considerable advances in agriculture and other arts of civilized life. Several of them even laboured as missionaries among their countrymen.

Besides establishing missions among the Indians, the Methodists laboured, with much success, among the Black and Coloured people of the United States, particularly among the slave population of the Southern States. In 1843 there were 128,410 Black and Coloured people, members of the Methodist Church in the United States, and it is probable the number has since that time greatly increased.

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xlviii. p. 123.



CHAPTER XXV.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE BOARD OF MISSIONS OF
THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

In 1820 was established "The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America;"¹ but several years elapsed before it undertook any foreign mission.

In October 1830, the Rev. J. J. Robertson and J. H. Hill, with Mr Bingham, a printer, sailed from Boston, with the view of commencing a mission in Greece; and, on arriving in that country, they took up their residence in Athens; for, though that city had been entirely destroyed in the late war of the Revolution, yet, from its central situation in regard to the whole Greek population, its facilities of communication with them, and its salubrity, it promised to be a very eligible missionary station. "The whole city," the missionaries wrote, "is one heap of ruins, and the Greeks, who have returned to claim their former possessions, are dwelling in wretched hovels, hastily put together: they already amount to upwards of 6000. Hardly half a dozen of houses were spared in the general destruction of the city, and not so many have yet been rebuilt. It is, indeed, a heart-rending spectacle to walk through the streets, half choked up with ruins, and view the desolation which presents itself on every side, or to look down from the summit of the Parthenon on the entire scene of destruction below. Yet, desolate as it is, Athens is not without its attractions. Nowhere does nature present itself arrayed in

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxxii. p. 74.

In 1835 the organization of the society was altered, and the new body, to which was committed the management of the missions, was named, "The Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."



greater charms. Mountain and plain, wood and water, diversify the prospect. The extensive and beautiful olive grove, of which a large part yet remains, is everywhere filled with rich and fertile gardens, and a fine transparent atmosphere, almost constantly purified by cooling breezes, renders the situation one of the healthiest in Greece. We feel the mercy of our heavenly Father in bringing us to so goodly a land."¹

The principle on which the mission was established was that which was so generally adopted in relation to the Eastern Churches, of not attempting to make proselytes, or to withdraw the people from their own Church, and to form them into a new church, but of spreading Scriptural truth among them, without, however, interfering with the ecclesiastical authorities, in the expectation that this would lead eventually to the reformation of the Church by the Greeks themselves.²

The missionaries commenced their operations by establishing two schools, one for boys, the other for girls. They found among the Greeks an anxious thirst for education; and there seemed to prevail an enthusiastic feeling in favour of Americans, as having taken such a deep interest in the cause of the liberty and independence of Greece. A Greek of distinction, on visiting the girls' school, after attentively surveying it for some time in silence, addressed Mrs Hill in these emphatic words:—"Lady, you are erecting in Athens a monument more enduring and more noble than yonder temple," pointing to the Parthenon. An infant school was also opened, and was particularly interesting. The natural vivacity of the Greek character fell in admirably with the varied machinery of the infant school system. Hence, the progress of the little scholars was rapid, and truly surprising.³

The missionaries subsequently established other kinds of schools, among which were a high school for boys who had passed through an elementary course, for the purpose of carrying them on in the higher branches of Christian and scientific education, and a school for training female teachers. There was also a domestic or boarding institution, under the care of Mr and Mrs Hill, which excited great interest, even beyond the borders of Greece. The

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxvi. p. 361.—Miss. Reg. 1832, p. 258.

² Miss. Reg. 1832, p. 260.—Miss. Her. vol. xxvii. p. 390.

³ Miss. Reg. 1832, p. 259.—Ibid. 1833, p. 26.



government maintained in it, for several years, twelve female pupils, who were preparing to become government teachers in various parts of the country; and applications came from wealthy Greeks in Moldavia, Constantinople, and Asia Minor, to have their daughters received into it, they of course paying for their education and board. The whole number of pupils in the various schools was very considerable; and it is not unworthy of remark that more than one-half of them were girls.¹

The printing press was originally set up at Athens; but it was early removed to the island of Syra, where were printed not only small tracts, but some important religious works in modern Greek, as Archbishop Newcombe's *Harmony of the Gospels*, Horne *On the Inspiration of the Scriptures*, and Robinson's *Scripture Characters*. A female school was also established in Syra, which was numerously attended; but after a few years the mission press was given up, as the printing which was required could be executed at less expense at the presses established by the Greeks themselves, and the station was relinquished.²

In March 1837, a station was begun in the island of Crete. A school was established, which was also numerously attended, and copies of the Scriptures and other books were put into circulation. For such labours there appears to have been great need. When this station was begun, it is stated, there was nothing deserving the name of a school in the island; and in the chief town, a complete copy of the Holy Scriptures was not to be found. After a few years, however, the station in Crete was also given up.³

In April 1839, the Rev. Dr Robertson removed to Constantinople with a special view to the Greeks; but the object of the mission was afterwards extended to the other eastern churches. The Rev. Horatio Southgate, who had, under the auspices of the American Episcopal Board of Missions, made a tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Persia, with the view of investigating the state of Mahomedanism and Christianity in these countries, and who was afterwards sent to Constantinople, having been consecrated in America, "Missionary Bishop of the Pro-

¹ Miss. Reg. 1835, p. 75.—Ibid. 1838, p. 99.—For. Miss. Chron. vol. vi. p. 37; vol. vii. p. 40; vol. x. p. 4.

² Miss. Reg. 1832, p. 259.—Ibid. 1835, p. 76.—Ibid. 1839, p. 95.—For. Miss. Chron. vol. vii. p. 41; vol. viii. p. 39.

³ Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 96.—Ibid. 1842, p. 128.—Ibid. 1844, p. 114.



testant Episcopal Church of the United States in the dominions and dependencies of the Sultan of Turkey." The measures which the new-made bishop proposed adopting, for accomplishing the objects which he had in view, were chiefly the following :—The translation and circulation of the Scriptures in the modern languages of the eastern Christians, and the co-operation of their ecclesiastics in the circulation of them; the circulation of the Book of Common Prayer in these languages, into most of which it had recently been translated; the translation of their own ancient liturgies, and of some of their best ancient writers, into their modern languages; the publication of other doctrinal and religious works in these languages; the raising up in their churches of a native agency to carry on, perpetuate, and consummate the work. In this he hoped to obtain the co-operation of their clergy, and with their countenance, and the support of the Church at home, it was his design to commence training young men, carefully selected, and giving good promise of a religious as well as intellectual character, in the expectation of being in time instrumental in preparing candidates for the ministry, who might prove faithful, holy, well-furnished men. He also proposed making the Episcopal Church of the West known to the eastern churches by an Episcopal representation of it at their chief seat in the Mediterranean; and in proposing the circulation of the Book of Common Prayer among them, he had specially in view the making of it known to them in its doctrine, ministry, worship, and usages. Some of these measures were certainly very desirable; others of them were probably about as impracticable as more direct and comprehensive plans for the reformation of the eastern churches.¹

We have entered more particularly into these details regarding this mission, as being another experiment as to the reformation of the eastern churches, conducted on the principle of diffusing Scriptural truth among them, but avoiding any direct interference with their ecclesiastical orders, worship, rites, and ceremonies, in the expectation of thereby not causing offence, disarming opposition, and leading them to become instruments of their own spiritual reform. As members of an episcopal church, approaching episcopal churches, and seeking in various ways to promote their in-

¹ For. Miss. Chron. vol. viii. p. 39; vol. ix. p. 68.—Miss. Reg. 1844, p. 113.—Ibid. 1846, p. 87.



terests, the missionaries of the Board in Greece might be supposed to have had some prepossessions in their favour, but yet the experiment appears to have in a great measure failed. Though they were at first favourably received by the authorities of the Greek Church, and though they also are said to have carried their principle of accommodation and subserviency to a very unjustifiable length, yet opposition afterwards arose in the several fields which they occupied. The stations in Syra and Crete were given up; and it was even in contemplation to relinquish those in Athens and Constantinople also, and to concentrate their efforts on the Syrian Church. We do not doubt that the schools established by the missionaries were to some extent useful; but the Greek Church, to which their efforts were specially directed, is no nearer the purity and simplicity of Scripture doctrine and worship than it was when, near a quarter of a century ago, they landed in the country. We are not, indeed, without an apprehension that the spirit of the High Episcopal Church party has of late years got into the mission; and if this be the case, the prospect of its usefulness must be less than ever.¹

Besides the mission in the Mediterranean, the Episcopal Board established stations in North America among different tribes of Indians; in Western Africa at Cape Palmas, and in China at Shanghai.

¹ For. Miss. Chron. vol. xii. p. 4.—Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 96.—Ibid. 1841, p. 92.—Ibid. 1842, p. 127.

We are glad to find that the Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church in the United States have, like the Church Missionary Society in this country, changed their views in regard to the manner of carrying on missions among the eastern churches, after more than twenty years' perseverance in missionary operations on the principle of co-operation with the heads of these churches.—*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1853, p. 60.



CHAPTER XXVI.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE BOARD OF FOREIGN
MISSIONS OF THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.¹

SECT. I.—INDIA.

In May 1833, the Rev. John C. Lowrie and William Reed, with their wives, sailed for Calcutta, with a view to missionary operations in Northern India; but the mission, even at its commencement, sustained very heavy bereavements. Mrs Lowrie, who had shewn symptoms of consumption before she embarked, grew worse during the voyage, and died a few weeks after their arrival in Calcutta. Mr Reed, after some time, began also to shew symptoms of consumption; and it being judged advisable that he should return to America, he died at sea about three weeks after he and his wife sailed from Calcutta. Mr Lowrie, who now remained alone, was far from being in good health, yet going on board a native boat, he made his way slowly up the Ganges with no other company than natives; and after a voyage and journey of upwards of three months, he arrived at Lodiana, a place about five miles from the river Sutlege, which then formed the eastern boundary of the Punjab. Here he proposed commencing a missionary station; but he had not been many days in the country when he had a severe attack of liver complaint; and on the arrival of two other

¹ Though we have placed at the head of this chapter the name of "The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," yet the first missions did not originate with it. They were begun by the Western Foreign Missionary Society, which was organized by the Synod of Pittsburgh in 1831; and in 1837 they were transferred to "the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America."—*Foreign Missionary Chronicle of the Western Foreign Missionary Society*, vol. i. p. iii.—*Minutes of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church held at Baltimore, Oct. 31, 1837*, p. 6.



missionaries, the Rev. J. Newton and J. Wilson, it was deemed advisable, in consequence of the state of his health, that he should leave India without delay, and return to America.¹

In 1836, the Rev. J. R. Campbell and J. M'Ewen, and Messrs W. S. Rogers and J. Porter, arrived in India, and they were followed from time to time by other missionaries. The mission was, in the course of a few years, greatly extended, as will appear from the following table of the stations:—

Begun.	Stations.
1836.	Allahabad.
1852.	Futtehpur.
1846.	Agra.
1843.	Mynpuri.
1838.	Futteghurh.
1836.	Saharunpur.
1848.	Amballa.
1834.	Lodiana.
1847.	Jallander.
1849.	Lahore.

The missionaries at these various stations employed much the same instrumentality as was usual in other missions, such as the preaching of the gospel, boarding-schools both for boys and girls, week-day schools of various kinds, the printing and circulation of the Scriptures and religious books and tracts. With the view of carrying out some of these objects, they itinerated much through the surrounding country, visiting the principal towns and villages, and attending the *melas* of the Hindus in various places, especially that at Hurdwar, which is attended by vast multitudes of people, many of them from the Punjab, from Afghanistan, from Kashmere, and even from more distant regions. A number of the natives were baptized; some of them were employed as assistants in the mission; and there were two who were ordained to the ministry.²

¹ Lowrie's Travels in North India, pp. 9, 19, 58, 61, 114, 115, 117, 178, 204, 211.—Memoir of Mrs Louisa A. Lowrie, pp. 135, 142, 144, 164, 186, 197, 203, 205, 211.—For. Miss. Chron. vol. iii. p. 22.

² Lowrie's Travels, pp. 212, 213.—Rep. Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America, 1853, p. 20.



Among the works printed at the mission press at Allahabad was the Koran, in Hindustani. The translation was made by a learned Mahommedan, and there were added to it an introduction and notes by one of the missionaries. It was hoped that this work would excite considerable interest among the Mahommedans, and would at least discover to the common people the true character of the Koran. It is, however, worthy of notice that the Mahommedans were beginning to employ the press in the defence of their religion. Books having this object in view were printed at Lucknow, at the press of the King of Oude, and were sold to a considerable amount. A native prince at Lucknow expended about 5000 rupees on an edition of the Koran in Arabic, with a Hindustani translation and commentary, which was designed for gratuitous distribution.¹

In 1852 the number of communicants connected with the various stations was 255.²

SECT. II.—CHINA.

In December 1837 the Rev. J. A. Mitchell and R. W. Orr sailed from New York with a view to missionary operations among the Chinese. They were afterwards followed by other missionaries, and stations were in the meanwhile occupied at Singapore, and at Bankok, the capital of Siam, where great numbers of Chinese are settled; but these stations were subsequently relinquished, partly in consequence of the death or the ill health of the missionaries;³ and when, by the treaty with England, certain ports in China were opened to foreigners, it was resolved to establish the mission in the Celestial Empire itself.⁴ The following table exhibits a view of the stations which were occupied:—

¹ For. Miss. Chron. vol. xii. p. 349; vol. xiii. p. 19.

² Rep. Board Miss. Presbyterian Church in America, 1853, p. 67.

³ The mission to Siam was again resumed in 1847.—Rep. Board For. Miss. American Presbyterian Church, 1848, p. 31.

⁴ For. Miss. Chron. vol. vi. p. 22; vol. vii. p. 118; vol. viii. p. 127; vol. ix. pp. 90, 218; vol. xi. pp. 44, 54; vol. xiii. p. 22.



Began.	Stations.
1847.	Canton.
1842.	Amoy.
1844.	Ning-po.
1850.	Shang-hai.

In August 1847, the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, in returning from Shang-hai to his station at Ning-po, met with death under singular and very distressing circumstances. He had come to Shang-hai near three months before, to attend a meeting of the delegates appointed to revise the Chinese translation of the New Testament, which was expected to occupy them many months; but a messenger had lately come from Ning-po to request him to return thither, with reference to certain occurrences at that station. He accordingly proceeded with two attendants, by the canal to Cha-poo, where they embarked on board one of the regular passage boats for Ning-po. The wind was unfavourable, and they had sailed only about ten or twelve miles in a south-easterly direction, when suddenly a vessel was seen bearing rapidly down upon them. It was a craft like those which belong to Cha-poo, with three masts and eight oars. At the sight of this vessel the boatmen and the Chinese passengers were greatly terrified, and were for turning back; but Mr Lowrie endeavoured to allay their fears. As they drew nearer he took a small American flag which he had with him, and exhibited it at the bow of the boat; but still they came on and fired at it, and on coming alongside, they boarded it. There were about twenty or more of the pirates, and they were armed with jungals, match-locks, spears, and swords. The boatmen and Chinese passengers, through fear, concealed themselves as much as they could; but the pirates thrust at them, beating and maiming them, especially the sailors and others who might be supposed to resist them. They do not appear to have assailed Mr Lowrie, and when they attempted to break open a trunk belonging to him, he took out the key, and gave it to them. They continued their work of plunder, breaking open every thing, and taking out whatever they chose, and even stripping the Chinamen of their clothes. Yet they did not touch anything that was on him; even his watch and the little money



which he had in his pocket they did not take. But before they had finished plundering the boat, they appeared hastily to take a resolution to throw him overboard. Two men seized him, but not being able to effect their purpose, another came, and with his assistance they accomplished their design. He swam about for some time, and was seen to turn several times in the water, as if he would struggle toward the boat; but as one of the pirates stood with a long pole in his hands ready to strike him, should he approach it, he gave up the attempt, and the waves running high, he soon sunk to rise no more. Such was the melancholy end of this excellent young man.

After disabling the boat, cutting its sails, and taking away the helm, &c., the pirates departed, leaving it to the mercy of the winds and waves. As soon as the crew had recovered from their fright, they tried to fit it up and to return to Cha-poo; but not being able to steer it, they ran it in on a low shore. The case was laid before the Chinese authorities, who promised to take measures immediately for apprehending the pirates, but whether they were brought to justice we are not informed.¹

SECT. III.—WESTERN AFRICA.

In January 1833, the Rev. J. B. Pinney sailed for Liberia, on the coast of Africa, and, after arriving at Monrovia, the chief town of the colony, he visited various parts of the country, with the view of ascertaining suitable places for the settlement of missionaries among the native tribes. He then returned to the United States, and, after a few months, he sailed again to Liberia, accompanied by the Rev. Messrs Laird and Cloud, and Mr J. Temple, a coloured assistant; but four months had scarcely elapsed, when Mr Cloud and Mr and Mrs Laird died within a few days of each other; and soon after their death, Mr Temple withdrew from the mission, and returned to America. Mr Pinney, and Mr Finley, who had come out as a teacher, were, after a few months more, so exhausted by disease, that they also embarked

¹ Memoir of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, pp. 434, 438, 456.—Cal. Christ. Observ. vol. xvii. p. 45.



for the United States, and thus the mission was, for the present, in a manner suspended.¹

In August 1839, the Rev. J. B. Pinney again sailed for the coast of Africa, accompanied by the Rev. O. K. Canfield and Mr J. P. Alward. They were instructed to examine the whole coast from Monrovia to Cape Palmas, to acquire information in regard to the tribes behind the different colonies; and, where it was practicable, to visit their country in person, with the view of discovering, if possible, a station on the high lands in the interior suitable for a mission. The engagement with Mr Pinney contemplated only this exploration, unless it should appear, on trial, that his constitution could now bear the climate of Africa, from which he had formerly suffered so severely. After examining the country, agreeably to their instructions, they all returned to the United States; and Mr Pinney having, on occasion of this visit to Africa, had two attacks of fever, he deemed it to be his duty to give up for the present the idea of further labours in that part of the world; but Messrs Canfield and Alward, after some time, sailed again thither; and they were followed, some months afterwards, by the Rev. R. W. Sawyer; but Mr Alward fell a sacrifice to the insalubrity of the climate, a few weeks after his landing; and Messrs Canfield and Sawyer, each within little more than a twelvemonth of his arrival.

Other missionaries were sent out from time to time, and though they were not without attacks of sickness, yet the mission did not suffer so much from disease and death as in the preceding years. Besides carrying on various labours in Liberia, they formed a station on a small island named Corisco, about forty miles north of the Gaboon, and twenty miles from the mainland.²

SECT. IV.—NORTH AMERICA.

THE Presbyterian Board also established several stations among the Indians. The following table contains a list of them:—

¹ For. Miss. Chron. vol. i. pp. 49, 95, 120, 277.—Rep. Western For. Miss. Soc. 1835, pp. 11, 13.—Ibid. 1836, p. 9.

² Rep. Pres. Board For. Miss. 1840, p. 10.—Ibid. 1841, p. 8.—Ibid. 1842, p. 10. Ibid. 1843, p. 9.—Ibid. 1844, p. 12.—Ibid. 1846, p. 13.—Ibid. 1851, p. 15.—Ibid. 1853, p. 16.