



AS-003862

CSL
3

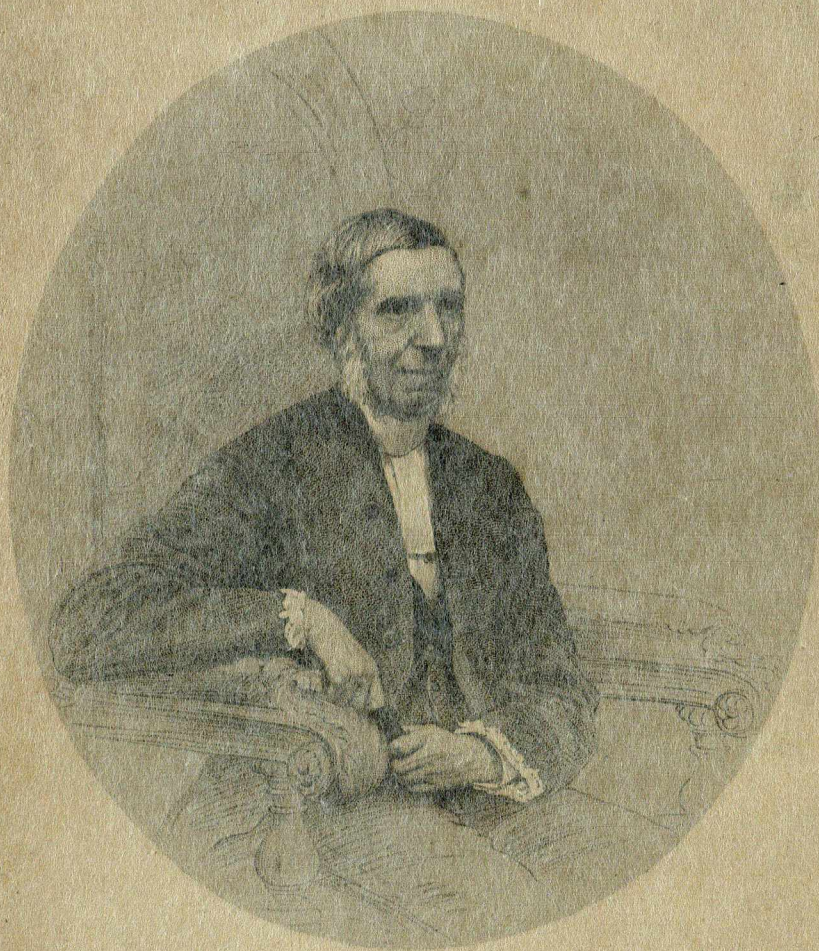
C.S.L.

15

RARE



LIFE OF JOHN WILSON, D.D. F.R.S.



JOHN WILSON, D.D., F.R.S.

Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland



S. C. I.
34. C. I.

CSL

RARE

15

THE LIFE

OF

JOHN WILSON, D.D. F.R.S.

FOR FIFTY YEARS PHILANTHROPIST AND SCHOLAR
IN THE EAST

BY GEORGE SMITH, LL.D.

COMPANION OF THE ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE ;
FELLOW OF THE STATISTICAL SOCIETY ; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE
ORIENTALISCHES MUSEUM, VIENNA.

Οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες οὗτοι καὶ ἐνθάδε πάρευν.

WITH PORTRAIT AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

1878



CSL

C
B

~~W 58 S~~
W 1 M 78 S

23287 ✓



CSL 16



This Volume is Dedicated
TO THE OLD AND TO THE NEW :

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN, LORD LAWRENCE, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., D.C.L.,
LAST AND GREATEST OF THE CIVIL SERVANTS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY
AS HIS BROTHER HENRY WAS OF ITS SOLDIERS ;

AND TO

CHARLES U. AITCHISON, C.S.I., LL.D.,
CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF BRITISH BURMAH ;
FOREMOST IN EVERY SENSE OF THE COMPETITION CIVILIANS UNDER
THE CROWN.



CSL

PREFACE.



WHEN, a year ago, I was asked by his son to go over the voluminous papers and write the life of Dr. Wilson of Bombay, I at once sacrificed other engagements to the duty. As Editor of the *Calcutta Review* for some time before the Mutiny of 1857, and as Editor of *The Friend of India* and Correspondent of *The Times* for many years after it, I was called to observe and occasionally to discuss the career of the Philanthropist and Scholar of Western India. For forty-seven years as a public man and a missionary he worked, he wrote, he spoke, and in countless ways he joyfully toiled for the people of India. While viceroys and governors, officials and merchants, scholars and travellers, succeeded each other and passed away all too rapidly, he remained a permanent living force, a mediator between the natives and the governing class, an interpreter of the varied Asiatic races, creeds, and longings, to their alien but benevolent rulers. Nor was his work for his own countrymen less remarkable, in its degree, than his life of self-sacrifice for Hindoos and Muhammadans, Parsees and Jews, outcastes and aborigines, and his building up of the indigenous Church of India. His influence maintained an English standard of morality and manners in society, while he was the centre of a select group of administrators, not confined to Bombay, like Sir Donald McLeod, to mention only the dead. As an Orientalist and



CSL

PREFACE.

scholar, the power of his memory was only less remarkable than the ardour of his industry; his linguistic instinct was regulated by the philosophy with which his native country is identified, and all were directed by the loftiest motive and the purest passion that can inflame the breast. Wealth and honours he put from him, save when he could make them also ministers in the work of humanity. From Central India to Central Africa, and from Cabul to Comorin, there are thousands who call John Wilson blessed. His hundreds of educated converts and catechumens are the seed of the Church of Western India. Every missionary and student of India Missions must sit at his feet.

From 1864, when I first visited Bombay, to his death at the close of 1875, I learned to know the man as well as his work. But he cannot be so well reproduced on the cold page, for his own writings do not reflect the charm of his talk, which delighted generations of friends, from Sir John Malcolm to Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook, Sir Bartle Frere and Mr. Grant Duff. My aim is that this volume may supply the materials, at least, from which his Country and the Church Catholic, oriental scholars, and the princes and educated natives of India, shall not only see what manner of man he was but be stimulated by his rare example. I hope also that the sketches of the other good and great men who worked for a time by his side, may not be without interest; and that, still more, it may be seen how the British Government is rising to the height of our national responsibility for the good of the millions of Southern Asia, and of the neighbouring Malay, Chinese, Tatar, Persian, Arab, Abyssinian, and Negro peoples.



PREFACE.

ix

This is an English book, and therefore, though it occasionally treats purely scholarly questions, the English vowels are used to transliterate oriental names and terms. Save in occasional extracts which demand the preservation of the original spelling, and in the name which I would fain have printed "Boodhist," hardly an Asiatic word or phrase will be found which is not so rendered as to be capable of correct pronunciation, and of being easily understood. Scholars who write for scholars only, do well to follow the Indian and European vowel sounds. Scholars, officials, and all who desire the English reader to be attracted to, instead of being repelled from, the study of India and the East, will use English as uniformly as ineradicable custom permits.

Besides the acknowledgments made in the course of the narrative, I have to thank for their assistance his Excellency Sir Richard Temple, Bart., who, as the present Governor of Bombay, instructed the departments to supply copies of some of Dr. Wilson's official correspondence; Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., Principal of the University of Edinburgh, who, as Director of Public Instruction for some years, was closely associated with Dr. Wilson; the third Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart.; the Revs. Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee and R. Stothert, M.A.; Dr. Birdwood, C.S.I., and Dr. R. Rost, of the India Office; Hugh Miller, M.D., Esq. of Broomfield, Helensburgh; W. P. Jervis, Esq. of Turin; Professors Charteris and Eggeling; and Professor Weber of Berlin, who has communicated to me, through Mr. John Muir, D.C.L., C.I.E., his very high estimate of the scientific pursuits of Dr. Wilson as an Orientalist who subordinated scholarly reputation to missionary ends. Only the long frontier war, and



CSL

PREFACE.

the other cares of his office as Governor of Cape Colony, have prevented his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere from contributing reminiscences of his lifelong friend.

As this volume has passed through the press death has removed these contemporaries and correspondents of Dr. Wilson—the Rev. John Cooper, his early colleague; Dr. Lang, of Sydney; M. Garcin de Tassy, of Paris; Professor Westergaard, of Copenhagen; and Mr. George Thompson.

SERAMPORE HOUSE, MERCHISTON,
EDINBURGH, *19th October* 1878.



CSL

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE.
HOME—SCHOOL—UNIVERSITY—VOYAGE TO BOMBAY	1

CHAPTER II.

OLD BOMBAY AND ITS GOVERNORS TO 1829	35
--	----

CHAPTER III.

ORGANISATION AND FIRST FRUIT OF THE MISSION	55
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS WITH LEARNED HINDOOS AND MUHAM- MADANS	97
--	----

CHAPTER V.

TOURS TO NASIK; TO JALNA AND ELORA; TO GOA, KOLHA- FORE, AND MAHABLESHWAR	137
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

TOUR TO DAMAN, SURAT, BARODA, KATHIAWAR, KUTCH, DWARKA, AND SOMNATH	179
--	-----

CHAPTER VII.

ZAND SCHOLARSHIP AND THE PARSEE CONTROVERSY	209
---	-----



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER VIII.

	PAGE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSION	243

CHAPTER IX.

TOURS—GAIRSOPPA FALLS—RAJPOOTANA—KATHIAWAR—THE SOMNATH GATES	271
---	-----

CHAPTER X.

ORIENTAL SCHOLARSHIP AND SCHOLARS	311
---	-----

CHAPTER XI.

HOME BY ADEN, CAIRO, SINAI, PETRA, HEBRON, JERUSALEM, DAMASCUS, CONSTANTINOPLE, AND PESTH	351
--	-----

CHAPTER XII.

THE MISSIONARY SIDE OF 1843	375
---------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

AMONG BOOKS—SECOND MARRIAGE—OVER EUROPE TO BOMBAY	407
---	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

A NEW PERIOD—TOUR IN SINDH—THE BOMBAY SCHOOL OF THE CATECHUMENS	429
--	-----

CHAPTER XV.

LITERARY ACTIVITY—THE ROCK-CUT TEMPLES	461
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MUTINY AND ITS GOOD FRUIT	501
---	-----



CSL

CONTENTS.

xiii

CHAPTER XVII.

	PAGE
THE KRISHNA ORGIES—DR. WILSON AMONG THE EDUCATED NATIVES	543

CHAPTER XVIII.

NEW BOMBAY—DR. WILSON AMONG THE EUROPEANS—DR. LIVINGSTONE—THE ABYSSINIAN EXPEDITION	567
---	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

SECOND AND LAST VISIT HOME	597
--------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XX.

REST	611
----------------	-----

APPENDIX.

DR. WILSON ON NATIVE RULE IN BARODA AND NATIVE OPINION ON BRITISH RULE	631
INDEX	639

ILLUSTRATIONS.

DR. WILSON AS MODERATOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
MAP OF THE CITY OF BOMBAY	<i>To face page 37</i>
MAP OF THE LANDS AROUND THE INDIAN OCEAN INFLUENCED BY DR. WILSON	249
THE GIRNAR ROCK AND SECOND EDICT OF ASOKA	327



CSL

CHAPTER I.

1804-1828.

HOME—SCHOOL—UNIVERSITY—VOYAGE TO BOMBAY.

Lauder and Lauderdale—The Border and the Men it has sent to India—The Wilsons of Lauder—The Burgh Common and the Big Farms—John Wilson, "The Priest"—Memories of Waterloo—Dr. James Fairbairn on Schoolboy days and the Dawn of Evangelicalism—John Wilson, Schoolmaster and Tutor—Early Indian and Bombay Influences—The Arts Course at Edinburgh University—The Theological Professors—Rebellion of the Divinity Students—Founds the University Missionary Society—Earliest Publications—Ordained—The Bayne Sisters—Marriage—The Latest of the East India Company's Passports—First view of Cape Comorin and Western India—Arrives at Bombay.



CSL

“ Wisdom and Spirit of the Universe !
Thou Soul, that art the eternity of thought
And giv'st to forms and images a breath
And everlasting motion, not in vain
By day or star-light thus from my first dawn
Of childhood didst thou intertwine for me
The passions that build up our human soul ;
Not with the mean and vulgar works of man ;
But with high objects, with enduring things,
With life and nature ; purifying thus
The elements of feeling and of thought,
And sanctifying by such discipline
Both pain and fear,—until we recognise
A grandeur in the beatings of the heart.”

WORDSWORTH in *The Prelude*.

“Audieram enim ego, adhuc puer, de vita eterna nobis promissa per humilitatem Domini Dei nostri descendentis ad superbiam nostram ; et signabar jam signo crucis Ejus, et condiebar Ejus sale, jam inde ab utero matris mese quae multum speravit in Te.”—S. AUR. AUGUSTINI *Confessio*.



CSL 12



LIFE OF JOHN WILSON, D.D.

CHAPTER I.

At a point some twenty-five miles to the south-east of the city of Edinburgh, the three counties of Edinburgh, Berwick, and Roxburgh meet. The spot is the summit of Lauder Hill, which rises between the railway station of Stow and the royal burgh of Lauder, chief of all the district of Lauderdale. As we stand on the ancient road, now grass-grown, we survey perhaps the widest and most quietly beautiful scene that the Scottish Border can present. From the Lammermoor to the Cheviot Hills, with the rounded Eildons sprouting at their base, the breadth of the two border counties, the Merse or march of Berwick and the fells of Roxburgh, are spread out before us. Distant Teviot and near Tweed roll down to the North Sea, watering a land of more historic renown than any other part of the too long disunited Kingdom. Behind we have left Gala Water, with its memories of legend and of song; before us, half hidden by the hill on which we stand, is the Leader which gives its name to Lauderdale. For more than twenty miles the stream flows on from the Lammermoors till it mingles its waters with the Tweed below Melrose Abbey. Even Scotland presents few valleys so broad, so fertile, as this Lauderdale throughout its long extent. Monk and warrior early chose it for their own, from Dryburgh Abbey where Sir Walter Scott lies, and Erceldoune or Earlston where Thomas



the Rhymer sang his prophecies, to Thirlestane Castle where the Maitlands of Lauderdale still pleasantly perpetuate a house well known in Scottish history. Here it was, along the great highway, from the marshalling-ground of the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh to the fords of the Tweed and the field of Flodden, that the Edwards led their invading armies, and the Stewarts their avenging forces; while noble and yeoman on both sides the marches fought for their own hand. Old Thirlestane, near whose ruins the Leader now flows so gently, was long the tower from which "Maitland, with his auld grey beard," whom Gawan Douglas thought worthy of a place in his allegory of the "Palace of Honour," beat back the English. The ballad of "Auld Maitland," as taken down from the lips of Jane Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd's mother, who had learned it from a blind man of ninety, deserves all the enthusiasm Sir Walter Scott expresses for it. But even finer to the son of the Border is the more modern song of "Leader Haughs and Yarrow," with its quaint poetic catalogue of names and places sweeter to the natives of Lauderdale and Selkirk than those of Homer or of Milton. The old minstrel sighs at the close for the glory that is departed, for he wrote doubtless in the evil days just after the duke built the present castle in 1674—

"Sing Erlington and Cowdenknowes,
Where Humes had ance commanding ;
And Drygrange with the milk-white yowes
"Twixt Tweed and Leader standing :
The bird that flees through Redpath trees
And Gladswood banks ilk morrow,
May chaunt and sing sweet Leader Haughs
And bonnie howms of Yarrow.

"But minstrel Burne cannot assuage
His grief, while life endureth,
To see the changes of his age
Which fleeting time procureth ;



HIS BIRTH.

CSL

For mony a place stands in hard case,
Where blythe folk kend nae sorrow,
With Humes that dwelt on Leader-side
And Scotts that dwelt on Yarrow."

It was at Lauder, too, in the days of the Third James, that Archibald Douglas "belled the cat," hanging before his sovereign's eyes five of the low favourites who misled the royal youth. Nor should it be overlooked that the minister of Lauder, inducted in 1638, was James Guthrie, the Covenanter whom Lauderdale martyred along with the Marquis of Argyll, the Earl of Tweeddale alone pleading for the milder sentence of banishment. But modern times have brought more peaceful associations. Except, perhaps, the Highland Inverness-shire, no part of Scotland has been so fruitful a nursery of heroes for the civilisation, if not the conquest of our Indian Empire. Tweedside and its many dales have, in the last century, sent forth Kers and Elliots, Douglasses and Riddells, Scotts and Walkers, Malcolms and Grays, Napiers and Murrays to the noblest work any country has ever done for humanity. To a governor-general like Lord Minto, a statesman like Sir John Malcolm, a scholar and poet like Dr. Leyden, and an economist like James Wilson, we have now to add the Christian missionary John Wilson. He was as great a scholar and as benevolent a philanthropist as the best of them, or as all of them together; and he was a more potent force than they, because he gave himself to the people of India for a life of continuous service, covering nearly half a century, and because that service was inspired and fed every hour by the highest of all motives, the purest of all forms of self-sacrifice.

John Wilson was born in the Berwickshire burgh of Lauder on the 11th day of December 1804. He was the eldest of seven children, four brothers and three sisters, most of whom still survive. He came of a long-lived stock of small proprietors and farmers who for two hundred years inhabited



the thatched, but now enlarged, house in the "Row" of the town in which he first saw the light. His great-grandfather reached the age of ninety-eight, his grandfather lived to be eighty-eight, his father and mother each died at eighty-two. Physically, he thus inherited a constitution of singular elasticity and power of endurance, under the frequent hardship of toilsome journeys and malarious disease in the jungles of Western India, before British railways, or even roads, had opened them up. His father, Andrew Wilson, was for more than forty years a councillor of the burgh, and was an elder in the parish kirk. His mother, Janet Hunter, the eldest of a family of thirteen most of whom lived to a good old age, was a woman of great force of character. This, added to the kindly unselfishness which marked her eldest son also, caused her to be in constant request by her neighbours in times of sickness and trouble. Father and mother combined in their rearing the economic conditions of the surrounding district. Lauderdale, to the east of the Leader, is a district of large farms, yielding an average rental of a thousand a year and upwards, even in those days, and worked in the very best style of the *grande culture*. Of James Hunter, the leaseholder of one of the most extensive of these, John Wilson's mother was the eldest daughter. To the west of the stream lie the town and its unusually wide commonage, covering at the present time 1700 acres, but doubtless larger a century ago. The land is owned by the burgesses, and a very considerable share of it had always been possessed by the Wilsons of the "Row." The old conditions are only now beginning to give place to the same influences which have made the high farming of the Lothians and the Merse famous in the history of agriculture. At last some of the "portioners" have combined to work the common land by the steam plough on a large scale. Yet, till this present year, the greater part of the burgh lands has been little more than fine pasture slopes,



HIS CHILDHOOD.

to which the cattle have been led daily, under a common herdsman. Of such a stock, and out of the very heart of farmer-life, sprang the thoughtful scholar, the unwearied preacher, the distinguished philanthropist of Bombay.

No love had he, though the eldest of four sons, for the doubly ancestral and honourable calling. From the womb he had a higher vocation. Had he become the apostle of a superstitious mysticism, like Gooroo Nanuk, the founder of the Sikh dissent from Hindooism, the same stories might have been told of the great Christian Gooroo. For Nanuk, too, was the son of the chief "portioner" of the common of a village near Lahore, and he failed to keep his father's buffaloes from the cultivated fields. Nanuk never played like other children, so that the Hindoos said, "Some god is in him." On the second of Andrew Wilson's sons fell the duty of helping in the farm, and of driving the cattle to the nearest fair of St. Boswell's. From infancy John revealed himself as meant for a very different lot. When a baby he almost alarmed his mother by speaking before he could walk, and with an intelligence unprecedented in the experience of the neighbours. So the Mussulman villagers had said of Nanuk, "A holy man of God has been born!" As he grew up John Wilson was to his schoolfellows "the priest," by which name he was always known among them. His early developed tendencies brought him into trouble. On one occasion the boy was found preaching from a hollow tree behind Thirlestane Castle to the people who were sauntering home on the Sacrament Sunday evening, and was chastised for what seemed to his parents an offence. The secret of his life was not one which mere heredity may explain, though that too will find data in it. It is thus stated by himself in a "diary of religious experience" which he began to write on his twentieth birthday, but did not continue beyond his departure for India :—"When about the age of three years, I



was put to sleep in the same bed with my aged grandfather by my father's side. He was the first person, if I remember rightly, who communicated to me any knowledge about God and my soul. I remember well the effect his instructions, by the blessing of God, produced upon my mind: the impressions which were then conveyed to me have never been wholly removed from me. I can never forget the fervour with which he engaged in his evening private devotions, and the feeling with which at such times he repeated the twenty-third Psalm, especially the concluding verse—

‘ Goodness and mercy all my life
Shall surely follow me,
And in God's house for evermore
My dwelling-place shall be.

“I was very early under conviction of sin, and I trust that the Lord at an early period of my life took a saving dealing with my soul. When about the age of four years I was sent to a school in Lauder taught by Mr. George Murray, where I continued about the space of one year. I then went to the parish school taught by Mr. Alexander Paterson, where, under Mr. Paterson's instructions, I made remarkable progress.” It was an early and it became a fruitful consecration; even as that of the prophet of Naiioth and the statesman of Ramah.

John Wilson proved to be as fortunate in his teacher and in his companions as in his early home life. A new spirit in truth was abroad over the land, which had long lain under the spell of what is called “moderatism” in Scotland. It was the beginning, too, of that fifty years' period of peace and reform, in State as well as Church, which the crowning victory of Waterloo seemed to introduce. Dr. Wilson used to tell how, when he was little more than ten years old, the Edinburgh coach came to Lauder adorned with boughs, and one who had gone to the place where it stopped, to hear the news, rushed down the Row shouting “We've just annihilated



them." In both Lauder and Stow there happened to be evangelical preachers in the parish churches, Mr. Cosens and Dr. Cormack, while the "Burgher" or seceding congregations were everywhere ministered to by earnest men, to whom many of the surrounding families were driven by the old "moderates." The coming of Mr. Paterson to the parish school at this time was an event of importance. It affected at once the spiritual condition of the whole district, and speedily brought within the reach of evangelical teaching all the hopeful youth of the surrounding country. The survivor of that band, the venerable Dr. Fairbairn of Newhaven, has thus written out the memories of these days :—

"John Wilson was one of a group of boys who received their early education at the parish school of Lauder, and most of whom proceeded together to the University of Edinburgh. I have them all in my mind's eye, in the flower of their boyhood, as fresh as yesterday—John and Peter Purves, George Paterson, George Douglas, James and David Runciman, John Paterson, John Wilson, William Romanes, Patrick Fairbairn, Alexander Murray, James Haswell, Alexander Jamieson, Robert Lees, Thomas Simpson, William Broomfield, William Dove, and others. Most of them ran a successful career in life, and some of them attained great eminence. Here they are—distinct, but oh ! how distant—for with one exception they have all passed within the veil, and I alone am left to tell their story.

"I have the most distinct recollection of the characters of all my school-fellows, and not least of John Wilson. He was a modest, devout, affectionate, and gentle boy, always ready to take part with the weakest, and never in a quarrel or a scrape. He was, I think, the most diligent and persevering student in the school, and I can readily understand how he attained to such acquirements and success.* He was also eminently truthful and sincere. There was one of our number (James Runciman) whom our teacher always charac-

terised as the 'boy who never told a lie,' and he used to associate John Wilson with him in this honourable distinction. I remember in one of the intervals of our school day, a band of us started 'up the burn' for fishing and other diversions. Seduced by the summer sunlight (oh how bright it was in those days!) we heeded not the lapse of time, till the school hour had passed. Then came a conference to determine what we would say for ourselves, and various proposals, savouring, I fear, of diplomacy, were made. But the discussion was cut short by John Wilson saying, in a tone unusually energetic for him, 'I tell you what—we will tell the truth,' and the truth he told—aye, and continued to tell it till his dying day.

"I well remember also a very bright and calm summer Sabbath day. As the people went along the road to church, there was a question in every mouth—'Will they be *fechtin'* on sic a day as this?' After sermon there was a fellowship-meeting in the session-house of the Burgher meeting-house, into which my friend John and I contrived to get admission. Again the question went round, 'Will they be *fechtin'*?' and the inquiry tinged all the services with unusual solemnity. A venerable white-headed elder, Saunders Downie, the tailor—who has passed long since into the fellowship of the four-and-twenty Elders that sit around the Throne—delivered himself to this effect: 'Surely,' he said in his godly simplicity, 'surely they'll let the blessed Sabbath ower afore they fecht.' Whether they were 'fechtin',' or whether they let the blessed Sabbath over before doing so, you will judge when I say that that Sabbath day was the 18th of June 1815. Then came a week of anxiety; groups of people stood all the day at the head of the town, in the expectation of hearing the booming of the guns of the distant castle of Edinburgh announcing a victory. At last came the full accounts of the great battle, which filled every mouth and heart for many a long day. I recollect we were both much impressed with all this, and had



our minds opened for the first time to the fact that there was a wide world beyond the limits of our little valley, and that it was a world in which much evil abounded, and which stood in great need of improvement.

“Then came a movement on behalf of the first of the evangelistic schemes which succeeded in penetrating to that part of the country. This was the Bible Society ; and I recollect a sermon being preached on its behalf in the Burgher meeting-house by the Rev. Dr. Waugh of London, at which my friend and I were present. The matter and manner of the preacher were both deeply impressive ; and I rather think that, if the seeds of the evangelistic spirit were not that night sown for the first time in John Wilson’s mind, they were, to say the least of it, very copiously and effectually watered. After that we went to the University of Edinburgh, and we arrived there just at the time when evangelical religion began to reassert its power in this country. The old Gospel, which had been “by Cameron thundered and by Renwick poured,” now flowed forth in the sweet stream of Henry Grey’s pathetic eloquence, or was uttered from the pulpit of St. George’s by the mighty voice of Andrew Thomson. Some of us were not very sure about it at first. Coming as we did from the country of Thomas Boston, there was something new to us in the methods of these great preachers. One of our number indeed, and he not the least earnest among us, never quite overcame his scruples. He held it all to be ‘sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal,’ and declared that he could only find ‘the root of the matter’ in the Secession meeting-house in the Potterrow, then ministered to by the Rev. Mr. Simpson. I must say this incident has taught me a great lesson of caution in judging of new religious movements. We soon discovered, however, that a new-born day of light and truth had at last broken out in this country ; and this discovery was fully made to us by the coming of Dr. Robert Gordon to Edinburgh. That was an



era in our spiritual history never to be forgotten. We were all carried captive by the mighty spell of his eloquence. John Wilson attached himself to the ministry of Dr. Gordon, and you know the great power which it exercised over his mind and history. All my recollections of my beloved school-fellow are such as to harmonise with his after-life. Truly in his case 'the child was father of the man.'"

In his fourteenth year John Wilson went to Edinburgh University, to begin that eight years' course of linguistic, philosophical, and theological studies by which the Scottish Churches still wisely produce a well-trained and often cultured ministry. Two Border youths, from the not very distant Annandale, had, after similar home and school training, matriculated at the University at the same age, and had not long passed out of it when the Lauder boy first entered his name in that fragment of the old building which occupied the quadrangle until the present library was completed. These were Edward Irving and Thomas Carlyle. Very fresh traditions of the former still circulated among his juniors, while the latter had just returned from his mathematical teachership in Kirkcaldy to write for Brewster's *Encyclopædia*. Both had been heroes in Sir John Leslie's class, where Wilson succeeded them in reputation in due time. We cannot say that the picture, in the autobiography which Carlyle wrote in 1831 as "*Sartor Resartus*," of "the University where I was educated," and the "eleven hundred Christian striplings" turned loose into its "small ill-chosen library," is altogether a caricature of the facts. At any rate, Carlyle admits that there were some eleven of that number who were eager to learn, and Wilson was one of them in his time, as Irving and Carlyle had been in theirs. Like them, too, Wilson took to teaching. At the close of the first session, the lad conducted the school of Horndean on the Tweed, laying thus early the foundation of that educational experience by which, as Ver-



nacular Missionary, Principal of an English College, and Vice-Chancellor of the University, he was afterwards to revolutionise society in Western India. One of his sisters still tells how the boy of fifteen prepared to resist a midnight attempt to rob him of the school fees on the first occasion on which he had gained the hard-earned money. At the close of the second college session, the Rev. Dr. Cormack, of the neighbouring village of Stow, made the successful student tutor to his son and nephews, a duty which he discharged in a manner to endear him to the parents of both almost up to the time of his departure for India. Dr. Cormack, when himself tutor in the family of the Roses of Kilravock, had married one of the daughters, and her brother, Colonel Rose, had sent home his sons to be educated in the manse at Stow. When Colonel, afterwards Sir John, Rose, himself returned to his family estate in the Highlands, he tried to induce John Wilson to settle in his family there for some time, and to accompany his boys to Holland, so highly did he appreciate the tutor's services. The youths were happy who had such a guide, himself still young. Even now it is almost pathetic to read the letters which they wrote to him during his absence at college and in India, and carefully treasured by him among his most precious papers. One of the lads is now Sir John Rose Cormack, a well-known physician in Paris. The other two went to India in their day, where their old friend met them sometimes, and where they won a name for courage and ability in the Sikh wars.

A tour which, in the autumn of 1824, the tutor made to the North with his pupils, called forth a series of letters to his home in which we find such entries as these. At Kingussie he visited the periodical fair: "All the people were very merry. They were mostly all dressed in the Highland dress, and, speaking Gaelic, they appeared quite comical. I have laughed this whole fortnight at them." The letters show the same



detailed power of observation and genial humour which marked his Indian tours, and made him the most delightful companion on such occasions. In 1827 he reports, "I have been obliged to buy a pair of silver spectacles for myself:" thus early did study begin to tell on him.

To this residence for four years, with college intervals, in Dr. Cormack's family, we must trace the determination, which he early formed, to give his life to the people of India. When afterwards bidding farewell to Dr. Brown, the minister of Langton, he expressed regret that he had to sail before the annual meeting of the Berwickshire Bible Society, for, he said, "My wish was to have stated publicly that it was the reading of your annual reports that first awakened me to the importance of Missions, and led me to resolve to devote myself to the foreign field."¹ But it was the Rose and Cormack influence which directed that resolve to the East, at a time when Scotland had not a missionary there. The first surprise of the young tutor of sixteen, when he began his duties in the manse of Stow, was caused by the Hindostanee which alone the Rose boys spoke, like so many Anglo-Indian children fresh from the influence of native servants. That was one of the first languages he was to master when he began work in Bombay, in order by voice and pen to influence the Muhammdans and all who used what is a mere *lingua franca*. He was more or less in an Indian atmosphere, as each irregular mail in those days brought news of Maratha wars and Pindaree raids, of the triumphs of Lord Hastings, of the political exploits of Malcolm, the yeoman's son of the not distant Burnfoot, and of Governor Munro, the Glasgow boy. But more living to the youth than all that was the personal friendship of General Walker, who often drove into Stow

¹ I take this from notes of Dr. Wilson's student life supplied by Dr. Brown's son, the Rev. Thomas Brown, the accomplished minister of the Dean Church in Edinburgh.

from Bowland, his seat on the Gala Water. As political officer in charge of the great Native State of Baroda, with Kathiawar and Kutch, he had won for himself a name as a philanthropist and administrator, by carrying on the work of the old Governor, Jonathan Duncan, for the prevention of female infanticide among the Jadeja Rajpoots. When re-visiting Kathiawar in 1809, before bidding it a final farewell, General Walker had enjoyed the sweet reward of seeing not a few of the children whom he had preserved, and of hearing one infant voice lisping to him in the Goojaratee tongue—"Walker Sahib saved me." The entrancing story of humanity became familiar to Wilson in his youth, for in 1819, at the very time of his intercourse with the lad, the retired officer (was engaged in a correspondence with the Court of Directors, in which he urged them to keep up the preventive system that had effected so much, but was being neglected by a new generation of officials.) The only result was the General's appointment as Governor of St. Helena, the small population of which he sought to benefit with the same kindly wisdom that he had shown in north Bombay. That work was not unknown in the country-side, for the minister of Stow had been its historian. But it was reserved for the young tutor himself to complete it, alike by stirring up the Bombay Government, and by writing the "History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India" in 1855, and again in 1875. Thus to the influences of home and of school, of companions and of minister, there was added, at the time when he was most susceptible of such impressions, the subtle power of the society of men like Cormack and Walker, who drew him unconsciously to the work prepared for him in the then far off and shadowy East.

In the second of the four years of his theological studies, or in his twentieth year, Wilson became more closely identified with Edinburgh in both its university life and its literary

and ecclesiastical coteries. He had taken full advantage of the Arts course, for among the professors of that faculty were able teachers and accomplished *savans*. Pillans, unjustly satirised by Byron, had been transferred from the rector's chair in the High School of Edinburgh, which Dr. Adam had made illustrious, and which his successor had not dimmed at least, to the professorship of Humanity or Latin, taking with him his "dux," John Brown Patterson, the most promising student of his day, who became warmly attached to Wilson. Inscriptions on missionary churches and university foundation stones in the East prove that Wilson retained to the last all the graceful Latinity which he acquired at Lauder and Edinburgh. We may pass over the Greek professor, but the students found ample atonement in the Moral Philosophy class of Professor Wilson, whose whirlwind of rhetoric twenty-one Tory and eleven Whig patrons of the chair had preferred to the massive erudition and the philosophical power of him who became our modern Aristotle—Sir William Hamilton. Had the Lauder student come under the spell of one who did not become professor of Metaphysics for some years afterwards, even he must have gained a more analytic and expository power in those investigations of the hoary philosophies of Vedist and Buddhist, Zoroastrian and Soofee, by which he did much to shake the grim idolatries and subtle pantheism of southern and western Asia. But he enjoyed what was of equal value for such a purpose at that time,—the physical researches of Sir John Leslie, Playfair's successor in the chair of Natural Philosophy. There he stood in the front rank, a significant fact, for it is through the clay of the physical error worked up with the iron of speculative falsehood in the systems of the East, that they are first to be shaken and shattered. What of mathematical principles, physical law, and the natural sciences John Wilson then mastered, he developed and applied all through his conflicts with



the defenders of the Oriental faiths, and in his discourses and writings, as the first scholar of Western India. In geology, in botany, in the more recondite region of archaeology, he kept pace with the most recent researches, to which, in his own province, he largely contributed. Nature came second only to the divine Word, and worked harmoniously along with it in his whole missionary career.

The same cannot be asserted of the Theological Faculty of the University of Edinburgh at that period. It was the dreary time, just before, in 1828—too late for Wilson—Thomas Chalmers was transferred from St. Andrews, where he had brought to the birth of a more spiritual and intellectual life men like Robert Nesbit, soon to precede Wilson to Bombay; and Alexander Duff, William S. Mackay, and David Ewart, destined to follow him, but to Calcutta. The divinity Professors were also parish ministers, who droned through their lectures as through their sermons, while their hearers slept or attended to their own private affairs. The pamphlets of these days, on Sir John Leslie's case for instance, make strange revelations of academic ineptitude and ecclesiastical incompetence, to those who care to rake among them. But for the dawn of the Evangelical party in the pulpits of Gordon in the New North Church, Andrew Thomson in St. George's, and Henry Grey, and of Thomas M'Crie, outside of the kirk, the men of the next generation would have been worse than their fathers. John Wilson, unlike him who was afterwards Principal Cunningham, had taken with him to the Divinity Hall the living power which had first moved his childish heart, when, awestruck, he had seen it visibly in his grandfather's evening prayers. Now, on 11th December 1824, on entering his twenty-first year, he began that "review of the Lord's gracious dealings with my soul," already referred to.

"This day I have completed my twentieth year, God teach me to improve the fleeting moments of my existence. As

bought with a price, even with the precious blood of Christ, may I devote myself wholly—soul, body, and spirit—to declare and show forth thy glory to my sinful brethren of mankind.” About this time he seems to have formally signed a “solemn profession, dedication, and engagement” of himself to God. The time-stained paper is without date, and is headed, in pencil of a much later year evidently, “Form, I think, taken from Willison.” With it are two similar deeds of holiest consecration, in which, on 1st January 1759, and again at Elgin on 11th May 1785, an ancestor of his first wife, James Hay, son of the Rev. Dr. James Hay, vowed himself to the Lord. In both cases each page, and in some instances paragraph, is signed by the covenanting person. All through his life of three score and ten, openly, as in those most private papers which mark his energising in soul, we see how John Wilson kept the covenant thus made in the fervour of a first love, and the comparative innocence of an early freedom from the power of the world. At college as at school, of full age as when a child among his companions, he is still “the priest” in the highest sense—the priest unto God. From his Journal at this time we take these further extracts. He is in the Stow Manse, in that first year of his theological studies, which the loose regulations of those days allowed students to spend out of college if they wrote the necessary exercises. His heart is set on missionary work, it will be observed. He writes to a friend at this time, “The Memoirs of David Brainerd and Henry Martyn give me particular pleasure”—

“*Tuesday, 14th December 1824.*—This day was cheered by the hope that I had more success in teaching than usual. Read part of the life of the Rev. David Brainerd. What an example of the power of divine truth! How many his trials! how great his labours! O Lord, fill my soul with a lowly opinion of myself, and sanctify and prepare me for the same work in which he was engaged.”



"*Thursday, 16th.*—The servants in the manse asked me to permit them to come into my room to join with me in evening prayers. Gave them permission, with the hope that they might derive, by the blessing of God, some benefit from this. Read in the Greek Testament, in the evening, an account of the fall of Babylon."

"*Friday, 24th.*—This day had some very edifying conversation with Alexander Kelly, shepherd to the burgh of Lauder. Admired his knowledge and the soundness of his views of divine truth. Had some sweet communion in evening prayer."

"*Saturday, 25th.*—This day sent a copy of my tract to my former pupil, Master John N. Rose, and a letter on the importance of religion. In the evening an order arrived from General Walker, governor of St. Helena, for Mr. Cormack to purchase on his account five guineas' worth of books for the congregational library."

"*Tuesday, 28th.*—Rejoiced to hear of the great progress of divine truth from the *Monthly Extracts of the Correspondence of the British and Foreign Bible Society*. What astonishing effects have, by the blessing of the spirit of God, been produced by the simple reading of the Word of God! Moral miracles are daily attesting the truth of Christianity."

"*Friday, 31st.*—This day brings another year to a close. Can I dare to appear before the Lord and ask him to deal with me according to my doings in the year which is past? No; my conscience itself condemns me. It tells me that in myself I am poor, and miserable, and blind, and naked. It reminds me that much of the year which is ready to depart was spent in the service of Satan; in the cherishing of my lusts; in the gratification of my evil nature, and in seeking my own destruction."

"*Thursday, 6th January 1825.*—Read part of *Cecil's Remains*. Felt unhappy in the afternoon from not having

had much communion with God during the course of the day. May I always feel unhappy when I do not set the Lord continually before me. May I ever seek to enjoy the light of his countenance, for when he causes this to shine upon me I am rich and comfortable. If I had every earthly comfort at my command they could do nothing to cheer my mind and support my soul. May I hunger and thirst after righteousness, and be filled with the good things of the kingdom of God."

"*From the 7th to the 13th January.*—In a very sinful frame of mind. O Lord, look upon me in the face of Christ Jesus."

"*Wednesday, 26th.*—This day the quarterly meeting of the Stow Auxiliary Bible Society was held; few present. In collecting for this institution on some preceding days, found most people generally approving of the objects of the Bible Society, but often not disposed to assist it by any of that substance which they have received as talents to be accounted for to the Lord, the giver of every good and perfect gift. I remember, however, that an aged woman said to me that she would rather in some measure starve her body than not contribute something to the glorious cause of circulating the word of God upon earth."

"*Friday, 28th.*—Commenced reading the Epistle to the Romans in the Greek Testament. How dreadful is the condition of those whom the Lord gives up to the following of their own natural propensities! How awful are those feelings which the human mind in its depravity loves to entertain! May my soul be thoroughly washed from all iniquity."

"*Monday and Tuesday, 1st and 2d February.*—Delighted with good news from near and far countries. Read with great pleasure the *London Missionary Chronicle* and *Scottish Missionary Register*. The Lord is doing great things at home and abroad."

"*Saturday, 6th.*—This day visited my dear parents and



friends at Lauder. Mentioned to them my intention of soon offering myself as a missionary candidate to the Scottish Missionary Society, and oh! what a burst of affection did I witness from my dear mother. Never will I forget what occurred this evening. She told me that at present she thought the trial of parting with me, if I should leave her, would be more hard to bear than my death. When I saw her in her tears I cried unto God that he would send comfort to her mind, and that he would make this affair issue in his glory and our good. I entreated my mother to leave the matter to the Lord's disposal; and I told her that I would not think of leaving her if the Lord should not make my way plain for me, but that at present I thought it my duty to offer my services to the Society. She then embraced me and seemed more calm. My father said little to us on the subject, but seemed to be in deep thought. In the course of the evening the words 'he that saveth his life shall lose it,' and 'he that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me,' came home to my mind, and kept me from making any promise of drawing back in my resolutions to preach the gospel, by the grace of God, to the heathen world. O Lord, do thou, who hast the hearts of all men in thy hands, and who turnest them according to thy pleasure, grant that my parents, with faith in thy word and promises, may joyfully commit me in all things to thy disposal, and may I willingly obey thy will in all things, for Christ's sake, Amen."

With this record of a scene often repeated since, when the best and bravest of our youth have gone forth to an Indian career, the Journal closes for that year. When Robert Nesbit had determined to do the same, he could not tell his mother, but asked Wilson to break the tidings for him. Wilson lost no time in offering himself to the directors of the Scottish Missionary Society in the twenty-first year of his age. At the beginning of his second divinity session in November he was



formally received into the seminary, as it was called, at 18 St. John Street. He became an inmate of the family of the Rev. W. Brown, M.D., the Secretary, and there spent the three succeeding years till his departure for India. At College he went through the regular course of study and examination for the ministry of the Church of Scotland. His Journal records his reading, his intercourse with his fellows, his self-abasement in the sight of God and of his own conscience, and his breathings after a more perfect communion with the Father in the Son. The Professor who influenced him most was Principal Lee¹ at a later date, and also Dr. Brunton, who taught Hebrew, and with whom, as Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee for many years afterwards, he corresponded by every mail. Dr. Meiklejohn pretended to teach Church History with an efficiency which has been measured by his habit of yawning when praying in public. As to the Professor of Systematic Theology, let this transcript from a venerable yellow scrap of torn paper, marked in red ink more than once by Dr. Wilson with the word "keep," tell what he was :—

"EDINBURGH COLLEGE, *Monday, 27th November 1826.*

"At a general meeting of the theological students attending the University, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—
1st. That a deputation should be appointed to wait on the Rev. Dr. William Ritchie, S.S.T.P., to inform him, with the greatest tenderness and respect, that, on account of the weakness of his voice, his lectures when read by him are quite inaudible by the students, and to request of him to take into consideration the propriety of appointing a substitute. 2d. That Messrs. James Anderson and L. H. Irving should form the deputation, and report the result of their visit to a general meeting, to be held to-morrow at 2 o'clock P.M. JOHN WILSON, *Chairman.*"

¹ Writing to a friend in December 1827, Wilson says :—"Dr. Lee proceeds admirably in the Hall. Sound in the faith ; entertaining an ardent affection for preaching sermons, and enlightened in his judgment ; by close study, extensive reading, and accurate thinking, he is well qualified to fill the chair of Rollock and of Leighton."



“ Minutes of a General Meeting of the Theological Students attending the University of Edinburgh, called in order to receive the report of the deputation appointed to wait on the Rev. Dr. Wm. Ritchie.

“ LADY YESTER’S CHURCH, *Edinburgh*, 28th November 1826.

“ Mr. William Cunningham having been called to the chair, and the minutes of the former meeting having been read and approved of, the deputation appointed to wait on the Rev. Dr. Ritchie stated that, having transmitted to him the minutes of the former meeting enclosed in a most respectful letter, the Rev. Dr. intimated to them his decided refusal to listen to any such application. The students having considered and approved of the conduct of the deputation, resolved (*duobus contradicentibus*) that it was not competent for them to proceed to any ulterior measures at present, except simply to lay before the Town Council and the Presbytery of Edinburgh the minutes of both meetings, and directed the Secretary accordingly to transmit copies of both to the Right Hon. the Lord Provost and the Reverend the Moderator of the Presbytery. (Signed) WM. CUNNINGHAM, *Chairman*.”

Thus strangely were associated the future grave, judicious, and academic Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, and the erudite Principal of the New College, both to be Moderators of the General Assembly in their time. And the work they did, or tried to do, is one which it had been well for more university faculties and colleges than that of theology in the University of Edinburgh, then and since, if there were students wise enough to repeat, in the interests of common honesty and sound scholarship. Scotland and its academic institutions, national and non-national, have always been too poor to pension the old, or quietly get rid of the incompetent teachers, with whom the abuses of patronage or of popular election have saddled successive generations of students. But the story is not at an end, though we have to go elsewhere for the close. A fellow-student in the Arts’ classes, Mr. D. Eisdale, who was afterwards professor in the Government College at Poona, thus writes :—“ Dr. Ritchie had been for a few sessions in a state of dotage, quite unable to keep

order in the class—very deaf and very blind, but clinging hard to his professorship. The attendance had been for two or three years a mockery and a delusion, and the doctor's lecturing an absurdity—not listened to, not even heard. The only circumstance impressed on my memory is, hearing Dr. Wilson tell me that, when the body of students presented their request to the old man in his house in Argyle Square that he would give up, when he saw John Wilson among them, he remonstrated with him, saying 'I never thought, Mr. Wilson, that you would have appeared in the ranks of my enemies.' In the early part of his college career I do not think he had many friends and acquaintances in Edinburgh, so that his attachment was the warmer to one like myself, to whom he could speak freely and reveal his inmost thoughts. I was accordingly made the depository of his dealings with the Press in that fourth year of his college course, when he printed a sermon on Missions, in which I helped him by taking a number of copies. I recollect wondering at this early display of his penchant for putting his thoughts in print, which pervaded his whole life, and of which the world has reaped the benefit."

With all his gentleness, and often all the more effectually because of his almost sensitively chivalrous bearing, John Wilson was the enemy of incompetence and idleness, which injured his Master's work. In the previous session he had shown his terrible earnestness by founding "The Edinburgh Association of Theological Students in aid of the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge." In 1825, under the date Thursday, 22d December, this remark occurs in his journal—"This has been one of the happiest days of my life. About three weeks ago I proposed to Mr. John T. Brown that we should make some exertions for the purpose of instituting an association of the theological students for aiding the diffusion of the Gospel. This object, by the blessing of God, to whose name be the praise, we were enabled to accomplish this day." Divided

into two by the Disruption of the Established Church in 1843, that Association has ever since been the fruitful nursery of missionaries, alike in the University and in the New College of Edinburgh. Of the 120 regular students in the Faculty of Theology at that time, more than sixty became members. Wilson was the secretary, as he had been the founder, and read the first essay. Mr. Thomas Pitcairn, afterwards clerk of the General Assembly of the Established and then the Free Church, was first president, with John J. Bonar, subsequently of Greenock, and David Runciman of Glasgow, as vice-presidents. The committee were John G. Lorimer, John B. Patterson, A. Matheson, G. Galloway, J. Dunlop, J. Gardiner, Gilbert Laing, and William Cunningham, with John T. Brown as treasurer. The name of David Thorburn appears as seconding the motion which called the Association into existence. For the first three years Wilson was its life. When he left it for India the members sent forth their founder with prayers and benedictions, and a gift of memorial volumes. For years after he continued to correspond with it as a means of stimulating young theologians to give themselves to India. When he paid his farewell visit to Scotland in 1870 his delight was to address not only the New College Society, but the old Association in the old rooms in the University. He organised a library; he began a correspondence with the great missionary societies then in existence, that the students might be fed with the latest intelligence from foreign lands; and he kept up a series of circular letters with the corresponding students' societies of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen; Belfast; and Princeton in the United States; the careful drafts¹ of which testify to the zeal with which the youth of twenty-one worked.

¹ His letters to Princeton are still of interest as vivid and accurate pictures of the religious and ecclesiastical condition of Scotland more than half a century ago :—"Our country has been long celebrated for its religious privileges,

A fine spirit of catholicity marks all the communications of the secretary, and in some instances he bursts out with a protest against the creation of new agencies to compete unnecessarily with those already at work. Even at this time he seems to have awoke to the absurdity and the waste involved in so many ecclesiastical divisions, as he afterwards did more painfully when in the front of heathenism. His statistics have a curious interest for Scotland now, when the seven sections of presbyterianism have been so far amalgamated into three, and the number of ministers has been doubled in proportion to the increase of population, although the missionary spirit has made comparatively less progress.

Privately, John Wilson by pen and voice was ever pointing the abler of his student companions to the mission field, for his ideal was high. His communications from Robert Nesbit both strengthened his own determination and enabled him to combat the fears of his fellows, whose mothers held

and at present the light of the Lord is shining in the midst of us. There are many ministers who labour for the good of the souls of our people, and there are many schools for instruction open to all.

<i>Denomination.</i>	<i>Number of Ministers.</i>
Established Church	1191
Reformed Presbyterians	18
United Associate Synod	308
Relief Synod	85
Associate Synod	12
Original Burgher Associate Synod	32
Constitutional Presbytery	10
Episcopalian Communion	78
Congregationalists	79
Baptists	about 20

1833

The labours of these ministers are aided by the exertions of parochial schools in every district of the country, and by various religious societies. The Society whose exertions have, by the blessing of God, proved most beneficial to Scotland is "The Society in Scotland (incorporated by royal charter) for Propagating Christian Knowledge." It was instituted in 1701, and an Act of recommendation in its favour having been issued by the General Assembly, contributions to a large amount were soon raised for its support. The means which it uses for the promotion of its design are the establishment of schools

them back. He published, chiefly for such, an essay on the motives and encouragements to active missionary exertions. He prepared, and issued in 1828 anonymously, a little work now rarely met with, but which did good service in its day, *The Life of John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians*. In that he traced the work of the Puritan Fathers in New England, in their propagation of Christianity among the Red Indians. Very characteristic of his own future policy is his quotation of Eliot's words: "There is need of learning in ministers who preach to Indians much more than to Englishmen and gracious Christians, for these had sundry philosophical questions, which some knowledge of the arts must help to give answers to, and without which these would not have been satisfied. Worse than Indian ignorance hath blinded their eyes that renounce learning as an enemy to the gospel." All Eliot's scholarship and devotion to the mastering of the native dialects are carefully noted, no less than the humility of the man who protested against the application to

and the maintenance of catechists and missionaries. The quantity of good, both temporal and spiritual, resulting from its labours it is impossible to calculate. It has been the means of communicating the principles of education and religious knowledge to hundreds of thousands in our Highlands and Islands. For the last thirty years the average number of scholars attending its schools has been 15,000. At present it employs 12 missionaries and 16 catechists. Since the year 1767 it has printed and distributed upwards of 50,000 copies of the sacred Scriptures. Important and beneficial as the exertions of this Society have proved to the population of our Highlands, they have not been adequate to the wants of our northern countrymen, and the knowledge of this fact led to the formation of the Gaelic School Society, in the year 1811, whose fundamental principle is that it is essential for every man to read the word of God in his own tongue. This Society confines its attention chiefly to the establishment and support of circulatory schools, and its success has been very great. In the report for 1825 it is stated that the total number of schools maintained through the year was 83, and the total number of scholars 4674. Since the commencement of the Society the number of books it has circulated in the Highlands and Islands may be estimated at about 100,000. Of this number about 50,000 were copies of the Bible, New Testament, and Psalm Books. The inhabitants, of themselves, encouraged by the success of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge and the Gaelic School Society, founded another education society at Inverness in the year 1818."



himself of the pre-eminent title of "The Indian Evangelist." The missionary student could not have set before himself a better ideal of the kind than that of the acute Cambridge scholar, whose eighty-six years of self-sacrifice Cotton Mather has chronicled. When, towards the close of his university studies in March 1828, John Wilson received the farewell eulogies of the students, as expressed by Pitcairn and Cunningham, John Brown Patterson and David Thorburn, of whom the last alone survives, his reply was an address which rang with new appeals to the friends of his youth, based on the words just quoted, and on this prediction of the same writer, in his "Essays To Do Good," a century before—"North Britain will be distinguished by irradiations from heaven upon it of such a tendency (to propagate Christianity). There will be found a set of excellent men in that reformed and renowned Church of Scotland, with whom the most refined and extensive essays to do good will become so natural that the whole world will fare the better for them." We who look back on history may see the anticipation partially fulfilled in the movement which gave Wilson, Duff, and their colleagues to India, Morrison to China, and Livingstone and Moffat to Africa. These are the words which the young Wilson left behind him as his legacy to the students of the University of Edinburgh—how have they met them?

"The work of preaching the gospel in foreign lands is attended with trials, dangers, and sacrifices!' Have we forgotten! where is now the promise of Christ, 'Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world'? How is that hundred-fold to be obtained and enjoyed which is promised to those who forsake houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, for Christ's sake? Where is faith in the operations of the Spirit of God, which can view the difficulties of the Christian warfare as calculated to render the consolations of the gospel precious to the soul in every circumstance?

Is it probable that dependence on the grace of God will not be exercised by the Christian when he must feel that vain is the help of man, that success must be the result of the divine application of the word, and that he is in a great measure deprived of those sources of earthly enjoyment which, from the corruption of human nature, are frequently made the occasions of sin?

“‘The work of missions is difficult.’ But time is short. Soon shall we be freed from all our toils, and anxieties, and griefs, and disappointments; and if we suffer with Christ we shall also reign with Him. ‘The work of missions is attended with difficulties, trials, and dangers!’ Spirits of Eliot and Brainerd, Martyn, and Fisk, and Hall, do you regret that for the promotion of its interests you left the lands of your fathers and your youth, and laboured and died in a foreign clime? No; you declared that, when engaged in it you were happy;—that, when you reviewed your labours in connection with it, you were ashamed that you had not devoted yourself to its interests with more zeal and self-denial;—and that, when entering the dark valley of the shadow of death you ‘saw no trials, no sacrifices, nothing but sins and mercies.’ Since you joined the glorious band of witnesses to the truth you have seen and felt more of its importance, and your testimony respecting it is, that eternity can only sufficiently reveal its character. You feel that is the glory of the song of Moses and the Lamb, that it is sung by people of every kindred and country and tongue and nation; and if you were permitted again to visit this world you would fly, like the angel of the Apocalypse, to preach the gospel to all that dwell on the face of the earth. In sincerity and humility of soul let us say, ‘Thy vows are upon us, O God, we will render praises unto Thee.’”

The young evangelist had a right to use such language, for had he not given himself? These were days when India,



little known still in the land that rules it, was less known than it had been in the previous generation which had seen Warren Hastings impeached, and burghs bought and sold by Anglo-Indian Nawabs. The dawn of knowledge and zeal was not to rise for five years yet, with the Charter which really opened India in 1833. Then such an incident as the following was only too truly typical: Dr. Wilson had been meanwhile licensed to preach by his native Presbytery of Lauder; and, after some difficulty caused by the adherence of the "moderates" to a routine which did not contemplate missions to non-Christian lands, he had been ordained on "a request in his own name, and in the name of the directors of the Scottish Missionary Society. During the first summer after receiving license he paid two visits to the Manse at Langton. On the first occasion he delivered an impressive discourse on Paul's address at Mars' Hill. During the evening of that Sabbath the medical attendant came to see some member of the family, and after the visit joined the others in the drawing-room. The subject of Missions to India was introduced, and as the doctor had been in the East he took part, expressing strongly the opinion that it was utterly hopeless to attempt to convert the natives of India to Christianity. "I remember," writes Mr. Brown, "the flush which came on Dr. Wilson's face when he eagerly took up the question, replying to the objections which had been advanced, and dwelling on the power of the Gospel to enlighten those that were in darkness. The doctor soon changed the subject."

At a time when medical missions were unknown, and eight years before David Livingstone had turned from cotton-spinning to be a licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians in Glasgow, with the frustrated hope of becoming a missionary in China, John Wilson would not consider his preparation for India complete until he had studied medicine. He had taken a high place in the classes of Physical and Natural



Science. In 1827-8 he passed through classes for Anatomy, Surgery, and the Practice of Physic. Many a time afterwards, in the jungles of Western India and the ghauts or ravines of its hills, did he find his knowledge of the art of healing a blessing to the wild tribes and simple peasantry. Much of his own endurance is to be ascribed to such knowledge, although in Bombay itself physicians in and out of the service were ever his most attached friends.

But one qualification seemed still wanting to make the youth of twenty-three, whom, just half a century ago, on Midsummer's Day 1828, by the imposition of hands, the Presbytery did solemnly ordain and set apart to the office of the holy ministry, a fully-equipped missionary. So new was the whole subject of Christianising foreign lands at that time, that every instance of a Protestant evangelist going forth raised the question whether he ought to be married. On this ecclesiastical authorities were divided. The Scottish Missionary Society had assigned India as the country of his labours, a fact thus recorded in his Journal:—"O Lord, Thou hast graciously heard my prayers in this respect. Do thou prepare me for preaching Christ crucified with love and with power; do Thou provide for me, if agreeable to Thy will, a suitable partner of my lot; one who will well encourage me and labour with me in Thy work. Do Thou, in Thy good time, convey me in safety to the place of my destination; do Thou open up for me a wide and effectual door of utterance; do Thou preserve my life for usefulness; and do Thou make me successful in winning souls to Christ." "I rejoice when I think," he wrote to a friend, "that I shall live, and labour, and die in India." On the 18th December 1827, he had written to his father and mother: "Dr. Brown intends to prepare the articles which I am to take with me to India. He asked me to-night if I intended to marry; but I was not able to give him an answer. If I could get a suitable partner now I would have no hesita-



tion in marrying; but it is a matter of extreme difficulty to find a young lady with the piety, zeal, talents, and education which the work I have in view requires." He was soon after introduced to the family of the Rev. Kenneth Bayne of Greenock, who, on their father's death, had settled in 22 Comely Bank, a northern suburb of Edinburgh. The last entry in his Journal records the triumphant joy of one of the daughters in the prospect of death. Two more of the sisters met with a sad death by drowning, several years afterwards, and another survived him a short time. The other three formed a remarkable group of accomplished, cultivated, and zealous women, who gave their lives for India, as the pioneers of female education. Margaret, the eldest, had added to the ordinary teaching a course of study in the university city of Aberdeen. She proved equally facile in the exposition of the faiths of the East, in the mastery of the languages of Western India, in the organisation of native female schools, and in the writing of graceful verse, while she was ever the gentle wife and the fond mother, during the too brief six years of her life in Bombay. When she consented to share the then dreaded toils of an Indian evangelist's life with John Wilson, she at once doubled his efficiency.

In the simple Scottish fashion the newly ordained missionary was married to Margaret Bayne, by her minister Dr. Andrew Thomson, of St. George's, on the 12th August 1828. These were busy months for both, with the prospect of a Cape voyage, and the probability of life-long farewells. Incessant preaching and missionary addresses kept him ever about his Father's business. To this day the few old folks who remember it tell, with tears in their eyes, of his farewell sermon in the quaint pulpit of the cruciform kirk of Lauder.¹ The bailies

¹ Here that other great missionary, in the sense of being the warmest and broadest friend foreign missions have had at home, Dr. Norman Macleod, used to preach for his brother afterwards. In the adjoining manse he wrote his *Wee Davie*. We shall meet him with Wilson in Bombay.



and council of the royal burgh conferred on the lad all the honours they had to bestow, by giving him, on formal parchment, "the hail immunities and privileges of a burgess royal and freeman." On the 30th August the missionary and his wife sailed from the ancient port of Newhaven, on that heavenly quest on which no knight of poetic creation or fabled purity ever entered with more self-sacrificing ardour. A thick haze hid Edinburgh from their sight. After some days in London, and Portsmouth from which the "Sesostris" East Indiaman sailed, as was usual then, there remained only the very significant duty of presenting to the captain the Company's permission to sail. We give the letter of the Court of Directors in full, as one of the last relics of that Indian bureaucracy which Wilson was to do so much to change, till he saw it almost disappear.

"EAST INDIA HOUSE, 27th June 1828.

"SIR—I have laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company your letter requesting, on behalf of the Scottish Missionary Society, that the Reverend John Wilson may be allowed to proceed as a missionary to Bombay, accompanied by the young lady to whom he proposes being married before he leaves England. In reply, I am commanded to acquaint you that the Court have resolved to comply with your request, so far as regards Mr. Wilson, upon the usual terms and conditions; and that, when the necessary engagement has been entered into, an order will be granted for his reception on board the ship on which his passage may have been taken. I am further to inform you, that when Mr. Wilson shall be married the Court will be prepared to take into consideration any application which he may prefer for permission for his wife to accompany him.—I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

J. DART, *Secretary*.

"Reverend WILLIAM BROWN."

The long voyage of five months was not made shorter by the fact that the captain was uncongenial and arbitrary, and the majority of the passengers had no sympathy with the missionary and his wife or their object. But even there the consistent and kindly devotion of both bore fruit. Opposition

nearly disappeared among the passengers; the sailors, whom he influenced for good, treated Mr. Wilson very tenderly amid the high frolic of these days in crossing the line. The attempt of a piratical vessel to attack the ship, and a storm off Table Bay, further relieved the monotony of a Cape passage. Sufficient time was spent at Cape Town—then, and till the Mutiny of 1857 led to a change in the furlough rules, a favourite sanitarium for Anglo-Indians—to enable Mr. and Mrs. Wilson to see a little of its society, and to visit not only Constantia, of wine-growing fame, but the Moravian settlement of Groenenkloof, forty miles in the interior. After coasting Ceylon Wilson obtained his first view of India:—

“On the 1st of February Cape Comorin, the most southern point of India, appeared in sight, and my feelings were consequently of a very solemn nature. When I reflected on the present situation of the country, and on my prospects connected with it, I was constrained to resort to the throne of grace. My dear Margaret and I united in the prayer that God might prepare us for all the trials of life, and support us under them; that He might ever lift on us the light of His gracious and reconciled countenance; that He might impart to us the views, feelings, dispositions, and purposes which are suitable to the sacred work which we have in view; that He might enable us to pay the vows which we have made; that He might grant us much success in the work of converting sinners; and that He might impart to us the rewards of grace which are promised to those who turn many to righteousness. The character of the day (Sabbath) was suited to our exercises, and we had great reason to thank God for the felicity which we experienced. The sentiments of our hearts were not expressed in the plaintive language of the Psalmist, ‘How shall we sing the Lord’s song in a strange land,’ but in that of the joyful resolution, ‘From the end of the earth will I cry unto Thee, when my heart is overwhelmed.’ We continued for thirteen days sailing along the coasts of Malabar, Canara, and the Konkan. The country is very mountainous, but in its appearance very unlike my native Scotland. The towns have a wretched appearance, but they are very populous. We arrived in Bombay on the evening of the 14th of this month, and next morning the Rev. Mr. Laurie, one of the ministers of the Scotch Church, came with a boat to take us on shore.”



CHAPTER II.

OLD BOMBAY AND ITS GOVERNORS TO 1829.

The Tyre and Alexandria of the Far East—Early History of Bombay—Cromwell, Charles II., and the East India Company—The first Governors—A Free City and Asylum for the Oppressed—Jonathan Duncan—Mountstuart Elphinstone—Sir John Malcolm—Cotton and the Cotton Duties—India and the Bombay Presidency Statistics in 1829—The Day of Small Things in Education—First Protestant Missionaries in Bombay—English Society in Western India—Testimony of James Forbes—John Wilson's First Impressions of Bombay.



CSL

“Jamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi
Imminet adversasque aspectat desuper arces.
Miratur molem Æneas, magalia quondam ;
Miratur portas, strepitumque et strata viarum.
Instant ardentes Tyrii : pars ducere muros
Molirique arcem, et manibus subvolvere saxa ;
Pars optare locum tecto, et concludere sulco ;
Jura magistratusque legunt, sanctumque senatum ;
Hic portus alii effodiunt ; hic alta theatris
Fundamenta locant alii, immanesque columnas
Rupibus excidunt, scenis decora alta futuris :
Qualis apes æstate nova per florea rura
Exercet sub sole labor.”

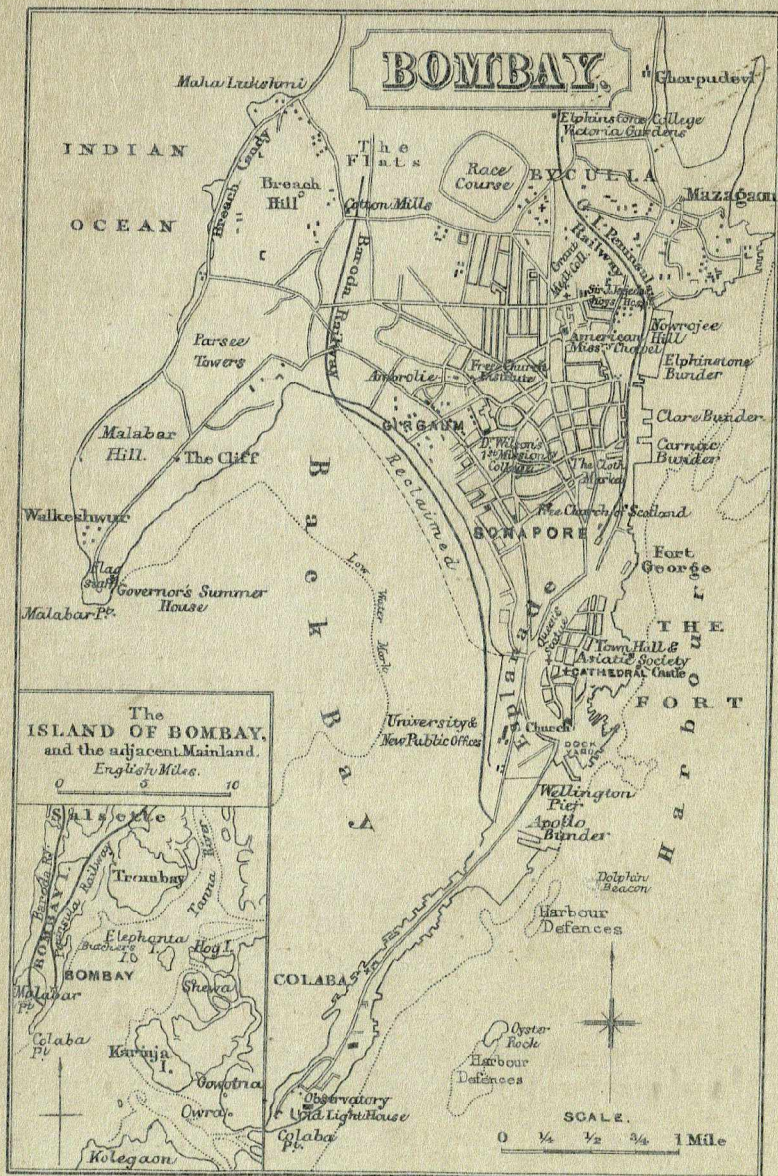
VIRGIL.—*The Æneid.*

“Yes, I will sing, although the hope be vain
To tell their glories in a worthy strain,
Whose holy fame in earliest life was won,
Who toiled unresting till the task was done.
Far as the distant seas all owned their sway ;
High as the heaven none checked their lofty way.
Constant in worship, prompt at Duty's call,
Swift to reward the good, the bad appal,
They gathered wealth, but gathered to bestow,
And ruled their words that all their truth might know.
In glory's quest they risked their noble lives ;
For love and children, married gentle wives.
On holy lore in childhood's days intent,
In love and joy their youthful prime they spent,
As hermits, mused, in life's declining day,
Then in Devotion dreamed their souls away.
Come, hear my song, ye just, whose bosoms glow
With Virtue's flame, and good from evil know.
As fire assays the purity of gold,
Judge ye the merit of these Chiefs of old.”

KALIDASA'S *Raghuvansa*, by Ralph T. H. Griffith.



CSL





CHAPTER II.

BOMBAY, with the marvellous progress of which, as city and province, Wilson was to be identified during the next forty-seven years, has a history that finds its true parallels in the Mediterranean emporia of Tyre and Alexandria. Like the Phœnician "Rock" of Baal, which Hiram enlarged and adorned, the island of the goddess Mumbai or Mahima, "the Great Mother," was originally one of a series of rocks which the British Government has connected into a long peninsula, with an area of 18 square miles. Like the greater port which Alexander created to take the place of Tyre, and called by his own name, Bombay carries in its ships the commerce of the Mediterranean, opened to it by the Suez Canal, but it bears that also of the vaster Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. Although it can boast of no river like the Nile, by which alone Alexandria now exists, Bombay possesses a natural harbour, peerless alike in West and East, such as all the capital and the engineering of modern science can never create for the land of Egypt. Instead of the "low" sands which gave Canaan its name, and the muddy flats of the Nile delta, Bombay presents ridge after ridge intersecting noble bays, and hill upon hill, rising up into the guardian range of the Western Ghats. From their giant defiles and green terraces fed by the periodic rains, the whole tableland of the Indian Peninsula gently slopes eastward to the Bay of Bengal, seamed by mighty rivers, and covered by countless forts and villages, the homes of a toiling population of millions. On one fourth, and that the most fertile fourth, of the two centuries of Bombay's



history, John Wilson, more than any other single influence, has left his mark for ever.

From the *Periplus*, and from Marco Polo, we learn the commercial prosperity and ecclesiastical activity, in the earliest times, of the kingdoms of Broach, Callian, and Tanna, on the mainland and around Bombay. But, as an island, Bombay was too exposed to the pirates who, from Abyssinia, Arabia and India alike, scoured these Eastern seas, to be other than neglected. Even the Portuguese despised it, although, as a naval power, they early made a settlement there, seeing that it lay between their possessions in the Persian Gulf and their capital of Goa. But they still held it against the East India Company, whose agents, exposed to all the exactions of a Mussulman governor in the factory at Surat, coveted a position where their ships could make them more independent. Twice they made ineffectual attempts to take the place, and, in 1654, when Cromwell had given England a vigorous foreign policy, the Directors represented to him the advantage of asking the Portuguese to cede both Bombay and Bassein. But although the Protector had exacted a heavy indemnity for all Prince Rupert had done to injure English commerce, he took hard cash rather than apparently useless jungle. And, although he beheaded the Portuguese ambassador's brother for murder on the very day that the treaty was signed, there is no evidence that he took any more interest in the distant and infant settlements in India than was involved in his general project for a Protestant Council or Propaganda all over the world. It was left to Charles II., in 1661, to add Bombay to the British Empire as part of the Infanta Catherina's dowry; and to present it to the East India Company in 1668, when the first governor, Sir Gervase Lucas, who had guarded his father in the flight from Naseby, had failed to prove its value to the Crown. For an annual rent of "£10 in gold" the island was made over to Mr. Goodyer—

deputed, with Streynsham Master and others, by Sir George Oxenden, the President of Surat—"in free and common soccage as of the manor of East Greenwich," along with all the Crown property upon it, cash to the amount of £4879 : 7 : 6, and such political powers as were necessary for its defence and government. Among the commissioners to whom the management of the infant settlement fell on Oxenden's death, is found the name of one Sterling, a Scottish minister, and thus, in some sense, the only predecessor of John Wilson. With the succession of Gerald Aungier, as President of Surat and Governor of the island in 1667, the history of Bombay may be said to have really begun. It is a happy circumstance that the beginning is associated with the names of the few good men who were servants of the Company, in a generation which was only less licentious than that of the Stewarts at home, if the temptations of exile be considered. Oxenden, Aungier and Streynsham Master were the three Governors of high character and Christian aims, who, at Surat, Bombay and Madras, sought to purify Anglo-Indian society and to evangelise the natives around.

Bombay, which grew to be a city of 250,000 inhabitants when Wilson landed in 1829, and contained 650,000 before he passed away, began two centuries ago with 600 landowners, who were formed into a militia, 100 Brahmans and Hindoos of the trading caste who paid an exemption tax, and the Company's first European regiment of 285 men, of whom only 93 were English. The whole population was little above 5000. A fort was built and mounted with twenty-one guns, and five small redoubts capped the principal eminences around. To attract Hindoo weavers and traders of the Bunya caste, and to mark the new *régime* as the opposite of the intolerant zeal of the Portuguese, notice was given all along the coast, from Diu to Goa, that no one would be compelled to profess Christianity, and that no Christian or Muhammadan would be



allowed to trespass within the inclosures of the Hindoo traders for the purpose of killing the cow or any animal, while the Hindoos would enjoy facilities for burning their dead and observing their festivals. Forced labour was prohibited, for no one was to be compelled to carry a burden. Docks were to be made; manufactures were to be free of tax for a time, and thereafter, when exported, to pay not more than three and a half per cent. The import duties were two and a half per cent with a few exceptions. Transit and market duties of nine per cent, that indirect tax on food and clothing which the people of India in their simplicity prefer to all other imposts, supplied the chief revenue for the fortifications and administration. And it was needed, for "the flats," which still pollute Bombay between the two ridges, were the fertile seed-bed of cholera and fever, till in 1684 the first of the many and still continued attempts at drainage were made. The result of the first twenty years of the Company's administration was that Bombay superseded Surat. One half of all the Company's shipping loaded at London direct for the island, where there was, moreover, no Nawab to squeeze half of the profits. The revenues had increased threefold. The population consisted of 60,000, of whom a considerable number were Portuguese, and the "Cooly Christians," or native fishermen, whom they had baptised as Roman Catholics. In and around the fort the town stretched for a mile of low thatched houses, chiefly with the pearl of shells for glass in their windows. The Portuguese could show the only church. On Malabar Hill, where Wilson was to die in "The Cliff" associated by all classes with his name, there was a Parsee tomb. The island of Elephanta was known not so much for the Cave Temples which he described, as for the carving of an elephant which gave the place its name, but has long since disappeared. At Salsette and Bandora the Portuguese held sway yet a little longer. From Tanna to Bassein their rich Dons revelled in spacious country seats,



fortified and terraced. The Hidalgos of Bassein reproduced their capital of Lisbon, with Franciscan convents, Jesuit colleges, and rich libraries, all of which they carefully guarded, allowing none but Christians to sleep in the town.¹

The tolerant and liberal policy of the English government of Bombay soon caused all that, and much more, to be absorbed in their free city, and to contribute to the growth of the western portion of the new empire. If to some the toleration promised by Aungier, and amplified by the able though reckless Sir John Child, seemed to go too far, till it became virtual intolerance because indifference towards the faith of the ruling power, the growing public opinion of England corrected that in time. For the next century the British island became the asylum not only of the oppressed peoples of the Indian continent, during the anarchy from the death of Aurungzeb to the triumph of the two brothers Wellesley and Wellington, but of persecuted communities of western and central Asia, like the Parsees and Jews, as well as of slave-ridden Abyssinia and Africa. Made one of the three old Presidencies in 1708, under a later Oxenden, and subordinated to Calcutta as the seat of the Governor-General in 1773, Bombay had the good fortune to be governed by Jonathan Duncan for sixteen years at the beginning of this century.

What this Forfarshire lad, going out to India at sixteen, like Malcolm afterwards, had done for the peace and prosperity, the education and progress of Benares, and the four millions around it, he did for Bombay at a most critical time. Not less than Lord William Bentinck does he deserve the marble monument which covers his dust in the Bombay Cathedral, where the figure of Justice is seen inscribing on his urn these words, "He was a good man and a just," while

¹ See that already rare work, *The English in Western India*, by Philip Anderson, A.M., chaplain, Bombay. 1854.

two children support a scroll, on which is written, "Infanticide abolished in Benares and Kattywar." Between the thirty-nine years of his uninterrupted service for the people of India, which closed in 1811, and the forty-seven years of John Wilson's not dissimilar labours in the same cause, which began in 1829, there occurred the administrations, after Sir Evan Nepean, of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, both of the same great school. Since the negotiations of the Peshwa Raghoba, in 1775, with the Company who sought to add Bassein and Salsette to Bombay and so make it the *entrepôt* of the India and China Seas, the province of Bombay had grown territorially as the power of the plundering Marathas waned from internal dissensions and the British arms. The first part of India to become British, the Western Presidency had been the last to grow into dimensions worthy of a separate government in direct communication with the home authorities, though in imperial matters controlled by the Governor-General from Calcutta. Bombay had long been in a deficit of a million sterling a year or more. But the final extinction of the Maratha Powers by Lord Hastings in 1822 enabled Bombay to extend right into Central India and down into the southern Maratha country, while Poona became the second or inland capital of the Presidency. The two men who did most to bring this about, and to settle the condition of India south of the Vindhya territorially as it now is, were Mountstuart Elphinstone and John Malcolm. What they thus made Bombay Wilson found it, and that it continued to be all through his life, with the addition of Sindh, to the north, in 1843, and of an exchange of a county with Madras in the south. Lord Dalhousie, and afterwards Lord Canning, would have added the fertile cotton-fields of Berar to it in 1861, but for the mismanagement of the Resident at Hyderabad, and that is still a cause of irritation between the Government of India and the Nizam. The change seems

at hand, by which, if Sindh is transferred to the Punjab Province, the old Maratha principality of the Bhonslas, known as the Central Provinces around Nagpore, will be united administratively to Bombay.

Mountstuart Elphinstone had no warmer admirer than Wilson, who wrote a valuable sketch of his life for the local Asiatic Society. A younger son of the eleventh Lord Elphinstone, and an Edinburgh High School boy, he went out to India as a "writer" with his cousin John Adam, who was afterwards *interim* Governor-General. Having miraculously escaped the 1799 massacre at Benares, he was made assistant to the British Resident at Poona, then the Peshwa's court. He rode by the Duke of Wellington's side at the victory of Assye, as his interpreter, and was told by the then Colonel Wellesley that he had mistaken his calling, for he was certainly born a soldier. Subsequently, after a mission to Cabul, on his way from Calcutta to Poona to become Resident, he made the friendship of Henry Martyn. The battle of Kirkee in 1817 punished the Peshwa's latest attempt at treachery, and it became Elphinstone's work to make that brilliant settlement of the ceded territories which has been the source of all the happiness of the people since. His report of 1819 stands in the first rank of Indian state papers, and that is saying much. When, after that, he discovered the plot of certain Maratha Brahmans to murder all the English in Poona and Satara, the man who was beloved by the mass of the natives for his kindly geniality saved the public peace by executing the ringleaders. His prompt firmness astounded Sir Evan Nepean, whom he afterwards succeeded as Governor, into advising him that he should ask for an act of indemnity. The reply was characteristic of his whole career—"Punish me if I have done wrong; if I have done right I need no act of indemnity." The eight years' administration of this good man, and great scholar and statesman, were so marked by



wisdom and success, following a previously brilliant career, that on his retiring to his native country he had the unique honour of being twice offered the position of Governor-General. What he did for oriental learning and education, and how his nephew afterwards governed Bombay, and became Wilson's friend in the more trying times of 1857, we shall see.

Sir John Malcolm, too, had his embassy to Persia, and his victory in battle—Mahidpore; while it fell to him to complete that settlement of Central India in 1818 with Bajee Rao, which the adopted son, Nana Dhoondopunt, tried vainly to upset in 1857. Malcolm's generosity on that occasion has been much questioned, but it had Elphinstone's approval. His distinguished services of forty years were rewarded by his being made Elphinstone's successor as Governor of Bombay in 1827. In the ship in which he returned to take up the appointment was a young cadet, now Sir Henry Rawlinson, whose ability he directed to the study of oriental literature. He had been Governor for little more than a year when he first received, at his daily public breakfast at Parell, the young Scottish missionary from his own Border land. Even better than his predecessor, Malcolm knew how to influence the natives, by whom he was worshipped. He continued the administrative system as he found it, writing to a friend—"The only difference between Mountstuart and me is that I have Mullagatawny at tiffin, which comes of my experience at Madras." The Governor was in the thick of that collision with the Supreme Court, forced on him by Sir John Peter Grant's attempt to exercise jurisdiction all over the Presidency—as in Sir Elijah Impey's days in Calcutta. He had just returned from one of those tours through the native States, which the Governor, like Elphinstone before him and the missionary after him, considered "of primal importance" for the well-being of the people. The decision of the President of the Board of Control at home, then Lord



Ellenborough, was about to result in the resignation of the impetuous judge. Such was Bombay, politically and territorially when, in the closing weeks of the cold season of 1828-9, John Wilson and his wife landed from the "Sesostri," East Indiaman.¹

Economically the year 1829 was marked by the first serious attempt on the part of the Directors at home, and the Government on the spot, to extend the cultivation and improve the fibre of the cotton of Western India, which was to prove so important a factor alike in the prosperity and the adversity of Bombay in the coming years. In that review of his three years' administration to 1st December 1830, which Sir John Malcolm wrote for his successors, and published to influence the discussions on the Charter of 1833, under the title of *The Government of India*, this significant sentence occurs:—"A cotton mill has been established in Bengal with the object of underselling the printed goods and yarns sent from England;

¹ Our readers will find it useful to refer to this list of the Governors of Bombay just before and during Dr. Wilson's work there—

<i>Governor.</i>	<i>Years.</i>
Jonathan Duncan	1795
Sir Evan Nepean, Bart.	1812
The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone	1819
Sir John Malcolm, K.C.B.	1827
Earl of Clare	1831
Sir Robert Grant	1835
Sir James Rivett-Carnac, Bart.	1839
Sir George Arthur, Bart.	1842
Sir George Russell Clerk	1847
Viscount Falkland	1848
Lord Elphinstone, G.C.B.	1855
Sir George Russell Clerk (2d time)	1860
Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.	1862
Sir Seymour Fitzgerald	1867
Sir Philip Wodehouse	1872
Sir Richard Temple, Bart.	1877

Sir W. H. Macnaghten was massacred in 1841 when about to leave Cabul to join his appointment as Governor of Bombay. The Honourable Messrs. George Brown in 1811; John Romer in 1831; James Farish in 1838; G. W. Anderson in 1841; and L. R. Reid in 1846, were senior members of council, who acted for a short time as *interim* Governors.

but there are, in my opinion, causes which, for a long period, must operate against the success of such an establishment." The period has not proved to be so long as the conservative experience of the Governor led him to believe. In this respect Bombay soon shot ahead of Bengal, which afterwards found a richer trade in jute and tea. But the withdrawal of the last restriction on trade was, when Wilson landed, about to co-operate with a consolidated administration to make Bombay the seat of an enriching commerce, of which its varied native communities obtained a larger share than elsewhere. A society composed of Hindoo, Parsee, Jewish, and even Muhammadan merchant princes, was being brought to the birth, side by side with the great Scottish houses, at the head of which was Sir Charles Forbes. And the man had come to lift them all to a higher level; to purify them all, in differing degrees, by the loftiest ideal.

At this time our Indian Empire was just one third of its present magnitude, but its native army was 186,000 strong, a fourth more than since the Mutiny. Including St. Helena, the area was 514,238 square miles, the population 89½ millions, and the gross revenue £21,695,207. The whole was administered in 88 counties by 1083 British civil officers, and defended by 37,428 white troops. Of the three Presidencies the Western was by far the smallest, but its geographical position gave it an advantage as the centre of action from Cape Comorin to the head of the Persian Gulf, and from Central India to Central Africa. Its area was 65,000 square miles, not much more than that of England and Wales. Its population was 6¼ millions in ten counties, and its gross annual revenue 2½ millions sterling. The whole province was garrisoned by 7728 white troops and 32,508 sepoy, under its own Commander-in-Chief; and it had a Marine or Navy, famous in its day and too rashly abolished long after, which was manned by 542 Europeans and 618 natives.



Notwithstanding the enlightened action and tolerant encouragement of Mountstuart Elphinstone and Malcolm, public instruction and Christian education were still in the day of small things in Bombay, although it was in some respects more advanced than Bengal which soon distanced it for a time. In the Presidency, as in Madras and Calcutta, a charity school had been, in 1718, forced into existence by the very vices of the English residents and the conditions of a then unhealthy climate. Legitimate orphans and illegitimate children, white and coloured, had to be cared for, and were fairly well trained by public benevolence, for the Company gave no assistance till 1807. In the Charter of 1813, which Charles Grant and Wilberforce had partially succeeded in making half as liberal as that granted by William III. in 1698, Parliament gave India not only its first Protestant bishop, archdeacons, and Presbyterian chaplains, but a department of public instruction bound to spend at least a lakh of rupees a year, or £10,000, on the improvement of literature, and the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the people. In 1815 the Bombay Native Education Society was formed, and opened schools in Bombay, Tanna, and Broach, with the aid of a Government grant. Immediately after Mountstuart Elphinstone's appointment as Governor it extended its operations to supplying a vernacular and school-book literature. It recommended the adoption of the Lancasterian method of teaching, then popular in England, and it continued the useful work till 1840, when it became in name, what it had always been in fact, the public Board of Education. Since it failed to provide for the Southern Konkan, or coast districts, Major Jervis, R.E., who became an earnest coadjutor of Wilson, established a similar society for that purpose in 1823, but that was affiliated with the original body. When Poona became British, Mr. Chaplin, the Commissioner in the Deccan, established a Sanscrit college



there, which failed from the vicious Oriental system on which it was conducted, in spite of its enjoyment of the Dukshina or charity fund of Rs. 35,000 a year, established by the Peshwas for the Brahmans' education.¹ The Society's central school in Bombay was more successful, and is still the principal Government High School. When Mountstuart Elphinstone left Bombay in 1827, the native gentlemen subscribed, as a memorial of him, £21,600, from the interest of which professorships were to be established "to be held by gentlemen from Great Britain, until the happy period arrived when natives shall be fully competent to hold them." But no such professors arrived till 1835, when they held, in the Town Hall, classes which have since grown into the Elphinstone College. In that year, out of a population of more than a quarter of a million in the Island of Bombay only 1026 were at school; in the rest of the province the scholars numbered 1864 in the Maratha, and 2128 in the Goojaratee-speaking

¹ When, in 1842, presiding at the annual examination of the General Assembly's English school at Poona, Dr. Wilson thus pictured the days of Brahmanical supremacy and bigotry in the capital of the Peshwas. The italics and capital letters are his:—"Twenty-five years ago, when the Bráhmans constituted the soul, at this place, of the Maratha Government, the most powerful which had been formed in India since its conquest by the Mussulmans—which it was the first to impair and to limit—few persons could have *imagined* the existence and progress of a Christian seminary such as that which the Church of Scotland has been honoured to found in the capital of the Dekhan. Even after the conquest of the province by the British, we find the Commissioner, Mr. Chaplin, when instituting the Poona College, with the concurrence of the Bombay Government, sacrificing every sound educational principle to his apprehension of the non-concurrence of the people with the measures which he thought it might be desirable ultimately to adopt. 'The Commissioner states'—it is mentioned in the interesting Report of the Board of Education just published—that in order to secure as far as possible the *popularity* of the establishment with the Hindu community, he had proposed the appointment of teachers in all *their* branches of learning, *although* MANY OF THEM WERE PERHAPS WORSE THAN USELESS.' He adds [after a considerable interval] 'that he had *not yet taken any measures towards the introduction of ANY branches of European science*: but he had endeavoured to direct the attention of the College principally to such part of their *own Shashtras* as are not only more useful in themselves, but will best prepare their minds for a

districts, or 5018 in all. In the four years ending 1830, just before and after Wilson's arrival, the Bombay Government remarked, "with alarm," that although it had fixed its annual grant to public instruction at £2000 it had spent £20,192 in that period. So apathetic were the natives that they had subscribed only £471, while the few Europeans had given £818 for the same purpose. Truly the system of a vicious Orientalism was breaking down, as opposed to that of which Wilson was to prove the apostle—the communication of Western truth on Western methods through the Oriental tongues so as to elevate learned and native alike. In their report of 1828-29 the Native Education Society had remarked, but without the facts to support the statement, "We venture to say that in no part of the globe have such wide and effectual advantages spread so quickly from means at first apparently circumscribed, and in the face of so many and great difficulties."¹ In truth, in Bombay as in Calcutta and the rest of

gradual reception of more valuable instructions at a future time.' In the establishment which he actually formed and supported, we find the polytheistic Vedas and pantheistic Vedānta occupying a most prominent place; every native excluded from the walls of the seminary—as is actually the case in the present day—who could not lay claims to the holiness and dignity of the Brāhmanhood; a *dead* and imaginary sacred language, the Sanscrit, chosen as the *sole* medium of communicating instruction; heathen rights and ceremonies tolerated and enjoined by the College authorities, and *paid for* by the Christian Government, and our own judges and magistrates scowled at and insulted, when they ventured to visit the tabooed enclosure; and endless bickerings and quarrels among both the professors and students. In fact, we find so many gross and glaring evils in it, that the Revenue and Judicial Commissioners and Agent for Sirdars, with the Collector, recommend its '*abolition*;' and Government say, in reply to their representations, that '*the Institution had failed of its object, that it had fulfilled no purpose but that of perpetuating prejudices and false systems of opinion; and that unless it could be reformed [as it now to a great extent happily is through the wise measures ably and zealously carried into effect by its European Superintendent, Captain Candy] it had better be abolished.*'"

¹ These statistics are taken from a confidential Report on "Education in British India prior to 1854, and in 1870-71," made by the Home Department to the Government of India in 1872. The Report should be written up to the present year and published.



India, education was languishing or being directed to the most evil ends, as long before pointed out by James Mill in one of the Leadenhall Street despatches to the Governor-General, for want of those reforms which the coming Charter of 1833 enabled the government under men like Lord William Bentinck and Macaulay, and guided by missionary-statesmen like Alexander Duff and John Wilson, to direct, with incalculable results both social and spiritual. The almost exclusively Orientalising policy of the Government previous to 1835, left Bombay a *tabula rasa* on which Wilson soon learned to engrave characters of light and life that were never to be obliterated.

Nor had the few missionaries then in Western India anticipated him. Self-sacrificing to an extent for which, save from their great successor, they have rarely got credit, they were lost in the jungle of circumstances. The American missionaries were the first Protestants to take up the work which, in the early Christian centuries, the Nestorians had begun at the ancient port of Kalliana, the neighbouring Callian, which was long the seat of a Persian bishop. In 1813, Dr. Coke sailed for Bombay with the same Major Jervis, R.E., who did so much for the Konkan. His successors, for he died at sea, began that work of primary importance in every mission, an improved edition of the New Testament in the vernacular Marathee, for which Mr. Wilson expressed his gratitude soon after his arrival. But when, at a later period, one of their annual reports ignorantly represented the Americans as having been the first to evangelise the Marathas, he felt constrained to publish this statement of the facts.

"The American missionaries first came to Bombay. in 1813; but the whole of the New Testament in Marathee had been published by the Serampore missionaries in 1811. Dr. Robert Drummond published his grammar and glossary of the Goojaratee and Marathee languages at the *Bombay Courier*

press in 1808. Dr. Carey published his Marathee grammar and dictionary at Serampore in 1810. All these helps were enjoyed by the American missionaries; and though they are by no means so important as those which are now accessible to all students and missionaries, we would be guilty of ingratitude to those who furnished them were we to overlook them. *Summ cuique tribue* should ever be our motto. The Romish Church we know to be very corrupted; but I have seen works composed by its missionaries about two hundred years ago, which could 'give the Marathas the least idea of the true character of God as revealed in the Scripture.' It is too much when the labours of the Romish missionaries are considered, to affirm that 'not a tree in this forest had been felled' till the American missionaries came to this country. There have been some pious Roman Catholics in Europe, and why may there not have been some amongst the eight generations of the 300,000 in the Marathee country? The Serampore missionaries admitted several Marathas to their communion before 1813."

The first American missionaries had their own romance, like all pioneers. They were driven from Calcutta by the Government in 1812, and told they might settle in Mauritius. Judson happily was sent to Burma by Dr. Carey. Messrs. Hall and Nott took ship to Bombay. Thence the good but weak Sir Evan Nepean, who had been shocked by Elphinstone's firmness in the Poona plot, warned them off; but an appeal to his Christian principle led him to temporise until Charles Grant and the Charter of the next year restrained the Company. In 1815 the London Missionary Society repeated at Surat, and afterwards in Belgaum, an effort to found a mission which in 1807 had failed in the island of Bombay. In 1820, the Church Missionary Society began in Western India that work which in time bore good fruit for Africa also. In 1822 the increase of British territory, caused by the extinction of the



Maratha power, induced the Scottish Missionary Society, which since 1796 had been working in West Africa, to send as its first missionary to Bombay the Rev. Donald Mitchell, a son of the manse, who, when a lieutenant of infantry at Surat, had been led to enter the Church of Scotland. He was followed by the Revs. John Cooper; James Mitchell; Alexander Crawford, whose health soon failed; John Stevenson, who became a chaplain; and, finally, Robert Nesbit, fellow student of Dr. Duff at St. Andrews University under Chalmers, and Wilson's early friend. "Desperately afraid of offending the Brahmans," as a high official expressed it,¹ the authorities would not allow the early Scottish missionaries to settle in Poona, which had too recently become British, as they desired. Had not a native distributor of American tracts just before been seized, by order, and escorted to the low land at the foot of the Ghauts? So there, on the fertile strip of jungly coast, in the very heart of the widow-burning, self-righteous, intellectually able and proud Maratha Brahmans, the Scottish evangelists began their work of sheer necessity, for they considered that Bombay was already cared for by the American and English missions. The Governors, Elphinstone and Malcolm, however, although they would not allow the good men to be martyred in Poona, as they supposed, with all the possible political complications, subscribed liberally to their funds, a thing which no Governor-General dared do till forty years after, when John Lawrence ruled from Calcutta. In Hurnee and Bankote, from sixty to eighty miles down the coast from Bombay, these missionaries had preached in Marathee and opened or inspected primary schools, with small results. So terrible was the social sacrifice involved in the profession and communion of Christianity that the first Hindoo convert, in 1823, some weeks

¹ See *Memoir of the Rev. Robert Nesbit*, by the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell. 1858.



after his baptism, rushed from the Lord's Table when Mr. Hall was about to break the bread, exclaiming, "No, I will not break caste yet." Long before this the good James Forbes, father of the Countess de Montalembert, had given it as his experience of Anglo-Indians at all the settlements of Bombay, from Ahmedabad to Anjengo, and dating from 1766, "that the character of the English in India is an honour to the country. In private life they are generous, kind, and hospitable; in their public situations, when called forth to arduous enterprise, they conduct themselves with skill and magnanimity; and, whether presiding at the helm of the political and commercial department, or spreading the glory of the British arms, with courage, moderation, and clemency, the annals of Hindostan will transmit to future ages names dear to fame and deserving the applause of Europe. . . . With all the milder virtues belonging to their sex, my amiable countrywomen are entitled to their full share of applause. This is no fulsome panegyric; it is a tribute of truth and affection to those worthy characters with whom I so long associated, and will be confirmed by all who resided in India."¹ Mr. Forbes finally left India in 1784, when only thirty-five years of age, but after eighteen years' experience.

The successive Governors had given an improved tone to Anglo-Indian society, and the few missionaries and chaplains had drawn around them some of the officials both in the Council and in the ordinary ranks of the civil and military services. But the squabbles in the Supreme Court, and the reminiscences of a Journalist,² who has published his memoirs recently, show that here also the new missionary had a field prepared for him, which it became his special privilege to develope and adorn with all the purity of a Christian ideal and all the grace of a cultured gentleman. What in this way

¹ *Oriental Memoirs* (1834), vol. i. page 98.

² *The Memoirs of a Journalist*, by J. H. Stocqueler. Bombay, 1873.

he did, unobtrusively and almost unconsciously, in Bombay for forty years, will hardly be understood without a glance at this picture of the Island in 1830, as drawn by the editor of the *Bombay Courier* :—

“The opportunity of leaving Bombay was not to be regretted. ‘Society’ on that pretty little island had a very good opinion of itself, but it was in reality a very tame affair. It chiefly consisted of foolish *burra sahibs* (great folk) who gave dinners, and *chota sahibs* (little folk) who ate them. The dinners were in execrable taste, considering the climate. . . . But the food for the palate was scarcely so flavourless as the conversation. Nothing could be more vapid than the talk of the guests, excepting when some piece of scandal affecting a lady’s reputation or a gentleman’s official integrity gave momentary piquancy to the dialogue. Dancing could hardly be enjoyed with the thermometer perpetually ranging between 80° and 100° Fahrenheit, and only one spinster to six married women available for the big-wigs who were yet to be caged. A quiet tiffin with a barrister or two, or an officer of the Royal Staff who could converse on English affairs, and a game of billiards at the old hotel or one of the regimental messes, were about the only resources, next to one’s books, available to men at the Presidency endowed with a trifling share of scholarship and the thinking faculty.”

Such was Bombay, the city and the province, when John Wilson thus wrote to the household at Lauder his first impressions of the former :—

“Everything in the appearance of Bombay and the character of the people differs from what is seen at home. Figure to yourselves a clear sky, a burning sun, a parched soil, gigantic shrubs, numerous palm trees, a populous city with inhabitants belonging to every country under heaven, crowded and dirty streets, thousands of Hindoos, Muhammadans, Parsees, Buddhists, Jews, and Portuguese; perpetual marriage processions, barbarous music, etc., etc.; and you will have some idea of what I observe at present. In Bombay there are many heathen temples, Muhammadan mosques, and Jewish synagogues, several Roman Catholic chapels, one Presbyterian Church, one Episcopal Church, and one Mission Church belonging to the Americans. I preached in the Scotch Church on the first Sabbath after my arrival, and in the Mission Church on Sabbath last.”

CSL⁵⁵

CHAPTER III.

1829-1836.

ORGANISATION AND FIRST FRUIT OF THE MISSION.

The Languages of the People—If necessary for Officials much more for Missionaries—Foundation of Wilson's Oriental Scholarship—Masters Marathee so as to preach his first Sermon in six Months—Tentative efforts at Hurnee—First visit to a Hindoo House and Discussion with a Parsee—Prohibition of Suttee: Letter to Lord William Bentinck—"Plan of Operations in the Island of Bombay"—His first European Friends—Establishes the *Oriental Christian Spectator*—Census of Bombay—Wilson and Duff—Presbyterian Constitution of a Native Church—Transferred from the Scottish Missionary Society to the General Assembly—Progress of the Mission to 1836—Letters to Mr. J. Jordan Wilson, and beginning of the Ten Years' Conflict.



CSL

“ A good man was ther of religioun,
And was a poure PERSOUN of a toun ;
But riche he was of holy thought and werk.
He was also a lerned man, a clerk
That Cristes gospel trewely wolde preche ;
His parischens devoutly wolde he teche.
Benigne he was, and wonder diligent,
And in adversité ful pacient ;
And such he was i-proved ofte sithes.
Ful loth were him to curse for his tythes.
But rather wolde he yeven out of dowte,
Unto his poure parisschens aboute,
Of his offrynge, and eek of his substaunce.
He cowde in litel thing han suffisaunce.
Wyd was his parische, and houses fer asonder,
But he ne lafte not for reyne ne thonder,
In siknesse nor in meschief to visite
The ferreste in his parissche, moche and lite,
Uppon his feet, and in his hond a staf.
This noble ensample to his scheep he yaf,
That first he wroughte, and afterward he taughte,
Out of the gospel he tho wordes caughte,
And this figure he addede eek therto,
That if gold ruste, what schal yren doo ?

And though he holy were, and vertuous,
He was to sinful man nought despitous,
Ne of his speche daungerous ne digne,
But in his teching discret and benigne.
To drawe folk to heven by fairnesse
By good ensample, this was his busynesse :
But it were eny persone obstinat,
What so he were, of high or lowe estat,
Him wold he snybbe scharply for the nones.
A bettre preest, I trowe, there nowher non is.
He waytede after no pompe and reverence,
Ne makede him a spiced conscience,
But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taughte, but first he folwede it himselve.”

CHAUCER.—*The Prologue.*



CHAPTER III.

IF a knowledge of the language of the people, vernacular and, where possible, classical also, is the indispensable qualification of every official, so that it is carefully provided for by the competitive examinations in England and by the professional tests in the four great groups of Provinces in India, how much more is it required by the foreign missionary. The assistant-magistrate, even the district officer, who rules a million of people in one of the 200 counties of the Indian Empire; the judge who, outside of the three English cities, hears cases and writes his decisions in the prevailing language of the province, may be content with a merely official use of the Marathee or Goojaratee, the Tamul or Teloogoo, the Hindee or Hindostanee, the Bengalee or Oorya, to say nothing of the Persian and the Sanscrit which enrich all the thirty languages of our Indian subjects. There is no conscientious civil or military officer, however, who will not value his linguistic knowledge for the highest social as well as political ends, in kindly intercourse with all classes; and there is no one of scholarly tastes who will be content without some acquaintance with the learned languages of the East, whether Aryan or Semitic. But as the heart of a people is reached through its mother-tongue, and all that is best worth knowing about a country is to be found in its dialects and literature, the Christian missionary and scholar, above all officials, will master the vernacular as his most precious instrument, and the classical language that feeds it as his most useful storehouse of information and illustration, argument and authority.

The Scottish, like the American missionaries who first worked in Western India, were pre-eminent in such studies, following an example fortunately set them and all subsequent preachers and teachers in the East, by the Baptist "cobbler" and most versatile orientalist of his day,—William Carey. Mr. Wilson's student friend especially, Robert Nesbit, who had preceded him to India by sixteen months, was already a fluent speaker of that Marathee, of which he became so remarkable a preacher and writer that the natives could not trace even a foreign accent in his pronunciation and use of its idioms. From the first to the last day of his India life Wilson was of opinion that a year or longer should be allowed to every young missionary to acquire the vernacular of his province. He himself had brought to India a more than professional familiarity with Latin and Greek ; he knew French for literary purposes ; and he carried farther than his old professor and now friend, Dr. Brunton, the study of Hebrew. He had not been a month in Bombay when he and his most apt pupil, his wife, left it for the comparative seclusion of, first Bankote and then Hurnee, that they might, aided by their brethren and in the midst of the country people, thoroughly learn Marathee, to begin with.

In the eight months of the first hot and rainy seasons, from April to November, Mr. Wilson laid the foundation of his Orientalism with a rapidity, a thoroughness, and a breadth, due alike to his overmastering motive, his previous training, and his Mezzofanti-like memory. He himself tells, in the letters and journals of the time, how he set to work after a fashion that may well form the model of every worker in India in whatever position. We find Nesbit thus writing to him at the close of that six months' fruitful apprenticeship :—" I am accused of injuring your health by making you study Marathee and talk with me at night . . . Will the exhortation to take good care of your health now make any amends ? Get up at



six, by all means; and, that you may be able to do so, go to bed at ten." Mr. Wilson thus addressed his directors in Edinburgh:—

"As a year has passed away since I commenced my studies of the native languages, it is now my duty to give you a brief account of my progress. By referring to my journals I find that it was on the 18th of August, being five months after my arrival in India, that I began to hold consultations with the Hindoos, and on the 27th of September when I preached my first sermon. When I was in the Konkan I generally devoted about nine hours to the study of Marathee. Since I commenced my labours in Bombay I devote, according to my ability, all the intervals from active missionary duty which I enjoy. I may mention five hours daily as the average in which I am thus engaged. During the first two months of my studies I pursued, as far as is practicable, the Hamiltonian system. Mr. Nesbit during that time kindly furnished me with the English of my lessons. I afterwards principally depended on my pundit, who had only a knowledge of Marathee, and on the literary helps which I could obtain. The books which I used were translations from the English made by the Native Education Society, native stories, the translation of the Scriptures, mission tracts, and an account of the Hindoo religion written by a Brahman in my employment, in reply to queries which I addressed to him. I kept a writer for four months who furnished me with lists of words under the different principles of association which I could think of. I devoted about an hour daily to consideration on the religion, manners, and customs of the Hindoos, which I regulated according to Mr. Ward's account.

"In Bombay I have some facilities for study which I did not enjoy in the Konkan. These principally consist in my being able to get all difficulties readily and satisfactorily solved, and in my being favoured with the sheets of Captain Molesworth's and Mr. Candy's Dictionary as they pass through the press. For the last three months I have devoted the hour between seven and eight in the morning to the reading of Hebrew with the points. I am very desirous, for the sake of usefulness among the Jews here, and other important reasons, to attain to greater proficiency in this ancient language. My teacher, who is a rabbi, is an excellent scholar. He is well acquainted with Mr. Wolff, whom he has frequently seen in Jérusalem; and he declares, even among his countrymen, that the Messiah has already appeared. I am not without hopes of his being a converted man. I expect in a

short time to be able to commence the study of Hindostanee, a language which will enable me to communicate the truths of the Gospel to many natives in Bombay to whom at present I cannot find access."

Of Captain Molesworth, brother of Lord Molesworth, and his great dictionary, we shall hear more. At Bankote, sixty-eight miles south of Bombay, Mr. Wilson took his seat in the missionary council. On the first Sabbath after his arrival he witnessed the baptism of the second Hindoo convert of the mission, and administered the sacrament to "the children of the East and West seated together at the same table." At Hurnee he thus describes his tentative missionary efforts, after his acquisition of Marathee, in the opening passage of the Journal, which he again continued to write for a few weeks. The interest of the passage lies chiefly in the contrast it presents to his Bombay experience. Mr. Cooper, who is referred to, died in 1868 in Edinburgh, after long service as a United Presbyterian minister in the Midlothian village of Fala.

"*November 1st, 1829. Sabbath.*—I preached to the natives in the afternoon on the distinguishing characteristics of the children of God. The man whom I met on Friday did not attend the Marathee services.

"*2d.*—I preached to the beggars in the morning, and united with Mr. Cooper in addressing the natives in the afternoon.

"*3d.*—I addressed the natives in the morning.

"*4th, 5th.*—I addressed the servants in the morning, and united with Mr. Cooper in preaching to the natives in the afternoon.

"*6th.*—I addressed the natives in the morning.

"*7th.*—I addressed the natives, and made preparations for the approaching Sabbath.

"*8th. Sabbath.*—I preached to the Europeans on "The carnal mind is enmity against God." A lady who heard my discourse appeared to be a good deal affected by it. I observed her in tears. May God unfold to her the knowledge of her state by nature and practice, and lead her to embrace the truth as it is in Jesus.

"*9th.*—I examined the bazaar school, and preached to the beggars

in the morning and forenoon. Messrs. Nesbit and Taylor of Belgaum arrived from Bombay, where they had been attending a meeting of the Bombay Missionary Union. Mr. Taylor, who is a highly respected and honoured servant of the Redeemer, communicated some very interesting intelligence to us respecting the spread of the Gospel. He mentioned that he had baptized four criminals lately, who, previously to their death, afforded him a reason to hope that they had been renewed in the spirit of their minds; and showed us a very interesting letter respecting the proceedings of the Baptist Mission in Burma. Dr. Judson baptized ten individuals during the first three months of this year.

"10th.—I spent most of the day with Mr. Taylor. He left us in the evening.

"11th.—Along with Mrs. Wilson I removed from Hurnee to Dhapoolie, in the hope that, as stated to us by Dr. Stewart our host, a change of air would be beneficial to our health.

"12th.—I spent this day principally in intercourse with the Europeans at this military station.

"13th.—I visited in the morning the schools of Dhapoolie and Jilgaum. In the first of these I found twenty-four boys and one girl. Few of them could read. The teacher, like too many of those supported by the Scottish Missionary Society, appears to confine his chief attention to writing and arithmetic, which are taught according to a very careless system. In the second I found fourteen boys. A proper proportion of them were able to read. In the course of the day I preached to the natives, and distributed a considerable number of tracts.

"14th.—I travelled between Dhapoolie and Hurnee.

"15th.—I preached in the forenoon and evening to the Europeans, and in the afternoon to the natives. The English services were attended by several of the officers from Dhapoolie and the commander of the Konkan Division of the Army."

So the work of preaching, examining, and teaching goes on daily, all the month, till his removal to Bombay. We have, in what follows, the beginning of those tours, and discourses with natives of all classes, which gave Mr. Wilson at once his extraordinary influence and his vast stores of information regarding the people of the country.

"18th November.—I left Hurnee early in the morning, and, along with W. M. Webb, Esq., rode to Punch-nuddee.



“The country through which we passed is very beautiful. The scenery is variegated, and it is distinguished by numerous hills and valleys which are covered with trees and jungle shrubs, and which present a verdure very delightful to the eye. We arrived at Punch-nuddee at half-past 8 o'clock. As our porters had not come up, we found at first no place on which to repose ourselves. We procured, however, some bunches of straw which we spread in the veranda of the temple in which we intended to sleep during the night, and which served as couches. I spent the most of the day in addressing the natives who came to the temple, in preaching in the village, and in distributing tracts. I had the fullest discussion with a Brahman, who stayed with me for about three hours, on the subject of religion I have yet enjoyed or witnessed. The following is an outline of part of our conversation ;—

I. ‘Do you make inquiries on the subject of religion?’

B. ‘Why should we make inquiries respecting religion?’

I. ‘When a man comes into the world his mind is filled with evil, and his face is turned towards hell. If he follow his evil inclinations, and make no inquiry about the way to heaven, he will meet with destruction.’

B. ‘Yes. When man is born there is nothing in his mind but lust, wrath, selfish affection, etc. Wisdom must be obtained.’

I. ‘Do you know the message which we declare in this country?’

B. ‘I know a little about it.’

I. ‘Our declaration is that all men need a Saviour.’ [A simple statement of Christian truth followed.]

B. ‘Your religion is good ; but other religions are good. Those who walk according to them will be saved.’

I. ‘The Christian religion is the only religion established and approved by God. Men, instead of “making merit,” make sin. The Christian religion is the only religion which offers a righteousness to man. Men are naturally unholy and unprepared to meet God ; the Christian religion alone affords a provision for the purification of man, and for his preparation for heaven.’

B. ‘The Hindoo religion is a good religion.’

I. ‘Tell me everything which you can say in its favour, and I will not interrupt you. I will then tell you something about Christianity, and you will not interrupt me. On what grounds do you believe that the Hindoo religion is of divine origin?’

B. (after much hesitation). ‘I will give you an illustration.’

I. ‘First give me a proof, and then give me an illustration.’

B. 'The Hindoo Shastres are written in Sanscrit. Sanscrit is the language of God. The Hindoo Shastres are therefore from God.'

I. 'Your proof has no weight. Sanscrit is not even the original language of mankind. In Sanscrit many false stories have been written, and many may be written. Have you no other proof to offer?'

B. 'No other.'

I. 'The evidences of Christianity are of two kinds, external and internal.' (Here a summary of them was given.)

B. 'God has endowed you with a great understanding; but our Shastres are proved by their prophecies as well as yours.'

I. 'Mention some of your prophecies which are like ours in their announcement and fulfilment.'

B. 'I do not remember any at present.'

I. 'I exhort you, believe in Christ.'

B. 'Your story is true; but, as I am a part of God, I know that I will be absorbed in the divine essence.'

I. 'You are not a part of God. God is perfectly holy; you are sinful. God is infinitely wise; you are limited in knowledge and understanding. Do you ever suffer mental affliction?'

B. 'I do.'

I. 'If your mind is a part of God, why does God afflict himself?'
(No answer.)

I. 'Your spirit will go to God after death, and be judged by God. If you believe in the Saviour you will go to heaven; if you do not believe you will go to hell.'

"This person returned to me late in the evening. I gave him some accounts of the contents of the Bible; and informed him that the chief story of the Old Testament was that the Saviour will come, and the chief story of the New was that the Saviour has come. One of the passages of the Bible which Mr. Webb and I read was Isaiah, 47th chapter. In the circumstances in which we were placed we felt its remarks on idol-worship with a power which we had never formerly experienced."

"29th November. Sabbath.—I commenced my ministry among the natives of Bombay by preaching to about twenty individuals in Mr. Laurie's house.

"30th.—I wrote out the scrawl copy of a plan of the operations which I intend to pursue in Bombay.

"1st *December*.—I purchased some furniture, made some fruitless inquiries about a house, and took farewell of the Rev. Mr. Graves previously to his departure to Ceylon for the benefit of his health. This learned, pious, and laborious missionary has been one of the greatest supporters of the cause on this side of India. His second edition of the Maratha New Testament, which he has just now completed, is a work of uncommon merit. It is distinguished by fidelity, great critical knowledge, and high attainment in the native language.

"2d.—I preached to a company of the natives on Colaba.

"3d.—I paid the usual respects to the Governor, who has welcomed me to Bombay in the kindest manner, and breakfasted with him; and, along with two of the members of the corresponding committee, looked at several empty houses.

"4th, 5th.—I spent these days in the purchase of furniture, and other similar business.

"6th. *Sabbath*.—I preached to the congregation of the Scotch Church in the forenoon; and to twenty-four natives in the afternoon.

"7th.—I wrote an advertisement of a short religious Magazine, which is intended principally to contain a record of the progress of the Gospel; and consulted with R. T. Webb, Esq., who, along with myself, Mr. Stone of the American Mission, and R. C. Money, Esq., a member of the corresponding committee, is to be one of the conductors of it, about some matters connected with it.

"13th. *Sabbath*.—I addressed twenty-two natives at Mr. Laurie's house.

"13th, 14th.—I engaged with Mr. Laurie in examining and transcribing the accompts of the Mission, and in preparing communications for the directors.

"15th.—I visited the house which has been taken for me; conversed with Narayan, who was baptized by Mr. Stevenson, and made arrangements concerning the Mission. In the



evening I heard the delightful intelligence that an order for the abolishment of Suttees throughout India had been passed by the Governor-General in Council. On account of this measure every Christian must rejoice—(1.) According to a moderate computation it will save three thousand lives annually. (2.) It will tend greatly to the improvement of the moral feelings of the Hindoos. What can be more shocking than the scenes which are witnessed at the funeral pile? Connected with them there is the violation of every principle of humanity, and the exhibition of the most sinful cupidity—the motive by which relations are commonly excited to the encouragement of the horrid deed. (3.) Its tendency will be that of opening the eyes of the Hindoos to the enormities of their religion. It is a testimony from the Government which was greatly needed; and the absence of which, combined with other circumstances, has, I have found, been viewed as an encouragement. When it has been for some time put in force, it will permit the Hindoos, with greater coolness and with less prejudice, to contemplate their Shastres, than at present when they see their most revolting recommendations reduced to practice. The Christian public are undoubtedly bound to return public thanks to Almighty God for the favour which in this respect He has shown to His cause.”

The Bombay Missionary Union, consisting of the London, Scottish, and American missionaries in Surat, Belgaum, the Konkan, Poona, and Bombay, afterwards addressed a formal resolution to Lord William Bentinck, accompanied by this letter from Mr. Wilson, as the secretary—“This resolution is a faint expression of the feelings of those who formed it. It was dictated by the most fervent gratitude, for the measure will immortalise the name of him who carried it into effect, and which will be fraught with unspeakable blessings to the inhabitants of India till the latest generation. The missionaries in the Bombay Presidency have already observed a day



of special thanksgiving to God for the abolition of Suttees, and they now beseech Him to shower down His best blessings on the head of your lordship, whom He has honoured to be the instrument of communicating an unspeakable blessing to this benighted land." This was the first-fruit of the determination of the noblest of all the Governors-General, who had been but a year in office, to put down with one hand all such crimes against humanity, while with the other he removed the obstacles to the progress of education worthy of the name. For a quarter of a century had the men of Serampore been vainly attacking the English Government's toleration and even encouragement of Suttee. When the new regulation prohibiting it reached Carey, as he was going into his pulpit on Sunday morning, he gave perhaps the most pregnant illustration of the teaching of the "Lord of the Sabbath," by at once sending for his pundit and completing the translation into Bengalee before night. So Mr. Marshman, his successor in the office of Bengalee translator, tells the story. It was a happy augury for Wilson's work that the news of this first blow at the crimes sanctioned by Brahmanism—and that directed according to the teaching of the purest toleration—should meet him as he began his career of philanthropy in Bombay. It was long till Suttee was abolished in the feudatory States, where he met with the horror more than once. But since the Mutiny no Chief, however powerful, has gone unpunished by the government of India who has even connived at a barbarity which the freed conscience of all India soon learned to condemn. No man, no poor drugged widow who may yet never have been a wife, dare light the Suttee's pyre with impunity in the most remote jungle of a native State, from still Brahman-ridden Travancore to the most fanatical hamlet of the deserts of Rajpootana.

In June 1830 we find Mr. Wilson writing thus to Dr. Cormack of Stow:—"We intend soon to take up the subject



of infanticide. Mr. Money (son of W. T. Money, Esq., Mr. Wilberforce's friend,) told me that he had some thoughts of memorialising the Supreme Government. Lord W. Bentinck, you know, has abolished Suttee; and there is no saying what he may do. A Jain priest from Kathiawar, who knew General Walker, is almost daily with me. He speaks very affectionately of him; but he says that they have allowed the good *bandobast* (arrangement) which was made, to go to destruction. I shall give you an account of the movements on this subject."

The closing weeks of the year 1829 were spent in the organisation of the infant mission, in daily preaching to the natives, in Sunday sermons to the British sailors in the harbour for whom Mr. Wilson always cared, and in the Scotch Church. Till Christmas he was the guest of the chaplain Mr. Laurie, at his house in the most southerly point of the peninsula, Colaba, itself a separate island at one time. The day after he moved into his own house in the Fort. This seems to record his first discussion with Parsees, and his first visit to a Hindoo house in Bombay.

"30th.—I engaged, with Mr. Allen, in preaching to the natives. . . . 31st.—Some Parsees, with whom we sat for a considerable time, reprobated the monuments in the English Church, and accused the English of idolatry. We had a very curious conversation with them on this subject. I was happy to inform them that in the Scotch Church there were no images. I deeply regret that there should be any occasion for mistake on this and similar subjects. Christianity cannot be presented to the heathen in too simple a form. Every practice should be warranted by Scripture; this is the only safe principle. I preached for the first time in a Hindoo house. My audience was larger than could be accommodated."

On the same ground Bishop Cotton long after opposed the introduction of a reredos with figures into St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, where it was placed after his death; defending his

prohibition on the ground of expediency, however, by the fact that certain Sikh inquirers had been scandalised by the figures in the painted glass windows of some of the Government churches. The varied character of his work Mr. Wilson thus sums up at this early period :—

“28th January 1830.—My engagements have been so numerous and oppressive that I have had no disposition, and scarcely any time, to make even the shortest entrances in my journal. I will, therefore, give a general statement of the arrangements which I have made, and on which I am now acting, and of one or two measures which have been carried into effect. On Sabbaths I preach to a congregation of natives amounting to between forty and fifty. About the half of them are servants, who are sent by their masters for instruction. The remainder are principally led to attend from curiosity, or from a regard to their worldly interests. Christ himself was called to address those who followed Him from a view to the loaves and fishes. I occasionally officiate in the Scotch Church, and once in the three weeks I preach on board one of the vessels in harbour in connection with the Bombay Seamen’s Friend Association.

“I regularly conduct worship in the Marathee language, and deliver a short address on some passage of Scripture at nine o’clock in the mornings at my own house. My audience varies ; but on some occasions it has been encouraging. At four o’clock in the afternoons I proceed to the streets of the city to declare the glad tidings of salvation. When I am in a public situation great numbers come around me ; and when I am in a private one, I have the advantage of being heard by all those who see me, and of addressing myself with greater particularity to individuals. On Tuesdays and Fridays I preach, after the sun is set, in native houses. My services on these occasions, though attended with many difficulties, afford me considerable comfort. They are conducted at the time when the impure shastres and religious stories are read to the people. On account of the want of circulation of air in the houses they are not without their danger. I hope, however, that by-and-bye I will be able to find some places where I may regularly officiate with some degree of comfort. On Saturday evenings I have a meeting with the Beni-Israelites. It has hitherto proved encouraging. Marathee is the vernacular language of this people.

“Three female schools have been instituted by Mrs. Wilson. The progress of the pupils is far from being encouraging. Much patience,

attention and consideration will be required to bring them into such a state as will warrant the hope that they will be useful auxiliaries in the mission. The degraded state of those of whom they are composed forms a sufficiently powerful motive for exertion in their behalf. Manuel, who was lately admitted into the Church, is constantly engaged as an inspector. A more regular attendance and efficient discipline, and consequently stricter economy, are secured by this means than could possibly be obtained by another measure. The children are as frequently visited by Mrs. Wilson as her health will permit; and the readers will be required at least once in the week to attend at the house for particular instruction.

"I have established two boys' schools, which, as far as is practicable, are conducted on the principles pursued in the Sessional School of Edinburgh. I have been much disappointed with regard to the number of scholars. The indigenous schools, and the schools of the Native Education Society, are so arranged in Bombay, I find, as to prevent the collecting of any very large number of boys in connection with any of the missions. I do not, however, despair of seeing an improvement. When the discipline of my schools is better understood, and when its fruits become apparent, and when the hostility of neighbouring teachers begins to cool, I expect to see an increase in the number of scholars. Pedro is employed as inspector. One of the schools is under my own roof.

"In connection with my labours some pleasing circumstances have occurred. A Veishya, who is engaged by me as a schoolmaster, and who had daily opportunities of hearing the gospel, about a fortnight after he entered into the service of the mission began to shew signs of seriousness. He commenced the perusal of the Scriptures, and diligently perused them when he could find leisure. I frequently heard him engaged in this exercise, and his tone indicated solemnity. I concluded from what I observed on several occasions that he wished to get private instruction from me; but as I thought the voluntary expression of his desire would enable me perhaps to throw some light on his character, I took no notice of what passed before me. In short time, however, he informed me that he wished to be considered as a religious inquirer, and solicited permission to attend me on the evenings. I cheerfully acceded to his proposal; and for the last six weeks he has regularly attended me. I am much pleased with his attention and progress, and the modesty of his professions. I have not yet considered it proper to speak to him on the subject, because it is comparatively easy for a person under the influence of strong impressions, which may

prove not to be the work of the divine Spirit, to consent to any proposals which may be made on this subject; and because, when the general deceitfulness of the Hindoo is considered it appears necessary, if a wish is entertained to preserve the Church in a state of purity, to give to all catechumens a longer time of probation than may be necessary in other circumstances.

“A few weeks ago a Brahman was executed for murder. I had an opportunity of attending him in the jail, and conversing with him on the subject of religion. As he did not perfectly understand Marathee I asked the assistance of Captain Molesworth and Lieutenant Candy, who addressed him in Hindee. He appeared to be a good deal affected with divine truth; and, apparently under its influence, he destroyed his string, and constituted Messrs. Candy, Birdwood, and myself the guardians of his child, which he wished to be educated in the Christian faith. On the day previous to his death, however, he was led to borrow another string. When we observed it upon him we remonstrated with him. He said that he was led to wear it in order that his body might be burned by his caste; that he put no trust in it; and that we could not deprive him of the faith in the Saviour, which had been imparted to him. As he was about to enter into the eternal world we thought it proper to occupy his time by directly communicating instruction to him. He died calling on the name of Jesus; and left us in such a state of hope as warranted us to say that *perhaps* he was a believer.

“I lately had some intercourse with a very intelligent member of the Romish Church from the south of India, and very free discussion respecting the apostasy of the body to which he belonged. I have reason to believe that my instructions were blessed to him. When leaving Bombay he expressed his horror at most of the abominations of Popery, his determination to read and study the Scriptures for himself, and his eagerness to correspond with me on the subject of religion. He requested some bibles and tracts for distribution, and offered to translate into Portuguese any tract (on the corruptions of the Romish Church) which I might compose. He was greatly benefited by the intercourse which he had with Pedro Lewis.

“I have a monthly meeting with some European soldiers. There is every reason to believe that in connection with them the divine blessing has rested on my labours.

“I have been a good deal tried by the conduct of Narayan Shunekur, who was baptized in May last by Mr. Stevenson. He has on more than one occasion shown great aversion to religious ordinances and re-



ligious instruction. He is engaged as a printer with Captain Molesworth, who lives in my neighbourhood, and his attendance on me has not accorded with his opportunities. Pedro and Manuel give me great satisfaction. The latter individual has commenced the study of Marathee.

“A young gentleman in the Civil Service of the Company who was brought under serious impressions during our voyage to India, makes a decided profession of Christianity ; and, in the judgment of his pious acquaintances, *adorns* the doctrine of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I could mention some other facts of a similar nature, which I have no doubt would prove highly gratifying to you. Many reasons, however, will occur to you which will lead you to perceive the propriety of my not mentioning them to you. A weekly meeting is held at my house for prayer and conference on the Scriptures ; the average attendance is that of sixteen ladies and gentlemen.

“I am much pleased with Bombay as a missionary station, and when I reflect on the great door of usefulness which has been opened to me, I am much depressed with my insufficiency for the discharge of my duties. The real difficulties of a missionary's life are little known and felt by the religious public. To encounter them and overcome them, much faith, courage, compassion, wisdom, perseverance, and prayerfulness is required. ‘Can these dry bones live?’ is a question which thrusts itself upon me whenever I am about to deliver the message of salvation. The countenances of my auditors betray pride, stupidity, superstition, unconcern. My addressing them calls forth wrath, folly. My leaving them affords them an opportunity of giving vent to their evil dispositions. When I repeat my visits to them then I see little but aversion. Circumstances are not always of this kind, for there is frequently attention, consideration, and impression manifested by the poor Hindoos ; but, when general circumstances are considered, it may be asked ‘who is sufficient for these things?’ Were it not the consideration that we are ambassadors for Christ, that the people around us are perishing for lack of knowledge, that the Word and Spirit of God are omnipotent, and that the promises of God are on our side, I do not know what could support us or induce us to declare divine truth. There are, I am happy to say, very promising appearances in different parts of India. In due season we shall reap if we faint not.”

The experience of country and city, of preaching and teaching, of creeds and customs, all based on familiarity with the Marathee tongue, which Mr. Wilson had thus crowded



into the first year of his life in Western India, fitted him to line out a policy for himself, and to lay the foundations of his mission deep and broad. He was saved from the errors of his predecessors, and in confidential communications to the Society at home he did not hesitate to exercise that independence of judgment and of action which he had claimed from the first, and without which much that was unique in his powers and his methods might have been lost to Bombay in the uniform level of average work. In this passage of such a letter to the secretary of the Society he anticipates, at that early date, the mistake which many missionaries have begun to avoid only in very recent years. That is, witness-bearing, rather than the mere denunciation or exposure of idolatry, is the key to the hearts and consciences of the natives of India.

"In reference to the mode of addressing the natives pursued by my brethren, I have been led to entertain and express the deepest regrets. With one exception, as far as I can form a judgment, they are too frequently inclined to speak on the folly of idolatry; and to neglect the preaching of the unsearchable riches of Christ; and to present divine truth to the minds of the heathen in any manner which is destitute of solemnity. I know that their temptations to pursue this course are great. It is the easiest; it excites the feelings of the hearer without any difficulty. It is, however, unprofitable; and I believe that it is one of the chief reasons of the comparatively small success of modern missions. It is deceitful; a missionary falls into it without his being aware of it, and perseveres in it at the very time when he declares that an opposite course is his duty and his aim. It tempts to the use of inconclusive arguments; it excites a thousand unprofitable objections; produces a bad impression on the heathen, and destroys a missionary's temper. It is the bane of our Mission, and, I believe, is the great cause of the comparatively small success of modern missions.

“The preparations which are made for addressing the heathen are not so regular and extensive as could be wished for. This, I believe, originated in a great degree in the distraction which was produced by the charge of too many schools; and it is persevered in more from the manner in which the labours are arranged and conducted than from indolence. On this account, however, it ought not to be overlooked. When united with an incorrect pronunciation, proceeding from a want of attention in the early stage of study, or from carelessness on the part of the pundits, and with a violation of the rules of concord, on which the Marathas lay great stress, it forms a serious evil. . . .

“I thank God for enabling me to make much greater progress in Marathee than I expected. I fear, however, that I may have in some degree injured my health. As I did not feel the climate so irksome as I expected, my attention was not directed to this subject till a few weeks ago I received a letter from Mr. Robson, the author of *St. Helena Memoir*, who has been residing at Hurnee, and I found some pain in the region of my heart.” It was from that region that his fatal illness proceeded.

The financial affairs of the Scottish Missionary Society were, for local purposes, managed by a corresponding committee, chiefly of laymen, at Bombay. After some hesitation whether he should not begin operations at Poona, that committee had agreed with Mr. Wilson that he should remain in the capital. “I desire,” he wrote to the directors at home, “to express my deep-felt gratitude for calling me to labour in a large town. It is evident that cities afford peculiar facilities for missionary exertion. The Acts of the Apostles lead us to conclude that in the Apostolical age the efforts of the servants of Christ were chiefly directed to them, and from this consideration the word ‘pagan’ came to be applied to the heathen.” He accordingly drew up, at the end of 1829, the “Plan of opera-



tions which I intend to pursue in the island of Bombay." He accompanied it by detailed regulations for the monitors or pupil teachers, the masters, and the Christian inspectors of his schools. The whole scheme shows a rare foresight as well as the practical experience of the educationist; and it has, indeed, been carried out in more recent times, in most of its principles, in the village circle, and other primary vernacular schools established by the various governments in India by means of a school-rate.

"In discharging the duties of my office, I shall devote my undivided attention to the work of preaching among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ. The different classes of the native community, as far as I have the power of addressing them, I shall consider as the objects of my ministry. In endeavouring to bring before them the gospel of salvation I shall direct my chief efforts to the work of personally declaring to them the truths of Scripture. I propose to have a regular service at my own house in the mornings, with a view to the instruction of my domestics, and of such individuals as may be induced to attend. I propose, in the afternoons, to address the natives in the streets of the city; and in the evenings, after the sun is set, to deliver prepared discourses, during three days of the week, in such of the native houses as I may be able to engage for that purpose. The last-mentioned arrangement, though it is novel, appears to me to be particularly calculated for usefulness. It will be conducted at a time when the natives can with peculiar facility be attracted together, and in a manner which will prevent the frequent interruptions with which a missionary is disturbed.

"With a view to suiting my labours to the circumstances of the young, and in the hope of conciliating their parents and introducing the gospel into their private circles, I intend to devote a share of my attention to Christian schools. I propose—exclusive of a Portuguese school, which I may be able to establish—to form two such institutions, capable of containing each about 200 boys; and to conduct them on the principles which have been so well illustrated by John Wood, Esq., Advocate, in the Sessional School of Edinburgh, and which have been introduced into some of the most respectable seminaries in Scotland. By confining myself to the number now stated, and by conducting them in the manner proposed, I hope to be able to exercise a vigilant super-



intendence over them, frequently to address the children, to prevent heathen practices in them ; and I cherish the belief that, by the divine blessing, the object which a missionary society ought ever to have in view may be in some degree accomplished by them. For conducting the business of them, it will be necessary to appoint a head master for each of them, and instructed monitors for each class, who shall receive a small pay ; and for preventing deception, and securing their Christian character, it will be expedient to appoint an inspector in whom I can trust, and who will report to me the deviations from the rules which may be laid down for their government. Hindoo teachers can easily be procured. For monitors I intend, in the first instance, to apply to the American Mission. I have two individuals in view who will be suitable as inspectors. According to a calculation which has been made, the expense of maintaining these office-bearers will allow education to be conducted at a rate which is somewhat cheaper than in the generality of mission schools in the west of India. Female education will receive all that attention which circumstances will permit. The circulation of the Scriptures and tracts, and those opportunities of usefulness which though not of a stated, are of a highly important nature, will of course be attended to in their proper order.

“Circumstances may suggest a modification of my present plans, or prevent, in some degree, their being carried into execution. I trust, however, that my principles will not be lost sight of.”¹

“REGULATIONS framed for the Management of the Schools,
drawn up on 7th December 1829.

“*Monitors.*—1. No person shall be employed as a monitor who has not made considerable progress in his education. 2. Every monitor shall receive a small sum as a remuneration for his labours. 3. The monitors shall be regularly instructed by the missionary in the tasks which they will be required to teach. 4. The duties of the monitors shall be to facilitate and secure the acquisition of the tasks, and to examine their pupils respecting their meaning. 5. All difficulties respecting terms, sentences, or allusions, which occur to the monitors, and which cannot be solved by the master or inspector, shall be carefully marked and stated to the missionary.

¹ It was in 1791 that, as Southey describes, the Madras chaplain Dr. Andrew Bell developed, from the simple custom of the native school children writing on the sand with their fingers, the whole monitorial and intellectual system of instruction which became so famous.



“*Master*.—1. No person shall be employed in this situation who is a Gooroo (priest) in any temple, who does not promise to give a true statement of the object of the schools to parents and others interested in them, and who does not bind himself to abstain from teaching heathenism, and to comply with the directions which may be given to him. 2. The pay of the master shall, as far as possible, depend on the number of children, the regularity of their attendance, and their progress in education. 3. The duties of masters shall be to superintend and instruct the monitors, to exercise discipline, and to use every lawful endeavour to advance the interests of the schools.

“*Inspector*.—1. Every inspector shall be a professing Christian. 2. Inspectors shall be required to remain in the schools during the usual hours of teaching, to mark the attendance, to prevent heathen practices, to report all deviations from the rules, and to use their endeavours by visitation or otherwise, to induce the adult population to attend the evening services which may be conducted with a view to their benefit.

“JOHN WILSON.”

Of the eight members of the corresponding committee at that time, all became the fast friends of Mr. Wilson, and all were distinguished by their high character as officials and merchants. Besides the Scotch chaplains there were the Hon. Mr. Farish, who officiated for some time as Governor; Mr. R. T. Webb of the same civil service; Mr. R. C. Money, Persian secretary to government, whose name is perpetuated by a missionary institution; Dr. Maxwell of the Medical Board; Dr. Smyttan, who became Mr. Wilson's most intimate friend; and Mr. McGrigor. With friends and scholars like Captain Molesworth and Captain Candy, Mr. Hynd from Liverpool, and the various missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson soon became the centre of that gradually extending society of thoughtful and cultured persons into which, in time, he was to introduce the native gentlemen of the city. As indispensable to such varied and aggressive work as he had undertaken, Mr. Wilson had originated the oldest Christian periodical in India, the *Oriental Christian Spectator*. The now rare sets of this monthly magazine, which was continued



for thirty years, form an invaluable record of progress in all forms in Western India and the adjoining countries. In that appeared the literary fruits of Wilson's ceaseless labours of every kind.

Thus far the missionary policy of Mr. Wilson does not seem to have included a high class English school or college. The central school of the Native Education Society professed to provide for the increasing number of Hindoos and Parsees who sought English for commercial or official use; and the scheme given above provided for the Portuguese. As yet Lord William Bentinck had not moved, Macaulay had not taken his seat in council as first law member, and Dr. Duff was only making his way to Calcutta through the perils of repeated shipwreck. But Mr. Wilson had early taken steps "to begin instructing the natives in the English language." A letter from his friend Mr. R. C. Money to the Governor, written on the 4th August 1831, called forth this reply from Lord Clare, showing that almost everything remained to be done :—

"DAPPOORIE, *August 20th, 1831.*

"MY DEAR SIR—A variety of business has prevented me from sooner acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 4th of this month. At present to begin instructing the natives in the English language would appear a world of infinite labour and difficulty, and I should like to learn whether any and what progress has been made in the schools already established towards giving them any such knowledge. I apprehend there are at present so few teachers who know English it would be very difficult indeed even to make a beginning. I went through the government Institution lately at Poona, and though the boys had made a wonderful progress in arithmetic, and even mathematics, neither they nor their instructor spoke one word of our language. I do not know how you are provided in this respect in the schools at Bombay, and unless instruction in the English language is made a necessary part of every boy's education, who is brought up in every seminary patronised by government, but little progress will be made.

"Much has been done in the way of education since then in most



parts of India, but we must not attempt too much at first. That is a subject, however, which merits consideration ; at present I confess I do not see how to make even a beginning.

"You are quite right, I believe, in what you say respecting infanticide in Kutch. That horrid practice has hardly been even checked, and after all our endeavours we have done but little towards reforming, I believe, the most unprincipled and profligate race in India. Threats and exhortations have been equally disregarded, but we must not be discouraged. The abolition of Suttee was at one time believed to be almost impracticable.

"I hear Mr. Elphinstone's portrait is very ill placed. I wish it were in the Town Hall.—Yours, my dear Sir, faithfully,

"CLARE"

It was on the 29th March 1832 that the germ of what became the General Assembly's Institution was established as the "Ambrolie English School, connected with the Scottish Mission." "This infant institution," as it is described in the first year's report, was under the immediate eye of Mr. Wilson as its superintendent. Books as well as teachers had to be created for it, such as Marathee and Goojaratee translations of the *English Instructor*, the Catechism, and Dr. A. Thomson's text-books, and a work entitled *Idiomatrical Exercises in English and Marathee*, "to aid the natives in understanding the structure and vocables of the English language." In the first year the school was attended by 415 Hindoos and 3 Parsees. Fees were exacted, and the Christian character of the education was insisted on from the first. The highest prize was a sum of fifty rupees (£5) for the best essay on the spirituality of God, open to those youths "who attended the Wednesday evening lectures of the Rev. John Wilson."

The population of Bombay, according to the census of 1833, consisted of 18,376 Christians, principally Roman Catholics; 143,298 Hindoos, including Jains; 49,928 Muhammadans, with Arabs and Persians; 20,184 Parsees, and 2,246 Jews, including native or Beni-Israelites. The total population, or 234,032, was slightly above that to which Edinburgh and



Leith together have grown at the present time. Such was Mr. Wilson's field, and it was to go on increasing threefold as his labours for the good of its varied communities extended.

Calcutta and Bombay, Eastern and Western India, presented, in their native communities, needs which were supplied from the first by the systems of Duff and Wilson. These differed indeed in the priority of time and importance given to certain methods of operation, but they all the more effectually secured the same great end of saturating Asiatic society and government progress with Christian truth conveyed by the most intellectual methods. Duff's instrument was the English language, and it was at first applied exclusively to boys and young men. Wilson's instrument was the vernaculars of a varied population—the Marathee, Goojaratee, Hindostanee, Hebrew, and Portuguese; with Persian, Arabic, and Sanscrit in reserve for the learned classes. These he acquired and fluently used, often in provincial dialects too, in a few years, in preaching and in teaching both girls or women, and boys or young men. But the Calcutta missionary no more neglected Bengalee and even Sanskrit as his college developed, or female education as society advanced in intelligence, than his great Bombay colleague was indifferent to English. It was a happy adaptation of the men to the conditions, which indeed helped to make them what they became, that English held the first place with the one, and a purified Orientalism was long the most important weapon of the other. Looking back half a century, those who know the social and spiritual state of both Eastern and Western India may fancy that a fuller adoption of Orientalism in the former, and an earlier use of English for the highest instruction in the latter, would have been better for both the missions, and for the advancement of India. But that is only to forget that such an arrangement would have paralysed Duff in his fight beside Macaulay, with the fanatical orientalist party in the government, without



whose defeat progress of any kind would have been impossible; while it would have long postponed, if it did not altogether change, that hold which Wilson obtained on the affections and the intellect of the native communities, which was due to his oriental lore and his more than Asiatic courtesy and grace. In truth, the historian of British India who can estimate causes aright, will put side by side with Duff's opening of the boys' English school in Calcutta in August 1830, the establishment of Mrs. Wilson's first of many female schools in Bombay in December 1829. Both were seeds which have already grown into great trees. Each represented that side of civilisation without which the other becomes pernicious. Each reacted on the other. Every succeeding generation of young men demands educated women in increasing numbers. These bring up better instructed children; and in instances no longer rare, present the spectacle, unknown to Asia all through its history, of pure and happy family life. Mrs. Wilson's organisation and management of the female schools, her frequent contributions to the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, and her superintendence of the mission during her husband's absence on preaching tours, were interrupted only for a time by the birth of four children, of whom two sons survive.

Although thus carefully laying the foundations of his missionary policy and machinery, and well aware that for many a day his must be a work of preparation, Mr. Wilson from the first expected and worked for baptised converts. He did not lose himself in his system, nor did he loftily or vaguely look for a harvest from the seed he was hourly sowing, only in the distant future. He rather tested, improved, and extended his system, by the assured belief that the Divine Spirit would show immediate or speedy fruit such as his few predecessors had not witnessed in Western India. He was a man to make and follow his own policy, not theirs; while he was too wise and kindly to neglect their experience. So he



formed a native church in Bombay in February 1831, two years after landing, and a year after evangelising the island. He thus announces the fact, to his father, himself an elder of Lauder Kirk, and familiar with the ecclesiastical organisation : "I formed a native church on Presbyterian principles. Eight members joined it; and I administered the Lord's Supper to them and to some Europeans." The draft minute of this transaction, the beginning of a church which he watched and helped till it grew to be the vigorous body it now is, worshipping in its own fine ecclesiastical building, has a peculiar interest as a contribution to these modern "Acts of the Apostles." In the half century since those days, when the number of the Protestant native church in India, in all its branches, has grown to be above the third of a million, and is increasing annually, according to the official census, at the rate of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, contrasted with the half per cent of Hindoos, all the foreign missionaries have long since agreed that the Church of India must, as it grows to support itself more largely, determine its own organisation, free from the divisions of the western sects and historical creeds. This too was Mr. Wilson's view; but in 1831 what so well fitted as presbytery for the infant church?—

"Bombay, 4th February 1831.

"This day, in the house of the Rev. John Wilson, minister of the gospel in connection with the Church of Scotland, and missionary from Scotland, amongst some converted Hindoos and others a native church was formed. John Wilson, the servant of Jesus Christ, stated that he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel by the Presbytery of Lauder on 6th May 1828; that he was ordained to the office of the ministry in the same place on 24th June 1828, and that he arrived in India on the 13th February 1829. Mr. Wilson baptized on the 2d of January in his own house Heer Chund, Ransod, Saha Wanee, and Dewukee, a Hindoo woman. He also declared worthy of communion on the same day John Rennie Baptist, an African by descent, who had been baptized in his youth. On the 17th January 1831, he baptized Raghoba Balajee Weishya. Along with these Margaret Bayne Wilson, the

spouse of Mr. Wilson, who had been married to him in 1828; Rama Chundra, formerly a Brahman, who had been baptized at Bankote in 1829, Narayan, formerly a Shenavee, who had been baptized in Bombay in 1829, and Manuel Gomes, a Roman Catholic, who had come into the true church in 1830. All these persons having declared that they were willing to unite in church fellowship, Mr. Wilson proceeded to explain the nature of church order and fellowship. He said that on these subjects the Holy Scriptures were the only infallible guide; and these Scriptures, in several passages which he read, taught there were persons who ruled and persons who were ruled. The persons who ruled in the Church were of two kinds, elders and deacons."

After a detailed explanation of the Presbyterian organisation, the minute concludes—"All the persons having approved of these statements, Mr. Wilson, in the name of Christ, by prayer constituted them into a church. They agreed to recognise him as their minister, and he gave them suitable instruction. On the 6th of February the Lord's Supper was administered to the church. Mr. Webb and a converted Hindoo participated along with the members. The son of Rama Chundra was baptized by Mr. Wilson in the presence of the Rev. John Stevenson and Raghoba Balajee." Mr. Webb was the Civilian who became soon after a member of the government.

Up to 1831 the registration of the baptisms of native converts had been made in the book of the kirk-session of the chaplains in Bombay. In all forty-two persons had thus been admitted to the church by the Scottish missionaries in the Konkan. Mr. Wilson at once saw the necessity of separate registers for converts, as congregations should be formed and the native church be extended. Writing to his colleagues, who immediately agreed with him, he thus with his usual foresight and faith contemplated the future: "Converts to the Christian religion are in the present state of the law wholly anomalous, and, as far as they are concerned, it matters not where their baptisms are registered. Nay, there may arise a



great evil from the insertion of their names in the list referred to (that of the Scotch Kirk); when the government begin to legislate there is nothing more probable than that they will ask 'What has been your custom?' When we tell them that we have sent lists of baptisms at Bombay, Poona, Bankote, Hurnee, Nehar, etc., to the kirk-session at Bombay, they will probably say 'Very well, gentlemen, go on in that way;' and this dooms the native churches for ages to the greatest inconvenience and much expense. Would it not be better for us *ab origine* to keep registers of our own in connection with the respective native congregations?" Thus the organisation of a church followed, in its simplicity and its power, the model of the first gathering of the Eleven in the upper room at Jerusalem, and their successors.

Not so thought the small body, though chiefly Presbyterian ministers, who formed the executive of the Scottish Missionary Society. From the day that he entered their seminary when a student of twenty-one, he had stipulated for a degree of independence which their somewhat extreme rules seemed to forbid. He had hardly landed in India when he found that his colleagues were engaged in a controversy with the directors, the management of which soon fell into his hands. In June 1830 we find him writing to Dr. Cormack of Stow in all the frankness of friendship:—"Our directors in St. John Street have lately sent out to my brethren some very alarming communications. They do not recognise our Presbyterian principles and our ordination vows, and they wish to bring us under a spiritual tyranny. I am sure that you and other worthies of the Church will keep a watch upon them." The controversy we may now speedily dispose of. It was the old one between a strong man—strong in intelligent devotion to his work, and a weak committee—weak by reason of distance from the new condition of things in question, and of the reduction of the strongest among them to the low level of



routine uniformity. From the treatment that nearly broke the heart of Carey and his colleagues, against which Andrew Fuller and John Foster in vain protested, down to the present hour, committees have been only necessary evils when interfering with wiser men than themselves. In the infancy of Missions discretion and charity were especially required on the part of distant directors. Practically it was found that the rules of the Scottish Missionary Society so acted as to clash with the standing and the conscientious duties of the missionaries as ordained ministers of the Church of Scotland.¹ The missionaries, if they were to be merely the paid employés of a committee responsible to an undefined body of contributors, would lose the protection and the efficiency which the perfect representative system of their Church gave them, in common with all its members and office-bearers.

In August 1830, accordingly, Mr. Wilson printed and sent to each of the directors, and to his own friends, a "Memorial addressed to the Directors of the Scottish Missionary Society on their opposition to the practice of Presbytery by the Presbyterian Missionaries." It is a bold and trenchant document, showing a far-sighted regard for the good and the growth of the native church, yet free from all sectarianism in spirit. The result was a reply offering a compromise, under which the Society and its Bombay missionaries, reduced to Messrs. Wilson, Nesbit, and J. Mitchell, worked together for a time.

¹ The somewhat similarly constituted London Missionary Society, which was almost as presbyterian in its early directors and missionaries as the Scottish Society, showed much more wisdom both then and since. Mr. Wilson seems to have been aided in the controversy by this wise regulation, which he took from the printed instructions of the London Missionary Society to their missionaries among the heathen :—"Should a Christian Church be formed from among those who have been converted by your instrumentality, we have merely to remind you that the fundamental principle of our society leaves the external form and constitution of that Church entirely to their and your choice. To the Word of God alone your attention on these subjects will be directed."—Extracted from the copy of the Rev. Josiah Hughes of Malacca, 1830.



But as the Society's funds declined, and the female schools especially became imperilled, in spite of the growing local support in Bombay itself, the directors began to see that their missionaries had been right. The Church of Scotland had meanwhile been sending out its own agents, Duff, Mackay, and Ewart, to Calcutta, by means of the India Mission Committee, of which Mr. Wilson's old Professor, Dr. Brunton, was the convener. Before the General Assembly of 1835, accordingly, there was laid a petition from its ministers who were missionaries, and also from the chaplains in Bombay and Poona, which resulted in their transfer from the Society to the Church in its corporate capacity. Thus officially did Mr. Wilson begin with Dr. Brunton a correspondence which continued till 1843. The letter reflects the progress made by the Mission in the first six years of its existence :—

“Bombay, 3d October 1835.

“MY DEAR SIR—Three weeks ago I had the pleasure of receiving your letter dated the 29th April last, and I am truly grateful to you for the kindness of the feelings with which you received our petition for the transference of our mission to the General Assembly, and the zeal and promptitude with which you have prosecuted its objects. Should our now united wishes be accomplished, as I fervently trust they will, I hope that the relation in which we shall stand to one another will be one of mutual satisfaction and comfort : and that our combined exertions at home and abroad will, by the divine blessing, minister greatly to the advancement of that kingdom which is paramount in the council of heaven, and which is the highest exhibition of God's glory and grace to created intelligence. Than the Church of Scotland there is no body to which, from an admiration of its doctrines and constitution, we can possibly be more attached ; in whose wisdom and deliberation we can more implicitly trust ; whose zeal, when directed to the heathen world, we can view as promising to be more efficient ; and whose polity we can conceive to be a greater blessing to a Church newly forming in a country hitherto covered with moral darkness. Than Bombay and the north-west of India, on the other hand, there is no place in the world where the Church of Scotland may more advantageously labour, and where more important results may, in God's own



time, be confidently anticipated. We have a capital which contains a population of Hindus, Mussulmans, Parsees, and Jews, in many respects the most inviting, and which, from its geographical situation and mercantile importance, is frequented by people of all the Indian and other Asiatic nations, and of several tribes of Africa, and from which as from a centre the Gospel may radiate in all directions. We have here the head-quarters of Hinduism, for the Maharashtra Brahmans take the precedence at Benares and through the whole of India for their learning and influence. We have a people whose energy, before it was subdued by the superior skill and prowess of our countrymen, was felt throughout the length and breadth of the land, and which, when it receives a holy direction, may be expected to be instrumental in accomplishing great good. We have also the advantage of having commenced our labours, and done not a little in the acquisition of languages, the study of the different systems of superstition, the preparation of books, the establishment of schools, and the preaching of the Gospel to facilitate our future labours. We have many opportunities for correspondence with Calcutta, where the General Assembly has already a most flourishing and promising mission, and we could co-operate with our brethren there to no inconsiderable extent.

“But I must now reply to your query. It is difficult to form an estimate of the probable amount of the permanent contributions to our mission in India. Last year the receipts of the Bombay Auxiliary Society amounted to Rs. 9400 ; of the English School for natives under my superintendence to Rs. 1000 ; and of one of the female schools formed by my dearest wife, who has lately entered into the joy of her Lord, to Rs. 700. There is not the prospect of a falling off in the Auxiliary this year. An increase of contributions to the English school I so confidently expect, that, in addition to its present establishment, I have engaged a European as a teacher for it on a salary of Rs. 150 *per mensem*. The ladies of Bombay have resolved to continue to support the school for destitute native girls, and to associate with it among the natives the remembrance of her who was its devoted founder. Ten thousand rupees may be stated as the annual sum which, in these various forms, will probably be given by our friends in this quarter. Independently of pecuniary contributions we not unfrequently receive from them essential aid in the prosecution of our duties. I may mention as an instance of this, that I experienced the greatest kindness from all the civil and military authorities, and from the native princes, during a journey which I lately accomplished through Goojarat, Kathiawar, and Kutch. I believe that, even with an extension of the



mission, we should not need more than two-thirds of our supplies from Scotland, and that *at present* an annual contribution of £1000, or £1200 from that quarter, would enable us to proceed vigorously."

Thus pleasantly was the last obstacle to Mr. Wilson's success removed, nor thereafter, either before or after the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, were his labours impeded by home interference. A new vigour was given to all the operations of the mission, and not least to the English college, to which, after their successful experience in Calcutta, the General Assembly's Committee directed special attention. Mr. Wilson removed it into the Fort, that is, into Bombay proper in those days, as "the situation is the most convenient for the most respectable natives, and in which there is no similar institution." He mentions the rent of the premises, Rs. 120 a month, as "very reasonable, considering the demand for houses in that part of the town." The fact is of economic interest in the light of the speculative mania of 1863-66, and of the present value of property there.

"We have commenced operations with every encouragement, and have now an attendance of 215 boys, who are taught on the intellectual system, and who are making gratifying progress both in literary and religious knowledge, which the parents were expressly informed by me, through the native papers, they would receive, and to the communication of which they have no objection. The pupils form a group as interesting as can be imagined as far as the variety of tribes is concerned. They have been drawn not only from the different classes of the Hindus, but from among the Parsees, Jains, Mussulmans, Jews, and native Christians; and their association together, independently of the instructions which they receive, cannot but have a powerful influence in removing those prejudices of caste which so much impede missionary operations in this country.

"The school is already indebted to me for as large a sum as I can conveniently advance, and I hope that the Assembly's Committee will be disposed, as soon as convenient, to appropriate for it the sum of £250 per annum, employing £50 for prize books, etc., to be purchased in Edinburgh, and giving me permission to draw upon them for the sum of £50 quarterly. I shall undertake to raise all other necessary



88

funds in India for the present, and that without making any encroachment on the ordinary income of the Auxiliary Society, which is already all most profitably employed. I shall feel truly grateful to you if you will procure, as you so kindly propose, the consent of the Committee to my being furnished with one of the Assembly's trained teachers from Calcutta. I am anxious to have such a person, not so much merely to support the intellectual system, which has been already so successfully introduced that the Rev. Mr. Taylor of Belgaum, after seeing it in operation, has determined to send to me the teacher of his school as an apprentice, but to give needed help in conducting its business, and to give me a feeling of security, that even though Mr. Payne should be induced to leave it for a more lucrative situation, or for any other cause, the whole burden of it should not be thrown upon me and the native assistant. Some of the books which we use in the school are the same as those used in the Assembly's Institution in Calcutta. Of three of them we had some time ago made translations both into Marathee and Goojaratee, which are now found to be very useful.

"Every economy will be studied in reference to the school in Bombay. Unless, however, every thing connected with it be arranged on a respectable scale, it will not, while the Native Education Society has such abundant resources from the government, be productive of much good. It is a subject of gratitude that the mission enjoys so much of the confidence of the natives as it actually does, and that even the very individuals who have so zealously but unsuccessfully come forward to the defence of the different systems of superstition, are on the most friendly terms with myself, and frequent in public and private intercourse with me. I lately finished a course of weekly lectures on the evidences and doctrines of natural and revealed religion, which I commenced three years ago. I have begun another course on the propagation of the gospel from the resurrection of Christ to the present day. On this course the *Durpun*, edited by a young Brahman, remarked — 'a great many natives were present at the first lecture. The course Mr. Wilson has now commenced cannot but be interesting to them, as not only bringing before them the *data* which must lead to the solution of the most important problem which can engage their attention, but as conveying to them most valuable information on the general history of the world, and the greatest moral revolutions which have taken place on the face of the globe. His avowed object is to *convert*; but he wishes in the first instance to *inform* and to afford the means of judging.'

"The state of my health is now such that I have felt warranted to



resume, though from my multifarious duties I cannot *daily* pursue it, my preaching in the native languages at places of public concourse. My audiences are extremely encouraging. The attendance at the stated services of the mission is greater than I have ever formerly witnessed it. I have seven candidates for baptism. The schools both for boys and girls, in which the native languages are taught, are in much the same state in which they were when I transmitted to you our annual report. I should regret exceedingly to see them diminished, as they are in every respect suitable to the circumstances of the lower orders, the 'poor to whom the gospel is preached,' and from whom the first body of converts may be probably raised in India, as well as in other countries. The English school will, I trust, soon furnish a superior class of teachers for them. I have placed in it one or two of their most promising pupils. Should the state of your funds render it necessary the Portuguese school may be suspended for the present without much injury to the usefulness of the mission.

"Though I fear that native missionaries, till they are raised from among the children of converts educated from their earliest days in Christianity and in a Christian atmosphere, will not, generally speaking, prove such efficient labourers as Europeans, and though I believe that we must first show them the example of an apostolic ministration, I enter *with my whole soul* into your views as to the adoption and devising of every practical measure for their training. It will be necessary that we, in conjunction with the chaplains, etc., should, as soon as possible, receive from the Assembly all the presbyterial powers vested in the section of the Church of Scotland at Calcutta. The sooner that we are in a state of complete organisation the better.

"I have received a very interesting letter from Mr. Mackay. I enter most cordially into the view which he states, that the experience of the two missions will be in many respects mutually advantageous. Mr. Duff's success in the organisation of presbyterial associations in Scotland is truly encouraging to us amidst all our trials and travail in India. The General Assembly in 1647 thus wrote—'Surely 'tis to be wished, that for defending the orthodox faith, both against popery and other heresies, as also for *propagating it to those who are without, especially the Jews*, a more tried and more firm consociation may be entered into. For the unanimity of all the churches as in evil 'tis of all things most hurtful, so, on the contrary side, in good it is most pleasant, most profitable, and most effectual.' I trust that this wish, in the comprehensive sense in which it is expressed, will ere long be realised. The internal spiritual riches of the Church of Scotland will not be



diminished, but increased by the most abundant external communication.

“My present salary, exclusive of house rent and travelling expenses, which are included in the general expense of the mission, but inclusive of an allowance for my two children, is £230 per annum. The experience of nearly seven years' residence in Bombay, the expense of which is more than one-third greater than that of out-stations, warrants me to say what both my missionary brethren and members of the corresponding committee of the Scottish Missionary Society, long ago urged me to state to my supporters, is inadequate to the comfort and usefulness in the Lord's work which it is desirable I should enjoy, and which, from private sources, I have hitherto enjoyed. I should like it raised to £250. I simply mention this circumstance because you have kindly asked me to be explicit as to the proposed expenditure.”

The total cost of the mission in 1836 was £1820, of which one-third was subscribed by the English residents. From first to last Mr. Wilson's income from the mission was insufficient for ordinary requisites, apart from those extensive tours and those social duties which he began to take upon himself, and which gradually became the secret of his power with native, even more than with English society. But nothing save an official demand from the Home Committee ever called forth a reference to his pecuniary affairs. On the contrary, he joyfully devoted such private resources as came to him in subsequent years, and such funds as his friends and admirers entrusted to him personally, to the one work of his life. Mr. J. Jordan Wilson, a wealthy friend of his youth, who was early attracted to him by his student-like zeal and by the belief that there was some slight bond of kinship between them, and above all by close spiritual ties, left him a legacy of a thousand pounds, half of which was for any missionary object he chose, and half for his private use. The letters to his Edinburgh agents, sent in reply to the news of the legacy, directed the expenditure of the whole amount in various ways for the Bombay Mission. The following letter to that gentleman shows how soon and thickly the cares of



the mission pressed upon his resources, and how manifold were his labours:—

“Bombay, 13th November 1830.

“MY DEAREST FRIEND—I have little leisure, and some of that is spent in connection with the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, which I regularly send to you, and the numbers of which must be viewed by you as letters, as they generally contain something which has proceeded from our own house. The *Spectator* is very extensively read in India; and there is reason to believe that it is accomplishing much good by diffusing information on the most important subjects. I trust that God will honour it in some degree to expose that monstrous system of iniquity, the Hindoo religion, and to aid the servants of the Saviour in proclaiming the gospel. You will see in the number for November, which I hope will soon reach you, a short paper by myself on the ‘Sanskrit and Marathee renderings of Theological Terms.’ I intend to follow up this most important subject, and to make such free remarks on the translations of the Scriptures into the Indian languages as I may conceive calculated to further their improvement. The paper which follows the article to which I refer, and entitled ‘Selected Sanskrit Shloks,’ is by a Mr. Law, a young gentleman of the Civil Service. He is a most extraordinary linguist. He was brought under serious impressions through our instrumentality during the voyage to India. He lately stayed a month with us, and we were much pleased with his Christian character. Our usefulness among Europeans, through the grace of our heavenly Father, continues to extend, particularly among the higher classes. The old serpent, by stirring up the opposition of bigots, has attempted to defeat and prevent our occasional labours among the sailors and soldiers; but he has failed. The true friends of the cause have rallied more closely around us, while our poor countrymen have more highly valued the word of life which they knew had been attempted to be taken from them.

“In your letter you express your wish that I had been connected with the General Assembly’s Institution at Calcutta. I think that it is calculated to be highly useful, and I wish it every success. I would remark, however, that colleges though they are admirable instruments in the *instruction* of Christians, are but clumsy instruments in the *making* or *conversion* of Christians. The preaching of the gospel is the grand means of propagating the gospel, and for every professor at present there should be at least twenty preachers. The Assembly’s operations will have a glorious effect on the Church at home. Mr. Duff,



whom they have sent out, is a pious young man, and he will, I am happy to say, preach as well as profess. He, like myself, has had toughly to fight, through the newspapers, for religious liberty. See the number of the *Spectator* for November, under the article headed 'Persecution of Hindoo Youth.' I have at present two Hindoos under my care, converts of our mission, whom I instruct with a view to their being admitted to the office of the ministry. I have now seven inquirers around me, of most of whom I entertain a favourable opinion. Five of them are Hindoos, three men and two women; one is an African, and one a Jew. I have great difficulty in instructing this last individual, as he can scarcely speak any other language than Arabic, of which I have a very slight knowledge. He is, however, learning Hindostanee and English.

"Permit me to make an appeal to your Christian sympathy. I know that to you I need to make no apology on this subject. There are many many poor people in Bombay in very wretched circumstances. About two hundred come to me every Monday morning for a little rice, and at that time I endeavour to administer to them the word of life. On Saturdays I preach to about six hundred of the same description of persons at the house of Captain Molesworth. For the relief of this class of persons a society, at my suggestion, has been lately formed, and I believe that their wants will be regularly and systematically relieved. There are other classes, however, for whom I have been able to do nothing, and their circumstances possess peculiar interest. They are persons who lose employment by inquiring into Christianity, or by embracing it; they are persecuted Christians (Armenians and Chaldeans), and Jews from Bussora, Bagdad, Tabreez, and other places, who come with the most heartrending accounts of Muhammadan tyranny; and they are poor Indian Roman Catholics. My heart is often pained by observing their wants; and I am not ashamed to say that we have relieved at times beyond our ability. You know that none of the Missionary Society funds can or ought to be applied to them. If you and some of the other friends of the Redeemer would in a *quiet* way raise a small sum for them, you would confer a blessing on the cause of humanity and Christianity. By informing me of the sum raised, I could act on the faith of getting it, and tell you how to appropriate it. I would furnish you with an account of the way in which it may be expended."

"My darling wife has six female schools, and she is useful in instructing female inquirers."



In this letter we see the germ of every side of the young missionary's work in and for Bombay, save only the English college. Experiences were soon to teach him that, for preaching and immediate fruit no less than in that wider work of preparation, the fruit of which comes plenteously after many days and has already begun so to come, the daily instruction of the most intellectual and influential youth by one to whom they become attached, is second to no other agency—is, indeed, for that class superior to all others. But even up to 1836 he had not learned, as he afterwards did, to perfect his own system of Christian aggression on the corrupting civilisations of the East, by the enthusiastic encouragement of the higher education through English. The following letter to Mr. J. Jordan Wilson, closes with a statement of spiritual truth, happily familiar enough now, but rare in Scotland forty years ago. It is the last of a long correspondence covering fifteen years, in which the younger man led the older to a cheerful peace and a joyous self-sacrifice for the cause of Christ. It is the first where we meet with allusions to a friendship with Dr. Duff, and an admiration for him none the less true and hearty because it was discriminating, which continued on both sides all through their Indian lives.

“Bombay, 7th July, 1836.

“You mention Mr. Duff's elevation to a Doctorship. He is well worthy of his honours, although *some* of his views on the economics of Christian missions are, in my opinion, erroneous. I have just remarked in a letter to a friend to-day as follows:—‘Dr. Duff's warm advocacy of the Calcutta Institution has been by far too *exclusive*. I rejoice in the prosperity of the Seminary, and wish it every support; but he ought not to have advocated its cause by disparaging the direct preaching of the gospel to the natives in their own languages by Europeans, and overlooked female education, and the general education of the natives *through the medium of their own tongues*, which form the readiest key to their hearts. The higher Institutions are well calculated to attract the higher classes of society, and to educate teachers and preachers. We must have a body of Christians, however, from which to *select* these



agents. For this body of Christians we must not mainly depend on our Academies. 'To the *poor* the gospel is preached.' 'Of the little flock, and present inquirers at this place,' I also observe to Dr. Brunton, 'some were first impressed by hearing the gospel in the crowded bazaar, some by hearing it at the margin of the sea: some in the church; some in the school-room; some in the place in which the Lord of Glory was born when he came on his mission to this world; some in the social circle; some in the private chamber; and some by the perusal of Christian publications. I have thus been encouraged to remember the words of inspiration:—"Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters." 'In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand: for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good.' I could not refrain from giving you, who are so much interested in my operations, this brief expression of my views. Were I to visit the Modern Athens, and seek to propagate these opinions, I should, instead of being dubbed a 'Doctor in Divinity,' probably be dubbed a 'Babbler,' like Paul in the Ancient Athens. I have the fullest confidence that the Lord will soon vindicate his own cause: and I am perfectly willing, if I have the means of carrying on my labours, to be personally overlooked and despised. I bless God for what I have already seen as to the diminishment of prejudices against 'highway missionaries.' Six years ago my countrymen laughed at me when they saw me 'haranguing mobs.' These same gentlemen have conferred on me their highest literary honour, and notwithstanding my street preaching propensities, have put me into the chair formerly occupied by these great men Sir James Mackintosh, Sir John Malcolm, etc., and suffered me to 'harangue' *them* as their president! I had serious thoughts of saying *nolo episcopari*; but when I thought that I might contribute to shield the whole class of 'Ranters' from contempt, and use my influence for the Lord's cause, I refrained.

"Would that I could, in reply to your inquiry, speak a word in season to you, as you have done to me! The foundation of faith is the Gospel offer of salvation to the chief of sinners who will accept it. We must be content to be saved gratuitously. We can neither purchase our justification before we receive it, nor adequately acknowledge it when we have received it. The Saviour is infinitely worthy of our reliance, and the moment we rely upon him we are safe, and may rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory. We must seek for comfort by looking to him and his finished work. The eye, as Dr. Chalmers I believe expresses it, must look to the Sun



of Righteousness for his light-giving and life-giving beams, and not turn in to gaze upon its internal structure. The work of Christ within us is the evidence of our faith; but the work of Christ without us is the object of our faith, and the offers of Christ the warrant of our faith. When Satan says to us, 'you have not believed, else whence all your fears, and all your failings and offences,' we should reply, if we cannot give him the direct contradiction, 'I now believe what the Saviour says to me, and I will now give my fears to the winds in spite of all your efforts.' Our struggle with and distress on account of indwelling sin, which is common to us and all the Lord's people, ought to enhance the Saviour in our estimation, and not to detract from our grounds of confidence in him, which are the unchanging graciousness of his character and the unfailing efficacy of his mediation. My little children never imagined that I ceased to be their father when I chode them, or removed them from my presence, or punished them, till I saw in them a proper contrition. Why, then, O why, should we dishonour God by imagining that he ceases to be our Father? There is too little of the freeness of the Gospel set forth in modern preaching."

Throughout this period Mr. Wilson seems to have kept up a regular and full correspondence with the friends of his youth, to an extent remarkable at a time when communication with home was so slow and so costly. Outside of his own family and his wife's, and apart from the official letters, first of Dr. Brown and then of Dr. Brunton, Mr. Archibald Bonar, W.S., was his most constant correspondent. Mr. Bonar's letters trace the course of the Church of Scotland as the Evangelical party obtained a majority in its councils, and as it prepared itself for what is popularly known as the Ten Years' Conflict, that ended in the Disruption of 1843. In a letter of 19th June 1834, after recording the death from consumption at Leghorn of Mr. Martin, who had been called to St. George's, Edinburgh, as a preacher worthy to succeed Dr. Andrew Thomson, Mr. Bonar thus proceeds :—

"The Assembly met on the 22d ult., and was constituted with unusual pomp. The Commissioner held his levee in the ancient Palace of Holyrood, and there was a great display of troops on the first day. A committee was appointed to converse with his Grace about the usual



profanation of the Sabbath, and it was found that the King and he had agreed that all the Sunday's parade, and even the dinner, should be discontinued. Wednesday being the King's birthday, the Commissioner invited all the ministers to dine with him at the Palace, and in the evening they were introduced in state to Lady Belhaven. Patrick Macfarlane of Greenock was Moderator, and managed very well. It was calculated by some of the knowing ones that the Moderates had a majority of fifteen or twenty. But whether it was so you shall presently see. The first great division took place on Lord Moncreiff's motion, that if in any parish the majority of heads of families, being communicants, declared that they did not wish the presentee—that he was not agreeable to them—that man could not and should not be settled in that parish. After a stormy discussion this motion was carried by a majority of forty-seven ! And though it was ultimately agreed to take the opinion of Presbyteries on the point, yet it was passed as an interim Act, so that it is at this moment a law of the Church against intrusions. The next great question was whether chapels-of-ease should be made parish churches, and their ministers be entitled to all the privileges of parish ministers *quoad sacra*. But to this the Moderates could not agree. They had conscientious (!) scruples about the power of the Church to do this without taking the opinion of the Presbyteries. To be sure, last year the Assembly by an Act admitted the ministers of the Parliamentary churches to like privileges ; but then the majority of these were thought to be Moderates, whereas almost the whole of the chapel ministers will be 'wild men ;' and some men, not otherwise so, get very scrupulous when anything goes against their grain. Well, of course, they opposed this as they do every reformation ; but their opposition was of no avail, for the motion was carried by forty-nine in favour of admitting them. In consequence of this decision the ministers of the chapels within the bounds of Glasgow Presbytery have already taken their seats, and I suppose ours will do so on Wednesday next. You know the notorious character of the Aberdeen Presbytery. Not one of the ministers from it voted right this year, and yet by this new Act the orthodox party have there the majority !

"Did I tell you that William Cunningham of Greenock had got the College charge ? He is doing admirably ; of great use in the Presbytery. John Sym, minister of Sprouston, a cousin of Professor Wilson, has been appointed successor to Dr. Inglis. He is only twenty-five years, but a very fine young man. Mr. Candlish, sometime assistant in St. George's, has got that church."



CSL

CHAPTER IV.

1830-1836.

PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS WITH LEARNED HINDOOS AND MUHAMMADANS.

How Mr. Wilson became an Orientalist—"Turning the World Upside-down"—Ziegenbalg's "Conferences"—First Discussion with Brahmans—Christian Brahman against Hindoo Pundits—"God's Sepoys"—The Ten Incarnations—The Pundits Retire—Morality *versus* Religion—The Second Discussion—The New Champion with Garlands of Flowers—Mr. Wilson's "First Exposure of Hindooism"—The Third Discussion—Mr. Wilson's "Second Exposure of Hindooism"—Parseeism and Muhammadanism enter the Arena—H. Xavier's and H. Martyn's Controversial Tracts—Dr. Pfander's later Treatises—Mr. Wilson's Reply to Hadjee Muhammad Hashim—Polygamy and Divorce according to the Old Testament and the Koran—The Difference—The Sexualism of the Koran and Slavery—The sons of Israel in Western India—The Black and White Jews—Joseph Wolff, the Christian Dervish and Protestant Xavier—Visit of Mr. Anthony Groves, Dervish of a different stamp—Mr. Francis W. Newman as a Missionary—Mr. Robert C. Money—Sir John Malcolm—Lord William Bentinck—The Earl of Clare—Sir Robert Grant—Mr. Wilson on the British Sovereignty in India in 1835—Bombay Union of Missionaries—Progress in Kafraria—Mr. Wilson on Carey and Morrison.



CSL

“ Believe—and our whole argument breaks up.
Enthusiasm's the best thing I repeat ;
Only, we can't command it ; fire and life
Are all, dead matter's nothing, we agree :
And be it a mad dream or God's very breath,
The fact's the same,—belief's fire once in us,
Makes of all else mere stuff to show itself :
We penetrate our life with such a glow
As fire lends wood and iron—this turns steel,
That burns to ash—all's one, fire proves its power
For good or ill, since men call flare success.
But paint a fire, it will not therefore burn.
Light one in me, I'll find it food enough !
Why, to be Luther—that's a life to lead,
Incomparably better than my own.
He comes, reclaims God's earth for God, he says,
Sets up God's rule again by simple means,
Re-opens a shut book, and all is done.
He flared out in the flaring of mankind ;
Such Luther's luck was—how shall such be mine ? ”

ROBERT BROWNING : *Bishop Blougram's Apology.*

“ I assure myself that Christ at the last daie will speak friendly to mee also,
for here he speaketh very unkindely to mee. I bear upon mee the hate and
envy of the whole world, the hate of the Emperor, of the Pope, and of all
their retinue. Well, on in God's name, seeing I am come into the lists so will
I fight it out. I know my quarrell and caus is upright and just. The great-
est adversaria I have in this caus is the Divel, and indeed he setteth on mee
so fiercely oftentimes with this argument (thou art not rightly called), that
hee had long since stain mee therewith if I had not been a Doctor.”

LUTHER : *Colloquia Mensalia*, Translated by

Captain Henrie Bell, 1652.



CHAPTER IV.

THERE is no recorded instance in the life of any Oriental scholar, whether official or missionary, of such rapid but thorough acquisition of multifarious information regarding the literature and the customs, as well as the languages of the natives, as marked Mr. Wilson's first year's residence in India. Sir William Jones began his purely Indian studies at a later period of life, and carried them on amid comparative leisure and wealth. Colebrooke, the greatest of all Orientalists, laid the foundation of his splendid acquirements so slowly that Sanscrit at first repelled him, though afterwards he would rise from the gaming-table at midnight to study it. Ziegenbalg and Carey had the same overmastering motive as John Wilson, but the former hardly went beyond the one vernacular—Tamul, and the latter was distracted by the hardships of poverty and a discontented wife; so that he began by working as an indigo-planter when learning Bengalee. Mr. Wilson not only mastered Marathee, but Goojaratee; to these he soon added Hindostanee and Persian, while almost his earliest work in Bombay was the preparation of a Hebrew and Marathee grammar for the Jews, there known as Beni-Israel. Thus its four great communities, Hindoo and Muhammadan, Parsee and Jewish, he was early prepared to influence, while he had from the first attained sufficient fluency in Portuguese to care for the large number of half-caste descendants of our predecessors in the island. A scholarly knowledge of Arabic he was later in finding leisure to acquire. But his advance in Sanscrit seems to have been parallel with his



acquisition of Marathee, so that we find him from the very first confuting the Brahmans out of their own sacred books as Paul did in the case of the Athenians and the Cretans. This knowledge he steadily extended to the more obscure and esoteric dialects of the older Hindoo tongues, on which the various sects of quasi-dissenters, like the Sikhs and the Vaishnavas, had their authoritative scriptures. He was early a collector of Oriental manuscripts. Nor was he content with this. He employed Brahmans to gather information for him on a definite principle, and wherever he went he was constant in his cross-examination of the people and their priests. In 1829 we find the first example of this recorded in one of his promised circular letters to the Edinburgh University's Association of Theological Students :—

“I have now seen a little of one of the most interesting portions of the great family of man ; and I am filled with horror and amazement at its utter alienation from God. The Hindoos do not even in profession serve the Creator. They follow a course which is altogether opposed to reason and to natural conscience. They are the votaries of a religious system, of the moral obliquities of which it is impossible to form a right conception. The individuals among them who act as their priests are very numerous, and very deceitful ; and their efforts are uniformly exerted to confirm their less enlightened brethren in all their superstitious doctrines and practices. At some future time I hope to be able to furnish you with more ample details on this and similar subjects. For the last three months one of the most intelligent Brahmans in this part of the country has been employed by me for the purpose of furnishing me with an account of the Hindoo religion. I prepared a list of queries, according to which he arranges his observations ; and I am in the course of receiving a more correct view of the doctrines taught by the Brahmans, and the reasonings by which they endeavour to defend them, than I could otherwise have obtained.”

The result of the first fifteen months' unwearied toil was seen in the beginning of a series of discussions on Christianity, forced on Mr. Wilson, to his great satisfaction, by Hindoo,



Muhammadan, and Parsee apologists in succession. The ardent and courageous scholar, having fairly organised his schools, and his translating and preaching work, was by no means content to go on in a daily routine, vaguely waiting or passively believing that Hindoo and Parsee, Jew and Muhammadan, would come over to him. "I have felt it my duty to proceed," he writes to more than one of his home correspondents in 1831, "somewhat out of the course of *modern* missionary procedure. The result of my efforts has more than realised my expectations. Matters I thought were going on too quietly; I could see little of that which is spoken of in the 'Acts of the Apostles' as a turning of the world upside down, and nothing of that stir which attended the labours of the Apostles in the different cities which they visited. There was praying and there was teaching in schools, and there was preaching to some extent, especially by our missionaries; but there was no attempt to make a general impression on the whole population of a town or province. 'Drive gently' was the maxim. I thought on the days of Paul when he stood on Mars' Hill. I thought on the days of Luther, and Knox, and Calvin, and I began to see that they were right. They announced with boldness, publicly and privately, in the face of every danger, in the midst of every difficulty, to high and low, rich and poor, young and old, and I resolved by divine grace to imitate them. I have consequently challenged Hindoos, Parsees, and Mussulmans to the combat. The former I fight by the mouth principally, and the two latter by the pen. The consternation of many of them I know to be great, and hundreds have heard the gospel in the place of tens. I have had in the idolatrous Bombay, and the still more idolatrous Nasik, 250 miles distant, many hundreds for auditors. At present I am waging war, through the native newspapers, with the Parsees and Mussulmans. They are very indignant; some of them had got up a petition praying Govern-



ment to stop me, but this was in vain. They did not present it. They show talent in their communications, but with a bad cause what can they do? Conscience, the Holy Spirit, the promises of God and the providence of God, are on our side. O for a pentecostal day! This may not be granted during our sojourn. Perhaps God only wishes us to be as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord.'"

A year before this, when announcing the first of these debates, he had pronounced it "the first general discussion on the Christian and Hindoo religions which has perhaps taken place in India." This statement is correct, notwithstanding the "conferences" which the Lutheran missionaries of Denmark had held with the Tamul Brahmans and Muhammadans in South India a century before.¹ "Upon the 6th of March 1707," begins the record, "I, Bartholomew Ziegenbalgen, was visited by a grave and learned Brahman; and, asking him what he proposed to himself by his friendly visit, he replied that he desired to confer with me amicably about the great things and matters of religion." All through the narration there is no sign, at that early time, of the overturning process. In truth, the good men of that mission, which had Tranquebar for its head-quarters, from Ziegenbalg to Schwartz, and to this day, tolerated caste even at the Lord's table, and in all their converts save ordained natives. Very different was the "turning upside-down" of Mr. Wilson's Bombay discussions, and yet in temper and in charity quite as "amicable" on his part, though terribly in earnest. Thus the first began.

Rama Chundra, the Pooranik Brahman who had been baptized at Bankote, visited Bombay in May 1830, for the

¹ See that curious volume "Thirty-Four Conferences between the Danish Missionaries and the Malabarian Brahmins (or Heathen Priests) in the East Indies concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion: Together with some Letters Written by the Heathens to the said Missionaries. Translated out of the High Dutch by Mr. Philipps." London. 1719.

purpose of declaring to his caste-fellows and priestly colleagues his reasons for forsaking them. For a time his arguments failed to prick their apathy. But at last Pundit Lukshmun Shastree was tempted to defend at great length the teaching of Hindooism regarding the ten Avatars or incarnations of Vishnoo, and, in the heat of controversy, to refer the question to five or six Brahmans. Rama Chundra demanded a fair public debate. To this the Pundit reluctantly consented, but himself prepared an advertisement announcing that there would be a discussion upon the evidences of the Hindoo and the Christian religion in the house of Mr. Wilson, at four o'clock on Friday the 21st May; that Rama Chundra, formerly a Pooranik, would defend the Christian religion; and that Lukshmun, a Pooranik, would, "as he felt disposed," take up the side of the Hindoo religion. A great crowd assembled accordingly, and among them upwards of a hundred Brahmans. Lukshmun being the secular Sanscrit teacher of one of the American missionaries, and Rama Chundra a convert of the Scottish missionaries, both missionaries were present. Mr. R. T. Webb, as a layman and a high official, was asked to keep order. The interest of the whole lay in the fact that Brahman met Brahman; the one new to the work of Christian apologetics and exposition, but assisted by Mr. Wilson occasionally; the other also helped by abler reasoners. Mr. Wilson opened the proceedings, which were in Marathee with constant quotations of Sanscrit slokas or verses, by stating the advantages of discussion in the attainment of truth, by exhorting the combatants to observe charity and the audience to put away prejudice, and by meeting only the initial assumption that God had established several religions, with the remark that, as God is the Father of all mankind, he will not appoint opposing laws for the regulation of his family. After the first day the Pundit Lukshmun "did not long keep his ground." Rama Chundra, "though

he occasionally introduced irrelevant matter, and was too tolerant of the sophistry of his opponents, acquitted himself in a manner which greatly interested many of his auditors." During the next three days, accordingly, the discussion fell into abler hands, Mr. Wilson on the one side, and on the Hindoo side Nirbhaya Rama and Kisundas Joguldas, chief pundit and principal pleader respectively of the highest Government Appellate Court, the Sudder Adawlut. The Brahmans were the first to ask for quarter. The benefit of the discussion was not confined to the crowds who heard it. Two editions of the report in Marathee were speedily exhausted; all Hindoo Bombay talked of it; inquiry was stirred up as nothing else could have done, and the delusion was dispelled that Christianity feared the investigation of the learned. True to his wise, natural, and kindly policy, in this as all through his career, Mr. Wilson took care that what he himself had learned as Western truth, but yet was of Asiatic origin as to its mode, he urged on Orientals in an Eastern form, and so commended it to every man. These extracts from the report, giving the more purely native part of the discussion, will show how it played, then as still, in the East as of late growingly in the West, around the three great questions of the nature of God, the relation of morality to religion, the origin and the means of getting rid of sin here and hereafter.

Rama Chundra began by declaring that he had abandoned the Hindoo religion because the statements of its scriptures were inconsistent with truth. Finding that the chief pundit, Nirbhaya, demanded proof that there is one God, he pointed to the works of God, and quoted, as binding on his opponent, the sloka of the Bhagavat-Geet, to the effect that there is one Supreme Being, the author of birth, life, and death.

"R. C. In the Hindoo Shastres it is written that God was at first

destitute of qualities, and that afterwards he became possessed of *suttva*, *ruja*, and *tuma*. In this statement three difficulties present themselves to my mind. The declaration that God was destitute of qualities tends highly to his dishonour; and I am unable to understand, if he was destitute of power, how he could become possessed of it. I cannot admit that such qualities as *ruja* and *tuma* are to be applied to the Divinity.¹ The Avatars (incarnations) of Vishnoo have taken human life and committed other bad actions, on this account I put no faith in them; but not so with the Avatar of Christ; he has obeyed God in all things, and given his life for man. As then the onion and the musk are known by their odour, and the tree is known by its fruits, so are the Avatars to be known by their works. Their works are evil, and therefore I renounce them.

“*Lukshmun*. I ask a question—If a subject commits a crime, is the king to be blamed for punishing him? Is God to be blamed for taking an Avatar to punish the Rakshusas (demons)?

“*R. C.* Amongst men a king must punish an offender according to his crime; but God has established principles, from which men by their own wickedness come to evil, and go to hell, therefore there was no occasion for an Avatar to come into the world for that purpose.

“*Nirbhaya*. God was not wholly included in the Avatar, and therefore the sins of the Avatars are not to be laid to God.

“*R. C.* Suppose them to be so far disconnected with God as to be only his messengers—if they are true they will act rightly.

“*Kisundass*. Yes! the Avatars were God's Sepoys.

¹ The published report of the discussion here quotes the explanation of these terms by Mr. Ward of Serampore, in his *View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos*, a work of surprising industry to have appeared so early as the beginning of this century. We may now substitute the latest explanations by Professor Monier Williams in his *Indian Wisdom*:—“When the universal and infinite being Brahma (*nom. case of the neuter Brahman*)—the only really existing entity, wholly without form and unaffected by the three Goonas or by qualities of any kind—wished to create for his own entertainment the phenomena of the universe, he assumed the quality of activity (*rajas*) and became a male person, as Brahman (*nom. case masc.*), the Creator. Next, in the progress of still further self-evolution, he willed to invest himself with the second quality of goodness (*sattva*), as Vishnoo, the Preserver; and with the third quality of darkness (*tamas*), as Siva the Destroyer.” This development of the doctrine of triple manifestation (*tri-moorti*), which appears first in the Brahmanised version of the Indian Epics, had already been adumbrated in the Veda, in the triple form of fire, and in the triad of gods, Agni, Soorya, and Indra, and in other ways.



"*R. C.* If God's Sepoys, why did they not act according to his will? If they commit sin, how are they to be known as his Sepoys.

"*K.* They are known by their badge, and not by their conduct.

"*R. C.* Where is the badge? Nirbhaya Rama says they are only parts of God; but if parts, they will be like himself in substance: but God has no parts, he is everywhere present.

"—— *Shas.* If they are not from God, whence are they?

"*R. C.* They may have been men, and therefore they are not to be worshipped.

"*K.* But if they are great and powerful, and are sent in the place of God, with power to punish the Rakshusas, they are as kings, who are not to be blamed for punishing offenders.

"*R. C.* Are we then to bow down to all who do any wonderful acts? Their works prove that they are not part of God. If I have a piece of gold, and break it into many pieces, the qualities in each will still remain the same.

"*K.* In the God you worship you admit three persons: and why then do you reject ten Avatars?

"*R. C.* Not so: in the Deity there are three persons, but one God; as in the sun,—there is the sun, the light, and the heat, but all included in one sun. I utterly reject the Avatars. Why did they take place? The object of the Fish Avatar was the discovery of the stolen Vedas. The object of the Tortoise was the placing the newly created earth upon his back to keep it firm. The object of the Boar Avatar was to draw up the earth from the waters, after it was sunken by the Devtuya. The object of the Man-lion Avatar was to destroy the rebellious giants, Hirunuyaksha and Hirunykushipoo. The object of the Dwarf Avatar was the destruction of the religious Bulee. The object of the Purushoo Rama Avatar was the destruction of the Kshutriyas. The object of the Rama Avatar was the destruction of Ravuna. The object of the Krishna Avatar was to destroy the giant Kungshu. These are the Avatars which, you say, have already taken place. Is there any appearance of God in such acts? Could he not have accomplished these objects without assuming an Avatar? Did his taking a form make the work easier? I maintain, then, the reason for such Avatars is absurd. This is not the case with Christ: he came that the punishment of sin might be endured, and God's hatred of sin manifested.

"*Shukhurma Shastree.* Cannot a king do what he pleases? Cannot he go into the bazaar and carry off what he pleases? Who can call in question his doings?



"*Mr. W.* This is one of your other modes of explaining the actions of Krishna. A king, by his power, may prevent inquiry into his conduct; but he assuredly can sin. If the greatness of Krishna is to be considered, it must be viewed as an aggravation of his faults. Utterly opposed to these Avatars is that of Christ, in whom we wish you to trust. He came into the world to save sinners. By his miracles he proved his divine mission. His doctrines were holy and his works were holy. He voluntarily gave his life a ransom for us. He illustrated the divine mercy, and the divine holiness. He procured a righteousness for man. He prays for man in heaven. He is able to save man. The books which contain his history are true. They are not like the Hindoo Shastres. In them we find no foolish stories, no errors, and no utter want of evidence. Read them. Search and pray for wisdom. Embrace the truth.

"*Shuk.* How can you show that God has forbidden the worship of idols? for where there is one who does not, there are an hundred who do worship idols.

"*R. C.* All men are sinners, and are inclined to depart from God.

"*Mr. W.* Are the idols like God?

"*Shuk.* Not so: but if obeisance is made to the shoe of a king in the presence of his servants, and they bear the intelligence to the king that such-a-one has great respect for him, for he every day comes and makes obeisance before his shoe, would you not consider this as paying respect to the king?—so is it in worshipping the Deity by the idol.

"*Mr. W.* By this reasoning you make God at a distance; and we say that he is everywhere present, and that he is everywhere propitious. Is God then in the idol?

"*Shuk.* Yes, in every thing.

"*Mr. W.* You say that God is in a particular manner in the idol, and that he is brought in by the Muntras (invocations); but if a Mussulman touches it he goes out!—Even your old Shastres say that you are not to worship idols. The Vedantee philosophers near Calcutta assert this; and they have produced many passages in support of their opinion. There is one in the Bhagavat Geet.

"*Luk.* It is said that man cannot approach God; therefore he must first propitiate Krishna. By Krishna God may be approached, and in no other way.

"*R. C.* You say, then, that Krishna is propitiated by idols, and that through him the Deity. But suppose I am hungry, and have a handful of rice; if I throw that direct into the fire it will be burnt up, and I shall be deprived of my food; but I must have a vessel to

put it in, that it may be put on the fire and be cooked : but suppose the vessel I select is a dirty one, or a cracked one, then my rice will be spoiled in cooking, or the water will escape, and it will not be cooked ; and in either case I shall remain hungry. I must then be careful that I select a proper vessel. So must it be with your Avatar—(incarnation). Take care and get a proper one.

“*K.* We should follow him only if his works are good, and not otherwise.

“*R. C.* Therefore you must see and get a proper mediator.

“*Shuk.* I hold that by the performance of ablution the mind is washed ; for all evil proceeds from evil thoughts ; and by the performance of ablution morning and evening I am brought to think of this, and thereby a check is thrown upon evil thoughts, and so the mind is purified.

“*R. C.* In your own Shastres the inefficiency of these remedies is declared.¹

“*K.* I allow that unless the mind is firm these austerities are of no avail.

“—— *Brahman.* What is sin ?

“*Mr. W.* The breaking of the law of God.

“—— *Brahman.* How did sin get into the world ?

“*Mr. W.* How shall sin get out of the world ? This should be the great inquiry. When a man is seized with cholera he does not distress himself by inquiring about the manner in which it came to him, but earnestly seeks a cure. The grand reason why we object to your remedies is, that they all proceed on the principle that man is saved by his own works. Admit this principle and you destroy the kingdom of God.”

It is “the immemorial quest and old complaint.” In the Brahmans’ conferences with Ziegenbalg the same fixed ideas

¹ Will water absolve from sin?—what, then, are there no fishes in the river? Will fasting absolve from sin?—does not the snake feed on air when he can get nothing else? Will living upon raw fruits and herbs absolve from sin?—what! do not the goat and other animals feed on them daily? Will abstinence from drink absolve from sin?—does the Chatuk bird ever drink? Will living in a hole under ground absolve from sin?—what! are there no rats in the holes in the jungle? Will covering the body with ashes absolve from sin?—does not the donkey roll in the dust all day long? Will sitting in a state of absorption absolve from sin?—does not the Bugla bird sit all day long on the banks of a river? Therefore none of these austerities can be of any avail unless the mind is upright.

of the pantheist, the polytheist, the ritualist, ever recur, pre-
faced always by the assumption which Mr. Wilson put out of
the controversy at starting, that to save the European one way
and the Hindoo another "is one of the pastimes and diversions
of Almighty God," as the Tamul priest of Vishnoo expressed
it. The argument of Kisundass, that the nine Avatars or in-
carnations of Vishnoo—the tenth, Kalki, is to appear as a comet
in the sky, on a white horse, with an apocalyptic sword,
to restore the righteousness of the golden age—were God's
Sepoys, known by their badge and not by their conduct; and
that of Shookaram, that as a king God can sin as he pleases,
denote the universal belief of the Hindoos that morality and
god-worship have different and frequently opposite spheres.
Since, about 1864, Sir Henry Maine first brought his study of
early institutions and his official task of constant legislation
to bear on Hindoo society, this has been recognised, and
students of the science of religion, who are at the same time
familiar with the social phenomena of native society, have
worked it out.¹ Hence missionary and legislator alike, to-
gether as well as separately, each in his own sphere, have to
act so that the crimes sanctioned by the theology of the Hin-
doos shall be prohibited by an application of the moral law of
Christianity, and the jurisprudence of the civilised nations of
the West; while the legislator has to guard against the oppo-
site extreme of seeming to sanction, and of really perpetuating
with a new authority, the vast mass of Hindoo religious and
therefore civil law, which he must leave untouched. From
Lord William Bentinck and Macaulay to Lord Lawrence and
Sir Henry Maine, and from Claudius Buchanan and Carey to
Duff and Wilson, this double process has gone on, till India
enjoys a more humane criminal code and a more perfect
toleration of creeds and opinions than Great Britain itself.

¹ See Mr. A. C. Lyall's papers in the *Fortnightly Review*, especially that at
p. 560 of the number for April 1878.



The excitement caused by this discussion among the natives of Bombay had not passed away when, in February 1831, another champion arrived to renew the controversy. This was Mora Bhatta Dandekara, who thought to succeed where the pundit Lukshmun and his friends had failed. Many Brahmans were present. "They brought their chief champion every day in a carriage, with garlands of flowers hanging about him. They could not, however, defend their religion," writes Mr. Wilson to his father. The debate continued during six successive evenings. Mr. Webb again presided at the request of both parties. The Brahman convert, Rama Chundra, again took part in it, but the chief combatant for Christianity was Mr. Wilson himself. "The Brahmans were the first to solicit a cessation of hostilities." It was left on this occasion to the Hindoos to publish a report of the proceedings, and several wealthy men subscribed for the purpose. But the Bhatta had not taken notes, and he preferred to publish, as his defence, a tract on the *Verification of the Hindoo Religion*, to which he challenged a reply. The debate had, as on the former occasion, referred principally to the character of the Divine Being, the means of salvation, the principles of morals, and the allotment of rewards and punishments. The *Verification* reiterates the arguments of the former apologists for Hindooism, but it is of interest from the attacks it makes on some statements of the Christian Scriptures which it first perverts. This, for instance, is the rendering of the opening verse of the fourth Gospel:—"In the beginning was word. That word was in the heart of God; and the same word was manifested in the world in the form of Christ." The real value of the tract, however, lies in the fact that it called forth Mr. Wilson's first *Exposure of the Hindoo Religion*, to which a translation of it by Mr. Nesbit is prefixed:—"The Bhatta, though he has in some instances disguised the truth, writes generally in support of what has

been called the exoteric system of Hindooism; and a little reflection will show that the attempt to uphold any other can only be made with the sacrifice of the pretensions to inspiration on the part of the Hindoo scriptures, and with admissions which must prove destructive to the popular superstition. The efforts which have hitherto been made to refine on the Brahmanical faith have hitherto proved, and must ever prove, completely abortive. It is essentially distinguished by exaggeration, confusion, contradiction, puerility, and immorality." Such was Mr. Wilson's earlier impression of a system, with even the innermost recesses of which further study and experience were to make him so familiar, that the Government and the Judges frequently appealed to him as the highest trustworthy authority for political and legal ends.

The Brahmans, thus twice met on the later Pooranik or Brahmanical side, determined to return to the charge, this time on the earlier Vedantic, or what was then called the esoteric ground. One Narayan Rao, English teacher in the Raja of Satara's school, accordingly wrote a reply to the first *Exposure of Hindooism*, under the signature of "An Espouser of his Country's Religion." Mora Bhatta edited the work, and took it to Mr. Wilson. Hence his publication, towards the close of 1834, of *A Second Exposure of the Hindoo Religion*. The title-page bears these lines of Sir William Jones :—

"Oh ! bid the patient Hindoo rise and live.
His erring mind that wizard lore beguiles,
Clouded by priestly wiles,
To senseless nature bows for nature's God."

Like its predecessor, this *Exposure* is a model of kindly controversy and lofty courtesy to antagonists. "I beg of them," he writes to the Hindoos in his preface, "to continue to extend credit to me and to my fellow-labourers for the benevolence of our intentions, and to believe that anything which

is inconsistent with the deepest charity is not what we would for one moment seek to defend." Both works caused a greater demand for copies than was expected, and called forth many letters from natives assuring the writer that they had been thus led to lose all confidence in the religion of their fathers. The books were translated into Bengalee and other Indian vernaculars, and continued to be long useful in letting light into many a native's mind. Mr. Wilson made good use of the admissions of the Bengalee theist Rammohun Roy, who had at that time written his principal works and had been carefully answered by Carey and Marshman. The *Second Exposure*, dedicated to Mr. James Farish who acted as interim Governor, has a further literary interest, as showing Mr. Wilson's steady as well as rapid advance in his Sanscrit studies, and in the consequent use of the Vedic, Pooranic, and Epic literature, for the demolition of error. His preface thus concludes:—"To several friends I am indebted for the loan of several Sanskrit MSS. which were not in my possession, and which I have used for enabling me to judge of the fidelity of existing translations and opinions, and correctly to make some original extracts. It was my intention at one time to have quoted more liberally from the *Upanishads* than I have done. The inspection of a great number of them led me to perceive that, while they abound in metaphysical errors, there is a great accordance in the few principles which they respectively unfold, and to which attention should be particularly directed. —Bombay, October 1834."

At the time of the second of the three discussions with Brahmans on the Christian and Hindoo religions, Mr. Wilson found himself challenged to an encounter on the two very different fields of the Zoroastrianism of the Parsees and the ethics and theology of the Muhammadan Koran. His review of the Armenian *History of the Religious Wars between the Persians and Armenians*, in the *Oriental Christian*

Spectator of July and August 1831, tempted the descendants of the persecuting Magi, now peaceable and loyal enough because themselves persecuted exiles, to defend the *Avasta*, their sacred book. This controversy opens out so wide a field, alike in itself and in Mr. Wilson's career as a scholar and a missionary, that we shall reserve it and its consequences for another chapter. But an expression adverse to Muhammadanism in one of Mr. Wilson's letters to the Parsees, called forth a champion of Muhammad and the Koran, and led to the publication of a *Refutation of Muhammadanism*, in Hindostanee, Goojaratee, and Persian,¹ which may be placed side by side with the two exposures of Hindooism, though no separate English edition of it has appeared, beyond fragments in the *Oriental Christian Spectator* from May to August 1833.

"Hadjee Muhammad Hashim of Ispahan, who, as his name shows, had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was the most learned Moulvie in Bombay, challenged me," writes Mr. Wilson, "to the proof of the licentiousness and imposture of the author of the Koran, and I readily attempted to establish my position. After several letters had appeared in the native newspapers, the Hadjee came forward with a pamphlet of considerable size in Goojaratee and Persian, in which he evinces at once great sophistry and great ability." His *Reply to Hajee Mahomed Hashim's Defence of the Islamic Faith* is, if we except the necessarily imperfect tract of Henry Martyn continued by Dr. Lee, the first controversial treatise of the kind in point of time, as the *Exposures* of Hindooism are.² Dr. Pfander had not yet begun that series

¹ *Raddi-i-din Mussulmani* is the Persian title.

² We do not reckon the treatise on Christianity, written for the Emperor Akbar by Hieronymo Xavier, the nephew of the great missionary, although it was answered twelve years after it appeared, in 1609, by Ahmed Ibn Zainal-Abidin, and this called forth a rejoinder, in Latin, from Phillip Gaudagnoli of the Propaganda College, Rome. Pfander's first and ablest treatise, the since well-known *Mizan ul Haqq*, or "A Resolution of the Controversy between Christians and Muhammadans," was published in Persian in 1835, at



of Christian apologies in controversy with Muhammadans, which have done more than any other instrument to shake the apparently immovable confidence of the votaries of Islam in Agra and Delhi, in Allahabad and Lucknow, in Lahore and Peshawur, in Constantinople and Cairo, where more than one learned Moulvie now preaches the faith which once he attacked, or even translates the Christian Scriptures.¹ It was Pfander's representation of the need for a biography of the prophet, suitable for the perusal of his followers, that led Sir William Muir, when a busy settlement officer and revenue secretary at Agra, to prepare his *Life of Mahomet*, which is the greatest in the English language, as Sprenger's is in the German. But no one can peruse Mr. Wilson's *Reply* to Muhammad Hashim without remarking how he has, in brief, anticipated Muir in shrewd insight, criticism, and keen exposure of the moral irregularities and shortcomings of Muhammad's Koran and his private life. In twenty-one necessarily condensed chapters Mr. Wilson covers the whole field of the controversy, save on its historical side—which was not raised. That it went very far down into practical life as well as ethical principles, these preliminary letters on the subject which gave rise to the discussion will show.

“John Wilson, a servant of Jesus the Messiah, presents his salutation to Haji Muhammad Hashim.

“I have perused your letter in the *Bombay Sumachar* respecting

the Fort of Shushy, Georgia, where he was one of the German Mission, and whence he was driven in 1836 by the Russian Government, with its usual intolerance to all but its own political and autocratic division of the Greek Church. The Hindostanee translation was lithographed at Mirzapore in 1843. See the Article in Vol. IV. of the *Calcutta Review* on the Muhammadan controversy, written, we believe, by Sir William Muir. At a later period Wilson refers to this article in a note to his *Lands of the Bible*.

¹ See Syud Ahmed's *Mahomedan Commentary on the Holy Bible*. Two Parts, quarto. Allygurh, 1862-5; which the Venerable Archdeacon Pratt reviewed in the *Friend of India* of 1862, and the Rev. Dr. Robson treated in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* of July 1867.

the transactions of Muhammad with the female sex, and I am not a little surprised at the manner in which you have expressed yourself on this subject. It is my intention, should you continue to desire me, to enter fully into its consideration. At present I shall confine myself to your remarks on polygamy and divorce.

“You say that for a man to have more than one wife is a good thing. You will find it impossible to prove that this is the case. There are many reasons for differing from you in opinion. I here mention the most important of them. 1. After God had created Adam first man, he gave him only one wife named Huwa. If it had been good for man to engage in polygamy, God would have given Adam, whom he created in a happy state, more than one wife. 2. There are not more women than men in the world; and when polygamy is indulged in some men must be deprived of wives, which you must allow to be a great evil. It is manifest, then, from this circumstance, that to have more than one wife is contrary to the course of nature. It is because polygamy is practised in the Muhammadan states that it has been found necessary to have *hijre*. 3. Polygamy is detrimental to the increase of population. . . . 4. Polygamy is hurtful to the right education of children. When one man has a great number of sons and daughters, with a variety of mothers, he cannot manage and instruct them so well as he would be able to do if they had only one mother. 5. Polygamy is the frequent cause of a great many quarrels and jealousies among the different wives. This you very well know, and this you allow, when you have to speak of divorce as a ‘quick expedient for settling disputes.’ 6. It is impossible for a husband with a plurality of wives to treat them all with the love and affection which is due to them. Wherever polygamy has prevailed, the female character has become degraded and debased to an extent which I cannot describe. As a wise man consider these arguments, and never again attempt to vindicate polygamy nor Muhammad, who, to please his disciples, allowed them to take four wives to themselves, who took four times that number to himself, and who even promised wives to his disciples when they should get to heaven. You wished me to state my opinion. I have now expressed it.

“You approve of divorce for the settling of disputes and other objects of a like nature, according to the will of the husband. But on this point, as well as on the preceding, you will find it very difficult to show cause. When divorces, like those of which you speak, take place, the mother is banished from the children to whom she gave birth, on whom her affections are placed, and in whom she undoubtedly has a



property as well as their father. The children are bereft of their mother whom they love, and deprived of her tender care. The women, who fear that they may be driven away for a slight cause, are often tempted to take the common property to themselves, that they may be prepared for the day of evil. The men, who feel that they have the power which you approve, are ready to part, according to their temptations, with their lawful wives, that they may get new ones."

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE GREATEST OF ALL NAMES.

"The least of the slaves of God, Haji Muhammad Hashim, sends his compliments to John Wilson, the servant of Jesus the Messiah. What you wrote in answer to me I have seen. I could object to everything brought forward by you, but it would take up time, be of no use, and cause you much pain. I shall therefore shortly reply.

"1st. As to your proofs against polygamy from the case of Adam and Huwa, and there not being a greater number of women than men in the world, etc., etc., it appears to me that you have considered polygamy to be actually necessary to, and incumbent on, the being a Moosulman! But this, I state, is not the fact—it is not necessary, but allowed. If a man find that one wife is not enough for him, and he is able to support and take care of others, he may, if he sees fit, take another, and so on until he has four, by the 'Nikah Daimee,' and by purchase, 'Muttah,' as many as he likes. I hold, therefore, that your argument falls to the ground. But we will pass from this topic. If what you have said is the fact, it comes to this, that in every instance polygamy must be shameful and base, and from the time of Adam to the present time it must surely have been lawful. But I have seen that in your books it is written that some of the most celebrated ancestors of the Lord Jesus (Huzrut) were polygamists. Abraham, the friend of God, besides his wife Sarah, the mother of Jacob, took, by the advice of Sarah, Hagar; and Jacob married Rachel and Leah, daughters of Laban, his maternal uncle, and by the wish of both these wives took their servants Bilha and Zilfa, and had children by all four. We may therefore say that polygamy is not in its nature sinful, and depends on expediency, and the wish of the just man. Since polygamy was lawful among men before the time of Jesus Christ, why is it not to be thought lawful and allowable among Muhammadans? Regarding Huzrut Muhammad taking twelve wives to himself, and giving only four to his disciples, although he did so he did not prohibit them from taking more by 'Muttah' and purchase, and laid no bounds on them in this way. Nor is it necessary that a prophet and

his followers should equally act or be subject to the same obligations. What matters it that there should be a difference in acts like these? Huzrut Isa told his disciples to marry, but never himself married. He was like them in all things else concerning the law and the duties of life. And thus it was that Muhammad told his people in twenty-four hours to pray seventeen times, but himself prayed fifty-one times.

“Regarding divorce, the propriety of which you declare to be most difficult of proof, and that the separation of mother and children takes place from it, and that wives, if they fear that for a small fault they shall be divorced, will on the day of separation take their husband's property, it is easy to answer this. That it was lawful under the Mosaic law, appears from what Huzrut Isa says in the 19th chapter of Matthew, ‘On account of the hardness of your hearts, Moses allowed you to divorce your wife.’ If therefore Moses, for the hardness of the hearts of the Jews, allowed the practice of divorce, what harm was there in Muhammad allowing the same to his followers, and for some one reason which he himself was aware of? But the quarrels and dissensions you mention are not necessary, as divorce is also not necessary. And divorce is never used until there is no other resource, and this also is only allowed, not commanded; and no respectable person will ever divorce the mother of his own children. And if a bad wife is divorced, her part of the property is always given her. And if a wife knows that on account of bad conduct she may be divorced, it will prevent her from such a course.

“I am a seeker of the right road, and having discovered that road, I hold it necessary for me to walk in it; and if I prove that my sect is holding an untruth, after all my exertions, I shall only discover the falsity of it without getting to myself any good. The Muhammadan religion, which I have chosen, is the religion of the twelve Imaums, and I have not entered it merely in imitation of my ancestors (because my parents were Muhammadans), nor from prejudice on account of my tribe and family, but because, after much search and examination, and after inquiries into all other kinds of religions, and finding more proofs, and full confirmation of the truth of the Muhammadan doctrines, I became a follower of that sect. Now that you have commenced to teach men the right road, you should fully explain and prove the truths of your own belief, that the seekers of truth, if enfeebled by your arguments, should adopt your views and become obedient to your doctrines.

“But supposing, what is impossible, that you could prove the falsity of the Muhammadan religion, that could never prove the truth



of the Christian religion. Supposing that you should say, from the falsity of the Muhammadan religion the truth of the Christian faith must necessarily follow, because Muhammad himself confessed Christ to be a prophet, and thus there are consenting or concurring evidences of the mission of Jesus Christ, I answer, that Muhammad only confessed *that* Christ to be a prophet, who said to the children of Israel that after him another prophet would arise called Ahmud. If, therefore, this is the very Christ whom the Christians worship, they must confess the Muhammadan faith to be true ; but if they worship another than that Christ who thus prophesied of Muhammad, the Muhammadians acknowledge no other than him, and I affirm that the prophetic mission of Christ has not the concurring evidences that I supposed you assumed."

The reply to this communication was as follows:—"To Haji Muhammad Hashim, John Wilson presents respectful salutations.

"I have carefully perused your second letter in defence of Muhammad, but I must frankly acknowledge that it is my decided opinion that you have completely failed to answer my statement of reasons against polygamy. In reply to that which respected the fact that God gave only one wife to Adam, and that there are not more women than men in the world, you allege that I supposed that it was required by the Muhammadan law that every man should have four wives. Granting that I had made this mistake, you have not in the slightest degree overturned my argument. I assure you that I was not ignorant of the state of your law on the subject, and that I am of opinion that the countenance which it grants is a great evil. You should have showed wherein my six reasons were erroneous. I would have taken no offence at your reasoning, however acute and forcible it might have been. It is much better for a person to reason, than merely to say that he can reason.

"Abraham, and Solomon, and other individuals mentioned in the Old Testament, practised polygamy, but I ask you if God approved of their doing so, and gave them his divine countenance ; and if they consulted their best interests by the course which they pursued. I find no passage in the Bible approving of polygamy. On the contrary, I find Moses in his 5th book, 17th chapter, and 17th verse, laying down a law even for the King of Israel, that 'he should not multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away ;' and I find it said respecting Solomon, in the 11th chapter of the first book of Kings, 'that his wives turned away his heart after other gods : and his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God.' You see, then, that the Scriptures of the Jews and Christians differ from the Koran of Muhammad.



"You have not satisfactorily explained why Muhammad took to himself more wives than he allowed to his disciples. It is more suitable to the character of a teacher to exceed his disciples in the actual service of God than to fall short of them ; but it is more suitable that he should fall short of them than exceed them in worldly enjoyment. Do not you admit that this is the case ? I require an answer.

"I have little to say respecting your remarks on divorce. You seem not to indicate that kind of divorce of which you spoke in your first letter, as 'a quick expedient for settling disputes.' Christ Jesus allows divorce in the case of fornication ; and although Moses allowed the Jews, on account of the hardness of their hearts, to practise it in some other cases, Muhammad, who pretended that he was improving upon Moses and upon Christ, was required, by consistency, to confirm or improve what Christ established. Instead of doing this, however, he brings matters back to their old state, when the Jews were unwilling to submit to a right law. In acting thus he clearly showed that his pretensions were without ground. I am most happy to find that you are of opinion that no respectable person will divorce the mother of his children without a sufficient reason : and I shall be happy to learn that all the Persians, and Arabians, and others, are resolved to treat their wives with increased kindness. They will in this way essentially promote their own happiness, the right education of their children, and the welfare of society in general.

"Connected with the subject on which I have made these remarks, there are other three to which I invite your attention. The first respects the laws which Muhammad laid down regarding his own wives. He said that it was the will of God that his followers should treat all their wives with the same respect ; but, in the thirty-third chapter of the Koran, he claims the right of treating his wives as he should see fit. He forbids his disciples from marrying their near relatives ; but he throws no restraint upon himself, as you will perceive from the chapter to which I have referred. He allowed none of his followers to have that intercourse with his wives which he claimed for himself with regard to those of others. He also allowed all widows to marry a second time except his own. On this subject you do not need information ; you only require to reflect.

"The second circumstance which I have in view is the dishonourable and criminal manner in which Muhammad procured some of his wives. I call on you to consider his conduct with regard to Zainab the wife of Zaid. He falls in love with her, prevails on her husband to put her away, and impiously pretends that he had the authority of God

for marrying her. I call on you to examine his conduct with regard to Mary, the Egyptian girl. In both these cases he grievously sinned. Kooskuna Abdoolah, in a letter addressed to me, and published by the editor of the *Hurkaru* and *Wurtuman* says that his conduct was no worse than that of David King of Israel. I say that it was much worse. David sinned, it is true : but he repented bitterly. The Bible condemns the conduct of David ; and nothing can be said against its truth on this account. The Koran approves of the evil conduct of Muhammad ; and it is therefore evident that this Koran came not from God, who is infinitely holy, and who cannot look upon sin without hatred and detestation.

“The third point to which I refer you is the promise which Muhammad gave to his followers of marriage in heaven. As I know that you are possessed of a good understanding, I shall merely on this subject quote a couplet from a Persian poet. . . .

“You profess to be a seeker of the right road, and that you have embraced Muhammadanism after much inquiry. You also declare that, if you discover the falsity of it, you will get no good. I do not see what are the reasons which warrant you to come to this conclusion. If you actually discover that the Koran does not contain the religion of God, you will perhaps, by the aid of God, seek more diligently for its discovery in some other quarter. I give you credit for making inquiry in your youth, particularly as the Koran denounces all persons who act as you have done, and I would respectfully, but very earnestly, entreat you to re-examine minutely the claims of Muhammad. The topics to which I have briefly directed your attention will furnish you with some ground of decision ; and those which I now bring before your notice may perhaps conduce to the same object.

“It must be admitted by every intelligent person that, if God see fit to make a revelation of his will to men, the book containing that revelation must be true in all its statements, free from contradictions of principle, and holy in its tendency. Let the Koran be examined by this simple test and I am certain that it must be renounced. You are acquainted with its contents, and I ask you to consider if they are all of that kind which can be approved. As examples of the errors in matters of well-known facts, I refer you to what is said respecting the hills and mountains of the earth, the setting of the sun, and the character of Alexander the Great. In the chapter of Lockman, it is thus written : ‘ And he hath thrown on the earth mountains firmly rooted, lest it should move with you.’ In the chapter of the Kav, it is thus written : ‘ And he followed his way till he came to the place where the

sun setteth, and he found it to set in a spring of black mud ; and he found near the same a certain people.' In the same chapter it is said that Alexander believed in God, while the historians of his own country clearly show that he lived and died a heathen. The contradictions in principle are exceedingly numerous. These cannot be explained, as the Moosulman doctors wish, on the supposition that the prophet chose to repeat at one time what he had declared at another, for in the chapter of women it is thus written :—'Do they not attentively consider the Koran ? If it had been from any besides God, they would certainly have found therein many contradictions.' According to the doctrine of the Koran itself, then, its contradictions are proofs that it did not come from God. Muhammad indirectly, and unwillingly, gives testimony against himself. The Koran is not holy in its tendency, although many of its precepts, borrowed from the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, are correct. Instead of striving to restrain sin, and utterly eradicate it, Muhammad says, 'God is minded to make his religion light unto you, for man was created weak.' Instead of supporting the authority, and manifesting the holiness of God, your prophet teaches that men have the power of saving themselves by their own works ; or of procuring pardon by their own repentance. Do not deceive yourself, and ruin yourself, by resting on his scheme of salvation. Good works are at all times required ; and, however good they may be, they cannot be better than God commands. They cannot then stand in the place of the sins which have been already committed. Men, even in their best estate, sin daily in thought, in word, and in action. Their repentance cannot procure pardon, for were God to give to men the assurance that it would prevail, his kingdom would be destroyed. Men would begin to say that we may sin without fear, for we can escape when we please ; we have only to repent. In no earthly government of nations does repentance procure pardon. How will it succeed with God who is the King of all worlds ? That atonement which was made by Jesus Christ is the only sure ground of hope.

"You say that Christ declared that a prophet named Ahmud would come unto the world. I deny that he did ; and I ask you to show me the writing on which you ground your statement. Muhammad, I know, said that he was the great prophet spoken of in the Jewish Scriptures. But his own admission proves that he was not what he represented himself. He uniformly speaks of Christ as the Messiah. Now every Jew will tell you that the Messiah is the great prophet and Redeemer, whom they and their fathers have expected.

"You inform me that I should explain and prove the truths of my



own belief. This is my daily employment. When I have received your answer to this letter, which is as long as can be admitted at once into the *Sumachar*, I shall (D.V.) present you with an explanation and proof of what is required. I am really astonished to see a person of your abilities devoted to error. Wishing you much prosperity, I am your humble Servant,

“J. WILSON.”

In the elaborate *Reply* itself, Mr. Wilson does not allude to the almost unmentionable “Mostahil” or temporary husband, so essential a part of the Muhammadan system of divorce, as authoritatively laid down in the “Fatawa-i-Alamgiri.”¹ Nor did the attack of the Hadjee lead him to the consideration of a subject which recent treaties have made prominent, the relation of the sexual side of the Koran to the slave-trade and slavery. To the practical efforts in that direction he was soon to be called. But he does not spare the Hadjee in his sixth chapter, “On the mode in which Muhammad procured and treated his wives,” a subject on which even Gibbon is severe. The law of polygamous marriage and treble divorce has never been interfered with by the British Government among the forty millions of its Mussulman subjects in India; while not a few Hindoo criminal practices, like widow-burning, child-murder, hook-swinging, and human sacrifice, all in the name of religion, have been ruthlessly stopped. The result is such a horrible state of society among the Mussulmans of eastern Bengal, as was revealed in an official inquiry in 1873, and which still goes on corrupting, under the ægis of the Koran and its expounders. Mr. Wilson was able to write of this controversy, as of those which preceded it, that it had shaken the faith of some Muhammadans in different parts of the country. The Parsee editor of the newspaper in which it was at first conducted, summed it up in the brief de-

¹ See Baillie's translation, and the exposure of the abomination by a Hindoo, Professor Shama Churun Sircar, in the Tagore Law Lectures for 1873 (Calcutta).



claration, "All the world know that Islamism has been either propagated by the sword, or embraced on account of its licentiousness." From far Cochin, and the south, a convert came convinced by the *Reply*, which was reprinted in other parts of India. In October 1833 Mr. Wilson baptized the first Muhammadan of Bombay who had been received into the Christian Church. He was a fakeer, or mendicant devotee, whose secession from Islam infuriated his intolerant brethren. He was followed by an inquirer, a very learned Moolla, young and master of several tongues, who during the controversy was the stoutest opposer of Christ, but humbly solicited baptism as now convinced of the truth of Christianity.

It was with a peculiar interest that Mr. Wilson directed his attention to the Jews of western India from the very beginning of his studies in the Konkan. For it was on that low coast, and in the country stretching upwards to the high road to Poona that, according to their own tradition, their ancestors, seven men and seven women, found an asylum, after shipwreck, sixteen centuries before. The little colony increased under the protection of the Abyssinian Chief who had settled there, and they came to be recognised as another variety of the Muhammadans. Destitute of all historical evidence, even of their own Law, the Beni-Israel, or sons of Israel as they called themselves, clung all the more tenaciously, generation after generation, to their paternal customs. On the mainland they became industrious agriculturists and oil-sellers. In the new settlement of Bombay they found work to do as artizans, and even shopkeepers and writers. Not a few of them are Sepoys in the Bombay army, as many Christians are in the Madras army. They differ from the black Jews of Cochin, further south, who have sprung of the earliest emigrants from Arabia and Indian proselytes. Nor have they any connection with the so-called white Jews of the same place, whose

arrival in India dates no farther back probably than the earliest of those expulsions from Spain, which, in the same way, afterwards sent Lord Beaconsfield's ancestors to Venice. The Beni-Israel, repelling the name of Yehudi as a reproach, were probably older than both, for the Cochin Jews say that they found them on their arrival at Rajapoorā, in the Konkan. In two careful and learned papers, written for the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. Wilson traced them to Yemen or Arabia Felix, the Jews of which they resemble, and with whom they hold intercourse. One of the Rothschild family, Mr. Samuel, and Mr. Wilson himself afterwards, found the origin of the Aden Jews in the remnant of the captivity who fled into Egypt, where, as Jeremiah had warned them, many were sent captive to Arabia, and where they led the Himyarite King of Yemen, Toba, to embrace their faith. The Yemen colony was reinforced after the dispersion, on the fall of Jerusalem; and again on the defeat of Zenobia; till Sana, the capital of Yemen, became a new bulwark of Judaism against the Christians of Ethiopia on the west and the Zoroastrians of Persia on the east. The Beni-Israel were very near Mr. Wilson's heart. For them he prepared his first grammar of Hebrew and Marathee. Long after he ceased to receive support for them from the home churches he made it his special care to raise funds on the spot. The transfer of the mission to the General Assembly he welcomed, among other reasons, because of the impetus it gave to this department. In 1826 a converted Cochin Jew, Mr. Sargon, had worked among them, and the American Missionaries also had from the first cared for them. Of the 1300 children who attended Mr. Wilson's various schools in 1836, some 250 were Beni-Israel, and of these one third were girls.¹

At the end of 1833 Bombay was visited by Joseph Wolff, the erratic Jew of Prague, who delighted to proclaim himself

¹ *Appeal for the Christian Education of the Beni-Israel of Bombay.*

the Protestant Xavier, and lamented that he had not altogether followed that missionary in the matter of celibacy, such was the sorrow that their separation by his frequent wanderings had brought on Lady Georgiana and himself. He had the year before sent Mr. Wilson this communication :—

“CABOOL, 10th May 1832.—The bearers of these lines are the Armenian Christians of Cabool, whose ancestors were brought to Cabool from Meshed by Ahmed Shah ; as they had no longer any means of support at Cabool they were constrained to emigrate from here with their wives and children, and intend now to settle themselves at Jerusalem and round Mount Ararat. As they are very poor indeed I cannot but recommend them to my English friends as worthy objects of their pity and compassion for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, who will come again in the clouds of heaven in the year 1847 to establish his throne and citadel in the capital of my Jewish ancestors in the city of Jerusalem—and at that time there shall be neither Armenian nor Englishman, but all one in Christ Jesus crucified, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords.—JOSEPH WOLFF, *Apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ for Palestine, Persia, Bokhara, and Balkh.*”

After emerging from Central Asia in a condition more nearly resembling that of a nude dervish than an Anglican clergyman, Wolff had attempted to convert Runjeet Singh at Lahore, had himself been civilised for the time at Simla by Lord William Bentinck and his noble wife, and had made his way round and across India by Madras and Goa to the western capital. In the amusing and by no means uninteresting *Travels and Adventures*, which, in 1861, was dedicated “by his friend and admirer” to the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, we have these glimpses of Bombay society, and of Mr. Wilson, with whom he afterwards frequently corresponded on mission-work for the Jews and the eastern Christians. “Wolff arrived in Bombay on the 29th November, and was received by all classes of denominations of Christians there with true cordiality and love. He was the guest of Mr. James Farish, who was several times Deputy-Governor of Bombay.

Lord Clare, the Governor, called, and heard a lecture which was delivered before a large audience. Wolff also lectured in Farish's house as well as in the Town Hall of Bombay, when English, Parsees, Armenians, Mussulmans, Portuguese, and Hindoos were present. One of the Parsees announced a lecture on the principles of the Parsees, in which he tried to adopt the style and actions of Joseph Wolff, but he was dreadfully cut up in the papers. . . . Wolff had a public discussion with the Muhammadans at Bombay, when the most distinguished members of the British Government were present, both of the military and civil departments, including Farish, Robert Money, and the missionaries Wilson and Nesbit, and also Parsees." Mr. Wilson and Mr. Stevenson introduced him to all departments of their mission-work, but he was especially interested in the Beni-Israel, some of whom he had first seen at Poona. He writes of "those learned, excellent, eloquent, devoted, and zealous missionaries of the Scotch Kirk," and continues,—“Wolff went also with Mr. Wilson to see one of the celebrated Yoghees, who was lying in the sun in the street, the nails of whose hands were grown into his cheek, and a bird's nest upon his head. Wolff asked him, How can one obtain the knowledge of God ?” He replied, ‘Do not ask me questions; you may look at me, for I am God!’ Wolff indignantly said to him, ‘You will go to hell if you speak in such a way.’” The subtle pantheism of the ascetic absorbed into Vishnoo was beyond the Judæo-Christian dervish.¹ He left soon after for Yemen and Abyssinia, whence we shall hear from him again.

¹ Lady William Bentinck had a hard fight to assure the Governor-General's court that Wolff was not mad. “I have succeeded,” she told him, “in convincing all who have seen and heard you that you are not cracked, but I have not convinced them that you are not an enthusiast.” Wolff replied, “My dear Lady William, I hope that I am an enthusiast, or, as the Persian Soofees say, that I am drunk with the love of God. Columbus would never have discovered America without enthusiasm.” And so Wolff afterwards revealed the true fate of Conolly and Stoddart.

A wandering missionary of like zeal but more intensity of spirit visited Bombay in the same year, Mr. Anthony Groves of Exeter, first and most catholic of those who call themselves "The Brethren." Having parted with all he possessed, according to his rendering of Christ's precept—"Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth," as expounded in a pamphlet on *Christian Devotedness*, he proceeded by St. Petersburg to Bagdad in 1831, and there commenced his mission. He had as his secretary, and the tutor of his children, the deaf lad who afterwards became remarkable as Dr. Kitto. Plague, inundation, and famine, broke up the schools in which he gave a Christian education to eighty children under five masters. His own wife and children fell victims, and in 1833 he visited India to learn lithographic printing, and acquaint himself with the experience of men like Duff and Wilson. But his speculative views were too far advanced for that. He was a dervish of a different type from the buoyant Wolff, but still a dervish. He held that, as the gospel was to be preached for a witness by missionaries supported by the free-will offerings of Christendom, before the end come, no mission should continue in the same place for more than five years. After a visit to England he returned with a considerable reinforcement of coadjutors in 1836. On both occasions Mr. Wilson showed him that hospitality and did him that social service, which were already beginning to be drawn upon by all visitors who could plead any interest of any kind in the East and its peoples.

Another type of missionary policy was supplied by Mr. Francis William Newman, brother of the greater John Henry Newman, and son of a well-known banker. After giving brilliant promise, since well redeemed, as Fellow of Balliol up to 1830, Mr. W. F. Newman drifted away from the Thirty-Nine Articles into the views of Mr. Groves, whose pamphlet attracted him also to Bagdad. There he hoped to draw the



Muhammadans to the Arian form, at least, of Christianity by such purely moral evidence of its superiority as the lives of really disinterested Englishmen might supply. He dreamed of a colony "so animated by faith, primitive love, and disinterestedness, that the collective moral influence of all might interpret and enforce the words of the few who preached." He looked for success "where the natives had gained experience in the characters of the Christian family around them." This was precisely what Wilson, of all missionaries who have ever worked in the East, did in Bombay; but he succeeded where Mr. F. W. Newman soon failed, because he never ceased to show that a disinterested life and the Christian family spring directly out of those "mystical doctrines of Christianity" which the author of that sadly suggestive book the *Phases of Faith*,¹ began by postponing. Wolff, Groves, and F. W. Newman were all on one right track, the superiority of what is called the internal evidences, of arguments addressed to the moral and spiritual faculties of heathen and Muhammadan. So had Wilson begun, and so did he continue all through his career, from the letter quoted at page 72, to his testimony, along with that of Bishop French of Lahore, regarding the importance of witness-bearing, at the Allahabad Conference in 1873. But Wilson did not make the mistake of cutting the stream off below the fountain-head, and hence the permanent and developing fruitfulness of his work to all time and among all creeds and classes. Francis Newman returned to England in two years, himself partly affected by a Muhammadan carpenter of Aleppo, to find the Tractarian movement beginning, and his brother and his whole family alienated from him. He would not return to the East; considering the idea of a Chris-

¹ Compare the "second period" of that book, entitled *Strivings after a more Primitive Christianity*, with the greater *Apologia* of his brother, John Henry Newman.



tian Church propagating Christianity while divided against itself to be ridiculous. So Ecclesiasticism drove him out, he thinks, and we may admit this much, that Protestant Evangelicalism lost not a little in the brothers Newman, abroad and at home, whoever was to blame. The unity which each has to this day sought they would have found, as John Wilson did, in catholic work for the Master, pursued in loving unity with missionaries of all sects in India. The mission in Bagdad and Persia, abandoned by Groves and Newman, he in due time did his best to revive with the only means at his disposal.

In 1835 the society which Mr. Wilson had gradually gathered around him lost its greatest lay ornament in the death of Mr. Robert C. Money, secretary to the Government. The son of Wilberforce's friend, he had ever shown in Bombay all the excellencies of "the Clapham sect," as a devoted member of the Church of England. Under the Charter of 1833 Archdeacon Carr had been made the first Bishop of Bombay, and the Church Missionary Society had received a new impetus there. From the first Mr. Money became the attached friend of Mr. Wilson, and co-operated with him in every good work. Men of all classes, native as well as English, united to raise as his memorial the Church of England Institution, or English College, in Bombay, which bears his name. Mr. Wilson was for some time engaged in the preparation for the press of a memoir, and of the papers of one who, like Mr. Webb and Mr. Law at the same time, and Sir Bartle Frere at a later period, reflected lustre on the Bombay Civil Service.

To the regret of all classes in the Presidency Sir John Malcolm resigned the office of Governor at the close of 1830, and with that ceased those services to India and Asia right up to the Caspian, which justified Sir Walter Scott's eulogies and the great Duke's friendship.

Not the least valued, certainly not the least sincere, of the addresses presented to his Excellency who had come out to India as an infantry cadet at thirteen, was that which Mr. Wilson wrote and signed as Secretary to the Bombay Missionary Union. At a time when the Charter of 1833 had not removed the silly opposition of the East India Company, these men, some of whom had been driven from Calcutta and for a time threatened with expulsion from Bombay, thanked "the Honourable Major-General Malcolm, G.C.B., Governor of Bombay, for the facilities which he has granted for the preaching of the gospel in all parts of the Bombay territories, for his favourable exertions for the abolition of Suttee, and for the kind manner in which he has countenanced Christian education.") His reply was that of the purely secular but truly tolerant statesman. He begged Mr. Wilson to assure the missionaries "that it is solely to their real and Christian humility, combined, as I have ever found it, with a spirit of toleration and good sense, that I owe any power I have possessed of aiding them in their good and pious objects, which . . . must merit and receive the support of all who take an interest in the promotion of knowledge, the advancement of civilisation, and the cause of truth." So had Mountstuart Elphinstone spoken before him. So, and even still more warmly, did Lord William Bentinck afterwards, reply to a farewell address from the Calcutta missionaries: "The offer of religion in the schools of the missionaries is without objection. It is or is not accepted. If it is not, the other seeds of instruction may take root and yield a rich and abundant harvest of improvement and future benefit. I would give them, as an example in support of this advice, the school founded exactly on these principles, lately superintended by the estimable Mr. Duff. I would say to them, finally, that they could not send to India too many labourers in the vineyard like those whom I now have the gratification of addressing.")

Sir John Malcolm met in Egypt his successor, Lord Clare, whose Irish blood he found inflamed because of the delay in the arrival of the steamer at Cosseir. The Earl of Clare was followed in 1835 by Sir Robert Grant, who keenly sympathised with Mr. Wilson and his work on its highest side. Lord Clare had, indeed, specially requested Mr. Stevenson to continue to give religious instruction in the Poona School at first established by that missionary, after it had been transferred to the Government, and he had privately assisted missions. But Sir Robert Grant was a man to whom Wilson could, in the first year of his administration, publicly apply this language when appropriately dedicating to his Excellency a sermon on "The British Sovereignty in India." The dedication was based on "the confidence which I entertain, grounded both on your well-known sentiments and your actings since your arrival in this Presidency, that the cause of Christian and general philanthropy in India, so dear to the heart of your distinguished father, will ever secure your warmest support in the high station in which God in his providence has placed you." Sir Robert Grant, and his elder brother Lord Glenelg, were sons worthy of Charles Grant, who, from his earliest experience as a Bengal civilian in 1776, had devoted himself to the moral and spiritual regeneration of the people of India. Afterwards, as author of those *Observations on the Moral Condition of the Hindoos and the Means of Improving it*, which were written in 1792, and have almost the character of prediction; as chairman of the Court of Directors and member for the county of Inverness, the head of the Grants of Grant proved to be the mainspring of all the reforms which were forced by successive charters on the East India Company, up to that of 1833. While his elder son assisted him in the House of Commons, and afterwards as a Cabinet Minister and a peer, it fell to Sir Robert to carry out in Western India the enlightened provisions of that charter. This he did with a

wisdom and a success which more than justified Mr. Wilson's eulogy; while in his private character he became, when at the head of the Bombay Government, the author of those hymns, four of which Lord Selborne has embalmed for ever in his *Book of Praise*, among the four hundred best sacred lyrics of the language. The name of the author of the strains beginning "Saviour, when in dust I lie," and "When gathering clouds around I view," will be always dear to Christendom; but these hymns were the least of his services to its cause. His last act as Governor of Bombay was to request Mr. Wilson to submit to Government a plan for the practical encouragement of a sound and useful education of the natives, by whomsoever conducted, whether by the State, by missionaries, or by natives themselves.

The sermon on the British Sovereignty in India, which, on the 8th of November 1835, Mr. Wilson preached in St. Andrew's Church for the Scottish Mission, marks the broad imperial view which he had already learned to take of our position in southern Asia as rulers, and of our relation to the feudatory Princes who have been incorporated with our political system by Lord Canning's patent only since the Mutiny of 1857. The preacher's subject was the not dissimilar mission of Cyrus.¹ Mr. Wilson spoke at an "epoch-making" time, when the Charter of 1833 had in India just begun to operate in the two directions of opening the trade of the East India Company to the world, and securing the education of the people in the English language, and all that that fact involved. He was too wise and equitable a missionary to exaggerate his success on the one hand, or to argue on the other that the progress of the Christian church in India would have been greater if the State had devoted public funds to it as well as to education. At a later period, in 1849, he thus wrote, "though it be devoutly admitted that the exalted

¹ Isaiah xlv. 1-4, 6-13.



Saviour demands the homage of governments and communities, as well as of individuals, it is obvious that the professed expression of that homage by the exaction of pecuniary contribution in support even of Christian Institutions, from an unwilling people, may be questioned without any want of loyalty to Christianity itself."

All through this period the Bombay Union of Missionaries showed great activity in the number and variety of the questions which it discussed. Mr. Wilson was the secretary and the most energetic member. Now we find him in 1832 submitting a petition, which Lord Bexley presented to the House of Lords, for the amelioration of the Hindoo and Muhammadan laws of property and inheritance as they affected converts to Christianity, which resulted in Lord William Bentinck's first concession on that point, to be completed long after by Lord Dalhousie and Lord Lawrence. Now he reports on the purchasing and receiving donations of Oriental works for the use of the Union. Now he gives information regarding the similar Christian Union in China. Now he seeks light on the delicate questions raised by converts as to marriage and divorce, which he helped Sir Henry Maine and the Legislature to settle for ever half a century after. Now he proposes and discusses such questions as these—"Are there any instances of a remarkable progress of Christianity among a people without the gospel being previously, generally and simultaneously, proclaimed among them?" "How is the statement that Christ is an object of worship in his entire person consistent with the declaration that Christians worship the immaterial God alone?"¹ "What influences tend to

¹ Thus decided: "It was the opinion of the members that when we speak of worshipping the immaterial God alone, we speak of serving that God who, though he is an unchangeable and eternal Spirit, pervading all space, dwells also in the Incarnation which he assumed, with a perfect union of the divine and human natures, and who, in that character and person, as well as in all his other relations, demands the homage of all."



134
modify and destroy Caste?" The growing extension of intemperance and drunkenness under the excise and opium laws, among communities who are temperate by climate, custom, and creed, gave at that early period a peculiar interest to the question which was thus decided: "The Union are of the opinion that it is the duty of all Christians in India to promote and encourage the cause of temperance societies; that these societies should be formed upon the principles of the Bible, and that they should exhibit the prevalence of Christian principles as the grand means of producing temperance; also that they should be formed upon the principle of entire abstinence from all ardent spirits, opium, tobacco, and other intoxicating drugs, except when used as medicines, or in cases of extreme urgency and necessity; and moderation in the use of fermented and other liquors."

The spirit of union and co-operation which always marks the various missionaries abroad in the face of the common foe, was farther illustrated by a communication from the Presbytery of Kaffraria, which expressed a desire for friendly correspondence. To the somewhat narrow remark that Calvinistic Presbyterian missionaries should be more united than they are, or than the Churches at home, Mr. Wilson appended the characteristic note, "We would add, in the spirit of gospel catholicism and all Christian missionaries." This letter, dated 4th July 1832, and signed, "John Bennie, Moderator," describes the work of four missionaries at Chumee and Lovedale, "the two oldest stations, where there is a considerable population," and Pirrie and Burnhill. In the half century since we get this glimpse at South Africa, Lovedale has become the brightest light among its tribes,¹ and the native question seems to be approaching a settlement, in the East Indian sense, after six wars.

¹ See Mr. Anthony Trollope's testimony in his *South Africa*, vol. i. p. 216. (1878).



India itself and China were soon after to lose their two foremost scholar-missionaries, in the death of Dr. Carey at Serampore on the 9th June 1834, at the age of seventy-three; and of Dr. Morrison at Canton on the 1st August, at the comparatively early age of fifty-three. Mr. Wilson, who was still beginning in Western India and Asia the preparatory work that they had done so well for Eastern and Northern India, and for China and Eastern Asia, wrote thus of the two men whose special merits he, of all others, was best fitted to describe :—

“Dr. Carey, the first of living missionaries, the most honoured and the most successful since the time of the Apostles, has closed his long and influential career. Indeed his spirit, his life, and his labours were truly apostolic. Called from the lowest class of the people, he came to this country without money, without friends, without learning. He was exposed to severe persecution, and forced for some time to labour with his own hands for his support; yet then even, in his brief intervals of leisure, he found time to master the Hebrew and Bengalee languages, to make considerable progress in the Sanskrita, and to write with his own hand a complete version of the Scriptures in the language of the country. The Spirit of God, which was in him, led him forward from strength to strength, supported him under privation, enabled him to overcome in a fight that seemed without hope. Like the beloved disciple, whom he resembled in simplicity of mind and in seeking to draw sinners to Christ altogether by the cords of love, he outlived his trials to enjoy a peaceful and honoured old age, to know that his Master's cause was prospering, and that his own name was named with reverence and blessing in every country where a Christian dwelt. Perhaps no man ever exerted a greater influence for good on a great cause. Who that saw him, poor, and in seats of learning uneducated, embark on such an enterprise, could ever dream that, in little more than forty years, Christendom should be animated with the same spirit, thousands forsake all to follow his example, and that the Word of life should be translated into almost every language, and preached in almost every corner of the earth?”

“Dr. Morrison, whose name will be held in everlasting remembrance, died at Canton on the 1st of August last, at the age of fifty-three. He had laboured as a missionary for nearly twenty-seven years



CSL

LIFE OF JOHN WILSON.

[1835.]

in China, and (with the assistance of Dr. Mylne in some of the books) translated the Scriptures into Chinese, compiled and published a copious Chinese dictionary, and several important philological works, prepared and circulated many Chinese tracts, founded the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, and proved the means of the conversion and scriptural education of Leang Afa, who is now labouring, with some success, as a native preacher. He was also for several years interpreter to the English Factory, and he supported himself, and contributed much to the cause of missions, from the salary which he received in consequence of the situation which he thus held."

More than any other missionary in the East, Mr. Wilson proved to be their successor. It is a subject of regret that he could not become the biographer of Carey, whose life has yet to be worthily written.¹

¹ The Memoir by Eustace Carey, his nephew, was written avowedly at the request of the Baptist Missionary Society, which had misunderstood Dr. Carey from the first, and is unworthy of the subject. The *Lives of the Serampore Missionaries*, by the late John Clark Marshman, C.S.I., is the most valuable contribution made to the history of Christian and social progress in India, by one who is emphatically the Historian of British India before the Mutiny; but its theme is too wide to represent William Carey in all the details of his unique career.



CHAPTER V.

1830-1835.

TOURS TO NASIK; TO JALNA AND ELORA; TO GOA,
KOLHAPORE, AND MAHABLESHWAR.

Man the Missionary's Business—Tours of Officials and Missionaries—John Wilson a delightful companion—*First Tour* with Mr. Farrar—The Glories of the Ghauts—The Ramoshee Brigands—Brahmanical Opposition at Nasik—The Sacred Godavery—*Second Tour* to Jalna—Battle of Korigaum—Ahmedabad—Worship of the Monkey God—Historical Characters—The Telescope and Hindooism—Discussion with the Jains—A Christian Government quoted against Christianity—Elora—Christ preached in the Cave Temple of Kailas—Dowlatabad—Aurangabad—Opposition of the Military Authorities at Jalna—Mr. Wilson seriously injured by a horse—A New Hindoo sect—Strange Iconoclasm—Ahmednuggur—Strolling Players—Christian Sectarianism out of place in India—*Third Tour* to Goa—Old Scenes in the Konkan—Dr. Claudius Buchanan—The Inquisition at Goa—M. Dellon's Sufferings—New and Old Goa—Forged Romish Vedas—Latin Conversations with Portuguese Priests—A Blushing Prioress—His Excellency the Vice Rey—The Augustinians and Franciscans—The Representatives of Sivajee—The Raja of Kolhapore—Satara—Mahableshwar—A tiger springs up near Mr. Wilson.



“ The celebrated coast of India trace,
That runs down southward to Cape Comorin,
Once Kumari : immediately in face
Lies (now Ceylon by name) Taprobane ;
Over the sea the Lusitanian race,
Who shall with arms and fleets come after thee,
Shall victories gain, cities and lands possess,
Which shall their lives for many ages bless.

“ The provinces round which these rivers flow,
And various tides contain, are infinite :
One kingdom's Mahmoud ; one of the Gentoo,
For whom the devil doth laws and customs write.
Behold Narsinga's signory doth show
Sacred oldest remains to faithful sight,
St. Thomas' body, Hero Sanctified,
Who placed his doubting hand on Jesus' side.

“ Here was the city, which was called by name
Meliapor, rich, great, well favoured :
The ancient idols it adored, the same
As races vile are now to worship led :
Far to it from the shore the people came,
When the great Faith, which o'er the world is spread,
Thomas came preaching, who had travelling sought
A thousand provinces, which he had taught.

* * * * *

“ Ganges and Indies, Thomas, thee deplore,
Weeps all the ground on which thou once didst tread !
The souls that thou hast taught yet weep the more,
Who with the Sacred Truth were clothed and fed ;
But angels, in a singing, shining choir,
Receive thee in thy glory merited ;
We pray thee, ask assistance of the Lord,
And to thy Lusians favour thus afford !”

CAMOENS : Aubertin's Translation of *The Lusads*.



CHAPTER V.

"THE business of the missionary is with man," was a saying of Dr. Chalmers that Mr. Wilson frequently quoted. To know India, of all countries, is to be familiar with its people; to be acquainted with its princes; and to understand the relation of the British Government and its administrative systems to both. For a missionary to know India, he must add to all that the study, at first hand, of its religions and their learned men, Brahmanical, Muhammadan, and Non-Aryan. He must possess the ability to lay a pure and a historical Christianity alongside both the administrative systems and the religious philosophies or cultures, so as to saturate the former with the positive and direct moral spirit which they necessarily lack from political conditions, and to overthrow the latter by the more purely spiritual and potent force of Christ Himself. The ordinary missionary will do well if he confines his energy to one of the three faiths. As a matter of fact, most Indian missionaries have worked among the Hindoo or the aboriginal communities, who are vast enough. But Mr. Wilson was a pioneer whose deliberate equipment, as well as his evangelic ambition allowed no human or traditional substitute for Christianity to remain unstudied or unattacked. The official, civilian or soldier, however zealous, has to be content with the indirect and frequently unconscious disintegration which has been going on in India ever since Clive obtained the civil government of Benares from the effete emperor, Shah Alum. But, freed from the lower responsibility of political considerations, Mr. Wilson could use all that makes the civilian efficient, and press it home at once with a moral disinterestedness and



a spiritual force, which the natives, high and low, were not slow to appreciate. Like the civilian, and to a far greater extent than the average of the eight or nine hundred members of the covenanted civil service who have always governed the millions of India so well, he held the key to the ears and hearts of the people in a knowledge of their languages and hoary civilisations, Aryan and Semitic. Like the district officer and commissioner, too, but with a freedom and over an extent of territory they rarely know, he made his almost annual tours, east and south and north, to the very centre of India, to Goa, and again to the far Indus and the courts of Rajpootana, till he knew peasant and prince, rude ascetic, sacerdotal Brahman, and scornful Moulvie, as no one hedged round by officialism could do.

Next to mastering the languages it was his object to mix with the people who spoke them. His model was no lower than "Our Lord and His apostles," with whom he had more than once to silence ignorant critics in England. "Wherever," he wrote, "the objects of their ministry most advantageously presented themselves, they were prepared to fulfil it. The temple, the synagogue, and the private apartment; the narrow street and the public highway; the open plain and the lofty mount; the garden and the wilderness; the bank of the river and the margin of the sea; were equally hallowed by these heavenly teachers." And he, like them, was in the East! "But many say, 'Leave this preaching without doors to native agents, who will be best able to bear the exposure connected with it.' . . . Even after we have been blessed, through God's mercy, with native preachers, we must for some time show them in our own persons the lively example of an apostolic ministration. . . . Xenophon remarked that the Asiatics would not fight unless under Greek auxiliaries." The "exposure" Mr. Wilson ridiculed, although his most fruitful tours were made at an early period,



when even roads were not, and a paternal government had not doubled its debt to develop the resources of the country by great public works. Rarely did he find a comfortable post-house or even tolerable resting-place when out of the beaten track of military stations and civilian hospitalities. Studying nature as well as man; preaching, speaking, examining daily; keeping up the correspondence rendered necessary by his supervision of the still infant Mission in Bombay; answering references of all kinds from missionaries, officials, and scholars, he found—because he made—the tour a holiday. On such occasions he carried a few books in an old satchel; manuals, sometimes in manuscript, of the botany, geology, and political relations with the feudatory princes, being as indispensable as the bundles of vernacular and Sanscrit writings which he circulated. Thus he was never alone, and every tour added to his multifarious collection of objects of natural history and archæology, to say nothing of Oriental MSS., on which he lectured to his students and friends. When accompanied by a brother missionary, and frequently by survey and settlement officers, like Colonel Davidson, whom he met in his wanderings, he proved the most genial of companions. His stores of information, old and new, interspersed with humorous anecdotes and a child-like fun, turned the frequent mishaps of jungle journeys into sources of amusement. And then, when the travelling or the preaching of the day was done, and the rough dinner was over at the tent door or in the native “dhurmsala,” or enclosed quadrangle, there went up to heaven the family supplication for Gentile and Jew, and dear ones near and far away. To be on tour in the glorious cold season of India, from November to March, is to enjoy life in the purest and most intelligent fashion, whether it be in the Viceroy’s camp or in the more modest tent of the district civilian. To be on a missionary tour with one who thus understands the people and loves them, is to know the highest form of enjoyment that travel can give.

Mr. Wilson's first tour commenced in the middle of January 1831, after a year of organising work in Bombay. His companion was the Rev. Mr. Farrar,¹ of the Church Missionary Society, who was just beginning to be able to speak to the Marathas. They rode upwards of 400 miles. Their most distant point was the sacred Brahmanical city of Nasik, on the upper waters of the Godavery. They set out by the Bhore Ghaut, now on the Madras line of railway, by Poona, and Ahmednuggur, and returned by the Thull Ghaut, now ascended by the railway to Calcutta. They sailed from Bombay to Panwel, on the mainland, passing the cave-temple islands of Elephanta, Salsette, and Karanja, which Mr. Wilson had previously visited with the civilian scholars Messrs. Law and Webb. At the next village he met with the first specimens of those aboriginal tribes of the jungle for whom he was to do so much, the Katkarees, who prepare catechu. His first view of the glories of the Ghauts of the Syhadree range he thus describes:—"As we rose from the valley a most majestic scene began to unfold itself. When I beheld hill rising upon hill, and mountain upon mountain—the sun setting in glory behind the towering clouds—the distant ocean, forests, rivers, and villages—and when, looking around me, I observed, amid this scene of grandeur, a single stone usurping the place of Jehovah, the Creator of all, I felt and expressed the utmost horror at idolatry, and the baseness, guilt, and stupidity of man."

Some experience of Poona convinced him of the superior importance of Bombay as a centre. On their way to Ahmednuggur one of the servants was attacked by the Ramoshee tribe of robbers, at that time scouring the country under their famous leader Oomajee Naik, compared with whom, writes

¹ Dr. Wilson used to tell afterwards how he dandled Mr. Farrar's boy, the present Canon Farrar, on his knee. But of his Anglo-Indian childhood Canon Farrar assures us he has only a dim remembrance.



Mr. Wilson, Rob Roy might be reckoned an honest man. But Nasik was the point of interest, a place of which Mr. Wilson used to say that it first stoned him, and, forty years after, would not allow him to leave Western India for a time without presenting him with a eulogistic and grateful address on parchment from its principal inhabitants of every sect. Mrs. Wilson reports the visit in a letter, written home in February 1831 :—

“They visited many places by the way, preaching to immense multitudes, and sleeping all night in temples, or outside of them, with reeds for pillows. He gives me new and important information about the incarnations of the gods, and the worship paid to them. ‘Some of the facts,’ he says, ‘are too horrible to relate. One temple has females of abandoned character connected with it ;¹ but even this is not the worst of its hidden mysteries of wickedness.’

“They began their preaching in the principal bazaar at the Peshwa’s palace. Their second place of addressing the natives was the bank of the holy river (the Godavery), where the Brahmans were performing ablutions. Here they had much discussion, but were prevented from finishing their discourse by the hissings and hootings lavished upon them by the Brahmans. On their return home they observed even the Muhammadans doing homage to this river by pulling off their shoes as they approached it. On the following day a great concourse of visitors came to their bungalow, and they had many opportunities of declaring the truths of the blessed Gospel. Even where a belief of the truth has not been produced, a general scepticism regarding the Hindoo religion has been the consequence of their ministrations and discussions ; and in this city, which is ‘wholly given to idolatry,’ without even one temple erected ‘to the unknown God,’ there has been an earthquake, and a shaking among the dry bones. John describes the scenery around Nasik as sublime and beautiful in no ordinary degree. The mountains are very majestic ; but everything is so associated with the reigning superstition that one of these is called the bed of Rama. On its summit there is a piece of table-land, with an elevated portion at the extremity, which is supposed to be the couch of the god. The temples form fine specimens of Hindoo architecture. The river is an object of

¹ Most of the temples of any note have them as a regular part of their establishment, and this, too, supported by the British Government !—J. W.

great attraction. Besides the great Rama-Kunda, or pool for bathing, there are eleven other pools sacred to some of the gods. John looks upon Nasik as one of the most important places in the Presidency for missionary exertion. He says, however, that he would not wish to see any one there but a person deeply versed in the Shastres and acquainted with Sanserit. He mentioned a circumstance which proves the ignorance of the Brahmans, or how much the peculiarities of Hindooism have passed into oblivion. They revere and are engaged in beautifying the representations in some celebrated caves,¹ which are proved to be of Buddhist origin, and once held in the utmost detestation by the Brahmans. Mr. Wilson encountered a band of robbers on his way home, but escaped from them unhurt. In consequence of the fatigue of travelling and of constant preaching, he was taken ill on the road, and fainted from exhaustion. . . . He arrived in Bombay on Saturday night, and you may judge what were our feelings of rapture on again meeting. I think his health has profited by the excursion ; and he has made an immense accession to his knowledge both of the languages and customs of this people."

Nasik was soon after occupied by the Church Missionary Society, who have established there the Christian village of Sharanpoor, an industrial settlement with a congregation of five hundred, of whom some two hundred are communicants, and a training school for freed Africans, who helped Dr. Livingstone. The Godavery river, the scenery on the lower reaches of which Sir Charles Trevelyan, when Governor of Madras, compared to that of the Rhine between Coblenz and Bingen, rises at the village of Trimbuk, only fifty miles from the Indian Ocean at Bombay, and sixteen miles south-west of Nasik. The Maratha Brahmans give out that its source is connected, by a divine underground channel, with that of the Ganges in the snows of the Himalayas. The traditional fountain is a stone platform, approached by a flight of 690 stone steps, on a hill behind Trimbuk village. On to that platform the stream falls from the rock, drop by drop, into the mouth of an idol, out of which the water trickles into a reservoir. Sir Richard Temple, when Chief Commissioner of

¹ At Lená, about six miles from Nasik.



the Central Provinces, sketched the beauties of the river alike with brush and pen. It has been the scene of the greatest successes as well as the most serious and expensive failures of the Madras school of Irrigation.¹

Of the second tour, eastward to Jalna and the caves of Elora, in the native State of Hyderabad, the country which the British Government had saved for the Nizam all through the chaos of Maratha, Hyder Ali, and Tippoo wars, we have an account from Mr. Wilson's own pen, in letters to his wife. At a time and in a country for the greater portion of which there were no maps, we find the tour duly marked out in a chart showing the road or track, on one side of it every village with the number of its houses, and on the other the day and date on which each was reached. The Rev. James Mitchell was his companion. After Poona they walked or rode short stages of from ten to fourteen miles a day at first. At Alaudi, the first stage onward, they found a great assemblage for the festival of Inanoba, a god of whom Mr. Wilson gives a humorous, but, towards the people, kindly account, published in the *Memoir* of his wife. At the next village, Phulshuhur, he inspected a settlement which was the first of a curious experiment intended to train that most valuable but neglected class, the East Indians, to agricultural pursuits. Sir John Malcolm, in his farewell minute of 1830, had discussed the subject to which the present Governor of Bombay, Sir R. Temple, has given attention.

"THE COLOSSAL PILLAR AT KORIGAUM.—This monument was erected by the British Government in commemoration of the brave resistance made by Captain Staunton, of which you will see an account in Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*. The pillar is tastefully constructed. It is in charge of a Sepoy, who was engaged in the action which it commemorates. He gave us a plain account of the battle.

¹ Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2d ed. ; and the monograph of Mr. Morris on the *Godavery District*. 1878.



"THE PATEL OR HEADMAN OF SHIKRAPOOR.—After we had preached in the village, and distributed books and tracts, the Patel sent for us. The court of his house was large, but it bore marks of decay. He received us very kindly, and invited us into an inner apartment. As soon as we had sat down, he brought out a box containing about twenty very handsome European engravings. He requested us to translate all their titles into Marathee, and to write them upon the covers. We complied with his request; and he told us that never in his life, advanced now to seventy years, had he met such Sahebs as we. We preached the gospel to him; and he furnished us with *pan supári* (betel nut and a green leaf), according to the native custom. Mr. Mitchell had a great aversion to chew his offering, and he almost spoilt our discourse by pleading in excuse the force of habit.

"AHMEDABAD is situated to the westward of Seroor. The village is much gone to decay, on account of the road to Poona having been changed by the English. It is remarkable for nothing but the residence of the oldest representative of the once famous house of Pawar, of which an interesting account is given by Sir John Malcolm. We visited the old man, according to his personal invitation, and were received with much kindness. We were surprised to find that he was unable to read. He showed us the different buildings connected with his *wada*, and we endeavoured to engage the interest of his mind by giving him and his few attendants a simple statement of the gospel, and by allowing him to view the neighbourhood through the medium of Mr. Mitchell's telescope.

"WORSHIP OF HANUMAN, THE MONKEY GOD.—In most of the villages of the Dekhan there is a small temple of Hanuman, under the name of Marwate, without the principal gate. The images are exceedingly rude. They are liberally besmeared with red lead: and, alas! they are viewed as the guardians and benefactors of the neighbourhood, and frequently resorted to. One of them fronted the place in which we usually sat at Parner. The votaries generally walked twelve or nineteen times round it, and prostrated themselves before it, and sometimes refrigerated it with cold water and adorned it with garlands. A great majority of them were females demanding the boon of children. The exercise which they take in connection with their worship may not be without effect.

"THE CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES of these agricultural districts is almost daily sinking in my estimation. Falsehood and dishonesty, and, when practicable, incivility, are daily brought before my notice. Dur-

ing the night which we spent in Jamgaum, we required a guard of two Ramoshees, three Bheels, and two Mhars ! The latter individuals were always on the watch to give the alarm. The others, who, as you know, are professed robbers, think it beneath their dignity to keep their eyes open, even when they are paid for their guardianship, and represent it as necessary, as I believe it is, to the safety of travellers. When we arrived at Nimba Dera, on the forenoon of Tuesday the 28th November, we were met by a most impertinent Brahman, who first by falsehood, and afterwards by passion, endeavoured to drive us from the only place where we could get shelter from the sun. He was joined by a companion, who without hesitation united with him in wickedness. Nothing but a severe reprimand, and the threat that we would represent the matter to the Collector, effected anything.

“FAILURE OF THE CROPS.—In some of the villages through which we passed on our way to Nimba Dera, we were informed that, on account of the great drought, the crops of the season had almost entirely failed. Though the complaints of the natives were conveyed to us in a tone which clearly intimated to us anything but resignation to the divine will, they were very heartrending. Starvation appeared to be apprehended by not a few, and, from the dread of it, many of the inhabitants had departed with their cattle to the banks of the Godavery and Kandesh. We distributed at several places a few rupees, and they were received with joy. We endeavoured to improve the righteous dispensation of divine providence, and we urged upon all the acknowledgment of the supreme God, who alone can give rain and fruitful seasons.

“THE JAGHEERDARS OF WAMBOOREE are sons to Balwant Rao Nagunath, one of two officers to whose custody, in the fort of Shivaner, Nana Furnavees entrusted Bajee Rao ; and his brother, Balwant Rao, was thrown into a hill fort for permitting a correspondence between Bajee Rao and his cousin Mahdoo Rao, the young Peshwa. We informed them of our intention to call upon them ; and they expressed their pleasure at the proposal. We went to them immediately after dinner ; and we found that the two brothers (for we did not see a third) had invited, in the expectation of seeing us, a great number of the most respectable natives to assemble. We sat down on a mat which they spread out for us, and entered freely into conversation with them, and especially with the elder brother, who is styled Dajee Saheb. We found them very inquisitive and polite, and much more accommodating in their feelings than many other Brahmans of less significance. They asked us to give them a general view of the Christian religion.” They



were much interested in the statement given, and tolerant of the objections made against Hindooism. They discoursed with us a short time on the subject of education, and seemed pleased with the notice which we took of their children. When I pressed upon one of the boys the necessity of application to his studies, the father said 'now you must give your whole mind to the subject, and when Mr. Wilson returns to Wambooree you shall have his approbation.' We spoke to them on the subject of female education, and told them that the Governor was greatly pleased with the Raja of Satara for having taught his daughter. I told them about the progress of female education in Bombay; and they were delighted to hear that you could speak Marathee and Hindostanee, and had so many girls under your care. The musical boxes and some other curiosities quite charmed them. On parting with them they expressed their highest satisfaction with us. We presented them with two fine-bound New Testaments, and a copy of the *Exposure of Hindooism*, etc., and distributed among the assembly a considerable number of Gospels and tracts. Dajee Saheb and two of his sons visited us in the evening, and stayed with us upwards of two hours. He looked at the comet, the planets, and the moon, through Mr. Mitchell's telescope, and maintained a very long and very interesting conversation with me about the religion, manners and customs, government, education, climate, public institutions, etc., of Britain, and the merits of Hindooism. I have never found a native more desirous of information than he appeared to be; and if any weight is to be attached to his declarations, it may be concluded that he was never more interested in any European than in the Missionaries. I was quite overcome with fatigue when he left us; and, considering the fulness and frequency with which the Gospel had been preached during the day, the numbers and attention of the auditors, and the precious portions of divine truth put into circulation, I could not but devoutly thank God for his great goodness towards us.

"VISIT TO SONAI AND INTERVIEW WITH THE JAINS.—At Sonai our labours were very comfortable. Great numbers of the natives attended and received from our lips and our hands the doctrines of salvation. A Jain appeared to be particularly impressed; he took down my address and promised to call on me in Bombay. We addressed many individuals of his creed during the day, who were Marwarees, and the principal corn merchants in the town. They allowed the existence of one God in a manner inconsistent with the tenets of their sect; but they violently contended for the *identity* of life as diffused throughout all kinds of existences. It was very difficult,

from the view which they took of this subject, to bring home the charge of guilt to their consciences. We opposed their statements by bringing before their notice the non-intelligence of the brute creation as contrasted with the intelligence and progressive improvement of man, and the ignorance and sin of man as contrasted with the knowledge and goodness of that Intelligence which we affirmed to preside over the universe. In the course of the day a learned Brahman, who was listening to me, burst forth into a great passion. 'It would be well,' he said, on leaving the circle, 'that you sported your sentiments only among the learned. You will infallibly confound the ignorant.' I expressed my hope that his prophecy would prove true, and I took advantage of his exhibition to show to all around the propriety of the word of God being made known to all.

"VISIT TO HIWARA AND THE FAUJDAR.—We arrived at Hiwara on the morning of the 30th November, and we took up our abode in a mosque. We called upon Muhammad Kaim, who is styled the Faujdar, and who resides in a large castle belonging to himself. He is the son of the late Nuwab Kavi Jang, and a very interesting old man. He is the descendant of an adopted son, Turk-Tas-Khan, a native of Bokhara, who came to the Dekhan with Aurungzeb, and who, after a variety of distinguished military adventures, was appointed Faujdar of Ahmednugger. He has been particularly friendly to the English, and he showed us several certificates bearing testimony to the fact which he had received from several gentlemen. He treated us with sherbet from a bottle from which the Duke of Wellington, etc., had drank in former days. His son called upon us in the evening, and we presented him with the New Testament in Persian, Hindostanee, and Marathee, and with copies of the 'Remarks on Muhammadanism.' The family is now very poor, having only a pension of Rs.61 per month. We enjoyed a fine view of the country from the top of the castle. Many fertile spots were visible, but the whole region showed the want of rain.

"PRAWARA SANGAM, AND TOKA, 1st December.—The road from Hiwara to Prawara Sangam leads through a part of the country distinguished by an excellent soil, but at this season suffering considerably from the drought. We had no opportunities of preaching on the way; but we had no sooner finished our day's journey than we were surrounded by great crowds of Brahmans and other natives, who evinced the greatest eagerness to hear our discourses and to receive our books, and who had an opportunity of gratifying their desires on four or five occasions. They behaved with the greatest civility, and treated us with much respect. In the evening we took a walk on the banks

of the Godavery. It is at this place, and even at this season, a very considerable stream. Numbers of the Brahmans were performing their evening ablutions at the spot where the river Prawara enters it. They form a numerous class in the neighbourhood. In Prawara Sangam there are a hundred houses of them; in Toka, which is situated on the opposite bank, there is the same number; and in Gaigaam, about half a quarter of a mile farther down the river, there are about ninety houses. Many of them engage in agriculture, but a great source of their support is the *dakshina* (alms) which they receive from the pilgrims who come to bathe in the *holy waters*. This cluster of villages, and Nasik and Paithan, form the only sacred towns on the Godavery which are situated in the Marathee country. I should think that their celebrity is on the decline. The progress of knowledge, and the increasing poverty of the people, contribute principally to the destruction of the pristine zeal. No true philanthropist can regret the circumstance, for nothing can be more melancholy than the delusion under which men labour when they believe that they can wash away their sins in a river, and acquire a stock of merit by all the trouble, fatigue, and expense which they incur in the fulfilment of their wishes. In the course of the day we had laboured much to expose it, and, I trust, with some effect. None of the natives, like Shookaram Shastree, at the first discussions in Bombay, alluded to any *sacramental* use of the waters—a circumstance which is worthy of notice, and particularly as we had intercourse with the most learned Shastree. The benefit of ablution was argued to be *positive*, to be an invaluable and unavoidable blessing to all who use it, according to the many promises and declarations of the Shastres relative to the virtues of the Ganges. The Hindoos and Roman Catholics are wonderfully agreed about the efficacy of rites intrinsically considered. On returning home we saw a very large and splendid meteor proceeding in a direction horizontal to the earth. It was visible for a considerable time. The natives assured us that a few days ago hundreds of a similar nature were seen, and that they were greatly terrified by the unusual occurrence.

“At Toka we went to the house of Baba Shastree, the richest Brahman in the place, and we were rather surprised to find him desirous of conducting us into an inner apartment of the upper story. We were happy to perceive the liberality of his sentiments and feelings, and we had no objections to gratify him. We found a respectable congregation assembled, and we gave a general view of the Gospel, and of the objections which we commonly urge against Hindooism. We



were heard with respect, and nothing was urged in reply to us except the encouragement granted by Europeans to idolatry. Augustus Brookes of Benares, known among the natives as *Gasté Brák*, it was said, had become a convert to Hindooism. The E. I. Company was liberal in its donations to temples. The great Saheb, Governor Elphinstone, had distributed money among the Brahmans when he visited Toka, and had given a salaam and Rs.100 to the god. The Collectors were in the habit of employing Brahmans to perform *anusthans* for rain, etc. It was exceedingly difficult to deal with the observations which they made on these subjects. I told them, on the information of the late Dr. Turner, Bishop of Calcutta, communicated to me during his visit to Bombay, that Mr. Brookes had expressed his regret for the countenance which he had given to the delusions of the natives; that it was not to be concluded that, because the Company had continued the revenue of temples, it approved of these temples, and that I hoped that it would soon see the impropriety and sin of giving any support to them; that I could not credit the statements given about Mr. Elphinstone, a gentleman who greatly promoted the improvement of the natives, and who subscribed to the propagation of the gospel, and that the Rs.100 were probably placed by the Brahmans without his consent before the idol; and that, while the *anusthans* were performed to please the natives, the payment of them by the Company, and every other species of encouragement granted to idolatry, was decidedly sinful. I also expressed my hope that the time was at hand when right views on these subjects, and other practices sanctioned without consideration, would generally prevail among Europeans. *All the Brahmans admitted the propriety of the Company, as a Christian Government, giving nothing more than toleration to the Hindoo religion.* Their wishes, I doubt not, were nevertheless what we might expect them to be.

“At half-past nine o'clock he invited us to return to his lodgings, with the view of witnessing a display of fireworks, and the performance of native musicians, etc., which he intended as a compliment to us. We explained our views of the sanctity of the Sabbath; and it was with great difficulty that he accepted of our refusal. We gave him credit for his intentions; and I have no doubt that his respect for us was increased by our consistency. I should have mentioned before, that I asked him why he had left the ‘holy city’ of Kashee (Benares), and come on a journey to Toka in search of merit. He pleaded the respect of his family for the idol at Toka. When I told him that in the Marathee language the term *káshikare* was equivalent to that of an



arch-villain, and that the circumstance told little in favour of the 'sacredness' of Varanási, he laughed very heartily.

"In the evening we rode on to Shapura. The noise of our proceedings at Toka, etc., had reached the village before us; and, long after the sun had gone down, the inhabitants voluntarily came to us as a body to hear the glad tidings. Though we were much exhausted, we both preached to them. They expressed, like many of their countrymen, great readiness to add the name of Christ to the calendar of their gods; and we urged His exclusive claims to their love and adoration.

"*ELORA, 4th December.*—After a very fatiguing ride in the sun we arrived at Roza. At this place there is a bungalow belonging to a Mussulman gentleman; but we found it occupied by two officers. They did not invite us to come in; and, after tying our ponies to a branch of a tree, and engaging in social worship, we stretched ourselves on the stone floor of a large mausoleum, built by the Emperor Aurungzeb. We took our *breakfast* at one o'clock; and proceeded to make our first visit to *Kailas*, the principal Brahmanical excavation of Elora. We remained in it till after sunset, examining its many wonders and curiosities.

"*5th December.*—We set out very early in the morning to the excavations. We commenced with those situated in the northern part of the hill, and went regularly through them all proceeding to the south. We gave them a very minute examination; and I wrote down 50 pages of notes on them, of which the following is a summary:—The caves are situated in a ridge of hills which run north and south, with an inclination in the centre towards the east. They are not far from the base of the hills; and the entrance to them commands a very extensive and interesting view of the Dekhan towards the west. The rock out of which they are cut is of the trap formation, and well suited for their marvellous workmanship. They are undoubtedly of three different kinds, Jain, Buddhist, and Brahmanical. The Jain caves are situated in the northern part of the hills, the Brahmanical in the centre, and the Buddhist in the south. It is difficult to say which of them are the most extensive and interesting. The Brahmanical excel as works of art. The accounts which are given of their wonderful structure do not, on the whole, fall beyond the truth. The Buddhist caves, from the nature of the workmanship, and from the appearance of the rock, appear to me to be the most ancient.

"I preached the gospel in the temple of Kailas to thirty natives, and Mr. Mitchell followed me. Little did the formers of this wonderful structure anticipate an event of this kind. We are in all probability



the first messengers of peace who have declared within it the claims of Jehovah, announced his solemn decree to abolish the idols, and entreated his rebellious children to accept of the mercy proposed through His Son. Some of our auditors pointed to the magnificent arches and stupendous figures around us, as the very works of God's own hand ; but we pointed them to the marks of the instruments of the mason, to the innumerable proofs of decay everywhere exhibited, and to the unsuitableness, absurdity, and impiety of the representations. We directed their minds to Him 'Who sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers, That stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in ;' and we called upon them 'to lift up their eyes on high, and behold Who hath erected these things, That bringeth out their host by number: Who calleth them all by names, by the greatness of His might, for that He is strong in power ; not one faileth.' They could not resist our appeal ; but in all probability we had not long left them, when they would practically deny their own admissions.

"DOWLUTABAD.—We departed from Roza late in the evening ; but before leaving it we inspected the graves of the illustrious Aurungzeb, his son, and several other distinguished personages. The Mussulmans had lights burning near them, and evidently viewed them as possessed of no small degree of sacredness. Our ride to Dowlutabad was down a steep hill. We travelled by moonlight. The gates of the fort were shut when we arrived, and it was in vain that we sought admission. We slept for a few hours in a shed.

"AURUNGABAD, 6th December.—We rose early in the morning, and after examining the curious fort of Dowlutabad, which is very correctly described by Hamilton, we proceeded to Aurungabad. We took up our residence in an empty bungalow in the cantonments. In the evening we walked into the city, conversed with a few Mussulmans, and distributed among them Hindostanee tracts. They showed us a very splendid mosque.

"JILGAUM, 7th December.—We rode through Aurungabad. A great part of its site is a mere ruin, and a great part of it within the walls seems to have been used as a burying-ground. From the gate at which we entered to that at which we came out is a distance of nearly three miles. We arrived at Jilgaum, distant from Aurungabad about twenty miles, at noon. We had suffered a great deal from the heat, and we resolved never, without absolute necessity, to expose ourselves in this manner again. Our luggage did not come up till about 4 o'clock P.M., and we were not a little anxious on account of our fatigue and



hunger. We had not the consolation that we were called to endure either in the cause of duty. They were the result of our own imprudent arrangements.

"In the evening I preached in Hindostanee, and Mr. Mitchell preached in Marathee. We gave few books away. Most of the inhabitants are Mussulmans. The hills which we crossed at Ellora appear to be the natural boundary of the Marathee language in this direction, though many of the cultivators, as far as we have yet come, understand and speak it.

"JALNA.—At Jalna, which is twenty-one miles east of Jilgaum, we arrived at ten o'clock. We were received with much warmth and kindly feeling by Captain Wahab. There are several young officers and their wives, who are in very hopeful circumstances; and who may receive much benefit from our visit. I baptized the child of Lieutenant ——. She is an illegitimate of three years old, and a sweet-looking little girl. I have had much satisfaction in conversing with the father, who appears a true penitent. I was asked to-day to baptize another child; but the father did not meet my views. To-morrow I intend to baptize the infant of Captain Tompkins. He is a convert of Henry Martyn, but he dislikes the English form of baptism. He is an excellent person, and useful as an instructor of the heathen.

"On Tuesday we preached to a large and noisy audience in the bazaar, and distributed a considerable number of books, which were received with much eagerness. One of the tracts, the *Remarks on Muhammadanism*, was handed up to the Colonel commanding the station, by, we believe, some European officer; and his fears have been so much excited by the reports from Bangalore that he requested us to circulate no more copies at present in the cantonment. We explained the nature of the tract to him, and we told him that in the circumstances of the case we should not continue to distribute it.

"15th December.—Since I last wrote to you the enemy of souls has been busy at this station, and he has succeeded in stirring up two or three of his European votaries to represent to the authorities here that our tracts are calculated to excite to sedition, to recall a great number of them and consign them to the flames, and to advise the total prohibition of any further circulation. The consequence is that we have been forbidden to circulate any more, and that, in our present circumstances, we have seen it expedient to dismiss all further applications. I doubt not that in a few days shame will cover those who have thus opposed the work of God. Indeed, they already begin to feel its burnings. You must not imagine from what I have now said that our