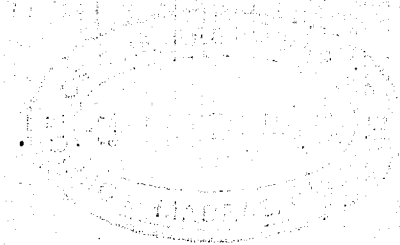


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REMINISCENCES
OF
BISHOP CALDWELL.

EDITED

BY HIS SON-IN-LAW,

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Missionary, S. P. G., Trichinopoly.

• Madras:

ADDISON & CO.

MOUNT ROAD.

1894.

 * செ.பி.கே. மீ. ஜி. *
 * செப்பனுவதற்காக எடுத்துக் *
 * கொள்ளப்பட்ட *
 * ஏ.மாஸ் மாதம் 1983 வருடம் *
 * செப்பனிட் முடித்த *
 * 1986 மாதம் 1983 வருடம் *
 * ஆராய்ச்சி உதவியாளரின் *
 * கையொப்பம் *

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PREFACE.

SEVERAL friends of the late Bishop Caldwell have written to enquire whether a life of the Bishop is going to be published. The reply given has been that, as a life of the Bishop will be more or less a history of the Church in Tinnevely for the past 50 years, it will involve a large amount of labour in consulting Missionary and other records, and will occupy a considerable amount of time. We do not despair of this being eventually done, but it is thought best at present to publish the following reminiscences which the Bishop wrote at the request of some members of his family. These reminiscences do not profess to give a full account of his work during the 53 years of his Missionary labour, but were written chiefly with a view to furnish his family with some account of his early life. The Bishop, however, added other chapters consisting of papers on more general subjects, and of addresses given on various occasions. They were then prepared by himself for publication.

The journal of his first voyage out to India and a few letters were sent out from Scotland some time after the Bishop's death, and extracts from these, it was thought, would give additional interest to what the Bishop had already written.

An account of his last illness and death has also been added, together with some of the expressions

of condolence and sympathy sent to Mrs. Caldwell, and some of the notices of his life which appeared in the papers at the time of his death.

It is hoped that the perusal of these reminiscences will stir up, and deepen interest in the Church for which the Bishop laboured so long and so successfully.

J. L. W.

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BISHOP CALDWELL'S REMINISCENCES.

CHAPTER I.

SOME PARTICULARS RESPECTING MY EARLY LIFE.

I was born on the 7th of May 1814, near Antrim, in the North of Ireland, at a place on a little stream called the Clady. My parents and all my ancestors were Scotch, and I returned with my parents to Scotland about my tenth year. Consequently, I have been accustomed to consider myself Scotch, though able to fall back on the circumstance of my Irish birth if necessary. Since I grew up to man's state, my associations and ecclesiastical sympathies have mainly been English. Notwithstanding this, my residence in India for by far the larger portion of my life and the deep interest I have always taken in India and everything Indian makes me more an Indian than anything else.

Our family on returning to Scotland took up their abode in Glasgow, where I remained till my sixteenth year. During this time, though never without some occupation, I availed myself to the full of the facilities for getting books to read which abounded in Glasgow, and devoted the whole of my spare time to devouring English literature. I had no guide, and my reading was dreadfully miscellaneous; but as the only books I cared to hunt out and read were those that had acquired a name in literature, my anxiety to see celebrated books and ascertain why they were celebrated kept me within reasonable limits. I have never seen much reason to regret my desultory reading at that time. I cannot say that I read much trash, and at any rate such as it was, it was celebrated trash. My reading had one great deficiency. It contained no theology and hardly any religion in any shape. My parents belonged to the Scotch Presbyterian Church, and my ideas of religion, if I had any, were those I learnt

from the shorter (Westminster) Catechism, which I was required to learn by heart, and from the long, abstract sermons of the parish minister.

About my sixteenth year I was taken to Dublin by a brother much my senior then living there, who wished to bring me up as an artist, under the idea that I had capacities which rendered it probable that I should succeed in that line of life. With this object in view, I was placed for several years in an excellent school of art, with this result, that whilst I gained several prizes by dint of earnest application, it became clear that it would be a mistake to encourage me to take up art as a profession. At the same time the art culture and the tastes I then acquired have been a source of the purest pleasure to me all my life. In the absence in Dublin of the cheap facilities for general reading I enjoyed in Glasgow, I was driven to the necessity of reading some books on Chemistry and other sciences which fell in my way, and found ere long, as I went on, that this branch of study, instead of being as dry as I expected, was full of interest. I imbibed thereby a taste for physical science which has never left me.

My brother was a member of the congregation of Dr. Urwick, an eminent preacher belonging to the Independents, whose chapel I attended whilst in Dublin, and at the same time I saw a good deal of some pious members of the Church of Ireland. The influences by which I was now surrounded were more distinctively religious than they had been before, and I was visited occasionally by serious thoughts about my spiritual condition. These thoughts passed away again and again, and I buried myself in art studies as before. At length, however, a day arrived when "thoughts above my thoughts," destined not to pass away but to take shape and live, took possession of my mind. Various difficulties had appeared to lie in the way of my acting on my convictions, but one day, when altogether alone and considering again what course I should take, all my difficulties seemed to have suddenly ceased. The way seemed invitingly open. If I was ever to give myself to God a voice within me said, why not now? The will was given me then and there to realise this "now," and together with the "will" the power to "do." I rose up and went out into the open air virtually

a new being, with a new governing idea, a new object in life, and what seemed to be "new heavens and a new earth" to live in. That day was not only the turning point of my religious life, but also the day on which those aims and feelings commenced to take shape which ended eventually in my going to India as a Missionary.

ABODE IN GLASGOW.

In 1833 I returned to Glasgow and there joined the church under the care of Greville Ewing, a devout scholarly minister of the Congregationalist body. By the "church" amongst Congregationalists is meant the society of the communicants, and by joining the church becoming a communicant. I had no special predilection for the Independent or Congregational form of church government, but joined this church rather than any other in consequence of Dr. Urwick's recommendation. I had no reason to regret doing so, for Greville Ewing had no equal in Glasgow at that time in Biblical learning, and there was a good deal of Missionary zeal amongst the members of the congregation. I now joined various societies of young men, some for mutual improvement, and one a district visiting society for visiting the practical heathens in some of the poorer parts of the city, and holding meetings amongst them. I carried on also a little Sunday evening school of my own in a distant suburb. This kind of work formed so natural a preparation for the work of a Missionary that had I gone out then to India, I should have changed only the locality, not the nature of my work. About this time I had the opportunity of hearing Dr. Chalmers preach several times. I have heard many eminent preachers since then, but none in whom there seemed to be so remarkable a combination of three excellencies—philosophic grasp of thought, a picturesque style, and over-mastering enthusiasm. In 1834 I offered myself to the London Missionary Society in conjunction with a Glasgow friend of mine, Mr. W. P. Lyon, now dead, who afterwards went out to Benares as a Missionary. We went to London and were both accepted by the Society. My first visit to England and to London was an era in my life. I was prepared to appreciate almost everything I saw by my previous studies and pursuits. Of the religious and intellectual side of English life I, of course, saw but little. We were sent by the Society to prosecute our studies at the University

of Glasgow. As some months would elapse before the University classes opened, we were sent to a preparatory class for Missionary students kept for the Society by a Mr. Cecil at Turvey, in Bedfordshire. I have a pleasant remembrance of Mr. Cecil's pure and elevated, though somewhat mystical tone of mind, to be daily brought into contact with which, was in itself no unimportant advantage to a young man. After I arrived in Glasgow and entered on my studies in the University, my work amongst the poor as a district visitor and my Sunday school teaching came to an end, and was succeeded by a style of work which was much less fitted to prepare me for the work of a Missionary. This was going out almost every Sunday into the country, preaching in Independent congregations as a "supply." This would have interfered in some degree with my studies, had I not always endeavoured to make up for every hour absent from this cause by extra labour. I found also this premature preaching of regular sermons to regular congregations a great temptation to the indiscriminate borrowing of the compositions of other people.

My preparation for a University course had been most imperfect. A year before I entered the University I did not know a word of either Latin or Greek, and this want of such a foundation, as can only be laid in early youth in a grammar school, has been felt by me as a serious disadvantage all through my life. The only alternative open to me was that of endeavouring to make up for my disadvantages by special diligence. This endeavour, though it exposed my health to risk, was to me no hard task, but a delight. I may not have made all the progress I desired, but I feel persuaded that there was no student at the time in the University who was filled with a warmer love for learning for its own sake, or who worked from session to session with a steadier glow of enthusiasm. Most people have learnt almost all they know of the classics in the schoolboy period of life with little or no appreciation of their excellences; but as I knew nothing of them till after I had acquired some acquaintance with English literature and some power of forming a critical judgment, my acquaintance with them was like the discovery of a new world. I was not so ill-prepared for the philosophical part of the University course, for I had already read most of the works of the great Scotch metaphysicians and some of the English ones before my University course com-

menced. In my first year I stood second in the special examination in Latin and fourth in Greek. In my second year I was second in Logic, and received a prize for an essay on a subject in Greek literature, and in my third year I was second again in Moral Philosophy. I attended the mathematical classes, but I had little liking for that department of study, and gained no distinction in it. At the end of the year I went up for my Bachelor's degree, when I was bracketed first in Mental and Moral Science, and received accordingly half of Sir Robert Peel's prize for the person who stood first in the list of graduates.

Whilst studying in Glasgow I imbibed that love of Comparative Philology which has ever since grown with my growth. I was led in this direction by the natural bent of my own mind, but my interest in the subject took shape and deepened through the influence of the lectures of Sir Daniel Sandford, our Professor of Greek, an enthusiastic scholar, who in his acquaintance with Comparative Philology, a subject then studied chiefly in Germany, was far in advance of most of the scholars of his own country and time. I remember then forming the resolution that if I ever found myself amongst strange races speaking strange languages, I should endeavour so to study those languages as to qualify myself to write something about them that should be useful to the world. This early-formed resolution was the seed out of which eventually my Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages grew.

During the whole of these three sessions I was at the same time studying theology with Dr. Wardlaw and Mr. Ewing, the theological professors of the Independent Divinity School, and Hebrew with a professor at the Andersonian University. The theological course consisted of a little practice in sermonizing, and a great deal of listening to lectures on Systematic Divinity, Pastoral Theology, Biblical Literature and Church History. The lecturers being able men, their lectures were listened to with respect, but I have always since thought that the plan of teaching from text-books would have enabled the students to lay a better foundation of real knowledge. Reading was not encouraged, and a student might have passed through the entire course with distinction without knowing anything but what was contained in the lectures he heard read. I made up for this want in some degree

by devoting as much time as I could spare to the study of some of the great English theologians, both Church of England and Puritan. I dipped into the works of most of the great divines of the 17th and 18th centuries in order to acquire some general idea of their contents, but the divine who attracted me most powerfully was Hooker, who seemed to me to stand at the head of the entire list as a thinker and writer. I made my acquaintance at the same time with Waterland, and those two divines have always since appeared to me the best representatives of the old historical school of Church of England theology. It was in a considerable degree through the influence of the divines of this school that my mind began to gravitate towards the Episcopal Church. This tendency commenced during my first year at the University and steadily gained strength; but it was not till five or six years had elapsed that I made up my mind to act upon these new ideas, partly because I resolved to apply myself first to a careful study of the Anri-Nicene fathers and the early Church historians, which would necessarily take some time, and partly because I considered it necessary to make up my mind before I took so important a step, not only as to whether the Episcopal system was better than the non-Episcopal, but also whether it was so much better as to justify a change from the one to the other. A change on the ground of mere preference alone would have seemed to me too like an act of schism. My tendencies were well known to my fellow students, but I quieted them down, and at the same time quieted my own mind by a paper I read at one of our meetings on the difficulty of arriving at the truth in ecclesiastical controversies and the necessity of patience. I argued that the right of private judgment was limited by the power, that such persons as we were had not the power of forming a correct judgment on controverted matters requiring great research, and that it was our safest course to content ourselves with keeping where we were, and doing our duty as far as we understood it till we had more light. This principle enabled me with something like a safe conscience to continue to act in all things like a dissenter whilst in mind more or less a church man, and even to receive ordination at the hands of Congregational ministers, being convinced that the ordination they conferred was nothing more than what they themselves considered it to be, viz., an edifying ceremony.

On the whole subject of religious differences there seemed to me much less reason for separation than for forbearance, toleration and comprehension. Leaving out of account specialities of dogma, modes of worship and peculiarities of expression, looking only at the subjective side of religion, the general condition of things as regarded spiritual religion seemed to me everywhere pretty much the same. The different systems do undoubtedly lead to the development of different phases of character, some of which seem more estimable than others, as well as to the development of different modes of Christian work, some of which seem better fitted than others for the establishment and extension of religion, but piety of the highest order, as well as zeal of the highest order seem to me always to remain rare gifts of grace. I have a very high idea of the estimable traits of character and the judicious modes of work developed amongst liberal, moderate, cultured High Churchmen, but I do not claim for them any exemption, either as to spirituality or as to zeal, from what appears to me to be the general rule. Indeed, I consider specimens of the enthusiasm of piety and of the enthusiasm of zeal particularly rare amongst the members of this otherwise exemplary class.

After taking my degree I proceeded to London and prepared to set out for India. On leaving home I had an affecting parting with my mother. She was ill at the time and confined to bed. I knelt down by her bed-side when she put her arms round my neck, kissed me, and said, "I freely give you up to God without one murmuring thought." She repeated the words "without one murmuring thought." I then rose up and went forth on my journey, never to see my parents again, but with a confident belief that God's fatherly guidance and care would more than make up to me, whilst engaged in His work, for the loss of home and friends. The London Missionary Society appointed me to their Mission in Madras, and showed me much kindness in various ways. They gave me an excellent outfit, including the acceptable present of £20 worth of books. The Home Secretary of the Society, Mr. Arundel, accompanied me to Gravesend and saw me safely on boardship. About the same time two other Glasgow University men were sent out by the Society to India—one Mr. Lyon, a college companion of mine, to Benares, the other, Mr. Russell, to Travancore. As I was

leaving country and friends for the first time, going out to distant tropical shores as a Missionary, not knowing what was likely to befall me, what work I should be engaged in, or what would be the result, as this too was my first long voyage, my feelings as we set sail might be described as a compound of anxiety, wonder and hope. Hope preponderated, as it might naturally be expected to do in a person of my age, but I am thankful to add that in all the circumstances in which I have been placed since then, however gloomy they may have appeared to me, I have always found hope preponderate.

The vessel in which I embarked, the *Mary Ann*, Captain Tarbutt, sailed on the 30th August 1841, but a month elapsed before we reached the open sea. We met with bad weather in the channel, contrary winds with heavy rain, and unfortunately one dark night we came into collision with another vessel. She was a French vessel from Brazil to Havre. She came against us with a wind, and we were beating up against the wind, but as our vessel was a sturdy Dutch built craft, that had been, it was said, a Dutch sloop of war, it was the other vessel that suffered. I never could find that either vessel carried a light. Our vessel was damaged a good deal and had to put in to Plymouth to refit, but the other, I am sorry to say, went down immediately. Six of her crew reached Falmouth in an open boat. The rest, I do not remember how many, were lost with the vessel. This was an alarming incident at the commencement of one's first voyage, but I found the return to land for a time very enjoyable. Arriving at Plymouth I found the advantage of being a Missionary. Though without friends or introductions, before I had been many hours on shore I found myself the guest of a banker, whose hospitality I enjoyed all the time I was there. This was the only alarm we had, the rest of the voyage to Madras being pleasant and prosperous.

[With reference to this incident we give the following details extracted from a letter written to his brother:—

On the Monday evening after we left London, we put the Pilot on shore at Dartmouth. We passed the Start point, of which I made a sketch with the words "last land seen," little thinking how soon we should be back to it again. About eleven at night it began to blow hard and I went to bed. About one o'clock I was awakened with the orders of the Captain uttered through a speaking trumpet at the utmost pitch of his voice and from the horrible noise on the deck above. I felt sure that some danger was approaching. At the same time the

vessel was thrown almost on one side apparently to enable it to avoid something, and a shock, which I shall not soon forget, made me spring from my bed. I could not learn what it was, but judged we were either among the rocks, or on a sand-bank. I heard them sounding the bell every minute, and therefore fearing the worst and endeavouring to prepare my mind for whatever might happen, I deliberately put on my clothes, and went on deck. I then found that we had run down a vessel; more we could not tell; it was so dark we could not know what damage we received ourselves, much less what became of the other vessel. We therefore "hove to and looked for day." When day came we found ourselves so much injured that we had to make for the nearest port to refit. Our bows were partly staved in and a great deal of the rigging carried away; had we been struck lower down we must have sunk, as after we had been here a day or two we found had been the case with the other vessel. The crew had only time to get the boats over the side when she went down, and while she was sinking one of the boats with four men in her was struck by the yard and sank. It was so dark and rough no help could be given. Our vessel was built for the Burmese war of teak, a remarkably strong wood, and with very large timbers, and this was one reason why we suffered so little and the other so much. We have taken just a fortnight to refit, and during that time I have experienced more kindness from the people here than I ever did in any place in my life. I sought out one of the Independent Ministers when I arrived, and he introduced me to his people. I have been staying with a very wealthy Banker all the time, and have preached either in Plymouth or in Devonport no less than nine times since I came here, so I have not been permitted to rest in idleness. I may say I expect to be very comfortable on boardship.—Ed.]

In the course of the voyage I lost a persistent cough which had adhered to me for several years, and which, if I had stayed at home, would probably have developed into consumption, from which two of my brothers died. It cannot be said, therefore, that even in regard to health I suffered any disadvantage from going out to India as a Missionary.

One of my fellow passengers was Mr. C. P. Brown,* of the Madras Civil Service, the great Telugu scholar. He offered to teach me Telugu, but as I was going to be a Missionary in the Tamil country, I declined. He was also, however, a good Sanscrit scholar and had written a paper on Sanscrit prosody. I was, therefore, glad to come to a compromise with him by learning Sanscrit from him instead of Telugu. The amount of Sanscrit I then learnt

* A full and a graphic description of this extraordinary man is given in a journal which Bishop Caldwell kept during the voyage, and from which an extract will be found at the end of this chapter.

was not very great, it is true, but such as it was, it formed a good foundation for subsequent study and has been of great advantage to me all through life. I got over in this way, without knowing it, most of the difficulties connected with Tamil pronunciation, and I imbibed from my teacher some of the enthusiasm for Indian learning with which he was filled. I derived much information from him also on Indian affairs in general, but here I found myself under the necessity of practising caution, for I could not be long in his company without discovering that whilst his knowledge was extraordinary, his judgment could not always be depended upon.

MR. C. P. BROWN.

An extract from the Bishop's Journal written in 1837.

"I have often alluded to him (Mr. C. P. Brown) already. But now I can go no further without giving you some faint idea of him. I only wish that Addison or Johnson were here to take his portraits. In Buchanan's "Christian Researches" I find an allusion to Mr. Brown and his two brothers, whom their father was then educating in everything by which they might be fitted for the work of the ministry in India, and to whom Buchanan looked as likely to become eminently useful. Why it was that none of them entered the church I have not ascertained, and I need not conjecture; this only I know, that when they reached the usual age they were sent to study, not at Oxford, but at Haileybury, the college for the education of "Civilians," as the public servants of the Company are called. After Mr. B. had returned to India, he applied himself with greater industry than ever, and though the labour in the public service is constant and exhausting, with greater success than ever, to his favourite branches of study. His talents were good, his memory retentive, his perseverance indomitable; and thus with an insatiable thirst for knowledge and a constitution able to hold out under any exertions, it is the less wonderful that he should have amassed such stores of information; that to omit Mahratta, Persian, Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, Italian, of which languages, respectively, his knowledge is by no means contemptible, he should be critically acquainted with Sanscrit and Telugu

and Hindustani, Greek, Latin and French; and that besides translating and editing a good deal of Indian literature, he should have written a Telugu prosody, a Sanscrit prosody, a Telugu Grammar in quarto and a Telugu dictionary unpublished in 8 vols. quarto. Though he is scarcely yet forty years of age, and though during the last twenty years he has filled the offices, in turn, of Collector, Magistrate and Judge—no sinecure in a country like India—by dint of determination, and a dogged sort of enthusiasm he has done all this; and at the same time acquired a very respectable knowledge of English literature, and therefore he must not be referred to in a slighting tone, as if he were an ordinary pedant, or an everyday oddity. But both pedantic and eccentric he is beyond all doubt. Had he been educated at one of the universities and been all along in the company of men of real learning and abilities, all would have been well. He would speedily have found his level; his talents would have been judiciously directed; his love of display would have been checked; and in many respects he would have been cut down to an agreeable companion and a useful member of society. But having been in great part self-educated, and afterwards been chiefly in the company of his inferiors in talent and acquirements—those among whom he could lord it, like a "Triton among the minnows"—the weak points in his mental character swelled out to a large development and those weeds of pedantry, idealism and overbearing dogmatism which sometime grow best on the least soil not upon the worst, were permitted to spread and luxuriate. In general, knowledge—sterling knowledge—makes a man diffident; in certain cases, however, and as the result of an education in some way improperly conducted, "knowledge," as Tyndal translates it, "maketh a man to swell." When I first became acquainted with Mr. B., I thought him a giant, a caliban in almost every subject which came under discussion. He spoke so confidently, so readily, so wittily and with so much learning that I took him for an oracle; and even when I was compelled to dissent from him, I did not venture to express my dissent. Many a time, in my eagerness to collect information regarding India, have I walked with him along the deck, for hours at once; and though his statements were often diametrically opposed to everything I had heard formerly, and though con-

sequently I should have liked much to have questioned them, I very seldom dared to do so. There was he, walking as if by steam, talking as if by steam, and "tying his ear to no tongue but his own;" and there was I wondering when the river would run itself out, and ready to sink down through sheer fatigue. Often did I remember Moore's description of Castlereagh, as a pump,

"A hollow thing of wood,
Which up and down its awkward arm did sway
And coolly spout and spout and spout away
In one weak, washy, everlasting flood."

In this case, however, the matter was always strange and startling, and the style broken, rapid, vehement; but the effect was similar, for I was often talked dead, then talked alive again, and finally talked down to my cabin. I think one must have had nerves of iron and no ordinary share of patience and passive valour ere he could expect to weather a conversation with him—if indeed that can be called, with any accuracy, a conversation, which is like Irish reciprocity—all on one side. Occasionally with all possible deference with great fear and trembling, and after a careful arrangement of my ideas and expressions I ventured to state an objection or to hazard an opinion. Sadly did I fare. Instead of the Johnsonian "No, sir!" the milder "Oh no!" was a prelude to the tumults of mighty sounds with which the charge was conducted, war to the knife was waged against my poor thought; right or wrong, it matters not; he took it, and shook it, as a cat would shake a rat; or knocking it down by a strong, well-aimed argument by a metaphor, or an axiom, he trampled upon it:—

"No sooner could a hint appear
Than up he started to picquer
And made the stoutest yield to mercy
When he engaged in controversy;
Not by the force of eternal reason,
But indefatigable teasing;
And volumes of eternal babble,
And clamour more unanswerable,
In which his parts were so accomplished
That right or wrong he ne'er was nonplussed;
But still his tongue ran on, the less
Of weight he bore with greater ease."

When this was the character of an intercourse, no wonder that I thought him a bore of the first magnitude; for, to one who is himself somewhat given to talking, there cannot be a greater punishment than the necessity of listening by

the hour to the prosy-tape-worm eloquence of another's conversation. If I had determined to have a just share of the conversation, and had grappled boldly with what was open to objection, an intercourse would have been pleasant enough. But at that time I did not know what stores of inexhaustible good nature lay hid under obtrusive pedantry and pugnacious dogmatism; what a kind heart was covered by rough-riding impetuosity; and what readiness to change, or to relinquish objectionable opinions went hand in hand with zeal in the inculcation of them. I did not know, in short, that my new friend was the completest paradox that I had ever heard of; and therefore I did not dare to lay my hand "upon the lion's mane," and play with him or beard him as often I do now. By means of treasuring up in my mind the various statements and opinions with regard to India which from time to time he brought before me, and thus beginning to see in them many contradictions, and becoming able to oppose last week's assertion to the assertion of to-day—to contend with him on his own ground and with his own weapons, feeling also a natural inclination—a wicked wish to do so. It was chiefly in this way that I was led to wrestle with him as an antagonist; and now in consequence I found him tractable enough, and a source of vast amusement. I found the truth of the old epigram I learned at school:—

"Tender handed stroke a nettle
And it stings you for your pains;
Grasp it like a man of mettle
And it soft as silk remains."

Nor was this the case merely with regard to India. On almost every subject which happened to be discussed, he would bring forward views the most wild and paradoxical, and if these were but quietly combatted, after defending them for a little with all the fury of argument and wit and noise that he could pour forth, he would then with all possible good humour give them up; and perhaps start anew with another panting paradox. Generally this was the result of a desire to strike and shine; but sometimes he had evidently mistaken words for things, and was in consequence guilty of defending desperately what it was his part to have assailed. For example, in the introduction of quotations from the classics, of which he was very fond, very often the words quoted would have applied

much better to the opposite side of the question ; and very often they were not applicable at all :—

“ Whate’er the crabbed’st author bath
He understood b’ implicit faith ;
Knew more than twenty of ’em do
As far as words and terms could go
All which he understood by rote,
And as occasion served would quote,
No matter whether right or wrong,
They might be either said or sung.
His notions fitted things so well,
That which was which he could not tell
But oftentimes mistook the one
For the other as great clerks have done.”

I never met with any person and seldom have I heard of any who had such an all-grasping, all-retaining memory. Not only the Greek and Latin poets will he quote by the hour, if any one will listen ; but even our Scotch poets he knows word by word ; and every moss-trooping ballad, every trumpety, every wormeaten chronicle, and every limping, old song that I ever heard of, or never heard of, if the slightest reference be made by any one, he will repeat till he has repeated himself out of breath. It is a pity, however, that he had not made a better selection, both in reading and in committing to memory ; for he seems often to have neglected the valuable and chosen the worthless—to have thrown away the kernel and treasured up the shell.

For instance, he has read but little of the Greek tragedians and historians, but has the greater part of the anthology by heart ; he has read a great deal of the grammarians and later Platonists ; and he seems to have been the next door neighbour of Athenasius. In Latin he has read only a few books of Livy and Tacitus, but besides being able to repeat almost every word of the poets, he has presented to the British Museum a collection of all the editions of Juvenal and a new recension of Lucretius, and has translated whole poems in Sanscrit and Telugu and Latin verse.

In English, the selection of books and branches of study is very similar—of History he knows little ; of poetry, and novels, and out-of-the-way divinity a great deal. In divinity, besides English authors, he has read some of the fathers and more of the Talmud than any one I have met with ; he is well acquainted with the writings of the re-

formers of the second grade, and still better acquainted with those of the Spanish Jesuits. Last of all in Sanscrit, he is so intimate with the “Tantras,” that is the books of the Tantraca Heresy—a sort of free-thinking Hindooism, that he has been urged strenuously to devote himself to the sect of those who secretly belong to it ; and while in England was urged to translate and publish some of the books that teach it, for the information of the public.

His knowledge, however, of “orthodox” Hindooism and of classic Sanscrit is confessedly inferior to that of many.

On these accounts while I think as highly as ever of his power of research and of his memory, I cannot help thinking more meanly of his judgment. As to literature in general, I have come to think applicable to him what Bentley said of Warburton : “That young man has a large appetite for learning, but a small digestion,” or the doctrine of Plato with respect to other people, an erroneous one, that “all knowledge is reminiscence.” For his learning seems to be an ocean of remembrances, on the surface of which he floats up and down, like a ship without a rudder ; a mighty tannulus of gold, silver and precious stones, wood, hay and stubble, under which judgement lies buried : a caput mortuum of quotations : an Encyclopedia of useless knowledge and books that nobody ever read ; an antiquarian’s catalogue.

And, on the other hand, as to India, on everything connected with which I at first looked up to him as an oracle, I now begin to think him but a sorry guide. Whether he be right or wrong in any particular assertion, I have no means of knowing, but that he contradicts himself I know very well. Those opinions with regard to India, meanness, character, religion, which a month ago he propounded so dogmatically and I drank in so implicitly, he has not allowed me, as I intended, to think over and keep in abeyance until I should be able to put them to a proper test. He has manfully overturned them. He has changed hands, wheeled about and confuted with as much ardour and dogmatism as he had asserted even as the matters of fact I can now scarcely venture to trust him ; not that he falsifies or knowingly prevaricates ; but that everything he says seems to wear a tinge adverse to that of the conversation or assertion which gave rise to toil. In this respect his statements are all chamelions.

One result of the desire to shine (if possible, in an honourable mode, but if not, to shine) is pedantry. Another result is dogmatism, another again is scepticism; and of this last feature of morbid intellect, Mr. B. has his full share. In matters about which certainty may be attained, he differs from all other people. What wonder then, if in matters of opinion, or with regard to things about which certainty is not easily attained, he should be in most cases sceptical. I don't say that he goes as far as

"Those Athenian sceptic owls
Who will not credit their own souls;
Or any science understand,
Beyond the reach of eye or hand;
But measuring all things by their own
Knowledge, hold nothing to be known."

But certainly he sometimes bids fair to reach that undesirable proficiency. Scarcely anything can be uttered by another person, however truth-like or reasonable, but

"Having three times shook his head to stir his wit up"

having in the course of that operation whined as if in deep anguish that he should be compelled to object and having then uttered a prefatory: "Oh! no!" he launches out rapidly in an assault upon the poor trembling opinion, and often rattering and tearing it, asserts that it does not deserve to be believed upon its oath. Is a book spoken of as well written and valuable? "Oh! no!" Is a fact in natural history introduced? "Oh! no!" Is the derivation of a word or any philological theory referred to? "Oh! no!" Is the climate of India spoken of as very hot and not very healthy? "Oh! no!" Is any meaning attached to any word, in any application, in any classic? "Oh! no!" Is any statement of any person with regard to India alluded to as well-grounded? "Oh! no!" and so on to the end of the chapter, in each case wit and noise and good-humour screening the absurdity of the denial. By a resolute denial of the things that are "most surely believed" by all other people, a man is certain to attract notice, if he does not win admiration, and with some characters to be marked out, and wondered at is the summit of earthly honour. It is necessary, however, to mention distinctly that this scepticism is not extended to religion, though Indian scholars of eminence are generally freethinkers, and though one would have expected that a mind in other respects sceptical would have been sceptical with regard

to this matter too. Yet I am happy to say in this respect Mr. B. is, as usual, of a different opinion from those with whom he has intercourse. His literary friends are many of them infidels. No tendency towards their way of thinking is apparent in him. Sir William Jones for a considerable period of life was a sceptic; and even in his later writings there are certain passages of a doubtful character. While Colbrooke, Wilkins, Willford and Wilson, who have taken up and carried onward the study of Sanscrit literature, are Brahmins, if anything. Wilkins told Mr. Brown some time ago that "he thought in another century Christianity would be worn out."

Wilson, the Sanscrit Professor in Oxford, actually advised an individual who was going out to India as an official to use his influence in favour of Hindooism. And Colbrooke, who was by general confession the deepest and most extensive of Sanscrit scholars, was well known to be of no religion. Hence one might have expected that a zealous disciple would have followed these "Western Brahmins" even in their free-thinking. But such has not been the result. He seems to have a sincere, thorough, and well-grounded belief in Christianity as a system, and a very low opinion, I may say a contempt, of Hindooism: not a surprising thing after all when his education is kept in mind; when it is remembered that, beside others of a similar cast who were met with later in life, he was once intimate with Buchanan, Martyn, Thomason and the missionaries of Serampore.

Thus I have endeavoured to depict this strangest of character. I know I have left half untold; but from what I have mentioned, you will see that the attempt to sketch it could scarcely have been avoided. Had it been a character in which evil predominated, I should not have made the attempt; but such is the indomitable good nature, the obliging disposition, the unaffected amiableness possessed by the very individual who is such a sceptic and such a pedant; such is the combination of moral virtues, with intellectual vices in his strange character, that a faithful portrait must give rise to respect, esteem as well as to wonder. I daresay, however, you will wonder not only at the character I have to sketch, but at me also for squandering away my time in the writing of such gossip. I have merely to say in answer that since everything around is

so still, monotonous and soporific; since from day to day no new thing happens, and from day to day, as we approach our destination, the voyage becomes more dull and humdrum; since also our number is so small that gossip in some shape or another of necessity enters largely into the conversation, a journal or narrative of any sort must necessarily at times smell strong of gossip. In such circumstances a narrative cannot be written without some reference to one's fellow-passengers, and on shipboard there is an irresistible temptation to refer to them, to think and speak of them from the ease with which character and peculiarities of any sort may be discoursed. A person might just as readily conceal himself in a small family circle as on shipboard; and as travelling acquaintances are not bound down to secrecy by any tie of kindred, or by any *esprit de corps*, I think they may speak and write of each other, provided that they do so in a proper spirit, without the old maxim, "No tales out of the school," being as condemnatory of the practice, or ever applicable.

I have not alluded to Mr. B. with the intention of doing him the slightest injury. Were there nothing else to hinder me from doing so, the kindness and attention he has shown me would be a hindrance."

It may not be out of place here to give some other extracts from the Bishop's journal, which will, we think, be found interesting as illustrating the character of a voyage round the Cape in the days long anterior to the opening of the Suez Canal, the tone of mind of the future Bishop, and his powers of observation and description.

"There are two subjects especially in which I wish to be a little better grounded ere I reach Madras. One is the rise and progress of Idolatry, in order to the study of which, besides other works, I am reading Cadworth. The other is the evidences of Christianity, several of the older works on which subject I bought at Plymouth. These studies are especially important to one who expects soon to be engaged as a missionary; for though, for instance, with regard to the latter subject he may have read and thought as much as to be quite satisfied himself, he must read further and study it in all its bearings, ere he can expect to speak upon it, on any occasion which may offer, so as to satisfy others. A mastery of this subject would be of continual use to him. Even now I find what little

information I have scraped together of some avail. I have had several conversations of late, and in time to come expect to have many, on the evidences and doctrines of Christianity, with a certain Lieut. Bargoynne—one of my fellow-passengers. He is now studying Prophecy as being of all lines of evidence perhaps the most readily appreciated; and every day has some questions to ask or difficulty to be solved. Altogether he seems to me to be a very sincere and earnest inquirer after truth. May God honour me to be useful to him!

I do not mean, however, to confine myself to reading, for besides writing to my dear friends as often as I have anything to write about, I intend to devote two days in the week to the composition or the recasting of sermons. I have not yet preached to the seamen, on account of the variableness of the weather and the necessity in consequence of tacking, wearing, or trimming sails now and again on Sundays as well as on other days. When we enter the trade-winds, which we shall probably arrive at in ten days, and when for weeks together we shall have the wind from the same point, the sails arranged in the same way and the sea quiet, I expect to preach to the sailors regularly; and in order to do so with any likelihood of advantage to them, it appears my sermon must be only a quarter of an hour in length, and so clear in thought, so plain in style, and, if possible, so striking an illustration that they may be able to attend to it and understand it without any mental effort. Hence I must prepare very carefully whatever I intend to say to them. When it is inconvenient for the seamen to assemble, the passengers and officers meet for worship in the cuddy. Twice since we left Plymouth I have officiated. In the morning at half-past ten we have prayers and a fragment of a sermon, or a short address. In the evening about half-past seven after a few words of prefatory prayer, I deliver a sermon of nearly the usual length, the passengers and officers exclusively being present. The audience being so small and of such a peculiar cast, and being acquainted with every one more or less, I feel plain speaking a difficult and a delicate thing. Direct address is scarcely possible, and I think, in general, at least scarcely desirable; but by means of general positions and side-long applications, I hope to be as faithful as if I looked directly in the faces of my hearers, and addressed them by name. The prayers

used at our meeting in the morning are those of the Church of England; at this, probably you will wonder; and from the way in which the Liturgy is often spoken of at home, it is very natural you should wonder; but on the one hand in English ships it is the uniform practice to read the English Church Service, and a refusal to read it would probably be followed by a refusal to listen to me; and on the other hand, being separated for a time from all religious parties, confined from the nature of my audience, to the inculcation of Christianity; and as a missionary pledged to avoid and to discountenance sectarianism, I feel quite at liberty to keep in abeyance my prejudices of education and to conduct public worship in the way best suited to the capacity of my hearers.

As a general rule I think extemporaneous prayers but ill-fitted for those who are ignorant of the first principles of religion and unable, from feebleness of mind or want of practice, to follow throughout an effusion, on any subject which may happen to be not only long, but ill-arranged, irregular, and technically expressed. Certainly if I may judge from the inability of the captain himself thoroughly to understand my discourses, every word of which I am wont to weigh and simplify, the seamen, who are an hundred degrees to leeward of their captain, would be as little likely to follow an extemporaneous prayer as to follow an extemporaneous lecture on metaphysics; whereas most of them, through long practice, as well as from acquaintance with the prayers themselves, are perfectly able to join in the Liturgy with intelligence; and one of them has the whole of it by heart. You may think it strange that such remarks should be made by me, a Dissenter, and an Independent, and may think, perhaps, that I ought rather to follow the advice of a certain Englishman who exhorted me on no account to read the Liturgy, and whose exhortation reminded me of the argument in the old lines:

"For were there nothing to forbid it
'Tis impious because they did it."

I would only answer by way of excuse or palliation, that since extemporaneous prayer in public worship and by uninspired teachers was introduced by the Genevese reformers, not as the ancient practice in any branch of the Christian Church, but as a reform in the ancient practice,

a return to that practice, if at any time circumstances seem to require it, is not only warranted, but advisable. But while I would thus claim a right of conducting public worship, occasionally, as I think best, I should not think it expedient at all times to do so. Many things that are quite allowable on the Pacific Ocean of the Missionary enterprise might justly be held inexpedient in the crowded anchorage and amid the conflicting currents of the church at home. In some circles at home free investigation is tolerated only when it is brought to bear against systems that are old or established. Novelties are too sacred to be touched—principles that are thought persecuting are assailed in a persecuting spirit, and with the very weapon of persecution belief seems to be an attribute of will rather than of judgment, and any one who would venture to moderate among the opposing hosts to plead for fair treatment and a patient hearing of old opinions, or to hint that in some respects all parties may be in the right and in some respects every party in the wrong is sure to have a nest of hornets about his ears. On this account at home many things that are lawful are not at all expedient, nor will be until there be a marked abatement of that party spirit which induces each section of the church to exaggerate the failings and to recoil instinctively and without reason from the peculiarities of every other section. But on this account also, now that I have left England, perhaps for ever, and have become officially connected with a society which has for its object the propagation "not of Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism or Independency, but of the glorious Gospel of the blessed God," I rejoice that in these matters I am no longer in bondage to any party. I leave the combatants to fight their battle out. My feet are on the neutral ground, and that ground I have no intention of quitting until my information and my capacity of judging be considerably greater than they are now. So much then for my excuse and for the digression into which my excuse has led me.

I think I told you in a former letter that though I feared that there were none of the passengers decidedly religious, none of them appeared to be profane. I am now happy to confirm this good opinion. Without exception they speak well of religion and seem to understand it; indeed, were it not for the occasional frivolity of their conversation and their neglect to make a due distinction

between the Sabbath and other days of the week, I should think them Christians. As for Mr. Brown, the son, I think I told you, of that Brown so often referred to by Martyn and Buchanan, I don't know what to make of him. On the one hand he is the leader in the fashionable slip-slop about plays and players and operas and balls and cooks and field-sports, discussing such subjects with all the wit and zest imaginable; and on the other he at times astonishes me with the extent of his theological reading and with the novelty and yet the reasonable and truth-like aspect of his views on the spread of Christianity in India—on the obstacles to be encountered and the means to be used, as well as on the likelihood of success in spreading it. His character is certainly the strangest combination of opposite ingredients I have hitherto met with, and therefore I have set myself to study it, as well as to profit by the quantity of out-of-the-way information which he delights to communicate.

As I said before, I think I have never met his parallel for a heterogeneous mixture of sound learning and pedantry; wit and thoughtlessness, amiability and unamiable dogmatism, knowledge of the world and credulity, acuteness in settling a question by a single sentence and inability to string three sentences together logically. In these respects "none but himself can be his parallel." I might already fill a volume with the views of Indian manners, character, literature and religion which he has brought before me and which, though quite new to me, are evidently worthy of consideration. I shall wait, however, till I have been in India sometime myself, and put the truth of those views to the test of experience ere I make any mention of them. The general impression they have left upon my mind is that Dr. Duff's plan, or some modification of it is the best for general adoption.

You may see from the particulars now mentioned that, though without friends in the true sense of the term, I have some very passable acquaintances; and I can say from experience that in order to get in any degree into the good graces of those with whom we are associated and thus to make our journey through life not only agreeable but useful; those two things are especially needed; study of character and patience in listening.

4th October.—Nothing remarkable has occurred since I made a commencement in journalizing, except that yesterday evening the wind veered round to the north, at present the most favourable direction, and began to compensate for past unkindness by propelling us rapidly and steadily. In consequence of having been turned out of our course by former winds, we expect to sail close past Madeira, and if so, I shall endeavour to get a few lines for your information conveyed on board some homeward bound vessel. If the wind continues as it is now, we shall see Madeira to-morrow morning early, and accordingly we have all determined on early rising in order to take advantage of chance opportunity. Sleep, in my case, is almost out of the question, on account of the rolling which arises from the combined influence of the studding-sails and the following sea. Last night I only slept about an hour; we are as safe, however, as if upon a mill-pond.

An odd circumstance occurred yesterday, which, for want of anything more important, I shall mention. While we were lying almost becalmed and the sails were flapping idly overhead, my old boyish propensities stole upon me, and I thought I should like to see what could be seen from the main-top. Accordingly I mounted the rigging and began to ascend with cautious steps and slow—"off looking back." When I had got up nearly as far as I wished and was looking around, up after me sprang two seamen with ropes in their hands. I wondered what was to be done, when suddenly, in conformity, it appears, with use and wont, they began to tie me to the rigging, until I should agree to pay my footing. As expostulation was useless and as I had no notion of being made use of permanently as one of those long, thin laths which are lurked outside, certain ropes for their protection, and are called "Scotchmen" by the sailors, by means of a dollar, I bought the freedom of climbing anywhere I pleased, and so escaped from my pursuers.

6th October.—Yesterday morning, according to expectation, we saw Madeira, and last night we finally lost sight of it. Early in the morning when I came on deck, we were approaching Porto-Santo and could see Madeira about four and twenty miles off, like a thin, blue, sharply-defined mist settled on the verge of the horizon. I was delighted with our proximity to *terra firma*, even though we had no

expectation of going ashore, but hoping to see some English vessel and to get a letter conveyed to it. I went below and soon filled a sheet with scraps of information.

Having done this I could enjoy the scenery with a clear conscience, and certainly I never enjoyed any scenery more heartily. All the islands in this quarter are of volcanic origin, as one may judge not only from the depth of water around, and the conical peaks of most of them, but from the composition and wild stratification of the rocks. Volcanic action, however, has evidently ceased for many ages. Porto-Santo is tenanted, I believe, by a few nuns and criminals; the Desertas are altogether untenanted, both being naked rocks, and the latter being inaccessible. In outline, nevertheless, they are amazingly picturesque; and Porto-Santo in particular.

The tapering beauty of the peaks, the curves of the descending ridges and outstretched head-lands, the many-shaped and high-piled masses of rock which tower up at some distance from the island, and the strong swell of the Atlantic beating everywhere against them, formed a sight no less new than noble. Sailing at the rate of 8 knots in the hour, we soon passed these outposts and approached Madeira. At a distance Madeira seemed like the other islands of the group, bare and savage, and even when sailing past it, no level ground could be seen. It appears to be one immense mountain, many thousands of feet in height; cleft here and there by ravines, and bounded by bluff precipices on broken piles of lava; but through the influence of perpetual summer on a volcanic soil, fair and fruitful in a degree quite unparalleled. On a line with that part of the coast for which we were sailing there is a series of rocks or rather of rocky hills of not less wild outline than Porto-Santo, but now elegant and enchantingly varied and of more delicacy in colour. Here there is a Titanian fortress, there a Gothic cathedral rises from the water, with a spire many hundred feet high, and an archway through which the waves of the Atlantic, instead of devotees, are rushing; and in another quarter a Friar, some fifty feet in height, and in full canonicals, counts his beads upon the top of a rock. In short, as in every scene of volcanic action, a thousand fanciful resemblances will be discovered by the upturned eyes of a new-comer. Behind this ridge of cliffs and hills Madeira itself was seen, now

rising abruptly, now sloping gently upwards, through sunny knolls and belts of shade until it melted away in the haze by which the whole summit of the island was concealed from us.

Gradually nearing the island we passed the rocks and were, in part, able to satisfy our curiosity, the shore being often less than a quarter of a mile distant and the air being so pure that every house and tree and vineyard was distinctly visible. As far as the general contour is concerned, it is not unlike some parts of our highlands, but in variety of scenery, in extent of cultivation, and in delicacy and intense richness of colour, it is immeasurably to be preferred. It is the only place I have yet seen, as far as I can remember, which actually surpassed the brightest expectations; and while one is gazing at it, instead of being quickly satiated with its wonders and able to imagine the rest by the help of what is visible, the fancy itself becomes oppressed, bewildered and the impression left upon the mind, as we sailed past, is one not of reality, but of fairy land. The observation, having too much given it to do, is baffled and can give in charge to the memory but a dreamy panorama. The frequent visitant alone can form a just conception of this island of the sun, and the poet alone has words and comparisons adequate to the description of it. The whole island seems a flower-garden, all the fruits and flowers which thrive on the rich soil of decomposed lavas flourish here in profuse abundance; vineyards and orange groves cover the sides of the mountain, to the height apparently of 1,500 or 2,000 feet, and still higher up, along the massive ridges which lead towards the Caldeira Crater, at an elevation at which on our Scotch mountains even the fern or heather would scarcely grow, we saw clumps of the Spanish chestnut and other forest trees; the deep green of meadows, and the cheerful contrast of white cottages. The name Madeira is said to signify "wooded," and if so, was probably given to it from the unparalleled vigour and luxuriance of the foliage; very probably it was one of those islands of "the blessed" of whose existence in the port of the Atlantic the ancients had some faint knowledge. Here and there the shore is indented by a bay, communicating with which there are several of those deep ravines which intersect the surface of the island on every side, and in this position, protected from the winds and surrounded by

a rich coating of trees, we could generally see a foreign-looking village and a little church peeping at us as we coasted along. At length, having passed a headland, on whose rugged sides the various strata of lava and the courses which they had severally followed, as well as the extortions consequent on the sudden cooling of the lava when it reached the sea could be traced distinctly. The bay and town of Funchal opened to us. The bay is one of considerable breadth, but of very little depth, or extent inland; indeed it is chiefly from the regularity of the ascent behind it, as compared with the high cliffs and bluff headlands by which it is bounded, that it has received the name of bay. The anchorage must be very unsafe except when the wind is from a certain quarter.

The town, which is of the same name with the bay and is the metropolis of these islands, slopes gradually from the water's edge, for the distance perhaps of half a mile, up, the side of the hill. I know nothing of the amount of the population; were I to hazard a conjecture, I should rate it at about 30,000. The houses are struggling and to appearance gaudily but meanly built. The streets were narrow and irregular, and the fort by which the town and bay are commanded, though of respectable size, seems likely some fine day to tumble about the ears of the garrison. Art in consequence maintains no rivalry with nature, and yet art, poor though it be, lends nature an additional charm. The white walls, ornamented terraces, green windows and red roofs of the houses giving to the paradise around and above, not only an appearance more strikingly foreign, but also the freshness and air of contrast. One of the finest features in the view is a large, well-proportioned, romantic-looking structure, which towers up amongst the rich green foliage a few miles above the town; we all thought it a convent, but on looking at Captain Basil Hall's account of Madeira, we find that it was the church "Messa Senhora do Monte." Certainly in whatever other respects, the Roman Catholics have erred their fine perception of the sublime and beautiful in natural scenery is worthy of approbation. The conception of the majority of their churches, convents, or other buildings, inferior only to the "first fair" of Grecian architecture, is scarcely a more marked evidence of a chastened taste than the sites for such buildings they have generally

selected. They seem always to have dedicated the fairest spots in all nature to the worship of the God of nature.

At Funchal the only shipping we saw was Portuguese, with the exception of an English ship which arrived at the same time with ourselves, bound apparently for Australia, and which, having a number of Black-coats on its poop, I conjecture might perhaps be taking out some of Dr. Lang's missionaries and schoolmasters. She appeared as if about to stay a few days, probably for a cargo of wine, but of course could give us no help in the way of communication with England, and durst not even send a boat to us without the permission of the Governor. In consequence we continued on our course, and the letter I had written proved to be in vain. What we felt to be quite as galling was that we were allowed no opportunity of tasting the grapes and oranges of Madeira, except we should send ashore a formal embassy, presenting our bill of health, and requesting permission to deal with the islanders, no communication would be allowed, and any attempt on our part, or from the shore would be stopped instantly by a shot from the fort. The ostensible reason for this inhospitable policy was the fear of infection from small-pox, measles, cholera, &c., but I suspect the infection of heresy was quite as much the object of terror. The Portuguese are of all Catholics the most ignorant, bigoted, and superstitious, and it is very natural that the Madeirans being, as it were, shut out from the rest of the world, while they are of all Portuguese the most moral and serious, should also look upon heretics with the most orthodox horror. It is just among such a people that I should expect the approbation, and, if circumstances permitted, the practical approbation of the dogma of the Cardinal long ago, who held that as the words addressed to Peter "feed my sheep" give the Pope pastoral authority over all the faithful, so the command "Rise Peter, kill and eat" gives him the authority of discipline over all heretics.

One thing is certain, that though there be many English merchants living among them and ranking as "Magnificos," the Madeirans look with suspicion and dislike upon the English; they think them a nation of atheists and cannibals. The very fact that English ships have neither priest nor crucifix on board is itself enough to make the

flesh of a pious Catholic creep and his intercourse with us as limited as may be.

Most of my fellow-passengers have been on shore at some period or other, and from their experience, as well as from what they were told, furnish this testimony; though it is allowed that to Protestants who are actually thrown upon their hospitality, they are very kind and courteous.

Had we landed we should probably have seen many Englishmen, as Madeira is not only a depôt of wine merchants, but a resort for consumptives from all parts of Europe; but having lost so much time already, we had scarcely even a wish to land. Accordingly having slowly sailed past it, and the wind beginning to freshen as we escaped from the lee of the island, we were not very sorry on finding ourselves rapidly losing sight of it. In a few hours we were once more alone upon the sea; we had entered the north-east trade wind, and every sail was tense with its steady impulse; and though in consequence the ship rolled a little, yet the style in which she darted through the water at the rate of ten miles an hour, dashing the spray aside, and leaving behind her for many a mile a track of froth and foam, made me feel unusually elevated. Formerly the sea appeared to have all the power; we seemed to be at the mercy of it altogether; and I for one looked upon it with distrust; but now that the ship seemed to be endued with power, feeling myself to belong to her and to be as it were part of her, I felt the instinctive pleasure of sympathy with power and of conscious superiority.

October 12th.—North Latitude 15°20', West Longitude 28°. Since I wrote last we have had a longer continuance of fair wind and fine weather than at any period since we left England; in consequence our spirits are high and our hopes bright, and though we have not seen Teneriffe and do not expect to see the Cape De Verd Islands, or the Cape of Good Hope, or indeed any land till we reach India, the rapidity and pleasantness of our progress are a sufficient compensation. For my own part I am now quite domesticated; I feel the ship my home and the passengers a family-party—a circle of relatives. Those things which were at first the source of uneasiness and *ennui* are now not only tolerable but agreeable, and thus I find the ad-

vantage of endeavouring to adapt myself to the circumstances in which I am placed.

Elasticity of disposition and facility of temper, as they are the great safeguards of social happiness so, I think, they are the very well-springs of it. Since we left Madeira the thermometer has been gradually rising one degree per day: it now stands at 80; though being so near the line, were it not for the purity of the air and the sea breeze it would now be at least 10 degrees higher. Madras is about this parallel of latitude, so I am beginning to have some conception of the heat I may expect. At present it is very delightful. The heat is not oppressive and relaxing as I have often felt in Scotland when the thermometer stood at the same point, partly on account of the causes already mentioned and partly on account of our change in clothing. As we approached the sun we are beginning piece-meal to lay aside our English broad cloth and to adopt the lighter and freer dress of white calico appropriate to the tropics. Thus the surface of the skin, though always moist, is kept comparatively cool, and in consequence health and cheerfulness are promoted. Though we have entered the tropics, and though from the reports of travellers and voyagers for many ages past I have been led to look about for wonders—for all horrible, all monstrous things,

“Gorgons and Hydras chimaeras dire”

I have as yet seen nothing very wonderful. I have seen just two things worth notice; first, flying-fish. These I saw at first, one by one, but now shoals of them, startled by the approach of the ship, are seen rising like so many partridges, and flying off to the right hand and the left. They are able to fly only about the distance of a pistol shot, and a few yards at most above the surface of the water; but their flight is rapid, and if they but dip themselves in the water they can begin again. They can fly only as long as their wings continue moist, and yet they have wings only in name, for yesterday two of them happened to alight upon the deck and I had the opportunity of examining them. They are about six inches in length, of a bluish-white colour and of a form square rather than tapering. It is plain they are unfitted for rapid swimming, but for this defect they have received a compensation in the great length and power of their dorsal fins, by which they

are enabled to rise out of the water and fly for a short space. After all, poor creatures! they are but little better off in having thus two strings to their bow; for as soon as they spring into the air in order to escape the bonita or the dolphin, some sea bird, thinking it no harm, pounces upon them; and if there be none, or if they escape him by plunging down again, the bonita also has kept under them all the time, has his mouth open to give them refuge. Thus either way like the client between two lawyers, they are sure to suffer, and yet I don't wonder at it, for the temptation is great; they are very numerous, and it is the unanimous opinion that they make very good eating.

The other peculiarity of the tropics, which I have said to be worth mentioning, is the brilliance of the skies. We have not yet seen as much of it as we expect to see when the sun is vertical, but even now there is something about sea and sky quite to me a combination of softness and splendour unknown in the cold regions of the north; especially towards evening the sky bears this appearance, the tints varying according to the time, from a deep, cool purple to a bright yellow, the middle tint and often the one most widely spread being a kind of orange tawny or rose-pink colour I never saw before. The sea meanwhile sparkles all over with a dull golden lustre as if phosphorus were an element in its composition. At night the beauty is still greater, for the moon is now nearly full and shines with more brilliance than we sometimes see in Scotland in a clear, cold, frosty night; here, however, in conjunction with such brilliance we have the pure air of the ocean and tropic warmth, so that imagination itself can picture nothing brighter or lovelier.

Last night in particular I felt this to be the case. While I was sitting in the cuddy reading, gradually the seamen and some of my fellow-passengers became particularly merry. "The mirth and fun grew fast and furious." The French adventurer, of whom I told you, was playing one tune after another, if not sweetly enough to bring the dolphins round the ship to listen, at least with might and main. Most of the passengers and officers were gathered round him singing and capering on a subdued scale, while near the fore-castle the seamen were alternately roaring out hurricanes of music and dancing with such a heavy step and energetic action as to frighten the thousand cockroaches

out of their wits. Here I may just say that I did not and certainly do not much object to the merriment of the seamen, for incapable as most of them are of deriving pleasure from reading, or thinking, or rational conversation, such amusements are perhaps the least objectionable that are open to them. They are safety valves through which their love of action and excitement can innocently escape, and are the surest means of warding off discontent and of ensuring strenuous long-continued exertion in times of difficulty, while I think they are not such obstacles to the entrance of religion as many other things that might be named. As to the passengers, I think they might easily find more rational sources of amusement, but of course I say nothing. It is only in the case of professedly religious persons that I should think myself warranted in objecting to such things; and in their case I should object, not because these amusements are sinful, but because those who are working out their own salvation and doing good while they have opportunity, have not time for them; and because those who have tasted of the bread of life, ought to be above the husks of worldliness and the whipt-cream of fashionable follies. But to return from the digression. I do not mention the merry making on board-ship as having been an addition to my pleasures, or an enhancement of the beauty of the evening, but having been driven by it from my books, I went on deck and then up to the poop, where the helmsman was my only companion and where the solitary stillness not only gave me an opportunity of looking round, but made everything appear doubly beautiful. Seldom have I enjoyed myself more than I then did. In the clear pearly gray of the moonlight; in the moon herself, walking in brightness; in the sea almost without a ripple, but rising and falling in a gentle swell and in the quiet power with which the ship was gliding onward as contrasted with the animation and noisy glee of the various groups from the quarter-deck to the fore-castle, I had matter for delighted contemplation, and I drank in delight. Nor was it any abatement from my feelings of full-hearted enjoyment to reflect that many at home might at that very time not only be enjoying the same clear moonlight, but thinking of me, and holding me in remembrance before God. On the contrary, then, and ever since I left Glasgow, have I been cheered and strengthened by the belief that not a few were making intercession for me.

But I have anticipated. I have not kept up a due sequence in the various occurrences. There are two things which ought to have been mentioned before the events of yesterday, and were severally eras in their way. The first was the getting up of my box of books last Saturday. When packing up my books, I intended that those I did not expect to want should be put into one box, and those I did into another; but the first box being very large, and Mr. Russel's arms being very strong, for I think I told you he was kind enough to relieve me of the task of packing, all were crammed into it with the exception of some half-dozen, which I stowed away in the drawer of my coach, and the box which contained them all was consigned to the afterhold, with the proviso that I might get it up again whenever I wanted it. With the books I kept out, and with those I bought at Plymouth, I managed to be content, whilst I was serving my apprenticeship to seasickness, reading some myself and lending some. But when I became quite well, when in conversation with Mr. Brown, or Mr. Burgoyne, some book or another was every day referred to, and the imprisonment of it lamented; and when in the horrors on account of the misimprovement of my times since my last, I was eager to begin hard study again, and to make up, if possible, for lee-way, I grew importunate to have the box up. But it was easier to wish it up than to carry the wish into execution. For more than a week I asked every day about the possibility of getting at it, and through fear of offending was near giving up thoughts of it. I was always put off with a fair answer, and indeed I knew that however easily such a goliath of packing-cases might be let down into the hold, it would be no easy matter, after having been packed and fitted in, to get it up again. Last Saturday, however, when the men were washing our cabins, permission was at length granted, and accordingly one of the mates and I went down into the hold to look for it, but alas! nowhere could it be seen. Before the foul weather came on, and while in the Bay of Biscay, everything in the hold had been so arranged as to sustain no damage from the motion of the ship, and thus my box—my little all—has disappeared in the crowd. We hunted for it, more than an hour, getting cases, bales, &c., moved about, but all to no purpose. At length, when in a dreadful fright at the thought of not seeing this "apple of my eye" till we got

to India and well nigh in despair, I happened to recognize a corner of it which was peeping up from the darkness, and you may be sure "rejoiced as one that had found a great spoil." So firmly was it wedged in that crowbars and levers forced it out with difficulty, and so heavy did it prove that it had to be stowed up with the tackle. I was almost ashamed of the trouble I had occasioned; but when the box was brought fairly to anchor in one of the empty cabins, the top forced up and the door closed, and when I had taken out most of my old friends, examining some as to certain points that had been under discussion and selecting a score for regular use, when I was thus once more in my element I forgot everything that had passed.

"O'er a' the ill o' life victorious."

Ever since, I have been glad that I succeeded in getting out my books as many of them have come into general circulation, and are fitted, I think, to do good.

Mr. Brown has made most extensive use of them. Many of them being works of critical Theology, &c., which he does not carry about with him, but which he thoroughly appreciates, he is not sorry to have the range of them. But the best use of the books is, I think, on the part of Mr. Burgoyne, whom I begin to esteem very highly. Horne's introduction is, at present, his special favourite, on account of the mass of information about the Bible and the evidences of Christianity which it contains. He had hardly ever read anything before on the latter subject and had no conception at all of the number of books that have been written upon it. He seemed to think that the Bible, like the Koran and the Puranas, had no evidences, or merely such as appealed to the faith of the readers; and that, however reasonable it were in precept and in doctrine, the Divine origin of it was incapable of proof from history and reason. "The Bible exists, and even believers in it could say nothing more about it;" still, however, he wished to believe in it, but as belief is the perception of evidence, and as no evidence appeared, the very wish made him the more sceptical. This is the case with many who go out to India, as he did, early in life, without theological knowledge, without fixed principles, and who, when they come into contact with Mahomedans and Hindus, and are able with impunity to laugh at what calls itself religion, begin in time

to extend their free-thinking, to Christianity also, and to doubt, if not to deride. Mr. B.'s return to England appears to have been of much advantage to him. His sisters are religious (though like many others in the Church of England they are tinged with Millinarianism), and by their means his attention was more directed to religious subjects than ever it had been before. At Liverpool, where his friends live, he became acquainted with those two "precious Orangemen" as I have heard them called, Ould and McNeile; and their vast exertions, faithfulness, self-denial and apostolic character struck him with admiration. He was thus led to think and read. When I became acquainted with him he was reading the history of the Jews and Prophecy, and expressed the greatest surprise at many things he read. Many things of course he did not comprehend and some he could scarcely credit; but with regard to all he was willing to receive information, and those books with which I have furnished him he reads with a diligence and an earnestness truly wonderful. He has not been accustomed to books of such solidity and depth as those he is now reading, and, therefore, it is the more remarkable that he should not only pore over them, till his eyes ache, but make large notes of the particulars. I believe he is not far from the kingdom of God, and I trust God will confirm this belief in his own good time.

The other circumstances to which I referred was my meeting with the passengers and the whole crew last Sunday.

I felt a little sorry that while I had preached several times in the caddy to the passengers, &c., the seamen had been apparently neglected, though I knew that taking all things into consideration, it was impracticable previously to assemble them, yet I felt discontented; and when running before the trades last Sunday, and when in consequence there was no likelihood of being disturbed, the "passed the word" for public prayers, I was re- and satisfied. The awning was drawn up over the fore and quarter-deck, and the studding sails served as curtains along the sides; chairs were brought out and lashed to the deck; benches were arranged on the opposite side for the seamen; the ensign was tied round the companion, on which as a pulpit the Bible and prayer book were deposited; the bell was set a-ringing; and in a few

moments I had a congregation of about fifty individuals. I must say that a more attentive and apparently serious audience I never addressed. The ship rolled a good deal, and thus to sit steadily required some care; yet during the whole time the attention of the majority was fixed, and many wore a look of curiosity; which while it pleased me, gave me reason to believe they had not heard a sermon of any sort for many a long day. For my own part I did not feel very comfortable, physically at least. Not only was everything strange to me, but the motion of the vessel was so considerable that I had to hold fast the companion, and allow myself to swing backwards and forwards. However, I preached for twenty minutes as plainly and as forcibly as I could, and had the satisfaction of knowing not only that what I could do, but that my new congregation were not dissatisfied. In the evening, as usual, I preached in the caddy, but the motion and noise together were so great that our meeting was not a long one. I spoke, and my hearers heard with difficulty.

27th October.—6°20 South Latitude. 31°25 West Longitude.

After a considerable interval I recommence my journal, under a vertical sun and in another hemisphere. Having made no change in my mode of living on entering the tropics, having taken no medicine, and being almost without exercise, it followed naturally that when grilling under the sun I should become faint and spiritless. I ought to have prepared myself for the tropics, but expecting to clear them soon and to enter the south-east trades, and at the same time tempted by a sharp appetite and a well-furnished table, I neglected all preparation and paid the penalty in consequence. The more nourishment I took the weaker did I become; and at length on the Monday after my sermon to the seamen, the motion of the ship having increased, I became as sick as ever. I lay in bed most of the day, and when I went on deck was so wan and weak that the Doctor advised me to put myself under his care, and to turn over a new leaf for a week or two. I did so, and now, in consequence, I am perfectly well; but since that time I have been able to do very little in the way of reading or studying, and not at all able to write, partly on account of having been located, a short time since, in a cabin much further aft than my old one; in which, though there is almost twice as much

room, and though myself and my books are better accommodated, there is also about twice as much motion; but chiefly on account of the weakness and faintness which prevented me from staying below any length of time, and left me only a few days ago. If I had been perfectly well in other respects, the motion would not have affected me so much. One good thing has resulted from my illness; I shall take all the more care when approaching India, and I endeavour by means of diet and medicine to discipline myself into a state of uniform vigour. Since we left Madeira our progress has been equable and agreeable, compared with what it was before, and even compared with what it often is where we are now. I am quite ashamed to think that I should have been sea-sick during any part of it. On the northern boundary of the line sometimes ships are becalmed for months at this time of the year, and last voyage this ship was, for three weeks within a few miles of the same spot. This voyage, however, we have been very fortunate; we have not been thus detained for a single day, and, in consequence, as far as time is concerned, our detention at Plymouth has been made up to us. The smallest progress we made in the course of one day was forty miles, but in general we have made from twice to five times as much, and now having crossed the line and entered the south-east trades, we are bounding along with exciting rapidity.

Before I say anything about the crossing of the line, I must refer to a few previous occurrences. On the 13th an eclipse of the moon took place with which I was much delighted. It was exactly full moon that night, and as dark, heavy clouds were hanging about the horizon, the contrast was wonderfully fine. I never in my life before saw clouds of such intenseness and yet clearness of sable; or moonlight of such beauty and brilliance. As the clouds assumed new forms, or the relative position of the moon changed, I was ever and again running out to look, and indeed could have looked my eyes out. At length, after the moon had overtopped the clouds and risen into the still sky, pouring down floods of light, one of her limbs began to appear flattened. This went on for a little longer, until so much of the roundness of full moon had passed away as to prove that an eclipse was coming. The almanac was examined, calculations were made, and we found that our supposition was correct and that the eclipse

was to be total. This was almost nine o'clock at night, and by half-past nine the whole disc of the moon was overshadowed; and then a darkness, the deeper on account of the previous brightness, gathered round. It would have been a tedious and fruitless thing to have waited for the moon's final emersion; so I soon retired, in the expectation that everything would take place orderly enough. Since we entered the tropics, the tints of the sky, especially about sunset, have been rich and delicate beyond description. Painting has no colours, poetry has no words by which to give anything like an adequate idea of them to those who having seen only the cold, tame, poverty-stricken colours of the north. The shapes of the clouds, however, have been remarkable rather for grotesqueness and sometimes shapelessness, than for beauty or grandeur, except during squalls which, about the line, are of very frequent occurrence, and are ushered in by majestic masses of clouds and followed or attended by deluges of rain. On such occasions the clouds trail along the sea, the light streaming over them, or through the loop-holes, and the "sea seething" beneath them. It is in the interval between the north-east and the south-east trades that these squalls are most frequently met with, and were it not for them that interval could not be navigated at all. A perpetual and putrescent calm would prevent communication between the two hemispheres. By means, however, of those light squalls ships work their way through with various degrees of speed. As a proof of the comparative rapidity of our progress through that region of sultriness and drowsiness, sharks found it inconvenient to become part of our suite; instead of catching one according to invariable custom, we could not even see one; and now we have no expectation of seeing any till we enter the Indian tropics; for sharks being of a decidedly consumptive habit find that cold does not agree with them. I lately fell in with the journal of a sentimental sort of being who had made a voyage to the West Indies for the benefit of his health, and who argued zealously to this effect, that because sharks can't be eaten, or otherwise put to a good use, the killing of them is wanton cruelty. "If they don't meddle with us," this Samian reasoned, "we have no right to meddle with them." But for my part I think their lives are all forfeited. The intention is as bad as the action; and the fact that a shark has come so near and kept near so long

as to tempt people to catch him, shows that he has both the wish to make a dinner of them and the intention to do so if he could get them in his power. I agree, therefore, with the sailors in thinking that to kill a shark, when practicable, is a public duty—a dictate of the law of nature and nations that there is no need to wait for an overt act on his part. This the Hindoos very foolishly are wont to wait for in the case of their greatest enemies, the tigers. A tiger they will permit to lurk quietly near their villages until he commits some depredation and then on the ground that "he is now in the wrong" they go out with philosophic calmness for the purpose of attacking him. Since we entered the tropics we have passed every day fleets of most interesting species of shell-fish, "the nautilus," or as the seamen call it "the Portuguese men of war." It floats or sails along with its upper shell spread out to the wind and two legs employed as oars. The other four legs in which it rejoices are used when the wind is moderate and it has no fear of the birds, for the purpose of holding up the sail, but if danger be apprehended, it is wont either to shorten sail by lowering the upright shell and using the stays as oars, or to strike sail altogether, take in all its legs and then sink out of the reach of danger. How true it is, even with regard to such creatures as this tiny shell-fish, which is steered over the waves so securely and prettily that "those who go down to the sea in ships, see the works of the Lord and His wonders on the deep."

A few days ago I had the pleasure of making a circuit round the ship in one of the boats. A new mizen-top-mast had been shipped that is hoisted into its place, and it was desirable to see how it looked at a distance; for just as ladies on shore are much given to criticizing and scrutinizing each other's looks, dress and figure, so ships at sea which on that account, as everybody knows are spoken of in the feminine gender, are distinguished, or which is the same thing, their crews are distinguished for a like propensity. Seamen, therefore, not wishing to be subjects of criticism, wish to be sure that everything is in ship-shape and in due proportion.

After the Captain and chief officer had satisfied themselves, permission was granted to the two "idlers" as they are called at sea, that is to the doctor and the parson, to take a trip. Accordingly we swung ourselves down to the boat,

and by the help of six oars away we darted. To me at least many things appeared new. The water, which from the ship appeared of a bright blue colour, was so black, so inky, at the same time so transparent, and therefore of such evident and frightful depth, that I could not look at it without inwardly shuddering. While the thought that if one fell in, or if gravitation did not hinder, he might descend "from morn till noon, from noon to dewy eve," without being perceptibly nearer to the bottom, though very sublime, is somehow enjoyed better on ship-board, than in a little boat and within a few inches of the water. At the same time the swell which appeared from the ship long enough certainly, but of no great height, was now so considerable that we seemed to be sailing up and down so many hills; and sometimes in the intervening glen we almost lost sight of the tall ship herself.

I think there are few things better fitted to impress the mind with a sense of its littleness and utter weakness, than a sail in an open boat on the lonely and wide ocean. The nearest approach to it that I remember myself is a sail in a similar way across the northern part of Loch Lomond, where the water is of an unknown depth and is completely overshadowed by the adjacent mountains. Even there, however, the solitude is not so terrible, nor is the grandeur so majestically strange. As to the ship, there was something about her appearance also very wonderful. The way in which she seemed to rise and fall, to roll so smoothly and with such careless grace, and to glide through the water as silently as if she had not been moving at all, at the same time her size, so puny when compared with the surrounding vastness, and the proofs of the potency of the winds and waves, which the rustiness of her sides afforded, made me at once feel confident in the safety of my buoyant home, and wonder at my confidence. Having rowed out to a tolerable distance, and then drawn a circle round the ship, we returned, in my case at least, contentedly.

On the 20th of the month, that is, seven days ago, I wrote a letter and sent it by a French ship which happened to cross our course. The ship was from Sumatra, and last from Java bound for Marseilles. Our French was as bad as her English, so our intentions were rather guessed at than understood; however she lay to, and waited for the boat we sent her. The only word in her speaking-trumpet oration

we distinctly heard was "sheep," which was interpreted by some of us as signifying a wish to be helped out of her fur-like stock, but probably "ship" was meant. She was several leagues off when first seen, but sailing in a direction exactly opposite to ours. I had scarcely time with palpitating heart, and with a view of many relatives distinctly before my eyes, to add a short postscript to the letter written at Madeira and to reseal it before the vessels met. After I had given that letter to the Captain, I wrote also a short one for Mr. Arundel, but by the time I had posted with it upstairs, the boat was away. About forty letters were sent on board the Frenchman, but had it been known that the very next day we should have been passed by a Liverpool ship, and that thus the French postage might have been avoided, and the letters conveyed to England in half the time, the number would not have been so great. But as we did not know this, and as we might have fallen in with no ship afterwards, we could not have been otherwise.

There is something very interesting in the meeting of two ships at sea. On shore there is such a multiplicity of subjects continually before the eye that but little attention can be paid to any of them. But at sea, after having been for weeks and sometimes months together in a state of unbroken solitude when a ship is at length seen, but especially when it is seen approaching, the news fly with wildfire rapidity. Those who have letters ready betake themselves to the poop, or to some other place from which the view is clear, and endeavour by means of strained eyes or telescopes to make out something definite regarding the stranger, forming their conjectures from the course, the colours, "the rig," the shape, as they are one after another discovered, and in the reciprocation of wishes and opinions finding matter of lively conversation. Those again who are intending to write homewards by the first opportunity, but whose letters are not yet ready, knowing that the vessel which is bearing down may furnish them with the means of communication are engaged below, full of home and of flurried earnestness, forgetting half of what they had intended to say and spelling barbarously.

This you will at once allow to be accurate if you get the letter which was in great part written in such circumstances, and which, as I have said, was committed to the care of the

Frenchman. If you read it all through and understand it, your ingenuity no less than your perseverance will be highly commendable. While occupied with this ship, another was seen at a considerable distance ahead, and apparently an American. But even had she been bound for London, we should have preferred the round-about conveyance of the Frenchman, as it seems the honour of American skippers is like many other virtues of which the Americans boast, a thing not much to be depended upon. It is roundly asserted that these

"Lords of creations
Delivered from the Egyptian awe
Of justice, Government and law,"

very often open English letters, and if of trivial moment, throw them into the sea, but, if in a mercantile point of view, make their own use of them. Whether this be true or false, one thing is certain, that letters are sent by American ships only if no other channel is open. Towards evening we overtook the American which was sailing in the same direction with ourselves, and proved to be a South-sea whaler. We passed very close, and a short communication was held through the speaking-trumpet. Our longitude was asked, as it has been by every second-rate ship we have approached hitherto, the calculation of the longitude with any degree of accuracy being both difficult and expensive. The appearance of the whaling-ships is very remarkable and outlandish. This one was especially remarkable from the strange dress of the crew, their swarthy features, and reckless bearing, as their ship loomed upon us in the gray twilight. Had we been nearer the Cape, and had a gale been blowing, we could easily have imagined them the crew of the flying Dutchman, and as it was, we could not but think them ready for any deed of daring. Indeed this appears, in general, to be the character of the South-sea whalers. Being absent from home sometimes three or four years at once, and during all that time engaged in a very toilsome and dangerous employment, and conversant with savages alone, they naturally become profligate or truculent, unreasoning simpletons, or wild desperadoes. Everything by which society is sweetened, and everything by which the life is purified, is unknown amongst them, and as a natural consequence, instead of being, as one would wish them to be, an example to the South-sea Islanders, and an honour to

the cultivated and Christian nations to which they belong, they are, in most cases, a moral pestilence to the one and a disgrace to the other. They have oftentimes laid waste the work of the missionaries, and are generally a frightful obstacle.

Next day the Liverpool ship to which I have referred was met with, and while at the distance of several miles, the place from which she was sailing, her destination, the line of trade in which she was employed, and even the name of the builders were conjectured from various circumstances in her appearance, and, as the event proved, conjectured accurately. She was very large and firmly built, and when bearing down upon us was a sight well worth looking at. This was the case especially after we had both "heaved to," and the other ship, so tall and stately, and so proud of her fair proportions had begun a curvetting. A boat was manned and sent on board of her with such letters as were ready, and also for the purpose of inquiring after the news. It was stated, by our ambassador on his return that the ship was from Bombay, that the only passengers were some captains of English ships, which some time ago had gone ashore at Bombay in a hurricane, that the cholera had broken out both at Bombay and at Madras, and that another Rangoon war was expected immediately. Sad news if true! A number of Bombay newspapers were brought away, and from these, besides some additional information, we derived not a little amusement. A sheet so small, paper so coarse and brown, and a type so miserable, I think I never saw before. The news was chiefly English, if worn out accidents, smoke-dried speeches of Mr. Roebuck, and a "hortus siccus" of fashionable scandal can be called news. The politics of the paper were radical; and it was in the highest degree amusing to see how Radicalism managed to give vent to itself even in the frivolous affairs and with regard to the contemptible personages to which the Indian Government has so prudently confined agitation. One would have expected that, since the measures and public character of officials cannot be discussed in the newspapers, impatience of law and insubordination would be suffocated, that Radicalism would die, as creatures of all sorts die, for want of breath. But no. In two papers the editorial articles were devoted to an earnest advocacy of the rights of dogs, and a denunci-

ation of the police authorities for their Toryism and tyranny in ordering all dogs to be kept in-doors during the hot season, under the penalty of being shot when met with. In the course of these articles, an affecting picture was drawn "of a poor dog who had just left the embraces of his master, for the purpose of taking the air for a few moments, when he was shot and left weltering in his blood by a pensioned murderer of a peon." Again in another paper there was a long article on the uselessness of parsons, or the intolerable air of authority which such characters assumed in their condemnation of a "harmless" horse-race, or in innocent carousal, and on the remarkable freedom and comfort enjoyed by 5,000 men at some caper or another during the half-year that they were annoyed by no "snuffling bigot," no "lazy shepherd."

In a fourth paper the press was stopped to announce the arrival of a letter from a correspondent in *Paisley*, in which was this important and thrillingly-delightful information that O'Connell had been made Lord-Chancellor; from that it is plain that every wild-goose story, which happens to circulate for a few days in England, will be taken for a time as an established fact in India. It is also plain that the Indian newspapers contain little or no Indian news, that in consequence the majority of the English in India know very little about the people and care still less, and that English affairs form the grand topic of discussion. "Note," as Mathew Henry would say, "Radicalism is the result not of the unhappy circumstances in which a man may be placed, but of the unhappy turn of his disposition."

Since I wrote last I have had no opportunity of preaching to the seamen. One consequence of the formal preparation for public worship is that in suspicious as well as in squally or rainy weather a meeting on deck is impossible; and on both Sabbaths, however, the clouds were heavy and ominous of change. On both Sabbaths, however, we had services as usual morning and evening in the cuddy. In the morning besides reading prayers I preach for about a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes. In the evening I preach for about three-quarters of an hour. On all occasions very different is the regularity of attendance, the respectfulness of attention, and the seriousness of deportment which I observe in my hearers from the opposition, or rude neglect which poor Henry Martyn

experienced. True, he was in his discourses injudiciously austere, however amiable and winning in private life, but that is not the true reason of the difference. Indian society has so changed since his time, that were he to rise again, he would be unable to recognize it; and the change for the better is becoming every day and in every rank of society more marked. How thankful should I be that I have thus "an open door" and no "adversaries." Being thus prevented from preaching to the sailors, I have distributed among them a large quantity of tracts, and certainly these tracts, whether understood or not, are diligently read. It is delightful to see the number of strong-armed, hard-headed fellows, who are every evening scattered about the fore-castle reading, some newspapers, some tracts, some well-fingered octavos. Such, however, is not the case in every ship, and in this, chiefly owing to the captain's character, his attention to the comfort of the men, and to the length of time in consequence, during which many of them remain with him.

As an instance of the uncertainty of meetings of any sort at sea, I may mention that last Sabbath evening, when I was half through my discourse, a squall suddenly came on. The ship lurched immediately and my hearers were scattered, some to their posts, some to their cabins for the purpose of looking after their windows, and of course, *volens volens*, my sermon was brought to a termination.

I have only now to state the particulars with regard to my crossing the line, not that anything remarkable in the way of merriment or of location happened, but that to cross the equator for the first time is itself remarkable. In its way it is an era in a man's life. We crossed it on the 24th October, 32 days after we left Plymouth. Formerly the most extravagant pranks and the most cruel practical jokes were played off. Neptune and his suite dressed fantastically, fared sumptuously, got drunk gloriously; and if new comers did not pay a handsome amount, they were often roughly treated. This is still the custom more or less in some ships, but in ours hardly anything of the kind was apparent.

As "Parson" perhaps I should have been exempted at any rate, but there were some on board, in particular a midshipman, and a few seamen, who in some ships would have suffered sorely. In old times a person who had

rendered himself obnoxious to any of the crew was sure to suffer; and such was the dread of the bilge-water and tar ordeal, that lives have been lost in the determination to resist it, and Captains have been prosecuted for permitting it. About 20 years ago Captain Tarbutt's crew were almost in a state of mutiny on account of his suppression of the worst parts of the ceremonial; nor are they quite content with an allowance of plum-pudding, and a little harmless acting of the serious realities of the olden time.

About eight o'clock in the evening we were startled with the sound of a rough voice apparently from the sea, and with an answer roared out of the speaking trumpet by the chief officer on the poop. Some of the ladies, not thinking of the cause, were alarmed, and imagined that some ship was running foul of us. For my own part, having been talking of the ceremony for a week previous and expecting it every hour, I set myself to listen. I was prudent enough, however, to remain in the cuddy, for had I gone out, I might have been refreshed from the bucket of water which was provided for general use in the maintop. The colloquy referred to the name of the ship, captain's name; time of leaving England, destination, number of newcomers on board, &c., and ended in an order to "stand by the main-ropes" for the purpose of receiving Neptune's embassy. The man who put the questions was stationed at the end of the bowsprit, so the voice was not only sepulchral, but really from a distance; and on both sides the conversation was conducted with the appearance of seriousness. At this time there was a rush to the gang-way, and some kind of float with a quantity of burning pitch in it was conveyed thither from the bowsprit along the outside of the ship. A sailor who was suspended close to the water handed up a letter sealed with tar, and then bidding us good-bye, pretended to launch off in the float, which was soon after seen burning many a mile behind us. The letter was directed to the captain, and stated gravely that Neptune being now well up in years, and having that week paid a great number of visits, our ship also sailing so fast that he was unable to overtake her, had sent one of his "mates" to see that all was right and to make his compliments to the ladies. While this letter was being read, every newcomer within reach had an equitable share of the contents of the bucket poured down upon him, and I heard the new midshipman hastily called for. Even one

of the mates bawled out his name, but though passive obedience be the law on ship-board, the mid was wise enough to remain snugly hid in his cabin; for had he appeared, he had been drenched thoroughly. In all this you might well suppose there could be little pleasure and less profit; but to the sailors there was a vast deal of fun in it. They are but grown children, and the child's rattle amuses them.

As you may see from the position on the map which I have given, we are now at considerable way past the line. The wind is fresh and steady, and in consequence though the thermometer is about 80 I feel cool enough. The squalls, the rain and the sultriness characteristic of the northern confines of the line have gone away, and as we shall overtake the sun in a few days, the daylight is longer now than it has been for a month past.

Already indeed the sun is so nearly vertical that at noon we have scarcely any shadow; horrible idea! when it is remembered that to be without a shadow was once held an unquestionable proof of witchcraft. I should think that this is the finest climate in the world. The air is so soft and salubrious, the heat so equable, the light so brilliant, and the sky generally so cloudless and of a blue so deep and bright, I only wish our stay in it were longer; but we are likely to leave it very soon, for we are sailing to the south-west so rapidly that in a week we shall have to put on warmer clothing. From what cause I know not, the southern hemisphere is everywhere colder than the northern. The vast fields of ice which are congregated round the southern pole are sometimes stated as the cause of this low temperature, but a cause for that vast quantity of ice, as far as I know, has not been given. I have heard it alleged that the extent of sea about the south pole furnishes a reason; but I am doubtful about this also, for as all know in cold, frosty weather it is warmer at sea than on land. At the same time the assumed fact, as in the case of King Charles' problem, may be a falsity. For anything that we know, there may be an antarctic continent behind the icebergs.

November 7th—West Longitude, 21; South Latitude, 19. "Change passeth over all," but on ship-board all is change. When I wrote last we were rapidly sailing southward by the help of the south-east trades; we expected

that those trades would carry us to the 25th degree of south latitude, and that we should see Trinidad in two or three days. [I ought to have said that having been compelled to bear a little farther to the westward than usual, we expected to pass Trinidad, a little island off the Spanish main, and that we were pleased with the expectation on account of the wonders of which an account was given us.] Here we have been, however, for five days, with the chance, if the Irish hurricane continue, of arriving at Trinidad in three weeks or a month. We shall soon lose all the advantage we gained in crossing the line so rapidly. Nevertheless I am not wonderfully sorry at this detention, though perhaps I ought to be sorry, for a calm here is very different, as far as temperature is concerned, from one or the other side of the equator. It is cool, fresh, and bracing; and then the nearer it approaches to a calm the closer I can study. For a few evenings past the wonders of sunset have been greater than I had previously seen them, chiefly on account of the greater stillness of the sea. I might speak of the sky as a furnace of molten gold, as marble exquisitely variegated, or again as a carmine transparency; and of the sea as a silver shield, chased and embossed where the surface was slightly ruffled, and inlaid with a broad, golden band where the sun was reflected from it. But of neither can I give you anything like an adequate idea; pen and pencil are alike impotent to describe them.

I have sometimes felt myself quite unhinged with the strange beauty of such evenings; and yet I am told by those who have the morning watch, that the splendour of sunrise is greater still. Whether or no this is the case I am unable to determine, for my curiosity has been, all my life, overbalanced by my indolence; and though I have often intended I have never been on deck to see. My old preference of late sitting-up to early rising still continues with me.

On Sunday last we had a very delightful meeting for worship on the quarter-deck. The calm being total, the seamen were unoccupied in any way, and sea and sky were both so still that my thoughts were irresistibly carried homewards. I thought of my home and of the multitudes who about that time of the Sabbath were going up to the house of God and "with the voice of joy and praise

keeping holy day." I remembered also how often and in what circumstances of comfort and high privilege I had been permitted to join with them. Even now, however, I felt I had reason for much thankfulness on account of the incitements "to do good and to communicate" by which I was surrounded, and the listening to "declare the whole counsel of God" which I engaged. The seamen themselves seemed to feel the meeting a pleasure, not a "weariness." They came together with alacrity, neatly dressed, and with an aspect of satisfaction, and decent reverence, while their fixed attention both to the prayers and to the sermon proved that there was some reality in the interest. On this account I felt the more interested myself, and from the looks of many of them at the time and the appearance of them all occupied in the afternoon in reading the tracts I had given them, I could not but hope that at least some good results would follow. From all that I can see, I think simplicity and directness of purpose the most marked trait in the character of the sailor. He can't conceal his thoughts. He acts just as he thinks, and fear of consequences he gives to the winds. On this account he is easily led away by bad example, and by temptations which would have but little effect on others. But he is also easily impressed, and if he make a profession of religion he will be thorough-going and determined in his profession of it. He thinks in his heart and thus, while to the superficial observer he seems to have no moral principle at all, he has often far more of it than landmen in like circumstances, who think in their pockets, and calculate as they sin. He is a zealous and hearty profligate, a zealous and hearty Christian. The want of religious education on the part of seamen is, I think, the chief reason why those who are so familiar with death so seldom think seriously about it. At present seamen in general enter upon life untaught in any respect, and therefore unthinking and unprincipled. It is no wonder, therefore, when abroad their conduct should be a blot upon their native country, and that when at home, they should be often tossed on a flood of sin and folly wilder than the storms they are wont to buffet. It is only when they shall at an early period of life be brought under the influence of religion, and when the spirit of the Gospel and the habits of Christianity shall be formed in them, in consequence, at an early period, that they will reasonably be expected to enter on their life of toil wiser and graver

than they are now, prepared for sudden death, for sudden glory, and fit to be in their own sphere, missionaries of Christ, not missionaries of Satan.

In the evening as usual I preached in the cuddy. I thought for some time that it was hardly fair to restrict our evening meeting to ourselves, and wished that those of the seamen who thought fit might be permitted to attend it. I spoke of this to the captain last Sunday evening, but it seems it would be inconvenient. In the cuddy there would not be room for them, and to assemble them on the quarter-deck, to arrange everything for their accommodation after darkness had come on, and to go through all the accustomed niceties of etiquette would be a very irksome task. The chief reason, however, and the most satisfactory, was that one sermon in a day was thought as much as the seamen could either comprehend or retain, and that if two were thrust upon them, the attention which they now paid to one they would then be able to pay to neither.

I therefore gave up all thought of innovating. My hearers in the evening being, without exception, well educated, I find it necessary to prepare closely and carefully, not that there are among them any captious critics, but that a discourse must be both in matter and style respectable, ere it can be expected to do good to such persons, and in many cases ere they will condescend to listen. For example, last voyage when three of our missionaries went out in this ship, only one could gather a congregation in the evening, though the number of passengers was considerable, and in consequence, before long, Blair and others had to be read. Had this not been done, the evening meeting would have been relinquished. Then, however, there were several infidels on board, who were on the watch for an opportunity of objecting and condemning, and who were so fond of wrangling about religion that even at table the missionaries were compelled to debate with them, or to pocket many an allusion. One of the sceptic disputants was a Col. Evans, a brother of the member for Westminster, and was, it would appear, quite as liberal in religion as his brother in politics. This voyage, on the contrary, there is nothing of the sort. If I have less excitement than my predecessor, I have certainly much more comfort, and if I have any chance at all of being talked to death, it is neither by infidels nor by Radicals, but by my restless "Pundit" Mr. Brown.

CHAPTER II.

MEN I MET IN MADRAS.

I ARRIVED in Madras on the morning of Sunday, the 8th of January 1838. We sighted the Nagari hills, and then the cocoanut palms of the village of Ceromandel, the previous evening, but waited about in the offing till the morning. The vessel had hardly come to an anchor when two young men came on board to take me to the house of Mr. Smith, the London Missionary at Vepery, and I was thus saved the trouble usually given to strangers by the Madras boatmen, and favoured instead with English-speaking companions through the perils of the celebrated Madras surf. These two young men, Mr. Taylor and Mr. Johnson, were students with Mr. Smith, and afterwards became Missionaries of the London Missionary Society, and they commenced to read Greek and Latin with me for some time daily shortly after my arrival. Before long I went to stay at the house of Mr. Drew, another Missionary of the same Society, with whom I stayed for more than a year. Mr. Drew was a devout man, a zealous Missionary, a man of culture, and a devoted student of Tamil. His edition of the Kural, a great Tamil classic, though he did not live to complete the work, placed him in the first rank of European Tamil scholars. It is surprising to me that, since his time, so few English Missionaries of any Society seem to have cared to acquire more than a colloquial knowledge of Tamil, though the language is beautiful in itself, and contains a rich literature. Dr. Pope is a conspicuous exception amongst Englishmen; while Dr. Grant, who made his mark in Tamil, Dr. Gundert in Malayalam, and Mr. Kittle in Canarese, were Germans. I derived much benefit from the stimulus to Tamil studies that I received from my daily intercourse with Mr. Drew. I received from him, however, no direct help, and he undervalued Sanskrit too much, and despised the new science of comparative philology.

One of the most prominent figures in the Missionary world of Madras at that time was that of Mr. Anderson, best known as John Anderson, of the Scotch Presbyterian Mission, the Dr. Duff of Madras, by whom the first great

English school for Hindu youths was established, and the first systematic effort made to use English education as a means of spreading Christianity among the higher classes and castes. At that time questions connected with English education were hotly discussed. Anderson and his friends were tempted to think their mode of Missionary work the only mode of any value, and to depreciate work in the vernacular. At present the tables have been turned, and the advocates of vernacular work are sometimes found to depreciate the work of the English schools. At that time, and ever since, I have been an advocate of both kinds of work, and all experience appears to me to have shown that, as the masses can only be reached through the vernacular, so the best, if not the only way of reaching the higher classes is through education in English. John Anderson was my greatest friend in Madras at that time. He was one of the ablest, and most zealous and devoted Missionaries I have ever met, and was certainly the most enthusiastic. Enthusiasm, however, was one of the most marked characteristics of his nature, and showed itself, not only in his Missionary work, but in everything he did, and said. He was one of the mightiest talkers I have ever met. I have often stood listening to him at night in the streets for hours after we had been supposed to bid one another good-bye, and one night we never slept at all, but sat, or lay awake, the whole night, I listening, and he pouring out upon me the floods of his fluent, enthusiastic talk. I never ventured to argue with such a talker, but perhaps I was partly to blame, on some occasions, for stirring him up to the combat by hinting, though only in a word or two, that I was not quite convinced. One of his chief characteristics was his almost womanly tenderness and affection towards his students, which was one of the things that conduced to the great number of conversions of educated young men with which his work was marked. This tenderness, however, had another side, for he was capable, when roused by opposition, of breaking out into what looked very like passion. Throughout the Presidency of Madras, for many years the name of John Anderson, and the fame and influence of what was called "Anderson's School"—now developed into the "Christian College"—were like household words.

John Anderson, though so influential as a Missionary, had much less influence in the English community of that

time than John Tucker, the Secretary of the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society. He was as calm and placid as Anderson was fiery, a man of learning and culture, a devout and holy man, with a great reputation for wisdom. His influence as the acknowledged head of the religious life of the time not only at Madras, but throughout the Presidency, surpassed anything of the kind I have ever known in India. It was one of the sights of Madras to see the almost interminable line of carriages, especially on Sunday evenings, that filled the street in front of his church, the chapel of the C. M. S. Mission, ever since known as Tucker's Chapel. I went to hear him several times, and saw that the secret of the attraction of his preaching lay, not in his eloquence, but in his deep sincerity and spirituality, and in his skill in dealing with the consciences of his hearers. He could best be described as a Calvinistic High Churchman, a combination now probably unknown. His High Churchmanship, however, entirely disappeared later on in England, where he became, I understand, a Calvinist, pure and simple; but at the time I refer to he was certainly, in many particulars, to be regarded as belonging to the then new Oxford School of Pusey and Keble. He was a personal friend of Keble's and belonged, I think, to the same College, and by means of a depot of religious books, which he established in Madras, he flooded the country with Keble's "Christian Year," and books of a similar type.

There was then a Bishop in Madras, only recently arrived, Bishop Spencer, a good but sentimental and somewhat feeble man; but the real Bishop, as long as he remained in the country, was undoubtedly Mr. Tucker. I might go a step further, and use a higher designation. Looking at the position gladly assigned to him by his followers, he might have been called, not the Bishop, but the Pope of Madras. It should be admitted, however, that he never acted the Pope, or obtruded his opinions upon others, though it might be surmised that he possessed a calm consciousness of his infallibility. He was the means of securing to the Church of England the allegiance of many estimable persons who, at that time of religious revival, and religious ferment, were sorely tempted to join the new sect of Plymouth Brethren, whose leader at that time in India was a Mr. Groves, from whom they were then commonly called Groveites. Here, it was said, was a

man who was admitted to be a head and shoulders superior to the Separatists in spirituality, and who yet remained a devoted member of the Church of England. This consideration had much weight with many minds. I had made the acquaintance of the first founders of the sect of Plymouth Brethren at Plymouth itself, on my way out to India, but had not felt any attraction in their direction. Before I left Madras the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent out two Cambridge men, Mr. Calthrop and Mr. Brotherton, to help to resuscitate their Missions. I saw Mr. Brotherton in Tanjore on my way to the south. Mr. Calthrop, whom I knew in Madras, was appointed to open an Institution in Madras for the education of catechists for the service of the Mission. He was a worthy man and well suited for the work, but his career in India was very short. This was the origin of the institution in 'Sullivan's Gardens' which afterwards, under Mr. Symonds, acquired so high a position, and conferred so many benefits on the S. P. G. Missions. Mr. Gray of the C. M. S. commenced a similar institution for the Missions of his Society, but this was given up ere long, and the Tamil agents were from that time trained in Tinnevely, where most of them would naturally be employed.

Amongst the Missionaries in Madras at that time was Dr. Winslow, an American Missionary from Jaffna, the last compiler, and sole editor, of the great Tamil Dictionary. Dr. Winslow was an able man, but most particularly eminent as a Missionary. He was a "much married man," having been married, I believe, six times—people said seven times. Another American Missionary from Jaffna, then in Madras, was Dr. Scudder, a Medical Missionary, a man of great earnestness, father of a large family of sons, all of whom rose to eminence as Missionaries, or Missionary medical men in the Tamil country, in connection with the North Arcot Mission which, at one time, was entirely manned by Dr. Scudder's sons and sons-in-law. One of them, many years afterwards, laboured with myself and others in the revision of the Tamil Bible. A lay member of the American Madras Mission at that time was Mr. Hunt, a printer, who rendered good service to the country by the improved Tamil typography he introduced. The books printed by him excelled in beauty all Indian printing that had been seen up to that time.

The Chaplains at Madras at that time included Arch-

deacon Harper, celebrated for the share he unwittingly took in leading Mr. Rhenius, the eminent German Missionary in Tinnevely, to secede from the C. M. S. and establish a schism there, in opposition to the Church of England. The schism came to an end shortly after Mr. Rhenius' death. Another of the Chaplains was Mr. Spring, Secretary at once to the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S. P. G., and to the Auxiliary Bible Society, a combination of offices which would be considered inconceivable in these narrower days. Another of the Madras Chaplains at that time was Mr., afterwards Bishop, Cotterill. He was a strong Evangelical and C. M. S. man at that time, though during the greater portion of his subsequent career he could best, perhaps, be described as a moderate High Churchman. He had been the Senior Wrangler of his year, and more was expected of him in India than was realised. Before long he returned home and contented himself with a secondary position in the Brighton College. Sooner or later, however, a Senior Wrangler is destined to develop, and to rise to some position of importance in the Church or the world, and accordingly, after a time, he was appointed Bishop of Grahamstown, and afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh, an office which he filled with distinction.

The most prominent and influential Christian layman at that time in Madras was Captain, afterwards General, C. A. Browne (Military Secretary to the Government from 1845 to 1859), whose Friday evening meetings for tea, exposition of the Scriptures, and prayer, were for many years the rallying point of all the decided piety then in Madras, in so far as it was found amongst the members of the Services, and people who were in what was called "Society." People in a lower position were not invited, or did not care to attend so exclusive a meeting. The meeting no doubt did good in its time in helping religious people to gain strength by mutual intercourse, and in encouraging undecided people to declare themselves; but it had also, as it appeared to me, the effect of raising a false standard of religion by helping to foster the notion that no one could be a true Christian who did not attend the Friday evening meeting, and that all who attended it were to be regarded as in a state of grace. It could not be regarded as an objection to those meetings that the doctrines inculcated in them were exclusively Evangelical, for at that time no other form of earnest religion was supposed to be possible.

The chief faults of the members of the Evangelical School of that period were their imperative dogmatism, and their exclusive claims to sanctity, and, as they then had everything their own way, this could hardly have been helped; but the new Oxford School was beginning to make its influence felt. Being acquainted with all the writings of this school from the beginning I knew well what it meant, and what it was likely to do, and I often looked forward with some degree of satisfaction to the probability that in time the dogmatism of my Evangelical friends would be met by a dogmatism as peremptory as their own, and that their exclusive claims would be confronted by claims equally, if not more exclusive. I did not expect either side to yield, but I anticipated that space would be found between the lines of battle for the men of peace to live lives of peace.

My only work in Madras for the first year, and my chief work afterwards, so long as I remained there, was the acquisition of Tamil. It was my aim to acquire a good knowledge of the High Tamil, or classical tongue, and of the Tamil classics, as well as of the spoken language, and the knowledge I then acquired, though not so extensive, or thorough as I could have wished, has been of the greatest possible use to me ever since. In particular I spared no pains in endeavouring to acquire an accurate pronunciation. My work as a Missionary whilst in Madras was chiefly amongst domestic servants, a class of persons belonging chiefly, if not wholly, to the Paraiya caste. My predecessor, Mr. Drew, had been accustomed to address assemblies of high caste Hindus in various parts of Madras. I did not persevere in this practice, partly because I was not sufficiently at home in Tamil, but chiefly because this style of preaching appeared to me to be aimless, desultory, and unlikely to produce any permanent result. As a matter of fact, I never heard of an instance of any real permanent good having been done by this style of work, either by Mr. Drew or by other Missionaries, all the time I was in Madras. I was convinced then, as I have ever since been, that high caste Hindus can best be reached by means of English Schools, such as those that were commenced by Dr. Duff in Calcutta, and carried on afterwards by other Missionaries in the great towns of India. I found a sphere of work open to me at that time amongst the domestic servants, and though this may have been con-

sidered a very humble style of work, I devoted myself to it with all my might. My plan was to make the congregation the centre round which all work revolved. I set myself, with the help of my Native Assistants, to invite individuals to attach themselves to the congregations, and as soon as any person was in this way brought under Christian influences, instructed, and baptised, I stirred him up to bring over his relatives and friends. In this way, it was hoped that each soul that was gained would become a centre of light to other souls. The plan succeeded beyond expectation, and the congregation became ere long too large for the building. The essentials of the plan, viz., making the congregation the centre of all work, and endeavouring to make each convert a missionary to his friends, were such as I have ever since acted upon in Tinnevely, and such as might safely be acted upon in every part of the world.

One of the greatest names in Tinnevely Mission history, especially in connection with education, is that of Dr. George Uglow Pope, the founder of the Sawyerpuram Institution. Dr. Pope, who came to Madras in connection with the Wesleyan Missionary Society about the year 1839, arrived in Tinnevely in 1842, in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was appointed to Sawyerpuram, then a sub-station of Nazareth, and immediately on his arrival he set himself with characteristic zeal to the double work of founding congregations and schools in the various districts north of the river, and of establishing in the place where he took up his abode an Institution, then called a "Seminary," for the training up of Native Agents in the higher learning. He was a man of varied abilities and accomplishments, and an enthusiastic teacher. He taught his students not only classical Tamil, but also Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. He was a good Hebrew Scholar, and zealous teacher of Mathematics. He taught his students not only during the day, but from 8 to 11 every night! He obtained the assistance of a blind gentleman as Professor, Mr. Seymour, a Cambridge Graduate, who taught Logic, History, and Moral Philosophy. Dr. Pope was equally earnest about the teaching of Theology in all its branches. His aim was to make Sawyerpuram a kind of University, surpassing anything of the kind that was to be found at that time in the Madras Presidency. Probably he would have

succeeded in this had it not been for some special disadvantages. One was the unsuitableness of the site, which was not a town, like Tuticorin, but an insignificant village; another was the dulness of most of his pupils, who belonged to classes that were then undeveloped. What was wanted at the time was a superior Primary School, not a University. The buildings he erected for the classes for the accommodation of boarders, and the use of the Principal and his assistants, were of first-rate excellence, and when he left, after a residence of not more than six years, every one wondered to find that so much had been done by one unassisted man in so short time. One great advantage he enjoyed was in the sympathy and encouragement he received from the Madras Diocesan Committee of that time, who, instead of regarding his work with jealousy, and thwarting him in his plans, gave him all the help they could. The chief drawback to his success was the severity of his discipline, which led, after a succession of petty rebellions, to his withdrawal. He proceeded to England for the benefit of his health; and on his return to India, went to Tanjore, where he founded a College, which is now one of the first grade. His health failing him again he established a school of his own at Ootacamund, and subsequently became head of Bishop Cotton's School in Bangalore. Again he had to betake himself to England for his health, and he is not likely to return to this country; but he has still a close connection with India, as he is now Professor of Tamil in the University of Oxford, and he is frequently employed as a Deputation by the S. P. G. He was made a Fellow of the Madras University, and the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the Archbishop of Canterbury. All the best natives in Tinnevely in connection with the S. P. G. have directly or indirectly become what they are through his efforts and influence, and his name is one which Tinnevely can never forget.

The Rev. Alfred Radford Symonds, M.A., of Wadham College, Oxford, born on the 1st February 1815, came to Madras in 1841 as Principal of Bishop Corrie's Grammar School. He was a good teacher, and soon raised that school to a high position. Before long he joined the Madras Diocesan Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and, after the retirement of Archdeacon Shortland, became Secretary of the Committee, a

post which he held as long as he remained in India. He rendered eminent service to the Society, and to Missions in general, by his unflagging zeal and the wise measures he introduced. He frequently visited the Missions during his tenure of office, and stayed a considerable time in each, so that he acquired a large amount of practical acquaintance with the condition and requirements of every portion of the Mission-field. It was chiefly, however, as an educationist that he left his mark in the Presidency of Madras. As one of the earliest Fellows of the University of Madras, and one of the best-informed and most public-spirited, he did much for the development of the University system, and the improvement of its various affiliated Colleges and Schools. The Institution called Sullivan's Gardens was founded by him, and therein he combined theological with secular instruction, so that many of his pupils became clergymen. Secular studies have now been relegated to the various Colleges, and Sullivan's Gardens has become a purely Theological College. During the time it was carried on by Mr. Symonds no institution in the country occupied a higher place in public esteem. His chief characteristic was his warm sympathy with the Missionaries, and so long as he remained Secretary of the Diocesan Committee, I knew that I had in Madras not an opponent, or a person whose policy was influenced by party views, but a large-hearted sympathetic friend, and this was the feeling of all the Missionaries. He had much social and religious influence in Madras, and took an important part in every movement for the public good. He was a good preacher, a good speaker, a good debater, and a good man of business; and he was made by Lord Napier, when Governor of Madras, his Domestic Chaplain. He went home once on sick leave, and left India finally, through failing health, in 1872. When he was leaving the whole of the Missionaries united in sending an earnest request to the Parent Society that they would be pleased to place him on their staff as an Assistant Secretary, so that his long Indian experience and matured judgment might not be lost to the Missions. I regretted very much that this request was not complied with. He settled in England as Vicar of Walmer, and was much respected wherever he was known. He could not, however, do much active work, as he suffered much from a painful malady of which he died in 1883. His name will always be held in

affectionate remembrance by a peculiarly large number of Native students and friends.

Dr. Henry Bower, who afterwards occupied so distinguished a position as the Principal Reviser of the Tamil Translation of the Bible and of the last edition of the Tamil Prayer Book, was in Madras when I arrived, and I obtained much valuable help from him in my endeavour to acquire a thorough knowledge of Tamil, both in its classical dialect and in the Tamil of common life. He was then in connection with the London Missionary Society, but afterwards followed me into the Church of England, and became an ordained Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The first important situation he filled was that of Principal of a College he founded at VEDIARPURAM, near Tanjore. The site of this College was ill-chosen, being in a district frequently under water, and always damp and unhealthy, so that it had at length to be abandoned. The name VEDIAR, or religious teacher, was derived from the title of BESCHI's celebrated treatise "VEDIAR-OLUKKAM," a book intended for the instruction of Catechists. It was of course more or less Romish in its teaching and tone, but was on the whole scriptural, and edifying, and was, I think, the best book he ever wrote. It was much used at one time for the instruction of native Mission Agents in the various Protestant Missions, but is now nearly forgotten. Dr. Bower's next appointment was to Madras, where he was placed in charge of the S.P.G. Mission in Vepery, and where he brought out a number of valuable theological works, and useful editions of valuable works by English divines, such as "Pearson on the Creed," and "Butler's Analogy." He was soon after placed at the head of the endeavours made by the Bible Society to produce a standard translation of the Tamil Bible. From this time till the close of his career this was the work with which his name was most closely connected, so that it might be said that the history of that translation constituted Dr. Bower's life history. He died in Palamcotta in 1885, deeply lamented as a scholar, as a Missionary, and as a man of unaffected Christian piety, untainted by the least trace of party spirit. He received from the Archbishop of Canterbury the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, and was the first Eurasian on whom this honour was conferred.

Dr. Charles Egbert Kennet was not in Madras when I

arrived, though I became intimately acquainted with him some years afterwards in Tinnevely, whence his first appointment was as Catechist under me at Idaiyanguadi. He was at the time of my arrival a student in Bishop's College, Calcutta, where he had come from Professor Street's teaching and influence, that attachment to the doctrines and practices of the High Church School, which he not only retained to the last, but which became deeper, stronger, and more fervid every year he lived. His course was very different from that of Dr. Bower, but they were men of equal intellectual gifts, and equally respected. Dr. Bower was more eminent as an Indian scholar, Dr. Kennet as a Patristic scholar, a liturgical scholar, and an expounder of dogmatic theology. The principal work of his life was as Principal of the S.P.G. Theological College, Sullivan's Gardens, Madras. His deep personal piety, and his earnest advocacy of what he believed to be the truth, gained for him the sincere respect of those who differed from him, and the unbounded esteem and confidence of those who shared in his theological views. He was consequently regarded, as long as he lived, as the undoubted head and leader of the High Church party in the Diocese of Madras, if not also throughout India. He received from the Archbishop of Canterbury the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity shortly after the same degree had been conferred on Dr. Bower. Dr. Kennet died in Madras at the close of 1884. It is sad to think that these two eminent men have left no successors in the community to which they belonged, and of which, each in his own way, they were such distinguished ornaments.

During the three years and a-half I spent in Madras, though not idle in other directions, I devoted as much time and care to theological study as if I had nothing else to do. I amassed a large collection of the best books I could find in every department of theological literature, including the Ante-Nicene fathers in the originals, the greatest Lutheran and Calvinistic divines of the Continent, all the great English Puritan divines, most of the great Carolinian divines, all the 18th century divines of any importance, the great Church historians, early and late, and the best Biblical commentaries which had appeared up to that time. There was another class of writers whose works I read at the same time with much interest. These were the so-called Platonic divines of the school of

Cadworth, to one of whom, John Smith of Cambridge, I must own never-ending obligations for the truth I learned from him (though I might have learned it from St. Paul and from our Lord Himself)—that love, joy, peace, are above all controversies, and above all ceremonial observances. I was not inclined, however, to be neglectful of dogmatic truth, or even of the forms in which dogmatic truth has been clothed, for the main object I had in view—an object to which I devoted myself as assiduously and earnestly as I could—was to examine everything I could find in any of the works I had collected bearing on the Church, on Episcopacy, and on the Sacraments, in the hope of arriving at the truth by this comparative method of study. The conclusion at which I arrived was one to which “the shadow on the wall” had pointed from the beginning. It was that the Church of England, with all its apparent defects, was the best home the searcher after truth could expect to find in this world; that it was the best representative in our time both of the catholicity and of the freedom of thought of the earliest ages; and that I could not do better than cast in my lot with a Church which, then supposed by many to be dying or dead, seemed to me to have inherited from Apostolic times, with the sacred deposit of the faith and the three-fold ministry, a capacity for an unlimited succession of revivals and reforms.

In joining the Church of England I made up my mind to join the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. At the time I joined that oldest of Missionary Societies it had sunk apparently to almost the last stage of inanition, but as I considered the Church of England the best extant representative of the many-sided Churches of Christian antiquity, so the Society seemed to me, in its constitutions and principles, the best representative of the many-sided Church of England. I could not have joined a Society, however excellent in other respects, which appeared to set up a Church within a Church, with principles and doctrines of its own. Though there were then few signs of life remaining in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I felt persuaded that times of revival were in store for it, as certainly as I believed that times of revival were in store for the Church of England itself. I have not been disappointed in either of these hopes. The revival that has taken place, both in the Church and in its represen-

tative Society, has far exceeded my expectations. I never endeavoured to induce any persons whatever to follow my example, but my action in joining the Church of England appeared to have some influence on other minds both in the London Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, since four of the Missionaries or Assistant Missionaries of the former and six of the latter found their way sooner or later into the Church. At the head of the former class stands Dr. Bower; at the head of the latter Dr. Pope.

NOTE.

As might be expected, his joining the Church of England was an era in the future Bishop's life, and a fuller account of it was written to his friends than appears in his autobiography. From his letters to his sister, we make the following extracts:—

MADRAS, 28th February 1841.

"In regard to the principal subject of your last letter, I cannot but wonder who has circulated the report of my having joined the Church of England; a report which, strange to say, has not yet found its way here from Glasgow. There is no foundation for it whatever, beyond what there was when I was at home. I was then in sentiment on the side of primitive Catholic Christianity, and a favourer of the Church of England in so far as it was on the same side; and such is still my position. I then thought the Independents, and other ultra-protestants deficient in teachableness, humility, self-discipline and real charity; and I think so still with this addition that a more careful study of the Word of God, and three years' study of the primitive Fathers, have proved, what then I only suspected, that on many points the system I was trained in was nationalistic and one-sided. When I left Glasgow I owed no longer any allegiance to any Independent Church; and therefore felt myself perfectly free to think and act as conscience directed me. But the more I studied, the more I saw it was necessary to be cautious and to keep my opinions to myself until I should, through the blessing of God, gain a thorough understanding of the faith once delivered to the saints. Accordingly I have never in preaching introduced any of my own views, never even mentioned them, except to very intimate friends. Mr. Anderson of the Assembly's Mission, who, since Mr. Drew left, is my most intimate friend, does not dream that I am other than an Independent; and no members of the Church of England here have any idea that in any respect I am on their side. I cannot yet tell whether I ever shall enter the Church of England or not, and therefore cannot but wonder who has told you that I have already done so. The reason I never corresponded with you on those points is, that though I am quite sure your views would in the main coincide with mine, if I were present to explain things and remove misconceptions, yet at the same time I felt sure that long writing on those subjects would be ineffectual, both on account of my time for letter-writing being very limited, and on account of my

knowing that you are surrounded by opinions, impressions, and prejudices of an opposite kind, and that the Scotch, both ministers and people, are pledged to their new systems. I have work of much importance pressing upon me every day, and therefore felt quite justified in writing to you only about my work, and those things on which your opinions and mine might be supposed to be the same. All I would ask of you is to keep your mind as free as you can on the various subjects in question, and to believe that one who has deliberated, and studied so long, and has not yet been able fully to make up his mind, is not likely to act rashly, or on a lower ground than that of moral certainty. When your letter about Church matters reached me I was in a pretty position for controversy. I was about fifteen miles from Cuddapah in a rocky jungly pass, after dusk, and with an empty stomach, our stock of provisions being exhausted, when a man came up with a basket of bread and your letter, both having been sent forward to meet us. We sat down our palanquins in the pass, and by torchlight I read your letter and made my supper of biscuits and water, and thought in my own mind that if you had visited me there personally not by letter, my being of this or that opinion or Church order would not have been such 'a shock' to you. My time is so nearly gone that I have been obliged to hurry over this part of the letter; but I hope it will be in the main satisfactory."

The next letter on this subject is dated Madras, 20th June 1841. After referring in affectionate terms to his mother, whose death had recently taken place, he goes on:—

"I hope soon to be able to write you on subjects more pleasing and profitable, but on this occasion I must restrict myself to giving you an account of the decision I have come to concerning my sphere of labour. I have given notice of my dissolving my connection with the London Society at the close of the present month. I am sure you will believe me when I say that it is with much pain and after much consideration and prayer for years that I at length take this step. I fully intended to have written to you by the overland before this, telling you that I had made up my mind, but on account of the coming on of the Monsoon the mail was sent away before the usual time and before I was aware of it. (I am sorry that in consequence the separation will have taken place before you receive this letter. I shall now state to you a few things (not at all in the way of argument) which it is necessary you should know in order to understand my reasons for this step and my prospects without unintentionally giving rise to strife, division, and unsettledness of mind. These evils I greatly avoid and would willingly make any sacrifice to avoid them. You have heard of 'the fundamental principle' of the London Society, in virtue of which it is supposed that Christians of all sentiments can co-operate with it. That principle is a mere name. I have made the experiment and know that the practical meaning of it is that Christians of all sentiments may co-operate with the London Society, provided they keep their sentiments to themselves. If it were otherwise I would not now be leaving, for conscience sake, a sphere in which God has blessed me. Accordingly I have had a

growing conviction for more than two years past that it would be necessary for me to seek another sphere in which I could act as I believed, consistently and quietly. During the last year another reason has had much weight with me. It is this, God has already blessed my labours beyond my expectations, and I who commenced my work with sadness and fear am already beginning to come again with joy, not that I can say I am bringing my sheaves with me, but that I have had more encouragement in my work than any of our missionaries in this part of India. I have baptized 25 adult converts from Heathenism and left behind me several catechumens. The number of communicants has also been more than doubled. I do not mention this in the way of boasting, for the Word of God is the instrument by which these effects have been produced; but what I say is, if this be so, is it right that I should be tied down to a system of Christianity which whether suited or not to England, is not, I believe, suited to India? Is it right that I should be obliged to gather converts together on a basis and system which I do not approve of for India? You see, therefore, that the prospect which by God's great mercy I have of being useful in this country, is a reason why I should without further delay choose a sphere in which to labour without distraction and annoyance. The last reason I have is this: All the missions of the London Society in this country, with the exception of those in Travancore, are in large towns and European settlements. The consequence is that though the missions have thereby a measure of pecuniary support, they are greatly impeded by the influence of such places on the health of the missionaries, by the manners and style which missionaries in such places cannot but assume, and by the rationalism, worldly pride and vices of the surrounding Europeans. All the German missionaries whose names are so celebrated and who produced such results in India, lived nearly on a level with the natives and among the natives; and the only missions which have for the last 30 years prospered in India, viz., the missions of the Church in Tinnevely and Kishnagar and the missions of the London Society in Travancore, are village missions.

"I have, therefore, almost ever since my arrival in India, looked upon myself as only preparing for the work of a real missionary in the country, and after much inquiry I have now chosen what seems to me to be the best place. I am leaving the London Mission, but am not connecting myself with the Church of England. I wish still to feel my mind free to study and examine. I therefore make no profession of any particular views and make no promises whatever. So I am now going to labour in a Church of England Mission, with the clear understanding that I do not thereby commit myself for the future to the Church of England. The position I have chosen is very much that of parochial missionaries at home. I shall preach and teach publicly and privately, but shall not become responsible for the management of the mission. A position like this could not be had in the Church of England at home; but in this country the general form of the Church Mission is nearer that of the Lutheran Church than that of the Church of England. Even the catechisms taught by authority are Lutheran. The name of the mission is the Society for the

Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It was established more than a hundred years before the rise of the modern missions, and in connection with it, Swartz, Gerike, and with the exception of Rhonius, all the men whose names are had in remembrance by the Native Christians laboured. In that which is called the 'Church Mission,' things are conducted in a more restricted Church of England manner as not having had so many Lutherans in connection with it."

The intention of working in the Church of England Mission with the clear understanding that he would not commit himself thereby for the future to the Church of England was not carried out. His next letter, dated 9th December, and written near Palamecottah, describes his visit to the Neilgherry Hills, where he remained two months and received ordination at the hands of Bishop Spencer. He says:—

"I arrived at Palamecottah only three weeks ago, having spent more than four months in my journey thither from Madras, and there I found your last letter waiting for me. I have now been located in my new sphere and have entered upon my work, which I find interesting and encouraging, beyond my expectations. When I left Madras it was my intention to remain for a considerable time unordained; but having visited the Bishop of Madras on my way, stayed with him a month, and found that his views and feelings exactly coincided with my own, I saw no good reason for adhering to my original intention. I was, therefore, ordained whilst with the Bishop and now labouring in a district of my own. My journey from Madras was made very leisurely, being mostly on foot. I had thereby an opportunity of visiting the Mission stations and Missionaries, and of gaining a little acquaintance with the people and the country generally. I travelled along the coast to Tranquebar, then west to the Neilgherry hills, where the Bishop was residing, then south-east to my present residence, 30 miles to the north-east of Cape Comorin. This route took me through the classic regions of ancient Hindostan, and through the sphere of the labours of Swartz and all the celebrated Missionaries of the last century. I have derived much information and profit from my journey. In the Neilgherry hills I stayed in all two months, enjoying the cold bracing air. Those hills are 8 or 9,000 feet high, and on the tableland on the tops of them about 300 European invalids are congregated. The cold is at some periods equal to that of England. Whilst there, I commenced a Mission in Ootacamund for the native people from the plains who have settled there. It is probable that you may have heard already that I had gone to the hills to be ordained, or have been ordained. This I know was the impression of many people, and I daresay that as in the case of my leaving the London Society the prediction has been circulated as a fact; but so far was this from my actual intention that when I ascended the hills to see the Bishop I left my boxes at the foot, intending to return in a few days. You will thus see how it is that you have sometimes heard of things before I told you of them. The fact is that people seem to know more about my movements than I do myself. For instance, whilst on the hills a day was fixed for my being married and everything was arranged, whilst I who ought to have known most about it was

perfectly ignorant of everything. It is precisely the same with regard to my opinions. There are not two persons in the country really acquainted with me. Whatever, therefore, is said of me (or it is natural that as I have left the Dissenters, they should talk a good deal about me) is said for the most part in perfect ignorance. Perhaps no missionary in the country has lived so retired a life as I have done, yet I have not been thereby able to escape the scourge of being criticized and talked about. For my own part I care not at all what man thinks of me. He that judgeth me is the Lord. So long as my conscience is void of offence towards God and men, the peace of God which passeth all understanding fills my heart. The thing I chiefly desired in joining the Church was peace of conscience. Neither previously to my doing so nor since have I interfered with those of a contrary opinion, or been very zealous in proselytizing; and now that I am able to act consistently on the system I so long preferred, I can also act quietly. I have not now to argue for what I prefer, or distrust men's minds by introducing anything new; my mind is therefore unoccupied about minor things and untroubled. Quietly to walk with God in a country retirement, quietly to serve God in the ministry of an orthodox, orderly church, to refrain my soul and keep it low in the way I find most effectual, to spend and be spent in bringing in Christ's scattered sheep, are, I can truly say, the only things for which I live. So far as external circumstances can be of influence, I have been providentially introduced into a sphere exactly adapted to the ends I have in view. My mind is, therefore, enjoying the peace it longed for, and I have been since I came here literally singing and making melody in my heart to the Lord all the day long. The world may call me monkish or anything it pleases. I have put the Cross of Christ between it and me, so that I have something better to attend to. I have none but one to please, and I know what pleases Him, and therein I know that there is joy unspeakable and full of glory. So far from being to be pitied, because I am far from European society and from the compass of Christian friends, I from my heart pity and pray for those who are still exposed to the unchristian influence of European and even of Christian society.

CHAPTER III.

A WALK FROM MADRAS TO TINNEVELLY

IN 1841.

AFTER I had made up my mind to join the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I set myself to enquire which of the stations of the Society it seemed most desirable that I should join. All my enquiries pointed to the desirability of selecting Tinnevelly as the station to which I should request to be appointed. I was partly influenced by a conversation I had with Mr. Cammerer, the chief S. P. G. Missionary in Tinnevelly at that time, and still more by the fame of the labours of Rhenius in connection with the Mission of the Church Missionary Society in the district. Rhenius had seceded from that Society, and created a formidable schism, but he had recently died, and those Missionaries who had followed him in his schism had either returned, like Schaffter and Muller, or had left the district for other spheres, like Lechler. I was influenced a good deal in my preference for work in Tinnevelly by the report that reached me from every quarter respecting the characteristics of the people, especially the Native Christians. I was tired of the rationalism with which I was surrounded in Madras, amongst Native Christians as well as heathens; and I felt myself strongly drawn towards a people who were said to be peculiarly simple-minded, teachable, and tractable, and therefore, it might be hoped, likely to be capable of being developed in right directions.

I left Madras in the beginning of July 1841, intending to visit the Nilgiris on my way south for the purpose of seeing the Bishop of Madras, and receiving ordination. I set out on foot, accompanied by a servant and some coolies, and had no reason to regret that primitive mode of locomotion. I was a good walker, content with any accommodation that turned up, and anxious to see the country, and get acquainted with the people and their ideas, manners, and talk, in a way in which I could never expect to do if I travelled in a palanquin, or even in a cart. I travelled morning and

evening, putting up generally in native rest-houses. I felt no fatigue, and did not suffer much from the sun. The only inconvenience I met with was owing to the experiment I made one day of taking off my shoes and stockings, and walking barefoot when I came to a long tract of country where the path lay over deep sand. I found I could make greater progress; but when the sun rose high my feet got blistered so much by the hot sand that I was obliged to stay in the same place for a day or two to allow the blisters to heal. After that I became more careful of comfort, and when I reached Pondicherry I availed myself of a cart for the rest of the way to the Nilgiris. I went by what was then called the lower road, that is the road near the sea.

At Pondicherry I stayed a few days with Mr. Jones, an S. P. G. Missionary, who was then Missionary Chaplain to Bishop Spencer. He was a man of good abilities, and the first good Churchman of the new school I had met. I visited Tranquebar also, and there stayed a few days with Mr. Cordes, the founder of the new Lutheran Mission in the Tamil country. Mr. Cordes had been my guest in Madras on his first arrival, and I regarded the work he was commencing with much interest. I understood it to mean a laudable endeavour to revive the old Tranquebar Mission, but I had no conception that he and his colleagues meant to take the earliest opportunity of proselytising the Christians connected with the Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Tanjore country and elsewhere. Tranquebar was then a Danish possession. I breakfasted with the Danish Governor, and on Sunday attended Divine service in the old church, when Mr. Knudsen, the last Danish Chaplain, officiated in Danish. There was a Tamil Mission under the Chaplain's superintendence, soon to come under the care of the newly arrived Missionary; but few signs of life seemed to have survived from the old period when Tranquebar was the Missionary Jerusalem of Southern India. At Combaconum I stayed with Mr. Valentine Coombes, S. P. G. Missionary, an Eurasian alumnus of Bishop's College, Calcutta, a respectable representative of a class which, though often found wanting as a class, has had the honour of producing a Dr. Bower and a Dr. Kennet. Mr. Coombes did not long survive. My next stage was Tanjore. On my way I lost no opportunity of examining the great Hindu temples of the Tanjore country, and the neighbouring districts,

especially Chidambaram, the most sacred of Siva temples, and Tanjore itself, in some respects the most imposing temple in Southern India. I was sufficiently acquainted with Hinduism and Hindu archaeology to understand and appreciate much of what I saw, but I had also the benefit of the local knowledge of such Missionaries as Mr. Brotherton. In Tanjore I also saw the first specimen I had met with of a Hindu palace. I found most of the buildings in the modern Saracenic, or Indian Gothic style, introduced in the time of the Nayaka rulers. At a subsequent visit I was present at a durbar, when I saw the Rajah himself, the last of the Mahrattá family, and the last King of Tanjore.

At Tanjore I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Kohlhoff, the second of the name (John Caspar Kohlhoff), the pupil and successor of Swartz, and father of the Christian Kohlhoff who died in 1831. He was the last Missionary of the Christian Knowledge Society, by which his stipend continued to be paid till the time of his death; but the Mission had long ere this been transferred to the care of the S. P. G. Kohlhoff was one of the most patriarchal men I have ever met,—simple-minded, humble, loving, devout, and unselfish. I heard him address the Native Christians in Tamil in one of his villages, and was much struck with the spirituality of his remarks. As a Missionary, however, he was greatly deficient in administrative power. The Native Christians of the Mission seemed to have everything their own way. They learned not to give, but to think it their right on every occasion to receive, and this led to many of the evils which tarnished the good name of the Tanjore Mission in subsequent times. In Tanjore I made the acquaintance of Mr. Brotherton, who had not long before arrived from England as a Missionary. Like his friend Calthorp, who came out with him, he was a Cambridge man, distinguished for Hebrew scholarship, and destined to become a good Tamil scholar. In all moral and religious characteristics he was the exact counterpart of Kohlhoff. Everything I have said of the one might be said of the other, except that Brotherton was a man of higher culture, a good teacher, and a good preacher, and more influential in society. The elder Kohlhoff, Brotherton, and the younger Kohlhoff formed a trio of "Israelites, indeed, in whom there was no guile." Their type of character is so rare in these days that I sometimes fear it has died out.

I met also in Tanjore the celebrated "Tanjore Poet," a

native of much ability and great poetical power, the author of a prodigious number of lyrics of unequal merit, many of which will probably always hold their place in the public and private use of the Christians of the Tamil country. I found him, notwithstanding his eminent abilities, regarded as rather a thorn in the side of the Missionaries than a helper; in consequence of his unreasonable expectations and peculiar temper. Whatever the infirmities of his character may have been they died with him, whereas the good done by his writings survives. At Trichinopoly I stayed with the younger Kohlhoff, then just entering on his work as a Missionary, and was by him shown over the Mission, fort, and temples. I crossed the Cauvery, then in full flood, in a basket boat, bridges being unthought of at that time, and visited the great temple of Srirangam. This is not the grandest temple in Southern India, but it covers the largest area. At that time the Trichinopoly Mission had not been invaded by the Lutherans, so that the congregation seemed large and prosperous. Kohlhoff had been stationed at first for a year at Madalur, in Tinnevely, so that I learned some particulars from him respecting the characteristics of my future work.

I stayed nowhere else on my way to the Nilgiris, but went straight on to Mettapolayam, at the foot of the hills, from whence, the next morning, I walked up to Kotagiri, the residence of Bishop Spencer. I was received by him with the utmost cordiality, but his house being full, I put up in the house of Mr. Hickey, a Missionary S. P. G., who acted as the Bishop's private Secretary. Mr. Hickey was an Eurasian, a clever, amiable man, but unpractical. He was appointed afterwards to the Madras Mission, but though full of good intentions and plans, he passed away without leaving his mark. I stayed for more than a month on the Nilgiris, sometimes at Kotagiri, sometimes at Ootacamund, and, on the 19th of September at St. Stephen's Church in Ootacamund, I was admitted by the Bishop to the order of Deacon. I had already for several years been engaged in the work of a Missionary in connection with another communion, but this was my solemn admission to the third order of the sacred Ministry in a historical branch of the Catholic Church by a prelate deriving his authority unquestionably from the earliest ages of the Church, probably from the Apostles themselves.

Bishop Spencer, though one of the most zealous of

Bishops, and devotedly attached to the cause of Missions, was unpopular throughout his Indian career. He failed in a remarkable degree in acquiring the confidence of his clergy. He was generally regarded as insincere, and no supposition could be more fatal to a Bishop's influence in his diocese than this. (I was intimately acquainted, however, with him—more intimately perhaps than any other person in India—and acted as his Missionary Chaplain for several years, and I was firmly persuaded, and took every opportunity of maintaining that there was no real foundation whatever for the doubts in which his sincerity was held. He was a victim of circumstances and misapprehensions. He had been brought up mainly on the Continent, and his manners were too courtly, or, as they were commonly considered, too Parisian, to please plain English people. He had been a man of fashion, rather than a theologian, almost up to the time of his appointment to be a Bishop. He was a scion of the family of the Duke of Marlborough, and owed his appointment to his wife's brother, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, then President of the Board of Control. His was the last family appointment of this kind made in connection with India, or the Colonies.) Then, also, he was constantly in delicate health. On his way out to India overland, before the Peninsular and Oriental Company came into existence, he spent some days in an open boat in the Red Sea, through the failure of arrangements that had been made for him by Lieutenant Waghorn, the founder of the Overland route. He had an attack of something like sunstroke, which left him excitable and weak, unable sometimes to meet his engagements. All these things were against him, and combined to produce an unfavourable impression; added to all which was the fatal fault that he did not belong to the then dominant party in the religious world, but was more or less inclined to the new Oxford School. He was a man of varied accomplishments, well acquainted with most modern languages, a fluent speaker, and an earnest, though somewhat too flowery preacher. (A year or two afterwards, on Mr. Jones' death, he made me his Missionary Chaplain—an office which was not perpetuated by his successors in the See, and in this capacity it was my duty to accompany him in his tours amongst the Missions. This gave me an excellent opportunity of seeing other Missions besides my own, an opportunity of which I gladly availed myself.

CHAPTER IV.

A WALK FROM THE NILGIRIS TO TINNEVELLY IN 1841.

On leaving the Nilgiri Hills I purchased a horse, intending to ride to Tinnevelly. As it was now the rainy season, I considered travelling in a cart in country without roads impracticable. On my way, however, from Ootacamund to Kotagiri my poor horse came down so badly on his knees and nose in a steep incline, that I was obliged to betake myself again, as at the commencement of my journey, to travelling on foot. I sold the horse in Coimbatore, but took the saddle, &c., with me, hoping to pick up another steed somewhere on my way. (I did not succeed in this attempt and, after a time, I got so accustomed to travelling on foot, that I gave up the idea of looking out for a horse, and continued my journey in this fashion through the three districts of Coimbatore, Madura and Tinnevelly, right on to Idaiyangudi. I rested on Sundays, and here and there for a day or two in important places. On the days that I travelled I found that the average amount I got over was seventeen miles a day. I suffered a little occasionally from the sun, but never from fatigue. When I got to country lying under water, and especially when I reached the black cotton soil region in the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts, I discarded my shoes and stockings again, and walked barefoot, and this time with better success than before. The roads being merely tracks along the country, the feet sank deeply into the black mud at every step, so that shoes would have proved a great incumbrance, and the ground being wet my feet were not blistered as they had been in the hot sand at the commencement of my journey. The only little inconvenience I suffered from this mode of travelling was that sometimes the natives in the places where I put up wondered how a European had fallen into such a state of poverty as to be obliged to walk, and that, in one place, I was at first refused admittance into a travellers' bungalow on the supposition that I had no right to put up in a place intended for the accommodation of gentlemen. This supposition was found to be a mistake soon after, when my servant and my

things arrived. These little inconveniences were more than counterbalanced by the opportunities I enjoyed of getting acquainted with the natives as they really were, without the gloss which they so often wear before Europeans.

My first halt after leaving the Hills was at Coimbatore, where I stayed for a day or two with the Lawises. Having then made all preparations for my journey southward, I set out for Dindigul. Before reaching Dindigul, at a place called Palaganutta, I found a good deal of difficulty in getting accommodation for the night. The Sub-Collector had died, and his bungalow was under the seal of the Court, and I was refused admittance into the choultry, or native rest house, though built by Government, on the plea that it had been built exclusively for Brahmins. They pointed me out a shed, open to wind and rain, which had been used as a refuge for cows, as a place which the same Government had built for the accommodation of Paraiyars and sick Europeans, as I was. After a time I managed to get permission to take shelter for the night in the verandah of the Sub-Collector's house.

My next halt was at Dindigul, where Mr. Lawrence, an American Missionary, had recently established a station, and built a church. The S. P. G. had also a church there at that time, and a small congregation under a catechist, to which I preached on Sunday. The American Church was crowded with heathen schoolboys, with their heathen marks on their foreheads, brought thither by their heathen masters. Between Dindigul and Madura I stayed for a day at a place called Ammanaiyakanur, now a well-known Railway station, from which travellers branch off for the Palney Hills. I there had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Lieutenant (now Colonel) Horsley, of the Engineers, who was long at the head of the Public Works Department in the two southern districts and Travancore, and who occupied a very conspicuous position in the community then, as ever since, in respect of Christian zeal and consistency. One looks almost in vain now in any branch of the Indian services for the earnest faith and earnest religion of the men of that time. Not far from Ammanaiyakanur Mr. Hickey, some years afterwards, endeavoured to establish a Mission Station, at a solitary place not far off in a desolate open plain, which he called Bethel.

CHAPTER V.

• ARRIVAL IN TINNEVELLY AND COMMENCEMENT OF MY WORK.

A FEW days after I reached Palamecottah I set out—on foot as before—for Edeyengoody (properly Idaiyangudi), my destined station, taking Nazareth and Mudalur on the way. These were the only S.P.G. stations then in Tinnevelly in which European Missionaries resided. The former was the station of Mr. Cammerer, the latter that of Mr. Heyne. Both these villages were entirely Christian, and they were the first villages I had seen inhabited exclusively by Christians and entirely under Christian rules. The following Sunday was Advent Sunday (November 28, 1841), and I then preached my first sermon in Tamil in Tinnevelly in Mr. Cammerer's church, taking for my text those words in the Epistle for the day, "The night is far spent, the day is at hand." My impression, from all I saw, and especially from what I heard of the movement towards Christianity that had set in the neighbourhood and in various parts of Tinnevelly, was that the night was really far spent, and that the day was really at hand. Much progress has been made since then in Tinnevelly, and the words I quoted have been more nearly fulfilled, but their perfect fulfilment seems very far off still. The night is still sorely reluctant to yield to the day, but whether I live to see it or not, I believe that the night is really about to pass away and that the day is really about to dawn.

The next Sunday I spent in Mudalur, and a few days afterwards I set out for Edeyengoody. My walk of nearly ten miles over the deepest sand I had yet met with was the heaviest walk that I had yet taken, and what made it worse was that we missed the direction—path there was none—and went a considerable distance out of the way. It was late at night when I reached Edeyengoody, the place where it was God's will that I should labour so long and so happily—but I felt less fatigued than might have been expected, and I entered my new abode with a heart full of thankfulness to God for all the goodness and mercy

I had already experienced, and an earnest desire to do and hear whatever might prove to be God's will in the future.

My first year in Tinnevelly commenced as has been seen near the end of 1841, and before the end of 1842 I had succeeded in visiting all the Mission stations then in Tinnevelly and most of the more important places in the province. Being already acquainted with Tamil, I endeavoured to get information from the people themselves about the ideas and characteristics of each class, whether already Christians or not, and to judge for myself as to the measures that should be adopted for the spread of Christianity, for the better organization of the Missions and for the improvement of the native community in general.

The village where I took up my abode was called Edeyengoody (properly Idaiyangudi), the shepherd's abode, doubtless so called because some shepherds had taken up their abode in it at first. I thought the name very appropriate, because I came amongst the people as a shepherd, desiring to gather into Christ's fold all His sheep who were still wandering in the wilderness. I hoped in time to make Edeyengoody a model Christian village, with a model church and model schools and institutions, but my chief aim and hope was that from thence as a centre I might be enabled to propagate the Gospel and establish congregations and schools in all the villages in the neighbourhood, and then onward and onward in the region beyond, as far as my influence extended. Edeyengoody and the villages connected with it had originally been connected with Mudalur, but as soon as I arrived and took charge a new district was formed, of which Edeyengoody was made the headquarters. It was the largest of the village congregations made over to me, and this was the reason why it was selected as the place where I should take up my abode, but the people of the place had the reputation of being difficult to manage, the village did not belong to the Mission, there was hardly anything but sand and palmyras visible in the neighbourhood, and as time went on I often thought that it would have been better if I had taken up my abode, not in a large village the people of which had always been accustomed to having their own way, but in some central situation in the open country, where the social and physical surroundings would have given me less trouble.

Though the village was founded by shepherds, I found not a single shepherd in it on my arrival. The inhabitants were mostly Shanars, with the usual addition of a few families of goldsmiths, dyers, oilmen, washermen, &c. The only Christians in the place were Shanars, of whom there were about 300; about 200 persons of the same class were heathens still, and this heathen minority included some persons belonging to the higher division of the caste who had been Christians originally and had relapsed before the arrival of the European Missionaries. These people were peculiarly opposed to Christianity and Christian modes of life; the idea of a European Missionary living amongst them was very repugnant to their feelings, and it was only when they voluntarily left the village that I found myself able to do anything effectual for the improvement of the people and of the village itself. The same or a similar class of people abounded in the neighbourhood, especially in the villages along the coast. They were the descendants of the people who had been christianized in such numbers in the beginning of the century, and who had relapsed during the pestilence that raged from 1810 to 1812. Some of them remembered the visits of Kohlhoff and the older Missionaries, but all the people of those relapsed classes, especially those of them who were called nadans, or lords of the soil, were more difficult to deal with than the people who had never been Christians at all. Ever long all the Shanar inhabitants of Edeyengoody became Christians, and the good heaven began to spread, especially by means of the schools I established, in the villages in the neighbourhood.

On my arrival I found several congregations and schools belonging to the Suviseshapuram District of the Church Missionary Society scattered up and down in the Edeyengoody District, and some congregations belonging to us were included in the Suviseshapuram District. Up to that time no boundaries between the fields of labour of the two Societies existed. One of my first endeavours, however, was to get boundaries laid down by mutual agreement, sanctioned by competent authority. This was done in time, and thus were laid the foundations of the parochial system, in which all the Missions in the province have since been worked. The principal villages we made over were Samaria, Bethlehem, and Kirukarantattu; the principal villages we received in exchange were Anaigudi,

Pothur and Pettakulam. I found the advantage of this new arrangement immediately, in being able to carry on every department of the work of the Mission more effectively than before, without fear of misunderstandings, and soon village after village yielded more or less completely to the good influences brought to bear upon them on both sides of the boundary.

The external appearance of Edeyengoody at that time was far from inviting. There was, it is true, a broad open space in the centre of the village which might be called the village square adorned with a row of large venerable tamarind trees, with the small village church at the end, and a small bungalow beside it with a single room, erected for the accommodation of the expected Missionary; and so far all was as well as could be expected at the time, but the rest of the village was merely a confused collection of mean houses without anything that could be called a street, and only a few tortuous lanes leading hither and thither. Many of the houses were mere huts, built wholly of palmyra leaves, and not one had a "pial," or small verandah, in front, such as the poorest houses have now.

The village was on the slope of a *téri*, or range of red sand hills, and the contrast in the bright sunlight between the deep red of the sand and the deep green of the trees gave a certain picturesqueness to the scene. Nowhere I suppose can sand be found so red as the red sand of the south-east of Tinnevely. I sent specimens of this sand many years afterwards, with other specimens of the geology of Tinnevely, to the Vienna Exhibition, and I was informed that it outstripped in redness anything that any other region could produce! Fortunately the palmyra palm grows better in this red sand than anywhere else; so that the people who cultivate the palmyra and boil its juice into a coarse sugar, called jaggery, manage to make a comfortable living.

The greater number of the people were palmyra climbers. Those who were in better circumstances employed others to climb for them, some carried on a trade with pack-bullocks with Travancore, and a few grew plantains, &c., by means of well cultivation. At that time this kind of cultivation laboured under a great disability, in consequence of the heavy assessment levied on lands irrigated by wells, but as soon as that assessment was lowered to a level with

that of the adjacent lands. (the cultivation of plantains became one of the principal and most profitable occupations of the people in the neighbourhood. It is chiefly from the gardens in this neighbourhood that the large towns in Tinnevely are supplied with plantains and with the plantain leaves which are used by well-to-do people as plates.

The following extract from a letter to his sister will give our readers an idea of the impression the Missions in Tinnevely made upon the future Bishop's mind at that early period:—

"It is time that I should tell you something of my new sphere. Though I saw much of India before I arrived in Tinnevely, I was but little encouraged with what I saw. Tinnevely seems to be the garden of Indian Missions. This part of the country may now be called Christian with as much truth as most districts at home. When I first arrived and looked around me, it was almost too much for me to bear. To take an evening walk, anywhere for a space of 30 miles, and see in every village the ruins of a temple, a church and school, and crowds of people gathering round with the Christian salutation on their lips and smiling faces, and after it grows dark to hear from every church the voice of praise arising to the true God, was a privilege I never had in this country before. Having of late seen so much of the heathenism of the country, it was to me like walking about in heaven. Doubtless all that I have yet seen is the external face of things, but that is so beautiful that it is a great encouragement to labouring and praying that the daughter of Zion may be as beautiful within. Eleven Missionaries of the Church of England are now stationed here, each one having a district or parish of his own. Some of these are very large. My nearest neighbour has fifty congregations to attend to, and in my district, by far the smallest in Tinnevely, there are at present thirteen congregations. In each of these there is a native teacher placed, each congregation is steadily visited, and the catechists are superintended and instructed. It is the custom in Tinnevely as in primitive times to have morning and evening service every day in the churches. On the occasions at least two-thirds of the Sunday congregation attend and the catechist instructs them to the best of his ability. The Missionary conducts divine service himself in his principal station, and every day visits at least one of his other congregations. This is the ordinary routine of Missionary duty here, but the bringing in of the heathen around is also laboured for. During the last half-year no less than 5,000 heathens have renounced their idols and put themselves under Christian instruction; about 400 of them are in my district. In consequence of the rapid spread of the Gospel at present in these parts, the heathens are greatly enraged and hot persecution is going on. A little while before my arrival bands of men had been wandering through the country, attacking and plundering the houses of those who had lately come over and putting even the Missionaries in fear. Now things are more settled, but the "neutrality" of the magistrates adds continually fuel to the opposition and enmity of the heathen subordinates.

"The village in which I live you will in vain look for in the map, but as it is 3 miles from the sea, 30 miles from Cape Comorin and 35 or 40 miles south by east of Palamcottah, you will be able to find the position of it. I am the Missionary furthest to the south until you come to Cape Comorin, the nearest to which on the other side of the Malayalam border is Mr. Russel of Glasgow, so that two Glasgow men are standing on guard in the extreme south of India. The climate of this place is at present cooler than that of Madras. But there is much sand everywhere and very little cultivation, except that of the palmyra tree, from which sugar, &c., are extracted. When any of my people come to see me, they bring with them sugar-candy and plantains, the chief products of their labour, as a present. The Missionary nearest my station is six miles off, the next ten, then 17, 20, and so on. I expect soon to be joined by another Missionary, a runaway from the Wesleyans, who when in Madras used to oppose church principles somewhat zealously. He has left the Wesleyans now and been appointed by the Bishop, at his own request, to labour beside me. If I were an eager party man, I should be not a little pleased at the remarkable movement towards the church which is now observable amongst the Americans, the London Missionaries, and the Wesleyans of this country. Many of them have told me expressly that they wish to do as I have done, and three or four have followed me already."

I found the people of the place in a very low state of civilization, in accordance with what might be expected from their surroundings. They were all accustomed to work with their hands, not with their heads—most of them with both hands and feet in climbing the palmyra—and had neither leisure nor inclination for intellectual culture. A school had nominally been in existence for many years, but it was only a short time before my arrival that it became a reality, through the efforts of my predecessor, Mr. Heyne of Mudalur, and its results could only be looked for among the rising generation. So far as I remember, only one inhabitant of the village, not being a Mission Agent, could read. (Neither there nor anywhere in Tinnevely, except where European Missionaries were living, was such a thing as female education thought of. It was generally thought impossible for girls to learn to read and write, and if it were supposed to be possible, it would be improper all the same. It was an accomplishment only suitable, as a man once said to me, for daughters of kings and daughters of dancing girls. The popular opinion respecting the uselessness of education for any but the favoured few was strongly put by a Mussalman subordinate Magistrate, who visited Edeyengudy shortly after I had given fresh life to the boys' school and had established a girls' school. What, said he, are these boys learning

to read for? Is it to enable them to climb palmyras? And what are these girls learning to read for? Is it to enable them to spin cotton?

It would be a mistake to suppose that the position of the Edeyengudy people regarding education and culture at that time was exceptionally low. It was quite the same in every village in Tinnevely inhabited by the same class of people, and in most of the villages inhabited by people who considered themselves higher in the social scale. There was a village a few miles off called Kuttam, inhabited then as now by people of the highest division of the Shanars, but the only difference between them and the people in Edeyengudy was in regard to wealth. There was no difference in regard to culture or polish, and the Edeyengudy people, though still not by any means wealthy, are far ahead of their neighbours now in civilization, through the influence of the Christian education they have received. Mudalur and Nazareth having enjoyed for some time the advantage of the residence of European Missionaries, I found the people in those villages somewhat in advance of Edeyengudy, but even in such places it was only Mission Agents as a general rule that were able to read, and the superior catechists and schoolmasters had all come from Tanjore. For many years no native of Tinnevely was considered sufficiently educated to be employed as inspecting catechists, and the first that were so employed were Vellalars, who had been employed whilst heathens as schoolmasters in the Missions and had been converted to Christianity. It was not till many years afterwards that any Shanar Christian was made an inspecting catechist or inspecting schoolmaster.

This will be the most appropriate place for mentioning an incident which occurred at a later period.

In 1849, eight years after my arrival in Tinnevely, I wrote a pamphlet descriptive of the people amongst whom I was labouring, entitled "The Tinnevely Shanars." It chiefly aimed at describing the demonolatriy which prevailed amongst them and the intellectual, moral and religious results of their demonolatriy. In doing so, I incidentally mentioned the position they were supposed to occupy in the Hindu caste scale, according to the information given me by intelligent Hindus and by the Shanars of that time themselves. The object I had in view in depicting the

Shanars exactly as I found them was that of awakening sympathy for them and obtaining funds from friends in England for the purpose of educating and elevating them. This object has to a large extent been accomplished, and the position the Shanars now occupy is one of much higher social respectability than they occupied when I first became acquainted with them, and this has been the case in Travancore as well as in Tinnevely. One result of my pamphlet was entirely unexpected. At the time I wrote it, and for a long time afterwards, no Shanar was sufficiently acquainted with English to be able to read it. More than twenty years passed, and then some educated Shanars of a newer generation fell in with the pamphlet and were dissatisfied with the position in the social scale which they found attributed to them. They had risen in social importance entirely through the efforts of the European Missionaries, but some of the younger members of this class, ignoring the advantages of their education, cast away the ladder by which they had risen and endeavoured to make it out that they were a high-born race from the beginning, sons of kings, ranking next to the Brahmins, and represented me not as their friend but as a calumniator of their caste. Some young men of this class in 1881 went so far as to go about among the Missions endeavouring to induce ignorant people, by false representations, to sign petitions they had written against my return. If from England they were dissatisfied with my pamphlet, it would have been much more prudent on their part if they had allowed it to lie forgotten, for as soon as I found that persons had taken offence at it, however unreasonably, I withdrew it from circulation as far as I could. It would have been very easy for me to prove the truth of all I had said, for I said only that which I actually saw, but that would only have made matters worse, for caste feeling, like pride of race, cannot be argued with. As time goes on, and as the number of people of all castes and classes who have received an enlightened Christian education becomes greater, I expect that evils of this kind will be found to work their own cure and eventually disappear.

There was one peculiarity of the Shanars which I found as time went on of great advantage to them. I found them constantly endeavouring to improve themselves and make progress, both intellectually and in social position. Whatever their original position may have been, I consider

that they now occupy a very high place amongst the most progressive native tribes and castes in Southern India.*

I return now to my description of the people amongst whom I was labouring. The Tinnevely Christians of that time, though far behind those of a later period, in regard to education and polish, held perhaps as good a position as any of their successors in point of morals and religion. They were not quick to apprehend one's meaning or quick either to learn or to unlearn, but they were very willing to be instructed, very submissive to superiors, very industrious, temperate, and peaceable, and in consequence they seemed to me to be a people that were well worth labouring for—a people that might be slow to advance, but who might be expected to make solid, steady progress in time. Accordingly I felt strengthened in the determination I had formed to devote my life to the building up of those people in Christian faith, in Church order, and in intellectual and spiritual life, in the confident hope that with God's help and blessing I should be permitted to go and bring forth some fruit among them, and that fruit would remain. I was well aware of the possibility, or rather the probability, that in endeavouring to christianize and elevate an oriental people who had inherited the evil habits of so many generations, I should often be doomed to be disappointed, that my motives would often be misunderstood, and that my best laid plans would often be brought to nought, not merely by the enmity of opponents, but still more frequently by the apathy of half-hearted friends and the surviving influence of caste jealousies, but I hoped and believed that my efforts for the good of the people around, whether Christians or heathens, would be blessed with success in the long run and in the main.

One of the first incidents in my life at Edeyengudy was the endeavour I made to purchase the land on which the village stood, together with a few fields in the neighbourhood, suitable for the erection of a house, church, schools and such premises as I thought would be requisite at a Mission station. This I found no easy task, not merely on

* It must be admitted that the Christian Shanars of Tinnevely are amongst the most progressive races of S. India. No Mission in the Presidency is without them; they are the principal teachers in Mission schools and colleges. They have also secured appointments under the Government and are rapidly rising to positions of great responsibility and influence.—En.

account of the exorbitant price that was asked for each holding, but on account of the intricacy of the title-deeds, if such they could be called, which each person put forth, and still more on account of the reluctance of the people to sell their land and the sites of their houses for any sum whatever to any outsider whatever, much less to a foreigner, however benevolent his motives might be supposed to be. I have always since noticed that natives of every class, though very willing to mortgage or lease their lands, are extremely reluctant to sell them outright. I had to buy several pieces of land over again from different individuals, in one instance three times over, in order to feel sure that all claims had been extinguished. I had also to deal with another class of claimants—the Nádans, who had been the original proprietors of all the lands in the neighbourhood and who still professed, as lords of the soil, to have certain rights of seignorage over even the lands they had sold, especially the right of levying a small rent on all houses built within their boundaries and a small fee at weddings, &c. I was very doubtful about the legality of this claim, but I had no doubt about its having been customarily submitted to, and therefore to avoid all disputes and to deprive those Nádans, who were a peculiarly high-handed race, of all pretext for interfering in the affairs of the village, I purchased from them at a capitalized valuation the *Kudiyétu*, or house-building rights, they claimed. In this way I secured on every hand the peaceful possession of all rights in the village, real or supposed, in the conviction that on this the success of many of my plans for the future depended.

Immediately after I had obtained legal possession, I set about laying out the village in regular streets and building a few houses which I intended to be taken as models, and which were so taken a few years afterwards, when a zeal for building houses of a superior kind seized the people. The difficulty in such a case is to get a commencement made, but as soon as one person has set an example, no person likes to be left behind. I set myself at the same time to lay out the large piece of ground, then partly enclosed in fields, partly a sandy waste, on which I intended that all the Mission buildings should be erected, and then marked out at once where the church of the future was to be, so arranging things as that the streets should be in exact accordance with the points of the compass, and all

the buildings and spaces at right angles with the streets. I remember well the first step I took in doing this, which was to climb to the top of a convenient tree, from which I could see the bearings of all the places around. After this I commenced to plant trees in every street, to dig wells in various places, to open out roads from the village in four directions, and to plant trees in every available place in the neighbourhood. I have never ceased indeed from that day to this to plant trees in every direction, partly for the sake of beauty and shade, partly for the purpose of tying down the sand, and partly on account of the economic value of the trees, particularly the palmyra and cocoanut. Whilst I busied myself in planting trees, I busied myself with equal zeal in rooting out all the prickly pear and euphorbia hedges which prevented the free access of the wind. After some years had passed the people universally approved of the changes I had made, considered them real improvements, and began to feel proud of their village, but at the outset it could not be expected that so conservative a people should be very warm in their approval of such novelties. One of them, a crusty old Nādan, who had considered himself formerly a sort of king in the place, said to me one day, "You have spoiled my city."

The congregation at Edeyengudy and the manner in which Divine service was carried on might be taken as types of the congregations and services then generally to be found in the S. P. G. Missions in Tinnevely. To a person who can look back, as I can from the well-ordered congregations, the beautiful churches, the cultured services, and the good singing of the principal stations in Tinnevely at present, to the sights and sounds that distressed the eye and ear between forty and fifty years ago, the difference is almost indescribable. In each case of course the condition of things in the villages would naturally be on a lower level than what obtained in the head stations under the eye of European Missionaries. At the time I speak of it was not customary for either men or women to dress better on Sundays than on other days; and in the palmyra forest, where the boiling of the juice of the palmyra into jaggery was the ordinary daily employment of the women and where bathing, if not absolutely unknown, was a luxury very rarely indulged in, the filthiness of the clothing of the people could only be equalled by the oppressive smells

which arose when the people were assembled in church. The order for morning and evening prayer was duly read by the catechist with few mistakes, but of course no portion of it was sung, not even the Glorias. Several hymns were sung by the catechist and schoolmaster, very slowly and dolefully and very much out of tune, but though they could have sung native lyrics very fairly, nothing of the sort was ever attempted. At that time and for many years afterwards the singing of lyrics during Divine service would have been considered profane. It was only on the great festivals after service was over that the people were indulged with the singing of their own national tunes.

A great peculiarity in public worship in those times was that the women appeared to take no part in it whatever. They never stood up at any portion of the service and never joined audibly in any response. There was always an attempt at a sermon on Sundays after prayers, but on week days after one or two prayers from the Prayer Book or an extempore prayer, the catechist devoted the time that remained to teaching the people, to repeat the words of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, without any attempt to explain their meaning. I found very few traces amongst the people of intelligent piety. A clear perception of Christ's work and of the means of salvation was almost unknown, but they were willing to learn, and it was a great pleasure to me to endeavour to make divine truths plain and clear to their apprehension.

The schools of the time were, as might be expected, in a very backward condition. The attendance of boys was small and very irregular, and in general no girls thought of attending without being bribed to attend. The instruction given was very rudimental. No English was taught anywhere in the country districts, no geography or grammar, no English arithmetic, and even the reading taught very rarely issued in any one becoming able to read freely and intelligently. Shortly after my arrival I opened a girls' school, the only one then in the district. I should have been very glad if I could have commenced a boarding school for girls, for I had heard of the advantages arising from those schools where they had been instituted, but I was not then married, and I knew well that such schools could not be successfully conducted except by a lady; I therefore deferred commencing a school of this kind till a

few years afterwards, when God's good providence removed this difficulty out of my way by granting me the help of one who has proved herself through a long life a model Missionary's wife. If I have been enabled to do any good work, first as a Missionary and latterly as a Missionary Bishop, much of the credit of it is due, under God, to the judgment, experience, patience and untiring zeal of the help-meet God graciously provided for me some time after the commencement of my work in Tinnevely. I arrived in Edeyongudy at the close of 1841, and was married early in 1844. Immediately after Mrs. Caldwell's arrival at Edeyongudy, she set up a girls' boarding school; at first numbering only six girls, but afterwards numbering more than a hundred, and commenced also various measures attended with a fair amount of success for the elevation and refinement of the women and through them for the improvement of the men. Girls' boarding schools on the same small scale were also established at the same time at Nazareth and Mudalur under Mrs. Cammerer and Mrs. Heyne.

In nothing was the difference between the Tinnevely of that time and the Tinnevely of the present more apparent than in the absence of organization. No societies or associations for any religious or charitable purpose had come into existence. No public meetings of any kind had ever been held, and the only voluntary Christian work of any kind that had ever been attempted was the collection of small sums for the repair of churches. Even this was done grudgingly, for the idea entertained by the people was that the churches belonged to the Society, and that it was the Society's duty, not theirs, to keep them in repair. The first Society I set on foot was a Church Building Society, following herein the example of the Missionaries belonging to the Church Missionary Society. The next was a Poor Fund, which was an object that the people were prepared to appreciate. They knew too little as yet of Christianity themselves to render it possible to establish among them these associations for the spread of Christianity, or evangelistic associations, which occupied so important a place in after years, much less were they prepared to take part in the Village, District and Provincial Church Councils, which have come into existence of late, which have taught, or are teaching, our people to manage their own ecclesiastical affairs themselves, and which bring self-sustentation and self-government within the reach of

possibility in what I trust is the near future. The raw material existed already in the shape of Christian congregations, soon to increase in number, and the forces by which the raw material might be worked up existed also in the shape of European Missionaries, anxious to teach to the new churches of the East what they had learned amongst the old churches of the West, or what they might from time to time learn for themselves under the guidance of God's good Spirit.

The catechists I found in the district numbered only eight or ten, the schoolmasters two. There was an inspecting catechist, one Gnananathan Pillai, a native of Tanjore, and two of the catechists also were Tanjore men. The attainments of the catechists were exceedingly meagre, but they were respectable, well-disposed men, willing to learn, though past the age when they could be expected to learn much. They had been accustomed to meet once a week for instruction, but I found that all they did when they met was to commit to memory some passages of Scripture and practice themselves in extemporaneous prayer. The inspecting catechist who presided was as unable as they were to expound Scripture intelligently. I set myself at once, therefore, to go through with them a Book of the Old Testament and a Book of the New, and also required them to give me at each meeting an account of their week's work. They then for the first time learned that preaching to the heathen was to be regarded as a regular part of their work.

As all the catechists were well up in years, I saw that if I wished to make any real progress I must get the assistance of younger, better educated men, but no seminary had yet been established. (Sawyerpuram had not then come into existence; Dr. Pope had not yet appeared on the scene, so that I was obliged to set about teaching a few youths myself. I selected eight, of whom three rendered good service to the Mission in after life, and two of the three were eventually ordained. All these were young men, not boys, and this I found to be a mistake, for youths who had not had a good training from their earliest years had nearly lost the power of learning. I came, therefore, to the conclusion that I must establish a boys' boarding school on a similar plan to Mrs. Caldwell's girls' boarding school. This was done ere long; and the result obtained was quite satisfactory. I soon had a supply of boys educated from their infancy, fit to enter any superior institution that

might be opened, and such as might be expected to rise in time to the higher offices in the Mission. Boys' boarding schools were set on foot soon after in the other stations where there were European Missionaries, and soon after Dr. Pope had commenced his seminary at Sawyerpuram a number of boys well grounded in the elements of useful knowledge were ready to be sent to him. They were ready to be sent, but years elapsed before they were ready to go, as the distance of thirty miles they had to go from their homes seemed to the boys of that time—and still more to their mothers—like expatriation to the other side of the world.

Up to this time there had been no meeting of the European Missionaries, there had been no "Local Committee" of any kind, and as there had been only two Missionaries in the district, it seemed hardly possible for a Committee to be held, but as a third had now arrived, we formed ourselves into a Local Committee, more or less similar to one that was already in existence in connection with the C.M.S. Missions. This Committee was of great immediate advantage to the Missions and the Missionaries, and proved to be of still greater advantage afterwards, when the number of Missionaries increased, when natives had been admitted to the Ministry, and when many important matters affecting the well-being of the Missions and the Native Church had to be considered. The first act of the newly-formed Local Committee was to arrange for an annual examination of all the catechists and schoolmasters of all the Missions in previously appointed subjects. They were divided into two classes. In the Edeyengudy district the highest class was taught for more than twenty years by myself, the lower under my superintendence by the inspecting catechist; and the public *viva voce* examination, which took place after a year's instruction, was so interesting and so evidently fitted to stimulate all concerned, teachers and taught, that this assembly became ere long the most interesting event of the year. One thing that greatly contributed to the diligence with which the work of instruction was carried on and to the interest of the examinations was that certain prizes from the Monckton Fund were awarded to those who acquitted themselves best. The highest of these prizes were called Monckton Catechistships, to which handsome salaries, tenable for a year, were attached. These examinations still go on and are still

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useful, though not now being *viva voce* they do not excite so much interest as in early times.

(Shortly after the purchase of the land on which the village stood with its adjacent fields, I commenced to build a bungalow in a style and situation which would render it suitable for a subsidiary bungalow after the larger Mission House I intended to build was erected, and which would be commodious enough for the residence of a married Missionary for a few years at first. It was to this bungalow that Mrs. Caldwell came when we were married, but up to that time I lived in the small one-roomed bungalow in the village. (About the same time also I commenced building a temporary church between the new bungalow and the village, and near the place on which I intended that the large permanent church of the future should stand. This temporary church was enlarged four times to meet the requirements of the increasing congregation, but especially those of the ever-increasing school establishment.

On looking back at the commencement of my life as a Missionary in Tinnevely, I cannot but remember with regret many particulars in which I erred, but I am not ashamed to admit this, for I have always found that the Gracious Father and Merciful Saviour for whom I have been endeavouring to work has made even my errors work for good, to myself at least, if not also to others. The errors I fell into at first were chiefly owing to the representations of the catechists of the old school, who were always more disposed to war than to peace, and who regarded the numbers of their adherents as of more importance than their character or the motives by which they had been influenced; but as time went on I saw my way to asserting more firmly my own ideas of what was best both for the Mission and the people, and carrying out in practice my conviction that in the end right and truth and love would be found the most potent agencies for good. May it please God, the Fountain of all Goodness, to bring to perfection that which was good and to bring good out of whatever was evil.

We are able to add a few particulars of the condition of the Christians in Tinnevely during the first few years of the Bishop's life there, and of the Bishop's method of work, from letters written to various members of his family. The following are extracts from them:—

"I have lately entered into an arrangement with a neighbouring missionary of the Church Mission, in consequence of which my district is much extended, and is entirely made over to my superintendence. I gave over the charge of 5 villages and in return received charge of 20, with a large heathen district yet untouched lying beyond. In consequence I am very busy. This morning I came 13 miles from my furthest station, a little village of shepherds, containing 12 families under instruction, met the catechists at 10 o'clock and remained with them till 4, gave them a theological lecture, heard an essay and sermon, received the reports of the work from every village, and gave my advice about the persecutions and vexatious law-suits by which the heathens are continually annoying our people. After all this it is not to be expected that I can have much strength or time for writing this evening; but the overland goes away to-morrow. A Missionary of Tinnevely, Mr. Schaffter, a Swiss, is returning to Europe and will probably visit Glasgow; I have given him letters of introduction to you, to Dr. Wardlaw and to Mr. Turner. If you see him he will be able to tell you what Missionary work in Tinnevely is, and how God has been pleased to bless it. He is a very worthy man and has been a very useful Missionary.

My mode of life in these parts is very agreeable to me, as you will have perceived, but it is somewhat peculiar. The place which I call home by way of distinction (though I am seldom in it more than a day or two in the week) is a room 17 feet by 11, built of sun-baked bricks and covered with palmyra leaves. Here I keep my books, &c. The greater part of the week I am wandering about the villages, putting up in our little houses of prayer built at an expense of from 10s. each to 20, in which it is preciously hot sometimes I assure you. At night I mostly sleep out of doors, inasmuch as the bugs prefer to remain inside. By the late extension of my district I have had assigned to me a tract of country towards the hills, which is rather wild, but all the more inspiring. It is inhabited mostly by shepherds and by a tribe of people called Maravers, who live by "blackmail" levied upon all other people, that is by money paid them for promising not to steal. They are the ancient police of the country and are bound to recompense every man for everything that is stolen. This they do by going into the neighbouring districts and stealing what they think will both pay for what is missing and recompense them for their trouble. The English have introduced an improved kind of police, who steal without being bound to make a recompense; but the people generally prefer the old thieves. You may well imagine that to induce these people to listen to religious teaching is no easy task; yet they sometimes do listen. I have many of them within reach of Christian effort, and nearly a dozen families under Christian instruction. The best catechist I have, and one of the best I have seen anywhere, is of this very caste. He has the boldness and spirit of his tribe, but is really an exemplary Christian. After wandering about in the manner described for several weeks, having a regular service generally every morning and evening and returning every Wednesday "home" for the purpose of meeting my catechists who then assemble for the acquisition of further knowledge, I become tired and wish to see some white face, then with a clear conscience I can cross the country to some

Missionary station to take a few days' rest and talk various matters over. Nowhere that I have been in India is there at once so much real Missionary work, and so much social joy when Missionaries meet, as in Tinnevely. Palamcottah is the great town of the province, and there the great people live who rule the country, but know very little of it. This letter I send in to-night to Palamcottah, which is 40 miles off, by a runner, who on the morning of the day after to-morrow will bring me fresh bread and any letters that may have arrived. Thus you have been introduced into my domestic arrangements and will understand that a person, who can make himself at home anywhere, as I have learned to do, may be very comfortable in Tinnevely. This is certain, that I never knew what it was to be a Missionary till I came to these parts, and that our parochial system of working is producing effects here which I never saw elsewhere, and almost despaired of seeing."

His next letter, dated 18th March 1843, is as follows:—

"My work is becoming more interesting than ever, because being now accustomed to my district and having established an influence in it, I can see almost every month an ascent and progress in the main. Hundreds of persons who were a few years ago open worshippers of the devil are now under a regular course of Christian instruction and discipline, and are able to give an answer to all of the reason of the hope that is in them. In the village in which I am now writing this letter, in which there are upwards of 700 souls under instruction, I last month spent a week in examining the candidates for baptism to the number of 40 that had proposed themselves sometime before. At the close of the examination I baptised 21 persons with their children, and was on the whole exceedingly well satisfied with the knowledge of the plan of salvation and the earnestness of mind which were then exhibited. Everywhere in my district the number of candidates is considerable, and the careful instruction of them with a view to their baptism will be my principal work for six months to come. Still, the state of things in my district is greatly inferior to what I see in the districts of some other Missionaries in Tinnevely, particularly in Mr. Thomas's, in which during recent visitations of the cholera I saw some remarkable illustrations of the power of the Gospel in purifying, softening, and cheering even the Hindu heart. Beyond all question the Gospel is taking root in Tinnevely and producing in many cases the spiritual, and transforming effects we most desire to see. Mr. Thomas during the last half-year baptised about 400 souls, but in his case it is to be remembered that he has been labouring in his district most indefatigably for five years, and * * * chiefly within the last half-year, at the close of the period as I formerly told you of, that a spiritual awakening began to appear in his district. I labour on in the hope of the privilege of witnessing a similar state of things in God's time in my sphere also. A good sign is that the persecution which last year visited other districts is now appearing in mine. The surrounding heathens are doing all they can by combinations and vexatious law-suits to unsettle and drive away my people, but hitherto without any considerable effect. For some time past besides my work in my own district I have been doing what I could in various ways to advance the cause of our

Missions in South India generally, having been appointed by the Bishop his Missionary Secretary in consequence of the lamented death of the former Secretary, Mr. Jones. "My work in this respect is chiefly in the way of correspondence, and is by no means heavy, in consequence of having long been accustomed to inquire into and compare the various Mission systems, and being personally acquainted with the working of almost every station of every Society in Southern India. The Missions of the Church of England in the Madras Presidency are so extensive that a wide door of influence as well as of observation is now before me, though I always consider my work as a Missionary pastor my most important work, and will not allow anything to interfere with the right performance of it."

The following letter regarding some persecutions that took place among the Christians is dated 9th Feb. 1846:—

"Since I wrote last there has been a persecution in Tinnevely, chiefly in the northern districts, the heathen banding themselves together with the knowledge and consent of the native authorities, plundering and wrecking the villages of the Christians and beating all who refused to renounce Christianity. It did not reach my district, which is in the extreme south. The European Magistrate checked it, and many criminals are being tried, but all the officers of the courts being heathen, little is gained by a trial, which in fact is rather a trial of the firmness of the Christian witnesses than of the guilt of the heathen offenders.

"We have also had a frightful hurricane, which is a rare thing in Tinnevely. Our house was partially unroofed, and the water stood six inches deep in our bed-room. The church I have just built is a mass of ruins, it being a prominent object, and the span of the roof being rather too great, it could not withstand the wind. Much property has been destroyed, and about 130 lives have been lost in the province.

"The work of the Mission is continuing to advance. The number of Native Christians in the various Missions in Tinnevely is now nearly double what it was 4 years ago, and the number of Missionaries also is nearly double what it was then. Piety and Christian liberality are also on the increase. A large proportion of the rising generation is now in school. Out of less than 3,000 souls under my care 500 are in school at present. These are Christian children of parents who once were heathen, but now are by profession Christians, and are willing and desirous that their children should be altogether what they themselves profess to be."

On 11th October 1846 he writes:—

"On the whole I trust my mission is prospering. We have not many accessions, but I perceive some growth in knowledge and grace in a few of the converts. We have now 45 girls in the female boarding school, which is one of the most interesting and promising institution in the Mission. I always spend my mornings in teaching and catechizing the first class children of the boarding school and of the schools belonging to this village, and have been much pleased with their progress in Scriptural knowledge. The first girl, called Aubaiye, who remains voluntarily with us, though all her relatives

are heathen, bids fair to be the ornament of the district. Her written answers to my monthly examination questions are remarkably good. Yet though the first, she is only 12 years of age. As for the boys I send the most promising to the Institution connected with our Mission about 30 miles off, where it is the sole duty of a Missionary to instruct and train them. You would be surprised to read a list of the subjects a little boy of 14 belonging to this village has learnt at the Institution and is capable, as I can avouch, of standing an examination in Theology, Bible-History, Church History, Geometry, Algebra, Logic, Greek Testament, and Music, besides English.

"The worst of it is that natives though frequently more precocious at an early age than European children become dull and uninteresting very soon after they leave, like tropical plants they soon spring up and soon wither, so that one's hopes are rarely, if ever, fully realized by their subsequent history.

"I think you are aware that I am engaged in building a church in this village. I have a little house of prayer in every village, but my residence being here, and this being the principal station in the district and the largest congregation, I wish to have here a large respectable looking church, stone-built, and neatly finished off. I have already about half the money I want, and I have therefore made a commencement. The foundation is now being laid, which must be very deep on account of the loose nature of the soil. I fear it will not be finished for at least three years to come, and it may take a longer time. I got gratis from a Building Society in London a beautiful set of plans and working drawings worth £50. I did not know the name of a single person connected with the Society when I wrote, but knew only the Society's designation. I thought it would do no harm to apply, though I had never heard of any Missionary having applied before, and I knew that the Society was properly a Home Church-building Society, which had nothing to do with the colonies. Yet the next mail but one after the Secretary received my letter, he despatched a large tin case to me, post paid, containing all the drawings I required and offering to do anything more for me that I wanted. This is true English generosity. The plans are infinitely better than I could have executed myself, and I save not only £50, but 500 headaches, besides learning a lesson respecting boldness of faith which I hope will not be lost upon me."

CHAPTER VI.

MEN I MET IN TINNEVELLY.

My first impressions of the European Missionaries I actually met in Tinnevely would naturally be entitled to the first place here, but I am under the necessity of commencing with a Missionary of great eminence whom I had never the pleasure of meeting. This was Rhenius, a Missionary who had recently died after labouring in Tinnevely from 1820 to 1838. He occupied the foremost position amongst Missionaries, not only in Tinnevely, but in Southern India, during the whole of his Indian life, and the question is whether his name is not entitled to occupy the principal place in the list of the Missionaries of the various Societies since the time of Swartz, that is, during the whole of the present century. When I arrived in Tinnevely at the close of 1841 I found his name still in every one's mouth, and his fame fresh and green. Though I never met him, yet I knew so much about him from his voluminous writings and correspondence and from conversation with those who knew him that I can hardly think of him but as a personal acquaintance. He was a man of letters as well as a Missionary, though it was in his capacity as the latter that he reached the highest excellence. His Tamil compositions were the clearest ever known and his idiom faultless, but his range of language was extremely limited. He wrote a Tamil Grammar which was the only one in use for some twenty years, but, strange to say, he was totally ignorant of the great Native Classical Grammars. He set aside Fabricius's translation of the Bible into Tamil and made a new translation of the New Testament and part of the Old for himself, but though of great excellence as a literary composition it was so paraphrastic, and therefore so unbiblical in tone, that it held its ground only for a time, like Leander Van Ess's modernised German Bible, and then passed into oblivion. Rhenius was a good Hebrew and Greek Scholar, but in everything connected with the criticism of the Scriptures he preferred the latest novelties to the ancient learning.

He was a Lutheran by birth, but rejected bit by bit every shred of Lutheran doctrine and practice, and set himself to conduct the Mission committed to him by the Church Missionary Society on the principles of the English Dissenters. Notwithstanding all this, he was a man of great administrative power, fervent missionary zeal, an excellent preacher and speaker in the vernacular, as well as a writer of unusual merit, and one of the hardest and most continuous workers ever seen in India. In scholarship he could only be described as a man of respectable attainments, but he rose to the very first rank in the power of influencing others. It was partly, at least, in consequence of this power that, in regard to the number of converts made by him, directly or indirectly, his name stands first among South Indian Missionaries, second only to Swartz. It was also doubtless partly in consequence of this influence that, when he broke away from the Church Missionary Society and set up for himself in Tinnevely, he carried with him for a time nearly the whole of the Christians connected with that Society and obtained such abundant help in funds from European friends in every part of India—especially from those who had either become Plymouth brethren or were inclined that way, at that time a very large and influential party—that so long as he lived he was able to carry on every department of the Mission, including the support of his three European Missionary brethren, with perfect ease. As soon as he died, however, this aid began to diminish and, ere long, ceased altogether. It was a remarkable illustration of the fact that this anti-Church movement originated with Rhenius, and was upheld by his influence alone; that, after his death hardly any trace of the schism survived in the C. M. S. Missions in Tinnevely. It had never extended to the S. P. G. portion of the Native Church. Rhenius introduced amongst his congregations the practice of assembling the people daily in Church for morning and evening prayers, but the service carried on on such occasions was only a species of family prayer without the appointed psalms and lessons, and without any use of or reference to the Prayer Book. In this particular, long after Rhenius's time, the system introduced by him survived in the daily worship of most of the C. M. S. congregations.

Of the Missionaries I found in Tinnevely on my arrival the oldest was Schaffter, like Rhenius a Lutheran by education and ordination, and like him adopted, without re-

ordination, by the C. M. S. The practice of giving episcopal ordination to the German Missionaries employed by the C. M. S. was introduced shortly after this time. Schaffter was a French Swiss by birth, though generally regarded as a German, and a Moravian by early Associations and predilection rather than a Lutheran. His Christian names were Paul Pacifique, and he was rightly named Pacific, for though his lot was cast in Tinnevelly in troublous times, he was the mildest and most pacific of men. He was a thoughtful man of a philosophic turn of mind, and very devout. He was one of the wittiest men I have known in the Mission field. He formed a new station at Nallur between Palamcotta and Courtallam, in a part of the country where no Missionary had established himself before. Another but much younger assistant of Rhenius I found in Tinnevelly was John James Müller. He was a German, but was in Deacon's orders in the Church of England when first sent out by the Church Missionary Society, and hence, when he rejoined the Society after Rhenius's death, they insisted on his receiving ordination in the Church of England as priest. This he assented to, though somewhat reluctantly, and he was then reappointed to Suveseshapuram, in the South of Tinnevelly, a place afterwards best known as Bishop Sargent's first station. As Suveseshapuram was only five miles from Edeyengudy, I saw Müller very frequently. He did not long survive, but his wife, a daughter of Rhenius, is living still as Mrs. Rice, wife (now widow) of the L.M.S. Missionary of that name in Bangalore. A third assistant and disciple of Rhenius was Lechler, also a German, who, though in episcopal orders like Müller, I think in priest's orders, refused to rejoin the Church Missionary Society as a Churchman. He had adopted in all respects, like Rhenius himself, the opinions of the English Dissenters, and, accordingly, on Rhenius's death he joined the London Mission Society and was sent by them to carry on their Mission at Salem. I saw him in Madras before I left, but not in Tinnevelly. At Salem he established a school for carpentering and such like industrial work, which proved a considerable success. (I found only two English Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society in Tinnevelly on my arrival, though the number afterwards greatly increased. These were Pettitt, at Palamcotta, and Thomas, at Menguanapuram. George Pettitt was sent to Tinnevelly by the Church Missionary

Society after Rhenius's secession and before his death, for the purpose of endeavouring to preserve that important Mission to the Church of England and the Church Missionary Society. The Society could not have made a better selection, for Pettitt, though a young man at the time, was a good administrator; though resolute was calm and cool; though not equal to Rhenius as a Tamil writer and speaker, was equal to him in the knowledge of Tamil, and was for those times a decided Churchman. Pettitt's history of the Tinnevelly Mission of the Church Missionary Society, which is a book of much merit, gives one a complete idea both of the times and of Pettitt himself and his work. He was the chief mover in the first revision of the Tamil Book of Common Prayer, an account of which will be found in another chapter. It was an unfortunate thing that when he went home on furlough some years afterwards, he did not return to Tinnevelly. He was appointed by the Church Missionary Society, on his return, Secretary to their Mission in Ceylon, a position which was, doubtless, regarded as a sort of promotion. It was a still more unfortunate thing that a difference of opinion arose between him and some of the Missionaries in Ceylon, in which he was not supported by the Parent Society, when he resigned and went home for good. The services of a very valuable Missionary were thus lost both to Tinnevelly and to Ceylon.

A short time after my arrival in Tinnevelly I made the acquaintance of another Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, John Thomas, a different type of man from George Pettitt, but equally, if not more eminent. They stood together side by side at the head of the C.M.S. Mission in Tinnevelly, but Pettitt was stationed at Palamcotta, the capital of the district, from which he visited the villages under his care in the interior, whilst Thomas took up his abode in a village called Neduvilai (by the Christians Mengnanapuram) where he introduced, as far as possible, the English parochial system, working from the centre he had chosen amongst the hundreds of villages that lay scattered all around, in each of which it was his endeavour to establish a congregation and a school. Thomas was a man of many gifts and accomplishments. He had been brought up, I believe, as a solicitor, and was an excellent lawyer. He had made himself by study and practice an excellent doctor. He was an excellent singer, a good,

musician, and well acquainted with the science of music. As a builder he had no equal in Tinnevely. Everything he built, whether parsonage, schools or church, might be studied by other builders as a model of excellence. In addition he was a good mechanic, a good rider and swimmer, and was a man of great bodily strength and liveliness of disposition, though often ailing through the influence of the climate, especially as time went on. It is more important in connection with his character and position as a Missionary to say that he was a good Tamil scholar, a particularly good speaker of Tamil, a good preacher both in Tamil and English, and an administrator of first rate excellence. Nothing could exceed the order and discipline which prevailed throughout the congregations and schools in the districts under his care, and this was especially conspicuous in his instruction and management of his schoolmasters and catechists, and afterwards of his native ministers. For some years after my arrival in Tinnevely I made it my business to ride over to Mengnanapuram from time to time to consult Thomas about any difficulty I met with, either in the management of the Mission or in regard to buildings and such like matters, and I never found my visits in vain. The only doubt one ever felt with regard to his management of Mission affairs was that it was so essentially autocratic that no room seemed to be left anywhere for individual development. There was only one will in the district, and that was his. On the other hand this principle of management proved perfectly successful. It seemed exactly suited to the native mind and character. They liked to have a master, and to feel that their only duty was to obey; and it must be admitted that his will was very much better for them than their own uninstructed, chaotic wills would have been. Europeans might criticise or doubt, but natives never did either. Their loyal allegiance followed him to his grave, and to this day his name is never mentioned but with the deepest respect. The large and beautiful church he erected at Mengnanapuram—the largest in Tinnevely—may be said to be his monument, which in a truer sense may be seen in the high position amongst Tinnevely Christians occupied by the very numerous congregations of the Mengnanapuram combined districts. Of him it may be said with especial appropriateness that “his works do follow him.” When he was carried to his grave near the Mengnanapuram

Church fifteen native ministers, trained and brought forward by himself, assisted in carrying his remains.

When I arrived in Tinnevely there were two Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel labouring in the district. These were Augustus Frederic Caemmerer, stationed at Nazareth, and George Yates Heyne, stationed at Mudalur. Caemmerer and Heyne were both of pure European parentage, but both had been born in India, brought up mainly amongst Eurasians, and educated at Bishop's College, Calcutta, where nearly all the students belonged to the same class. They had never visited Europe and had never had any opportunity of seeing or sharing in the revived life which was then beginning to animate the Church of England. They were, therefore, almost of necessity tempted at first to content themselves with following in the steps of the old-fashioned Lutheran Missionaries and “country priests” who preceded them in Tinnevely, and the still older-fashioned catechists from Tanjore. Caemmerer was naturally a man of much energy, strong in body, eager in spirit, and ambitious of excelling. Consequently he soon set forward on a course of improvements, resolved not to be left behind by the C. M. S. Missionaries who had recently arrived; and the result was that, ere long, he not only brought Nazareth and the villages depending upon it into a state of excellent order, but gained over village after village in the more distant parts of the field committed to him. His work extended even to Ramanad. My first sermon in Tinnevely was preached in his Church in Nazareth, and, shortly after my arrival, things advanced so far that the towers of three Christian Churches erected by Caemmerer, including the one in Nazareth itself, could be seen at one view. The architecture of these churches and towers may be despised by the people of these highly advanced times, but they served a good purpose at a time when æsthetic ideas had not come up, and they have not yet been superseded in Tinnevely by anything better. Caemmerer was not a man of much intellect or a great reader, but he knew Tamil well, and was thoroughly acquainted with the wants of the Native Mission Agents. Consequently he set himself, especially after his wife's death, to translate into Tamil abridgements of standard theological and scriptural text-books, and thereby rendered the Native Church a service of real value. The advantage continues, for those

books are still in use. His later days were spent out of Tinnevely, in Tanjore, and elsewhere.

Heyne, though not inferior in intellect to Caemmerer, was much inferior to him in energy. He was a quiet, amiable, inoffensive man, but when I have said this I have said nearly all that can be said in his praise. He was naturally inactive, seldom leaving his home, and was naturally so timid that he never dared to preach extempore, though he knew Tamil well. He did not venture even to introduce improvements in the mode in which the services were conducted. He did one good work, by which it may be said that he left his mark in the district. This was his erection of a large substantial church in Mudalur, for a long time the largest in Tinnevely. This mark, however, has not survived intact, for the church, though apparently strong, was really weak, and has had to be rebuilt. After a time, when some troubles about caste arose in Mudalur, Heyne, unable to bear up under trouble of any kind, left the place, and had himself transferred to work in the north. He died as he had lived, in humility and peace, in 1881.

Ere long the Missions of the S. P. G. in Tinnevely were strengthened by the arrival of Dr. G. U. Pope, of whom I have written in a former paper. The Rev. Edward Sargent, afterwards and still Bishop Sargent, was not one of the Missionaries I met on my arrival in Tinnevely in 1841; he was then in England pursuing his studies at the Church Missionary College at Islington, but he returned to Tinnevely soon after as an ordained Missionary, and ever since we have been closely associated. His first station in Tinnevely was at Suvisheshapuram, a village only five miles from my own station of Edeyengudi, so that we frequently met, and our intercourse was always most pleasant, and I believe as profitable as it was pleasant. Mr. Sargent had already obtained, before he went to England, some Missionary experience, and he had a perfect knowledge of Tamil, which he spoke as fluently as a native, and was also thoroughly familiar with native ideas, so that it was a great advantage to me on first entering on work in Tinnevely to be able to talk over matters with him from time to time. The first Mrs. Sargent was then living at Suvisheshapuram, and she and Mrs. Caldwell frequently met. Afterwards we met frequently in con-

nexion with the various revisions that were carried on in connexion with the Tamil Bible and the prayer book. As Missionaries of different Societies we travelled, so to speak, on different lines of rail, but though the lines were distinct they were parallel, and the terminus was the same, so that collision was impossible. In all our intercourse the perfect friendliness of our relations was never once in the slightest degree disturbed. The most important event in which we were associated was when we were both consecrated to the Episcopal Office on the same day in Calcutta, in March 1877, by the present Metropolitan of India, assisted by the other Bishops of the Provinces of India and Ceylon. We were consecrated as assistants to the Bishop of Madras, it being found impossible to give us territorial jurisdiction, such as was afterwards given to the Bishop of the Native States of Travancore and Cochin. This arrangement, however, though objected to by some as not being perfectly ecclesiastical, has been found to work well, in consequence of the authorisations issued by the Bishop of Madras, and the confidence reposed in us by him. If any hitch has arisen, it has been caused solely by the claim of the Madras Committee S. P. G. to manage the affairs of the Tinnevely Mission, irrespectively of my wish, and sometimes irrespectively of the wish of the Bishop of Madras.

In one of my papers on "The men I met in Madras," in giving an account of my reasons for joining the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I briefly alluded to my reasons for not joining the Church Missionary Society. I am sorry to find that the reasons I stated have given pain to some valued friends connected with that Society. I wish, therefore, now to state that those remarks were written more than forty years ago, and that ever since I have lived in terms of cordial friendship with the Missionaries of that Society, and have seen a great deal of their excellent work. I now wish that, in allowing my remarks to be published after so long a time had passed, I had either omitted those remarks, or so modified them as to prevent them giving unintentional offence.

Mr. E. B. Thomas, c.s., was Collector of Tinnevely at the time of my arrival, and though not a Missionary himself, has a right to be ranked among Missionaries on account of the interest he took in the Missions in Tinnevely,

and his kindness to the Missionaries. He was a man of great public spirit and distinguished for his zeal for the public good, especially in regard to the improvement of roads, the making of shady avenues in every direction, the erection of choultries, or rest-houses for travellers, the digging of wells, and the introduction of useful trees of the best kinds. In these particulars he excelled all the Collectors that went before him, and rivalled the great Mangammal, the Queen of Madura. I was accustomed to say that if any ancient work of public utility were found anywhere, it would be attributed to Mangammal, whilst if it proved to be a modern work, people would at once attribute it to Collector Thomas. One of Mr. Thomas's characteristics was his hospitality, which endeared him to all classes, Natives as well as Europeans. His usefulness as a benefactor of the public has been perpetuated by his son, Mr. H. S. Thomas, c.s., who has done so much for the development of fish culture in Southern India.

CHAPTER VII.

JUBILEE ADDRESS, 8TH JANUARY 1888.

On the 8th of January 1838 I arrived in Madras as a Missionary, and have much reason to be thankful for the mercies and blessings I have enjoyed during the fifty years that have since then elapsed. I have had to lament my deficiency in many of those virtues which are so necessary in all who would work for God in this world. But, notwithstanding my various shortcomings, I cannot but be thankful that God has been more gracious to me than I deserved, and that my fifty years of work in India have not, on the whole, been destitute of fruit. I have been permitted in some particulars to see the fruit of my labours and plans, and I trust it may please God to grant that this fruit may remain after I have passed away, and not only remain, but increase in value. Amongst the Jews the Levites had to retire from all work in the sanctuary when they reached their fiftieth year, but that rule did not press hard upon them, for they had their endowments and tithes to fall back upon as long as they lived. In this country most of the servants of Government are bound to retire by the fifty-five years' rule, a rule which is supposed to deprive the country prematurely of the services of many competent men. In the Church Bishops are under no rule as regards age, and hence my fifty years' residence and work in India do not preclude my hoping to continue in the work to which I have given my life as long as it may please God to spare me.

Born on the 7th of May 1814 I was not quite twenty-four years of age when I arrived in Madras, and now on the 8th of January, 1888, I am not quite seventy-four. After my arrival in India I resided in Madras for three years and a-half. My only work for the first year of my Indian life and my chief work as long as I remained in Madras was the acquisition of Tamil. It was my aim to acquire a good knowledge of the so-called High Tamil, or classical tongue, and of the Tamil classics as well as of the spoken language; and the knowledge I then acquired, though not so extensive, or thorough, as I could have wished,

has been of the greatest possible use to me ever since. In particular I spared no pains in endeavouring to acquire an accurate pronunciation. Before long I went to stay at the house of Mr. Drew, a Missionary of the London Missionary Society, a man of culture and a devoted student of Tamil. His edition of the *Kural*, a great Tamil classic, though he did not live to complete the work, placed him in the first rank of the European Tamil scholars of that time. It is a surprising thing to me that since his time so few English Missionaries of any Society seem to have cared to acquire more than a colloquial knowledge of Tamil, though the language is so beautiful in itself, and contains so rich a literature. Dr. Pope is a conspicuous exception among Englishmen. Dr. Graul, who made his mark in Tamil, Dr. Gundert in Malayalam, and Mr. Kittell in Canarese, were Germans.

My direct work as a missionary whilst resident in Madras was chiefly amongst domestic servants, but I made myself acquainted with all other work that was then going forward, especially the work of the great Christian schools, such as the schools set on foot by John Anderson, then and long after called Anderson's School, but now known as the Christian College. I conceived that as the masses could only be reached through the vernaculars, so the educated classes could only be reached, or could best be reached, through English schools. I was therefore an advocate of both kinds of work. Whilst in Madras I made the acquaintance of all the eminent men then resident there, including Mr. Anderson, Mr. Tucker, Bishop Cotterill, Mr. Symonds, and Dr. Bower. Dr. Kennett I knew afterwards in Tinnevely. Amongst laymen I knew General C. A. Browne, Military Secretary to the Government, well known for many years for his Friday evening meetings. About the middle of 1841 I set out from Madras for Tinnevely, having resolved for various reasons to make Tinnevely the centre of my Indian work. On my way I visited Pondicherry, Coimbatore, Tranquebar, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, the Nilgiris, and Madura. I had the opportunity at Tanjore of making the acquaintance of Mr. Kohlhoff, the second of the name, Swartz's pupil, and at Trichinopoly of the last of the Kohlhoffs. At the Nilgiris I met Bishop Spencer, by whom I was ordained, and whose Missionary Chaplain I afterwards became. I arrived in Tinnevely in November 1841, and preached my first sermon on Advent Sunday, the 28th of November 1841. On looking around

in Tinnevely, in the district of Edeyengudi, committed to my special care as Missionary, I cannot but notice with thankfulness the progress that has been made. The results of my work in the neighbourhood, though far from being equal to my wishes and aims, have been such as to give me much cause for thankfulness. The western portion of the district developed to such a degree that it was formed into a separate district, that of Radapuram, and this is now included in Edeyengudi returns. The number of congregations in 1841 was 14; now, in 1887, the number of congregations, or of villages in which congregations, large or small, have been formed, including Radapuram, is 129. The number of Christians in connection with these congregations, that is, of persons under Christian instruction, including Radapuram as before, including catechumens, has risen during the same time from 1,201 to 8,167.

In Tinnevely generally the progress during the same period has been equally remarkable. This clearly appears from the retrospect of the Tinnevely Missions during the 50 years of Queen Victoria's reign, published in connection with the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee. (There is a brief statement on record of the strength of the Tinnevely S. P. G. Mission in 1837; baptised members of congregations 4,352, children in schools 269. The number of girls in the schools was only 6. That was a day of very small things. There are at present in connection with the same Mission 566 congregations, members of congregations 39,577, of whom 29,656 are baptised, the rest being catechumens. Children in school number 8,517, of whom 2,425 are girls. This includes Ramnad. In Mission Colleges and schools there are 425 boys, and there are 416 girls in boarding schools. Thus everything connected with the mission has increased tenfold during the fifty years of Queen Victoria's reign, and also during the fifty years of my own residence in India. There was a difference between the two periods of fifty years of less than seven months.

Even before my consecration as Bishop, I had endeavoured to encourage the formation of evangelistic associations for the purpose of endeavouring to bring in to the Christian fold those who were still outside; but after my consecration, I set myself to develop this work more systematically in all the districts under my supervision in

Tinnevely and Ramnad. At the same time the great famine of 1877-78 occurred, the great famine that has been known in India in modern times, and it seemed to me providential that I had just then been placed in a position in which I could render much efficient help to the sufferers from famine. These two classes of influences, famine relief and evangelistic effort, were simultaneous, and each co-operated with the other. The result was, that on comparing the census of 1881 with that of 1871, not including Ramnad, a general census conducted by Government, we found that the gain during those ten years, including C. M. S. congregations, had been 33,070 souls. After every allowance is made for losses, no amount of detraction, or unfairness, can upset the fact that our numbers were nearly doubled. We never supposed for a moment that all those new people would be likely to remain steadfast to the end of their lives. We called them not "conversions" but "accessions." We fully expected that some of them at least would get tired in time of the restraints of their new faith, and return to their old ways; but there is nothing in connection with the history of this movement which appears to me more surprising, or more gratifying than the fact that the number of such relapses has been so small.

On the 11th of March 1877 I was consecrated to the episcopal office in the Cathedral of Calcutta, as assistant to the Bishop of Madras. The consecrating Bishops were the Bishop of Calcutta, Metropolitan of India and Ceylon, the Bishop of Madras, the Bishop of Bombay, and the Bishop of Colombo. Bishop Sargent was consecrated on the same day, also as assistant to the Bishop of Madras. I was appointed by the Bishop of Madras to the special supervision of the S. P. G. Missions in Tinnevely and Ramnad. The number of natives confirmed by me since my consecration in 1877 is 7,391. The number of persons ordained by me during the same period has been 37 deacons, 17 priests, in all 54. Of these three were Europeans, one belonging to the Church Missionary Society. Of the natives ordained three belonged to that Society.

Without allowing my work as a Missionary to suffer, I devoted much time from my arrival in Tinnevely to literary work. In 1842 I joined a Committee for the Revision of the Tamil Version of the Prayer Book. Another revision,

in which I also took part, took place in 1872. The principal revision in which I was engaged was that of the Tamil Bible, which was commenced in April 1858, and was brought to a successful conclusion in April 1869. Those eleven years were amongst the happiest years of my life. The principal reviser was Dr. Bower, who received from the Archbishop of Canterbury the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in recognition of the eminent services he had rendered to the Tamil Church. I regret, however, to add that in 1886 it pleased God to remove him from his life of usefulness on earth. In losing him the Tamil Church sustained, what appears up to this time to have been, an irreparable loss. He was the first Eurasian on whom the degree of "D. D." was conferred. The second was Dr. Kennett, an eminent patristic scholar, who received from the Archbishop of Canterbury the same degree a few years after it had been conferred on Dr. Bower. It is sad to think that those two men have left no successors in the community to which they belonged, and of which, each in his own way, they were such distinguished ornaments.

From the time of my arrival in India, but especially from the time of my arrival in Tinnevely, I set myself to the study of Indian Philology, Ethnology and History. I procured the best books that were attainable, and learnt German that I might be able to make use of the vast stores of Indian learning accumulated by German scholars. My first and largest work was entitled "A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages." The first edition of this book, which was speedily exhausted, was brought out in 1856. The second edition was carefully revised; and much enlarged, perhaps too much, so that it has become too expensive for natives to purchase. It contains 608 closely printed octavo pages, the introduction alone comprising 154 pages. This Comparative Grammar of the South Indian languages has been followed by a Comparative Grammar of the North Indian languages by Mr. Beames, c.s.; and another Comparative Grammar of great value appeared in 1862, Dr. Bleek's Comparative Grammar of the South African languages. The natives of India have always shown a great liking for grammatical studies, but they confined themselves to the study of the Grammars of their own languages, without any attempt at comparing their own languages with others, and, conse-

quently, their philology not being comparative, has remained unscientific and unprogressive. One of the chief objects I had in view in this work was to point out to the natives how this defect might be supplied.

My second book was entitled "A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevely, from the earliest period to its cession to the English Government in 1801." This book, though professedly local in its scope, contains some information about each of the dynasties of Southern India. The book was published by the Madras Government at the public expense, besides which they gave me for it, unsolicited, an honorarium of Rs. 1,000. The whole edition was soon disposed of, and it is now out of print. My third book was prepared simultaneously with my second, and was published in the same year, 1881. It was a Mission History, and entitled "Records of the early history of the Tinnevely Mission of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." It contained 356 pages, and was published at their own risk by Messrs. Higginbotham and Co. of Madras. My object was to collect and preserve all those records, many of them in manuscript, which seemed to throw light on the early history of so interesting a Mission, but which seemed likely to disappear, and be forgotten. I find also a list of pamphlets, sermons and papers published by me at various times. These include twenty pamphlets in English, some of which might almost be considered books; four English sermons, and eight Tamil pamphlets. In conjunction with Bishop Sargent I also revised the Tamil Hymn book, and re-arranged it for Church of England use. This book contains among other hymns my translation into Tamil of "The Church's one Foundation," a hymn which has come into very general use throughout the Tamil country.

Tinnevely is one of the hottest districts in India. It may be said, indeed, that we have no cold weather at all, but only three months of hot weather, and nine months of hotter. It is therefore a very trying climate for Europeans. I have been very thankful for being permitted to hold on so long, doing a little work of various kinds, though I have scarcely ever enjoyed perfect health for a day. I visited England three times for the benefit of my health. My first absence from England was for seventeen years; my

second for fifteen years; my third after a stay in India of eight years, returning at the end of 1884. During my first absence from England all the great movements that have taken place in Church and State were commenced and partly developed, and this includes the great Church movement, the great educational movement, the great æsthetic movement. It was during the same period that the Railway and the Telegraph appeared, together with a multitude of religious, moral, and material improvements of all kinds which makes the era of Queen Victoria the era of progress. My recovery to health even in the climate of England was so slow that I was obliged to stay at home for three years, during which time I visited almost every part of England as a "Deputation." Strange to say I was obliged to stay another year by a sunstroke with which I was visited one hot summer's day on the top of a coach in Somersetshire. In 1864, after my return to India, I was visited by a somewhat alarming attack of congestion of the brain, which prevented me for nearly a year from reading, writing, or preaching. This was probably an ulterior result of my sun-stroke. Most people feared that I should never be able to do any head work again, but it pleased our Heavenly Father to permit me again to resume my former work of every kind, including the composition of my principal books. It seems to me probable, however, that the tendency to giddiness from which I frequently suffer is a relic of that head complaint. After my last return from England I became acquainted with Kodai-kanal on the Palney Hills, a place far above fever-range, almost as high as Ootacamund, and people think more salubrious. That is our present health resort, and we have succeeded in erecting on a commanding situation a very nice church, which supplies a want long felt by Church of England visitors. It was dedicated on the 4th Sunday after Easter 1885.

On the 20th of March 1844 I was married at Nagercoil, South Travancore, to Eliza, eldest daughter of the Rev. Charles Mault, Missionary of the London Mission Society. South Travancore owes much to those pioneers of missionary work, Mr. and Mrs. Mault, and if Tinnevely has benefited by Mrs. Caldwell's life-long labours, much of the benefit must be credited to the experience she acquired, and the training she received, at Nagercoil. One of her chief qualifications has always been her perfect knowledge of

colloquial Tamil. Immediately on her arrival at Edeyengudi, the station I was founding in Tinnevely, she set herself to aid me in every part of my work, especially in female education. The Female Boarding School she set on foot shortly after her arrival was the first that had been established in connection with the Missions of the S. P. G. in Southern India. It was also by her that lace-making was introduced into Tinnevely.

My life has been a very chequered one, especially that portion of it during which I have held the office of Bishop. Many of my friends supposed that as Bishop, possessing an unusual knowledge of the language, I should enter on a career of greater usefulness and happiness than before, but I have not found this expectation fully realised. I have certainly not been happier, though I trust it may be found that my usefulness has been increased. My position as Bishop has given me access to many districts from which I should formerly have been more or less shut out, and many new doors of usefulness have consequently been opened to me. For this I feel thankful, and especially I feel thankful for the part I was permitted to take, as I have already explained, in helping to bring in so many souls into the Christian fold, immediately after my consecration, during and after the great famine. Notwithstanding this, my usefulness has been impaired, and my comfort and peace of mind much diminished, by the peculiar discouragements and difficulties I have had to endure from those who ought to have been my friends and helpers. I have suffered much during this period, and even more as time went on from the discouragements I have referred to, so that I have often sorrowfully called to mind Jotham's parable in the Book of Judges, in which he describes the unhappy lot that would be sure to befall any tree of the forest that consented to be anointed king over the rest of the trees. It would lose everything that it really cared for, and gain in exchange only a succession of disappointments. But, whatever be the trials I have had to meet with, I have endeavoured to remember that all things, whether apparently good or apparently evil, are of God; that the work is God's not man's, and that we may be sure that He will provide for the promotion of His own glory and the good of His Church in the darkest days as well as in the brightest. Every year spent in God's service should be regarded as a year of Jubilee.

CHAPTER VIII.

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS TO TINNEVELLY.

In January 1841 the Missions in Tinnevely were visited by Bishop Spencer, whose visit was the first they had ever received from a Bishop. Bishop Middleton had only passed through Tinnevely on his way to Cochin and Bombay, and Bishop Corrie had visited Palamcotta only, and that mainly for the purpose of healing the breach in the C. M. S. Mission caused by Rhenius's secession. There is an account of the events of Bishop Spencer's visit in Pettitt's History of the C. M. S. Mission in Tinnevely. The Bishop visited Mudalur and Nazareth, the only S.P.G. stations he saw, but the names of Edeyengudi and Sawyerpuram do not occur in his journals. Neither of those places had then a Missionary of its own. When Bishop Spencer again visited Tinnevely in 1845, each of those places had become an independent Missionary station. I was stationed at Edeyengudi, and Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Pope at Sawyerpuram. Each place was visited by the Bishop, and each had the benefit of a description from the Bishop's graphic pen.

Bishop Spencer had, ere long, to leave India on account of continuous bad health. He then resigned his see and was succeeded by Bishop Dealtry, who visited Edeyengudi twice, the first time in 1850. Bishop Dealtry was a good speaker and preacher, and his visits did much to edify the people and stir up the Mission agents. He was succeeded on the 27th of November 1861 by Bishop Gell, who has already had a longer episcopate than any other Indian Bishop, excepting Bishop Wilson. He has visited Edeyengudi five times, the first time in 1864, on each of which occasions he has taught our people how much more good may be done by meekness of wisdom, by a gentle and loving spirit, and by saintliness of life than by any amount of eloquent speech. On the last two occasions of his visiting Tinnevely, he did not visit the country stations, but confined himself to holding conferences at Palamcotta and Tuticorin, the head stations of the two Assistant Bishops. The first visit of a Metropolitan was in 1842,

when Bishop Wilson, who had already twice visited other portions of the Diocese of Madras, came amongst us. I had then been stationed at Edeyengudi for a year, but as I had not then succeeded in purchasing land for the erection of a Church and Mission premises, it was not found possible that he should visit me in my own station. In consequence of our inability to get up a service in Edeyengudi, the people of Edeyengudi and the neighbourhood, in addition to the people of the C. M. S. district of Suviseshapuram, and of some adjacent districts, were assembled for Divine Service, and a sermon was preached to the many thousands at Suviseshapuram under a large temporary shed. The Bishop's sermon was translated for him by the Rev. E. Sargent, the C. M. S. Missionary of the place, now Bishop Assistant like myself to the Bishop of Madras. Bishop Wilson was accompanied by Mr., afterwards Archdeacon Pratt, as his Chaplain. I accompanied Bishop Wilson to various stations in both the C. M. S. and S. P. G. Missions, and was much struck with the force, fluency, and originality of all his utterances, both as a preacher and as a speaker. I was equally struck, as every one was, with the quaintness, amounting sometimes to oddity, of his manner and remarks, not only in private, but sometimes even in public. On the occasion of his visitation in Palamcottah, he delivered a charge as Metropolitan, a practice which has not been followed by any of his successors.

The next visit of a Metropolitan was that of Bishop Cotton, accompanied, as his Chaplain, by the Rev. E. C. Stuart, now one of the New Zealand Bishops. This was in the cold season of 1863-64. He was also accompanied by Mrs. Cotton, by whom his memoirs were afterwards written. I had the pleasure of accompanying Bishop Cotton through Tinnevely up to Nagercoil in Travancore, showing him everything that was to be seen, and, as far as I could, explaining to him everything we saw. He was much interested in the country and people, their languages and literatures, and was full of intelligent questions. Without being a striking preacher or speaker, everything he said was so clear and sweet and loving, redolent of good sense, and in such perfect taste, that he seemed well fitted to be taken as a model for a Christian prelate and scholar. I often felt that no Church in the world but the Church of England, and no University in the world

but an English University, could have bred such a man. Never was a more honoured or useful life than his more suddenly cut short. When the news arrived of his death by drowning, I could not but call to mind an incident that occurred near Cape Comorin, whither I had accompanied him on his way from Tinnevely to Travancore. I invited him to bathe with me in the sea at Cape Comorin, explaining how sacred a bathing place that had been even in the time of the Greeks, and how appropriate it would be if he who had bathed near the sacred sources of the Ganges should complete the circuit of Hindu merit by bathing also in the seventh and southernmost of the great Hindu bathing places. I knew how dangerous a place it was to bathe in, and also that he could not swim, but his Chaplain took hold of him by his right hand, and I by his left and then we seated ourselves on the verge of the surf intending to be content with allowing one surf wave to come over us. Almost instantly a great surf wave came roaring up and tumbled us over and over. The danger was lest we should now be drawn back by the returning wave. My hold of the Bishop's hand had been forced from me, but the Chaplain fortunately retained his grasp. I said to the Bishop, "Bhagavate (the goddess of the place) has made her salaam to you. One salaam is enough. We had better now retire." Whereupon we all retreated to higher ground, and proceeded to dress. When I heard of the manner of his death, slipping from a plank into deep water near Calcutta, and never being seen more, I could not but remember his escape from danger at Cape Comorin, and at the same time could not but regard it as a very mysterious Providence that a person of so much culture, wisdom, and influence for good should have so suddenly met the death of an illiterate sailor boy.

The third visit of a Metropolitan was in September 1870, when we were favoured with a visit from the late Bishop Milman. He was accompanied by the Rev. A. C. Hardy as his Chaplain. I did not accompany him to other stations, but waited to receive him at Edeyengudi, and accompanied him only to Kudankulam and Cape Comorin. At the latter place he did not bathe in the sea like his predecessor, but being a good artist, spent the day in taking a sketch of the place. Like all his predecessors at Calcutta, Bishop Milman was possessed of many great qualities, yet no two men perhaps could seem to be more widely different

than he and his immediate predecessor. As a speaker he was as impassioned as his predecessor was calm and placid, and after the lapse of so many years I may, perhaps, take the liberty of adding, that he was as blunt and rough in manner as his predecessor was quiet and gentle. In real kindness of heart, however, underneath this peculiarity of manner, Bishop Milman would stand second to none. His marked individuality came out with great distinctness one day at Edeyengudi. It was St. Michael's Day, and I had invited the people from all parts to come and hear him preach. I told him of this, but he firmly refused, saying that he had spoken once already, and that he wanted to hear me. On the morning of the day I asked him again, but still he refused. He gave me an opportunity, however, of urging my suit by his saying that he did not know what to preach about. I said, this is St. Michael's Day, and you can easily say something about him if you like. "What do I know," he answered somewhat gruffly, "about St. Michael?" Well, I said, whether you know about him or not, you have really got to preach now, for the people are expecting you, and a native clergyman is waiting to translate for you. He did not even then give his consent, but he went into the chancel, and I hoped for the best. Lest he should see me, and so still be led to look to me for the sermon, I went to a place in the Church from which I could not be seen. After the Nicene Creed I listened with anxiety, and presently I heard the Bishop from the chancel saying in a loud voice, "Daniel, X., 13. Michael; Revelation, XII., 7. Michael." He then commenced from this repetition of the name to explain what Michael's name meant, viz., "Who is like unto God?" how that name, the name of the leader of the angelic host, was to be taken as embodying the conviction of the angels that there was no one in the universe like God, and how the error into which the pagan world had fallen was that of supposing that they could make a likeness of God. All this and everything deducible from the idea he worked out with such power, fire, poetry and pathos that this entirely unpremeditated, involuntary sermon seemed to me to be the best sermon I had ever heard delivered in the place. Like his predecessor he died in the fulness of his prime with his hands filled to overflowing with unfinished work. He was carried off, however, not by an accident, but by the exhaustion produced by a combination of overwork

with sickness. Of him it may be said with peculiar appropriateness that "he rests from his labours, and his works do follow him."

It would not be in good taste to write of the present Metropolitan, Bishop Johnson, as freely as of his predecessors, but there is one thing which it is impossible for me to avoid saying; and that is, that his visits have been in various ways the most useful and fruitful visits ever paid us by a Metropolitan of India. His long experience as an Archdeacon at home, his large acquaintance with Indian Missions in various localities and various degrees of development, his powers of observation, his habit of not merely looking at things but of looking into them, above all, if I may say so, his practical good sense, combined with great powers of work and endurance, have rendered his visits a source of great advantage to the Mission. His predecessors, however eminent in their several ways, came, and saw, and approved and went away without offering any suggestion for the improvement of what they saw. The visit of each of those eminent men was in itself a pleasure, and a stimulus to the whole people and to all workers in the Mission, and in this way was undoubtedly productive of much good. It is also probable that Bishop Cotton's well-known zeal for English education helped to turn the tide which had set in against it in some of the Missions. In every department of Mission work, however, we found the present Metropolitan full of practical suggestions, all of which seemed well worthy of consideration, and most of which are being acted upon. If the Tinnevely Mission of the future is found to be better organised, worked from a better centre, and carried on better in accordance with Church principles, this will be owing in a considerable degree to the impulse given by the present Metropolitan's suggestions and recommendations, to the progress that was already being made in these directions.

One of the Metropolitan's suggestions was that I should make the town of Tuticorin the centre of the work of the S. P. G. in Tinnevely, and endeavour to develop the work there by taking up my own abode in the town, surrounding myself there with the various institutions necessary for the completeness of the Mission system, and also transferring to Tuticorin the important S. P. G. College then at Sawyerpurum. This was in accordance with a strong wish I

had myself cherished ever since my consecration, and now that the great church at Edeyengudi had been finished, the way seemed open for my entering on a new phase of work in a new centre. I could not but feel a pang of regret at the thought of leaving Edeyengudi after forty years had been spent in it in useful, happy labours; but Tuticorin was so centrally situated, and possessed so many facilities and advantages for the supervision of the whole Mission, one of which was that it was on a line of rail, that I felt that the Providence which had called me to my present office in the Church called me also to go and make Tuticorin the centre of my work. Tuticorin being the chief town in the S. P. G. districts in Tinnevely, I felt it my duty and the duty of the S. P. G. to endeavour to do for this town what the C. M. S. had done for Palamcottah. Mr. Groves, of Liverpool, a gentleman referred to in my history of Tinnevely as having been the first person to introduce into Tuticorin the screwing of cotton, a branch of business which has made Tuticorin what it is, on hearing of my intentions with regard to the development of various kinds of Christian work in a town in which he was once interested, though fifty years had elapsed since he had been in the place, kindly sent me a donation of Rs. 500. My chief help towards the promotion of my work in Tuticorin has been derived from the generosity of the Christian Knowledge Society which helped me largely in raising the Rs. 20,000 required for the purchase of the College buildings, and then by setting apart the large sum of £5,000 to be spread over six years for scholarships, and afterwards £1,500 for the same term of years for the salary of a Mathematical lecturer, to enable us to get Caldwell College, as it came to be called, raised to the grade of a First Class College, teaching up to the B.A. Standard. For an account of the religious teaching in the College, see a report published by me in 1887.

I now come from the high ecclesiastical region of Bishops and Metropolitans to visits of a more miscellaneous kind. The first of these visits which left its impress on my memory was from Dr. Duff, the celebrated Scottish Missionary to Calcutta, the founder of the educational system of Indian Missions. His visit was in 1818, and he stayed with us for several days, during which time we were much struck by the beauty of his addresses to our schools, and especially with the fluency of his language in conversation.

The next visit of an eminent person was, I think, in 1866, when Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein stayed with us for several weeks. He was on a tour round the world in continuation of several extensive tours he had taken in Asia. He was a good Sanskrit Scholar, and an enthusiastic student of Indian antiquities. In an address to the people at Mudalur, he reminded them that they owed the commencement of their Christianity to the labours of Missionaries sent out by his great ancestor, King Christian of Denmark. The same king was an ancestor of our Princess of Wales who, when the Prince of Wales was about to visit India, told him that if he ever saw any of the Native Christians of Tinnevely, he was to remind them, in the same way, of the interest his great ancestor had taken in their welfare.

In 1868 Edeyengudi had the pleasure of receiving a visit from Lord Napier, the Governor of Madras, with Lady Napier and their staff. Their visit lasted for more than a week, and I had the pleasure of endeavouring to answer the multitude of questions put to me by Lord Napier respecting the country and people. He was a man of large information and great versatility of mind, and his chief delight was in endeavouring to add, on every hand, to his store of knowledge, for which, unhappily, he has not found much use in England since his return.

CHAPTER IX.

MISSIONARY METHODS.

On my arrival in Madras, on the 8th of January, 1838—now more than fifty years ago—my first work was, of course, to apply myself to the study of the vernacular of the district. After this, during the three years I resided in Madras, the only sphere of work I found open to me was amongst domestic servants; and though this might be considered a very humble sphere of work, I devoted myself to it with all my might, and learned from it my first lessons regarding Missionary methods. My plan was to make the congregation the centre round which all work revolved. I set myself, with the help of my native assistants, to invite individuals personally to attach themselves to the congregation, and as soon as any person was in this way brought under systematic Christian influences, I stirred him up to bring over his relatives and friends. In this way it was hoped that each soul that was gained would become a centre of light to other souls. The plan succeeded beyond expectation, and before I left Madras the congregation became too large for the building. The essentials of the plan—viz., the making the congregation the centre of all work, and endeavouring to make each convert a Missionary to his friends—were such as I have ever since acted upon in Tinnevely, and are such as might be safely acted upon in every part of the world.

I arrived in Tinnevely about the end of the year 1841, and from the moment of my arrival was resolved not to be content with pastoral work, such as ministering to Christian congregations, but set myself to the work which I believed was especially incumbent upon me as a Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—viz., the work of endeavouring to propagate the Gospel amongst those still living in heathen darkness. I found the majority of the inhabitants of Edeyengudi itself still heathens, and multitudes of heathens all around, besides multitudes upon multitudes within the distance of a few days' journey at most; and I found all these people willing to listen, if not

to learn, and especially willing to come to me when invited, and hear patiently what I had to say. The rudeness and violence occasionally met with by Missionaries in other parts of the country were here unknown. A wide door was thus open to me for Christian teaching and the exercise of Christian influences.

One object I had in view in building schools, as far as possible, in every village, was that I might not only instruct the children of the places, but that I might have a convenient place in each village which I could call my own, over which I had authority, to which I could invite people of the neighbourhood to come and listen at their leisure to my addresses, and receive such instruction as they were prepared for, with answers to their questions, and explanations of the difficulties they felt. This plan I always followed wherever I went, up to the last. Though I occasionally tried street preaching in the ordinary meaning of the term, I always felt more or less dissatisfied with this plan as abounding in interruptions and leading to frequent irreverence. Hence I was always glad to fall back on the plan of assembling the heathen of the place in a school-room or some convenient place where these evils could be avoided. Where I had a congregation, however small, I erected for them, or (as was always possible after a time) got them to erect for themselves, a place of worship, to be used either as a church alone, or as a church and school combined; and there after prayers with the Christians, and examination of the Scripture lessons they had learnt, I generally took my seat outside, when numbers of the heathens of the place would always come about, led doubtless partly by curiosity, and then, as elsewhere in school-rooms, I addressed the people assembled, as circumstances seemed to require, followed by addresses from our Christian teachers. On these occasions I was never content with lecturing to the people in an abstract, desultory way, without any definite aim, but always invited them to join the Christian congregation of the place, from which and from its ordinances they would receive the sympathy and help they needed to enable them to live to God. As I made it my duty to spend three days every week in the villages, this plan brought me into frequent contact with the people in their natural condition, and enabled me to acquire much useful knowledge as well as much local influence.

The results of my work amongst the heathen, though far from being equal to my wishes and aims, have been such as to give me much cause for thankfulness. The western portion of the district developed to such a degree that it was formed into a separate district, that of Radapuram, and this is now included in the Edeyengudy returns. The number of congregations in 1841 was fourteen. Now in 1888, the number of congregations, or of villages in which congregations large or small have been formed, including Radapuram, is one hundred and twenty-nine. The number of Christians, that is of persons under regular Christian instruction, in those villages, including Radapuram as before, and including catechumens, has risen during the same time from twelve hundred and one to eight thousand one hundred and sixty-seven. Radapuram has seventy-three congregations, and three thousand five hundred souls under Christian instruction. I was never contented with my own work alone amongst the heathen, nor even with working in conjunction with catechists; but set myself to stir up the Native Christians, including the new converts in each village, to work amongst their heathen neighbours, and to help them to form themselves into organised associations for evangelistic purposes. I made them promise to devote a specific time to this work—if possible, some portion of a day every week, and the associations were to send in their reports to me every month. This is done regularly in some districts; still I endeavoured to induce women as well as men to engage in this work, as I could not but know that in India, even amongst the poorest classes, men cannot visit women in their houses to speak to them freely alone; so that without the aid of Christian women, the women of India must remain outside the pale of Christian influences. It is on this account that in large towns, amongst women of the higher classes, the work done by zenana ladies is so necessary and valuable. I induced the Christian women engaged in voluntary evangelistic work to form themselves into associations, meeting regularly for prayer and consultation, and sending their reports to me from time to time.

I required every catechist, from the commencement of my work in the district, to devote a day a week to evangelistic work, and arranged that he should always invite a few of the members of his congregation to accompany him, that he might initiate them into the best way of carrying

on this work and prepare them for carrying it on afterward alone or in connection with the associations which began to be formed.

A few years after my arrival I found the people and agents sufficiently advanced to enable me to form amongst them an Evangelistic Association on a larger scale with wider aims. This was an association for evangelising the western portion of the district which was then almost wholly heathen. Funds were raised for this object among the people themselves and evangelists appointed, who were to work together on a definite plan, with a map of the district in their hands, and to come to Edeyengudi once a month to relate at a public meeting what they had said and done in each place, and to join in a special service with special prayers for the wisdom and strength, the patience, love, and zeal they so much required. This association was very popular, and received much better support than the Church Councils, which were afterwards established with the object of inducing the people to support their own agents themselves. The latter object appeared the more necessary if we were ever to have a self-supporting Native Church, but the former, the work of the Evangelistic Association, appealed more directly to the Christian sympathies of the people. I considered that this association was favoured with remarkable success, inasmuch as the district in which it worked became in time an important independent district under the name of the district of Radapuram.

I found in the district a few isolated congregations which had been formed by the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society in those parts of the district which were contiguous to Travancore, but those congregations were, after a time, generously made over to me by that society, so that the whole of the western division of the district came under one head and one administration. This new district was first placed under the care of the Rev. D. Samuel, a native of Edeyengudi, trained by myself, now a B.D. It is now under the care of four native pastors.

Evangelistic work amongst the heathen still goes on, and wherever I go I do what I can to stir up the native pastors, agents, and people to be more and more earnest and zealous in this important work. Last year at Edeyengudi during the three months' preparation of twenty-five

candidates for ordination, I sent them out two by two one day every week to gain experience in evangelisation, in the hope that the benefit of this part of their training would appear afterwards in the districts to which they might be appointed.

In 1876 I commenced and carried on for about a year a series of Evangelistic Missions in places inhabited by the so-called higher castes, who had not yet been induced to join the Christian Church by any of the agencies and influences hitherto at work. I wrote and printed five journals of my work in this department, giving the fullest particulars with regard to each place. I was anxious to try for myself the effect of endeavouring to make converts among that class, not by means of schools, but by means of direct preaching. I enlisted a band of competent, zealous assistants. The result, however, was that I found I was obliged to look, as before, almost entirely to teaching in Mission schools for direct fruit. I have had some experience in the work of converting myself, and have tried in succession every variety of method, but the remarkable fact remains that during the whole of my long Indian life I believe that not one educated high-caste Hindu has been converted to Christianity in this part of the country except directly or indirectly through the influence of Mission schools. Such converts may not be very numerous, I regret that they are not, but they are more numerous than has been supposed, and they are all that are. No other system can claim any conversions at all amongst persons of that class.

In 1881 when I made some inquiries on this point, I found that in the Noble School, in Masulipatam, they had had twenty-five high-caste converts, of whom sixteen were Brahmans, and that the number of converts of this class in Palamcottah was thirty-six, of whom three had relapsed. In this way we have had conversions in connection with all the Society for Propagating the Gospel schools in Tinnevely and Ramanad. The conversions in connection with the Society for Propagating the Gospel colleges and schools in Tinnevely number between forty and fifty.

The only place where my evangelistic work among the higher classes and castes bore direct fruit was a place called Alvar-Tiru-Nagari, a Brahmanical town with famous temple, where we had a flourishing Anglo-vernacu-

lar school, which at that time was under the care of a headmaster, who used every opportunity for filling the minds of his pupils and the young men of the place with Christian truth, and who had acquired much influence for good. The Brahmans of the place were so friendly that they allowed me to make use of the great entrance hall of the temple as a lecture-room. On one occasion, when the Rev. Luke Rivington gave an address in that place, there were more than two thousand Brahmans and high-caste people present, besides about two hundred Native Christians. After this address I devoted several days to more private addresses to inquiries, when fifteen or twenty pupils professed a desire to become Christians. They told me one evening that they had just then been holding a meeting for prayer by the riverside, when they had resolved to follow the example of Lydia, whose heart had been opened to receive the truth preached to her by St. Paul, in a similar place. Six of the young men referred to have been baptised, two of whom were baptised by Mr. Rivington, in a stream, during a subsequent visit. All these have remained steadfast, though one of them, the leader of the party, was removed by death some time after.

[All through the period of the great famine in 1877 and 1878, but especially during the period when famine relief was being distributed, the accessions from heathenism were very numerous. The number of souls in this way brought under Christian influence reached in all the large figure of nineteen thousand.] Of course the motives of persons who joined the Christian community during a period of famine would necessarily be open to some suspicion, but the fact remains that whatever their motives were at first, they were carefully instructed in Christian truth and duty, and that the great majority have remained steadfast to the present day. It was a very important consideration that we had the children of all those people under our care from the beginning to train up for God. Two classes of influences had been brought to bear upon them from the first,—one was the teaching they received from the evangelistic associations which had everywhere been formed, and the other was the impression produced in their minds by the wonderful kindness of the Christian people of England in sending such large sums of money for their relief in a time of extreme distress, when their Brahman priests had left them to die.

If our first work in any place was the endeavour to bring non-Christians into the Christian fold, our second, and not less important work, was that of instructing and training those new people in Christian doctrines and practices, so as to make them, if possible, Christians worthy of the name. Here the congregation was, as before explained, the basis and centre of our work. Generally each congregation was under the care of a catechist, but sometimes, if funds were deficient and the congregations were small and contiguous, one catechist would have the care of several congregations. There was an abbreviated service daily in every village in addition to a more fully developed service on Sundays. A speciality of the services was the reading of the Psalms for the day in alternate verses by all who were able to read, and the number of whom was continually increasing. After the Sunday service a Bible class or adult Sunday school was held, divided into two portions, one consisting of those who could read, and the other, a very necessary class at first, consisting of those who were unable to read and who had to be instructed orally. A portion of Scripture was always appointed to be committed to memory and repeated at those Bible classes, and appropriate lessons were appointed to be learnt by the others. I used to employ an inspecting catechist to visit each village in turn for the double purpose of examining the schools and examining the lessons the people of the congregation had learnt. Now that we are well supplied with native pastors this work is undertaken by the pastors themselves, who exhibit to me, from time to time, the returns of their work.

The most important part of the work of the district was the weekly meeting of the catechist and schoolmaster, attended afterwards by the native pastors also. At this meeting all who lived within six miles were expected to be present, coming in the morning, and returning to their villages in the evening, except once a month, when there were special services and when they stayed over the night. This meeting comprised two classes; a superior class, instructed by myself, and an inferior one, under the care of a catechist, or native minister. On these occasions, one portion of the work done was the exhibition of returns of work, with *vice versa* reports of any special event, including accessions, if there had been any. Another portion of the work was an exposition of some portion of Scripture, when

notes were taken of the principal points in the lecture. Another point was the composition of a sermon. The plan I adopted was to give out a text, and request five or six persons to go out for half an hour, and prepare themselves to preach extemporaneously on the text for five or eight minutes in the presence of the assembled body. After they had done this, I called upon those who had filled the position of hearers to make any remarks on the sermons they thought fit, and I then went over the sermon myself and made such amendments as seemed to be required. This final revision was written down at length by every person present, and thus a sermon appropriate to the people and the place was provided weekly for every congregation. We then concluded with a prayer, offered by some of the catechists in turn. One of the most important parts of our plan was the general annual examination of all our catechists, schoolmasters and mistresses, in the books of Scripture, and other subjects set them to study at these weekly meetings, with prizes for proficiency. At one time they were all assembled for this examination in one place from all parts of the country, but this was found rather inconvenient, so that, afterwards, we adopted the plan of examination by written questions and answers.

In addition to the ordinary instruction of the people in the congregations, we have always had special classes for special purposes. One class is for preparation for baptism, another for preparation for confirmation, and another for preparation for Holy Communion. The last class always precedes the celebration of Holy Communion, being held the evening before. To help forward the work of these classes, I have prepared in Tamil a series of elementary books. One is an elementary catechism, in very simple language, on the most essential Christian facts and doctrines for the use of candidates for baptism; another is a catechism on confirmation; another is a companion to the Holy Communion, containing instructions, meditations, and prayers, for use especially at the preparatory meetings.

I conclude with a brief reference to the means adopted for the promotion of self-support and self-government. This is by means of a Church Council established in every district, composed of members elected by each congregation, subordinate to a general council representing the division. This council has the control of the funds of the district,

and much administrative power, which it is learning to use wisely.

I trust that these miscellaneous notes on Missionary methods, though so exclusively local, will be found interesting by those who are engaged in similar work in other parts of India, or in other parts of the great field of the world.

CHAPTER X.

THE MOTIVES OF THE CATECHUMENS.

It appears to me to be a waste of time to ask ignorant semi-civilized heathen rustics by what motives they have been influenced in consenting to be taught Christianity. The women and children can generally have no motive whatever but that of obeying the wishes or following the lead of the head of the house; and as for the men, the motives by which they are influenced will generally be found to be either a feeble echo of the motives we have endeavoured to drive into their minds, or they are the natural outcome of the circumstances in which they are placed. I cannot imagine any person who has lived and worked amongst uneducated heathens in the rural districts believing them to be influenced by high motives in anything they do. If they place themselves under Christian instructions, the motive power is not theirs, but ours. They never heard of such things as high motives, and they cannot for a long time be made to comprehend what high motives mean. An inquiry into their motives, with the view of ascertaining whether they are spiritual or not, will seem to them like an inquiry into their acquaintance with Greek or Algebra. They will learn what good motives mean, I trust, in time,—and perhaps high motives too,—if they remain long enough under Christian teaching and discipline; but till they discard heathenism, with its debasing idolatries and superstitions, and place themselves under the wings of the Church, there is not the slightest chance, as it appears to me, of their motives becoming better than they are. We may perhaps think fit to say to them, on their expressing a wish to place themselves under our care, "No, we cannot receive you at present; go away, and if in four or five months time we find your motives more spiritual, we shall receive you then." But what will be the result? Their motives will be no better at the termination of four or five months than they were before; and we shall find no improvement if we wait for four or five years, or for four generations. The

only hope for them lies in their admission as soon as possible into Christ's school.

We do not care to inquire into the motives of children in coming to school, or those of their parents in sending them. All we care for is that when they come they shall learn. We do not care about the motives of the people who listen to our preaching in bazaars or the village streets, or who enter our churches and listen. We only hope that something that they hear may do them good. Why then should we be more particular about the motives of those mixed masses of people, including in many cases the inhabitants of entire villages, who come to us and say:—"We have perfect confidence in your wisdom and kindness, and are sure that what you teach us will be for our good. We promise to learn what you teach us, to do what you bid us, to refrain from doing what you tell us not to do. We want to listen to your teaching, not occasionally only, but systematically. We wish to join your religion, and we promise to attend divine service regularly in the little church in the village. Please then give orders to some catechist to take care of us and teach us regularly, and train up us and our children in your religion." It may be that only a small portion of these people will go on from one stage to another till they become Christians worthy of the name, but this will only be in accordance with what our Lord himself has told us, and what we have always found exemplified in fact, that "many are called, but few are chosen."

I think it our best plan as missionaries to follow the example of our Lord and his Apostles, who taught all that would listen to them, and would receive all into the Christian fold who were willing to enter it, though in our Lord's own little flock one turned out to be a "devil," and though multitudes of professed Christians in the times of the Apostles brought discredit on the Christian name. We have very little to do, I think, with the calculation of results. Our chief duty is to obey orders; and can any order be clearer than that which tells us "to preach the Gospel to every creature" and not merely to preach it as aimless teachers of opinions to casual passers-by, but with a view to those who hear us "believing and being baptized?" or that other order, the basis of all systematic, duly organized missionary work: "Make disciples of all nations

baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you?" This command makes it perfectly clear to me that the Church in all ages has acted rightly in endeavouring to make her ministrations universal, and her fold commensurate with humanity, leaving results to God, and that we shall not greatly err if we are content to follow in the Church's lines. I plead that our first duty is simply to believe God. As in morals, so here, we have first to believe, and afterwards what we believe will approve itself to our experience as true and right.

A word here with regard to names. We do not call these new people "inquirers," that name being appropriate only to a certain class of isolated individuals chiefly found in the cities. Besides, these people do not come to us to inquire whether the Christian religion is true or not. They take that for granted, and come to us to be taught all that Christianity implies. Nor do we call them by the new name of "adherents," for most of them do not adhere to congregations already in existence, but constitute new Christian communities. We call them in these parts still, as we have always called them, "persons who have placed themselves under Christian instruction;" and this name, though somewhat lengthy, implies all we mean. Especially it implies, what is the sheet-anchor of our system and of our hopes—the assembling of these people morning and evening in the village house of prayer to offer to God their prayers and praises, and to be instructed, line upon line, in his truth. It is a name that will hold good till they have earned by baptism a right to be called Christians. As for the name of "converts," we have abstained from giving these new people so dignified a name as that. I prefer reserving that name for persons who have been influenced exclusively by religious convictions, and who appear to have been converted, not only from heathenism to Christianity, but from the world to God.

I do not question the importance, in the case of those who place themselves under Christian instruction, of the motives by which they have been influenced. The character of those motives will, or may, influence their whole subsequent career. The only thing I question is the propriety of our refusing to receive people under instruction

in the first instance, or deferring their reception, and probably putting an end thereby to their wish to be received if on subjecting them to an examination we find that their motives are other than spiritual.

I have had occasion to observe on a considerable scale the result of two classes of unspiritual motives. And the comparatively unobjectionable character of one of those classes of motives will best appear when contrasted with the disadvantages arising from the other. A very common motive with the agricultural classes in the interior is the desire of protection from oppression. Doubtless there is much oppression in every heathen village. It has always been the custom that "they should take who have the power, and they should keep who can." Doubtless also it is very natural and reasonable that poor oppressed people, should desire protection. People in such circumstances have sometimes placed themselves under Christian instruction in the hope that in virtue of their connecting themselves with a "Mission,"—that is, in virtue of their becoming members of a rising community animated by a strong sectional feeling and under the guidance of European intelligence,—there will be some chance of their getting their wrongs redressed. I do not blame missionaries or mission agents for receiving under Christian instruction persons who come to them from such motives. They may help them in the object they have in view, or they may leave them to fight their own battles; but either way they cannot be blamed for seizing the opportunity presented to them of pouring a little light into their minds. But the subsequent course of such people is not always perfectly satisfactory. The motive that brought them into the fold oftentimes proves a bar to their moral improvement. The oppression they have endured is regarded in a totally different light by the party on the other side. It is represented by them as an attempt on the part of tenants-at-will to secure tenant-right, or of people who have a tenant-right to make themselves proprietors; and in its essence it is mainly a dispute about land, embittered by difference of caste. The dispute takes the shape of a lawsuit, and this lawsuit goes on with varying success for years, perhaps for a whole generation. The minds of the new Christians, therefore, are kept in a continual state of excitement about the progress of their litigation; and, what is worse, they are

apt to get steeped in feelings of animosity against their opponents, who are also their neighbours, and whom they ought to be endeavouring to convert.

The other motive of which we have heard so much of late is connected with the administration of famine relief. I need not repeat here the denial I have so often given to the assertion that we have bought people to the Christian fold at so much a head. The line the new people have invariably taken is: "You have proved yourselves our friends in an extremity. We received no help from our idols or demons. Vishnu's priests and Siva's passed by on the other side. You came to us like the good Samaritan of your religion. We therefore have no hesitation in following your advice. We are now your disciples. Teach us whatever you want us to know." Ordinarily their confession of faith would not go much further than this, and if any of their number went further and said: "We come to you as sinners seeking to know the way of salvation," a practised ear would speedily be able to recognize the orthodox formula that that person had learnt from a catechist. Now supposing people under the influence of such motives as this—not ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~distinctively~~ ^{distinctively} spiritual, certainly, but also not sordid—place themselves under Christian instruction, what is to hinder them from making progress in time in the Christian life? They have obtained a benefit, and the history of this benefit has taught them a lesson. God has not left himself without a witness in that he has done them good, filling their hearts with food and gladness, and in consequence they have become willing to turn from their vain idols to the living God. Nothing could be more natural: nothing could be more laudable as far as it goes. But there are two important particulars in which the operation of this motive places these new people in a much better position than many of the Christians that preceded them. 1. They entertain no animosity towards any one, nor is there any reason why they should. They are on the best possible terms with all their neighbours, whatever be their caste or position. It is no object of theirs to pull down any one, or to triumph over any one. There is no hindrance, therefore, in the way of their learning "the very bond of peace" and the greatest of all Christian virtues, charity. 2. Their neighbours entertain towards them no feelings of jealousy or suspicion. Nobody wants

to persecute them or drive them back from Christianity, because nobody has suffered any loss by their becoming Christians. The wealthy and poor around them alike think they have done perfectly right both in getting what help they could in their distress from the white men, and in attaching themselves to the faith of their benefactors. From a Hindu point of view it does not much matter what a man's religion is provided he is in some fashion religious. Looking, therefore, at the course of events from the point of view of a comparison of unspiritual motives,—high motives amongst the class of people referred to being in general out of the question,—this famine-relief motive seems to me one of the least objectionable that we can expect to find.

Let it be remembered that my remarks hitherto have related exclusively to the ignorant masses of the Indian agricultural population. Higher motives and a higher type of Christianity may be expected, and will be found, here and there, amongst educated converts to Christianity, especially amongst the young men that have been educated in our mission Anglo-vernacular schools. I must place also in a different category that increasing class of accessions to our congregations consisting of people who have been brought in by the members of our evangelistic association. Associations of this kind, reporting their work to me monthly, have been established in every district connected with the S. P. G. in Tinnevely, and had it not been for the labours of these associations leavening the minds of the masses beforehand, the lessons of famine relief would probably have produced but little effect. The people I refer to join the congregations without the expectation of any temporal benefit; what, then, is their motive? Their chief motive, I apprehend, is not their own, but must be credited to the account of those who bring them in. They have been spoken to so long, and invited so frequently, that they do not see why they should not yield at last. Everybody knows that it is a good religion. Besides, many of their relations have joined already, or are joining, and amongst Hindu rustics a movement of any kind carries great weight. They are not willing to lead, but they are ready to follow. It will be found that all Indian movements of any importance, whether towards Christianity or in any other direction, are gregarious.

It will not be out of place if I mention here the result of

my observations of the character of our recent accessions. I have been out on a tour in the Ramnad country and the northern part of Tinnevely for the last four months,—a tour which is not yet completed,—living most of the time in tents and passing leisurely from place to place. I have during this time visited 105 towns and villages where there were congregations, most of them new, and all of them containing new people. In each place I have questioned the people to ascertain their knowledge, and preached to them catechetically, besides speaking to their neighbours who still remained heathens. What then is the estimate I have formed? It is that in general I liked the new position better than the old. The new people seemed to me, as a rule, more intelligent, progressive, and promising. Besides, as a rule, there was a much larger proportion amongst them of what are called the better castes. I was particularly struck with the circumstance that the new people had already become in general as willing as the old, if not more willing, to form themselves into associations for the evangelization of their heathen neighbours.

CHAPTER XI.

TAMIL BIBLE AND PRAYER BOOK TRANSLATION AND REVISION WORK.

FIRST REVISION OF THE TAMIL PRAYER BOOK.

I ARRIVED in Tinnevely in November 1841. In 1842 shortly after my arrival I joined a Committee of Missionaries appointed by Bishop Spencer, then Bishop of Madras, for the Revision of the Tamil Prayer Book. The edition then in use had been prepared at the request of Bishop Heber by Dr. Rottler, S. P. G. Missionary in Vepery, Madras. Dr. Rottler, though a learned Tamilian, was a German, and therefore perhaps not perfectly acquainted with the idiom of the English Prayer Book or with ecclesiastical English. It was felt, therefore, as soon as a competent number of English Missionaries had commenced to work in the Tamil country that a revision should be set on foot. The Committee appointed included all the Missionaries then in Tinnevely. Of the C.M.S. Missionaries there were present John Thomas, George Pettitt, Paul Pacific Schafer, Stephen Hobbs, afterwards Archdeacon in the Diocese of Mauritius, John Devasagayam, an eminent native clergyman, commonly called Mr. John, and sometime after Edward Sargent, afterwards and now Bishop Sargent, also Dent, an East Indian. Of the S.P.G. Missionaries there were A. F. Cammerer, G. Y. Heyne, and R. Caldwell, afterwards and now Bishop Caldwell, who were joined in time by G. U. Pope, afterwards and now Dr. Pope. The most influential of the number in all ordinary affairs and discussions was John Thomas, who was also, I think, the oldest but the best Tamil scholar, and the principal reviser was George Pettitt, who has left his work in Tamil Christian literature as the author of some of our best Tamil hymns, especially the popular hymn the refrain of which is *nir vāṇa yēsuvē*. Thomas Brotherton of the S.P.G. was then in Tanjore and did not come to Tinnevely till long afterwards. We met once a month for three or four days at a time at the house of

each Missionary in succession, and the meetings were very useful and very pleasant. Every subject in which we were interested as Tamil Missionaries came up from time to time in conversation or in connection with our work, and was afterwards well ventilated in animated discussions. It was often remarked that many things besides the Tamil Prayer Book were revised at those meetings. Our work found general acceptance in the Tamil Church, but like everything else had to yield after a time to later ideas. A fuller revision was dictated in the next generation by the riper experience gained in the revision of the Tamil Bible, but of this I shall speak later on. This Revised Tamil Prayer Book was published in 1846.

REVISION OF THE TAMIL BIBLE.

This important work occupied eleven years, from April 1858 to April 1869. The work which was considered to be most urgently required and which was commenced first was the revision of the Tamil New Testament. A Tamil version of the New Testament was executed by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, the first Protestant Missionary to India with the help of Schulz and other Missionaries at Tranquebar during the first half of the last century, and about the close of that century this version was revised and to a considerable extent re-written by Fabricius, another eminent German Missionary. Another version was executed in Tinnevely by Rhenius, an eminent German Missionary connected with the Church Missionary Society. Neither Fabricius's version nor Rhenius's being in universal use among Tamil Christians, neither version had acquired among them that prescriptive reverence and authority which were conceded to the authorised English version wherever the English language is spoken, nor did there seem any prospect of either version being ever superseded by the other, inasmuch as Fabricius's version, though admitted by all to be very faithful to the original, was regarded by Tamil scholars in general as too frequently unidiomatical and obscure, whilst Rhenius's version, though generally written in clear idiomatic Tamil was regarded as too paraphrastic, as departing too frequently without sufficient warrant from the renderings adopted in the principal European versions, and as needlessly differing from Fabricius's forms of expression, even when

Fabricius's forms happened to be perfectly correct. A version was prepared about 1850 by the Rev. P. Percival and other Missionaries in Jaffna, Ceylon, and subsequently revised in Madras. The result was what was styled the "Tentative Version," which proved to be a very valuable contribution to the work of Tamil Biblical Revision. But as that version was regarded as not sufficiently combining the admitted excellences of Fabricius with those of Rhenius and as whatever were its other merits it was regarded as bearing too distinctly the marks of having proceeded from one mind and from one pen to be generally accepted in all parts of a country in which tastes and predilections are so diversified, it failed to receive that general acceptance which it was hoped it would have secured. Consequently it was regarded as but a "Tentative Version" still. The Romanists, who had evaded the necessity of publishing any portion of the Holy Scriptures in Tamil during the three hundred years in which they had been labouring in the Tamil country—though they could have availed themselves for this purpose of the services of Beschi, the most eminent European Tamil scholar who has ever lived, and who was a member of their own Society of Jesus published at length at Pondicherry in 1857 a translation of their own of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. This translation has been made of course from the Vulgate Latin, not from the original Greek, and were it is a good translation may be regarded as a reproduction of Fabricius, with a still more excessive zeal for literalness. It presents so curious a mixture of high and low Tamil, and the general character of the composition is so rugged and uncouth, differing herein from the classical elegance which generally characterizes the Tamil productions of the Romanists—that even the heads of the Roman community themselves need have very little fear lest this long delayed, reluctantly published translation of a portion of the Holy Scripture should be generally used by their people.

Taking all these circumstances into account, and considering the evils arising from the existence and use among Tamil Christians of a variety of versions, it was felt by all who were interested in the circulation and study of the Holy Scripture, in the success of Missionary labours in the Tamil country, and in the spiritual welfare of the Tamil people, that it was in the highest degree desirable to make another effort, on a well-considered, comprehen-

sive plan, to secure to the Tamil people the advantage of a version of the Holy Scriptures which should be worthy of being accepted by all and which should tend, if possible, to bind together all religious communities in the Tamil country by the bond of a common record and standard of the faith, expressed in a common speech.

The Madras Auxiliary Bible Society having adopted a resolution, in accordance with these views, that a new version should be prepared, combining, as far as possible, the merits of all preceding versions, a committee was appointed to devise a plan for carrying this resolution into effect. The committee resolved that the Rev. H. Bower, Missionary, S. P. G., should be appointed principal reviser, and that a delegate should be appointed by each Missionary Society labouring in the Tamil country to assist Mr. Bower in this important work. It was further arranged that after Mr. Bower had completed and printed a text revised by himself of some portion of the work, say the Gospels, and after the delegates should have examined his text privately, they should all assemble in one place, in conjunction with Mr. Bower, for the purpose of revising the whole again in conference. It was also agreed that half of Mr. Bower's salary, whilst he was engaged in this work, should be paid by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, of which he was a Missionary, and half by the Bible Society. All miscellaneous expenses, including the travelling expenses of the delegates, were to be met by the Bible Society.

THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF THE DELEGATES.

- Rev. F. Baylis, Travancore, Delegate of the London Missionary Society.
- " T. Brotherton, M.A., Tinnevely, Delegate of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
- × " A. Burgess, Madras, Delegate of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.
- " Ashton Dibb, Tinnevely, Delegate of the Church Missionary Society.
- × " J. Kilner, Jaffna, Ceylon, Wesleyan Missionary Society, Secretary to the Jaffna Auxiliary Bible Society.
- " C. S. Kohlhoff, Tanjore, Delegate of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

- 3 Rev. E. Sargent, Tinneyelly, Delegate of the Church Missionary Society.
- " J. W. Scudder, M.A., M.D., North Arcot, Delegate of the Mission of the American Dutch Reformed Church.
- " L. Spaulding, D.D., Jaffna, Ceylon, American Board of Missions, President of the Jaffna Auxiliary Bible Society.
- " W. Tracy, M.A., Madura, Delegate of the American Board of Missions.
- " H. Bower, Madras, Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Principal Revisor.
- " R. Caldwell, D.D., LL.D., Tinneyelly, Delegate of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Secretary to the Delegates.

I must not forget to mention the name of one who, though not a Delegate, was present at all our meetings as Tamil referee, Mr. Muttaiya Pillai, the Bible Society's Tamil Munshi, whose thorough knowledge of his language and his sound and ready judgment rendered him peculiarly fitted to help in such a work as this.

Of the Delegates whose names are here recorded, Mr. Bower was afterwards better known as Dr. Bower, Mr. Tracy as Dr. Tracy, Mr. Sargent and Dr. Caldwell as Bishop Sargent and Bishop Caldwell. Mr. Burgess and Mr. Kilner returned to England; whether they are now living or not I know not, but Mr. Baylis, Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Dibb, Mr. Spaulding, Dr. Tracy, Mr. Koldhoff, and Dr. Bower have been removed by death—seven out of twelve. Of the twelve delegates these two who were representatives of Jaffna, Dr. Spaulding and Mr. Kilner, were never able to attend any of the ordinary meetings, but came to Madras to take part in the final conference.

We regretted very much that the Leipzig Lutheran Missionaries never sent any representative to our meetings. They contented themselves with expressing in general terms their disapproval of the principles on which our work was carried on, at the same time adducing as reasons for their disapproval only such slight verbal or syllabic differences between Fabricius's version and ours as appeared to us in no way inconsistent with our regarding Fabricius as our basis, according to the rule laid down by the Bible Society's Committee and willingly adopted by us. Their criticisms were such as rendered it evident that nothing that deserved to be called a Revision would have given

them satisfaction, but that what they really required was that Fabricius should be regarded as the sacred Vulgate of the Tamil church, of which the publication of a corrected edition alone was admissible. Notwithstanding this, we carefully weighed the animadversions of the Lutheran Missionaries and adopted such of their suggestions as seemed to be reasonable. Indeed during the whole period of our work we were constantly on the look out for criticisms and suggestions, from whatever quarter they might proceed and whether friendly or unfriendly.

Each of the Delegates had his specialty, but this was found to be a great advantage, as it led to a more thorough examination and settlement of every difficulty than would otherwise have been possible. There were two whose specialties were of great service to us. Mr. Bower's specialty was the ready use he was able to make of the renderings adopted in all the other Indian versions to whatever family of languages they belonged, and Mr. Brotherton, who had Hebrew more completely at his fingers' ends than any other man I ever knew, and whom we used to call "the Rabbi," was always able, during our work on the Old Testament, to furnish us at once with the result of his previous study of the Lexicons and Concordances.

We had much reason to be thankful for the unbroken harmony which prevailed amongst us from first to last. Coming as we did from different Missions, from different parts of the Tamil country and bringing to the discussion of every subject different habits of thought, there never was the slightest discordance of feeling apparent among us during our long conferences, one of which lasted continuously for four months. Differences of opinion and taste there were, and ever will be, when men of independent judgment meet together to settle questions of language and style, but in no instance did any such difference pass beyond the limits of Christian courtesy and charity; and though every verse and sometimes every word presented some subject for discussion, it was evident that it was the desire of all that truth should prevail over individual opinion and that the Scriptures should speak not the language of any one man or any one party, but their own language, and that the questions before us should be discussed and settled not as questions of theology, but as questions of Hebrew or Greek criticism and Tamil idiom.

The first meeting of the Delegates did not take place till April 1861, three years after Mr. Bower had commenced his work. The time was occupied in the preparation and examination of a new text, embodying the suggestions of the various Delegates. The work advanced more rapidly as time went on. The first meeting of the Delegates commenced at Palameotta on the 29th of April 1861, and lasted exactly six weeks, during which time we worked nine hours a day. The portion then revised consisted of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. There were only three Delegates present, in addition to Mr. Bower himself, viz., Mr. Tracy, Mr. Sargent and Dr. Caldwell, and two years after the same Revisor, and two out of the three Delegates, Mr. Sargent and Dr. Caldwell, were permitted to meet together in the same place to finish the revision of the Tamil New Testament. Not only so, but notwithstanding the uncertainty of Indian life seven years afterwards the same persons met together in the same place to finish the revision of the Tamil Old Testament, a work which had subsequently been entered upon. The second meeting of the Delegates was held on the Pulney Hills at the place now known as Kodaikanal (a place where I am now writing these reminiscences) in July 1867. It commenced on the 18th of June 1863 and terminated on the 12th of August, during which period we worked nine and a half hours a day. The same Delegates who were present at our first meeting were present also at this meeting, and we were happy to welcome an additional number, Mr. Kohlhoff, the representative of the Tanjore Missionaries, was able to be present on this occasion, and as he had been accustomed to the use of Fabricius from his infancy we received from him much valuable help.

Mr. Bower now prepared and printed, for the private study of the Delegates, a revised text of certain selected portions of the Old Testament, including the Pentateuch and the Psalms, and as soon as the last portion of these books was in the hands of the Delegates, a meeting was convened and the whole subjected to a final revision. The first meeting for the revision of the Old Testament the third meeting which the Delegates had held, commenced at Courtallum in the district of Tinnevely on the 2nd of August 1866, and terminated at Palameotta on the 10th of November, comprising a period of three months and nine days. Seven hours a day were devoted to the work

for the first two months and a half and nine hours a day for the remainder of the time. The same four members who had met on the Pulney Hills were present, but we had the pleasure of welcoming four new members. These were Mr. Burgess, Dr. J. W. Scudder, Mr. Dibb and Mr. Brotherton. Mr. Baylis was unable to be present. After an interval of a year and seven months, occupied in study and preparation, the Delegates assembled again for their fourth and final meeting. This meeting commenced at Courtallum on the 24th of June, 1868, and terminated at Palameotta on the 23rd of October. The time occupied was exactly four months, during which period we worked regularly eight and a half hours a day. This completed the final revision not only of the Tamil Old Testament, but also of the entire Tamil Bible, after which nothing remained to be done, but to print and publish what had been prepared.

It was not without much inconvenience that so long a period of time as four months was devoted continuously to this work by persons who had many other duties of importance claiming their attention, but it was felt by all that this was a work of paramount importance, and that it was desirable that some little sacrifice of convenience should be made to enable us at once to bring it to a completion. The whole period occupied by the various meetings held by the Delegates extended to ten months and a half, seven months and nine days of which were expended on the Old Testament. This was irrespective of the time occupied during the intervals of the meetings in careful preparation. We cannot but regard it as a reason for much thankfulness that we were all preserved in health and strength throughout each of the meetings that were held, notwithstanding the length of time devoted to our work every day and the arduous nature of the work. This result we attributed partly to the regularity of our hours and the care with which our time was apportioned into periods of endurable length, but chiefly to the interesting character of the work itself and the healthy agreeable excitement incident to a continuous course of investigations, discussions and discoveries.

To us who were entrusted with the execution of this work it proved to be the most interesting task in which we had ever been engaged, and was also we trusted a source

of much profit and edification. In the course of a careful examination of the whole of the Original Text of Scripture, verse by verse, word by word, we could not fail to discover the existence of an element of which our Lord Himself recognized the existence when he repeatedly said—"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time—but I say unto you." But making allowance for the existence of this element, never had we felt so deeply impressed with the wisdom, the truthfulness, the beauty, the moral goodness—or to use a word which human philosophy knows not—the *spirituality* of these Divinely Inspired Scriptures, as we were during the eleven years of our work as Delegates, but especially during our meetings for conference. (Those of us who were present at all our meetings—(now alas! Bishop Sargent and myself alone) look back on each of them in succession as one of the brightest and happiest periods of our lives.) Our daily work brought us so directly in contact with the great things and the deep things of God that it was a source of continual refreshment to us and continual delight, and the brotherhood of feeling with which we were united turned our toil into a pleasure.

Our experience was like that which Bishop Horne so beautifully expressed in his preface to his book on the Psalms. So rapidly did the time always fly by that we ended each day's work with reluctance, and the only day we found to hang heavily on our hands was the last, when we felt that our work had come to an end, and that all that remained for us to do was to prepare to part.

Our meetings were always opened and closed with prayer to God for His enlightenment, guidance and blessing, and as the work which was committed to us was begun and continued in dependence upon His aid, so when it was completed we did not fail to offer it on the altar of His service in the hope that he would graciously accept it, make use of it for accomplishing the good purpose of His goodness and send His blessing with it to the Church and people of this land.

Thus far, at the close of the meeting in Palamcottah in 1868, our work appeared to be completed. Another conference, however, was held in April in the following year. Various unavoidable circumstances had prevented the Jaffna representatives from attending the meetings of

the Delegates, but it was felt that their wishes ought to be consulted and that it was in the highest degree desirable that their concurrence and co-operation should be secured. It was therefore at length agreed that before the printing of the Revised Text was commenced a special conference should be held between the representatives of the two Auxiliaries. Dr. Spaulding and Mr. Kilner were authorised to act in behalf of Ceylon, whilst Mr. Bower and Dr. Caldwell were authorised by the Continental Delegates to act in their behalf. The conference met in Madras on the 12th April 1869, and continued its deliberation till the 27th. Specimen portions of the Old Testament as well as of the New were read and considered. Every question of any importance that had arisen and almost every doubt, difficulty, or objection that had presented itself to Tamil scholars in Jaffna, with respect either to the choice of words or to the collocation of words, came up for discussion. It is but fair to both parties to state that no unreasonable demands were made on the one side and that no unreasonable resistance was offered on the other. It was found indeed that many of the emendations proposed by the representatives from Jaffna had already been anticipated by the Continental Delegates themselves at their last meeting. This conference being so satisfactorily concluded, the New Version then went forth on the work assigned to it in the Church and in the world with the hearty approval and with the best wishes and prayers of all the Protestant Missionary bodies in the Tamil country, with only one single exception, that of the Missionary body already referred to.

We could not venture to hope that this Tamil version of the Holy Scriptures would ever acquire in the estimation of the Tamil people and in its influence on the Tamil mind an equal place to that occupied amongst the English-speaking nations by our authorised English Version. If, however, it was felt in time that even that admirable version, like Luther's German Bible, needed revision, we should be prepared to find also a demand arising in time for another revision of the Tamil Bible, especially for the purpose of bringing it into accordance in some degree with the new English Revision. I trust, however, that this will not be attempted till the last of the Delegates appointed for the revision of the Tamil Bible has passed away.

Shortly after this work terminated, Mr. Bower received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Archbishop of Canterbury in recognition of the eminent services he had rendered to the Tamil Church. I deeply regret, however, to add that in 1886 it pleased God to remove him from his life of usefulness on earth. In losing him the Tamil country and the Tamil Church sustained what appears at present an irreparable loss.

Fuller details of this work will be found in a Report furnished by me to the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society and printed by them in a pamphlet shape, under the title of Revision of the Tamil Bible, in 1869.

SECOND REVISION OF THE TAMIL PRAYER BOOK.

This took place in 1872. It was held in Palamcottah for three months. Bishop Sargent was not present, he being then in England. The revisers present were Rev. Dr. Bower, the Principal Reviser Rev. D. Fenn, Rev. A. Dibb, the Rev. Dr. Caldwell. Native Revisers Rev. Joseph Cornelius and Rev. D. Samuel; Mr. Muttaiya Pillai was present as before as Tamil referee. It was printed by the Christian Knowledge Society in Madras; the Rev. Dr. Kennet was at that time Secretary. The last edition contains the form of prayer for the Queen's Accession, used at the Jubilee Services.

CHAPTER XII.

COMPOSITION OF BOOKS.

From the time of my arrival in India, but especially from the time of my arrival in Tinnevely, I set myself to the study of Indian Philology, Ethnology and History. I procured the best books that were attainable and learnt German that I might be able to make use of the vast stores of Indian learning accumulated by German scholars. After learning the German Grammar, the first book I applied myself to was one of the most cyclopedic that even German Scholars have produced, viz., Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, and on each occasion when I visited England I carefully examined every book I found in the British Museum pertaining to Indian archaeology. Amongst other things I made it a point of examining every reference to India to be found in the Greek and Roman classics and geographers from Herodotus down to the Byzantine writers. It was my chief aim to be perfectly accurate, and no one who has not made trial of it can realise the amount of labour and care involved in the endeavour to secure perfect accuracy in philological, ethnological and historical statements. The information I procured was noted down then and there in full memoranda and then was worked up from time to time afterwards as I found opportunity. This was especially the case during my first long voyage to England round the Cape when I applied myself to this work daily (Sundays excepted) for four months for six hours a day. In India also whilst engaged in my work as a Missionary, especially when in the villages I generally found it possible by economizing my time to devote two hours a day to literary work without interfering with the Missionary work or pastoral work especially incumbent upon me. At places where I went for my health in the hot season I was generally able to devote six hours a day to book work. The whole of my Mission History of Tinnevely was written one year during my residence on the Ashambu Hills. I have always been of opinion that every Missionary in addition to the studies and work pertaining to his

office should have some subsidiary study or pursuit connecting him with the country he lived in and the people amongst whom he lived, such as would prevent him from growing narrow in his sympathies and sinking into the condition of a mere professional cleric. Of course he must always be careful to avoid the opposite danger of subordinating his proper work to that which is only subsidiary and becoming more of a scholar than a labourer in the missionary field.

BOOKS.

I. My first and longest work was entitled "A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages." The first edition of this book was brought out in 1856, the second in 1875. The second edition published by Trübner and Co. was carefully revised and much, perhaps too much, enlarged, so that it has become too expensive for natives to purchase. It contains, including Introduction and Appendix, 608 closely printed octavo pages. The Introduction contains 154 pages, the Appendix 96. It would have been well perhaps if the Introduction had been printed in a separate volume, as it contains much matter more likely to be interesting to the general reader than the purely grammatical chapters, though the latter will prove interesting and useful to students of the Dravidian languages. In the Introduction I explain the origin and meaning of the common term "Dravidian," which I was the first to use, instead of the narrower term "Tamulian," and which has now found its place in all works on the Indian Languages. I then give an enumeration of the various languages which I styled Dravidian, cultivated and uncultivated, with their principal characteristics, and place on record the earliest written relics of the Dravidian languages in Greek and the literatures of other foreign nations. I then proceed to inquire into the history of Dravidian civilization and the relative antiquity of Dravidian literature and the characteristics of Dravidian poetry. The grammatical portion of the book is divided into seven sections, viz., Sounds, Roots, the Noun, the Numerals, the Pronoun, the Verb, glossarial affinities. The Appendix dealt chiefly with ethnological questions, such as the Dravidian Physical type, and the ancient religion of the Dravidians. I

derived much help in almost every part of this work from the notes kindly furnished me by the Rev. Dr. Gundert, of the Basel Mission. This Comparative Grammar of the South-Indian languages has been followed by a Comparative Grammar of North-Indian languages by Mr. Beames, C.S., styled by him the Modern Aryan Languages of India. Another Comparative Grammar of great value appeared in 1862, Dr. Bleek's Comparative Grammar of the South African languages. The Natives of India have always shown a great liking for grammatical studies, but they confined themselves to the study of the grammars of their own languages without any attempt at comparing their own languages with others. Their philology not being comparative has remained unscientific and unprogressive. What the natives have gained in acuteness they have lost in breadth, and one of the chief objects I had in view in bringing out the work was to point out to them how this defect might be supplied.

II. My second book was entitled "A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevely, from the earliest period to its cession to the English Government in A.D. 1801." This book though professedly local in its scope contains some information about each of the dynasties of Southern India, and has been read with more interest both by Europeans, and by Natives than my Comparative Grammar. The collections of the materials required for this work occupied me many years, including the examination of local inscriptions and of books contained in the British Museum, as also the examination of all the records of the Madras Government pertaining to the periods embraced in my history. After the materials had been collected, I set about working up all the information I had obtained into a collected shape, and in 1881 the book was published by the Madras Government. They not only published the book at the public expense, but gave me for it unsolicited an honorarium of Rs. 1,000. It contains ten chapters. The 1st, information from without respecting the earliest period of Tinnevely History. 2nd, from the commencement of the rule of the Pandyas to the period of the supremacy of the Vijayanagara kings. 3rd, the period of the second dynasty of the Pandyas and of the Nayakas. 4th and 5th, the period of the Nawab of Arcot. 6th, Tinnevely Annals from 1761 to 1799. 7th and 8th, Poligar wars. 9th, the last Poligar war and Cession of the Carnatic

to the English Government. 10th, Missions in Tinnevelly prior to the cession of the country to the English in 1801. Part I, Roman Catholic Missions. Part II., Missions of the Church of England.

This was followed by several Appendices:—I. Relations between Tinnevelly and Travancore. II. Floods and pestilential fever. III. Tinnevelly Native authors. IV. Sepulchral urns in Tinnevelly. V. Explorations at Korkai and Kayal. The book contained 300 pages.

III. My third book was prepared simultaneously with my second and was published in the same year 1881. It was a Mission History and entitled "Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." It contained 356 pages and was published at their own risk by Messrs. Higginbotham & Co., of Madras. The object I had in view was the arrangement and publication of all those records and facts which seemed to throw light upon the early history of the Tinnevelly Mission, with explanatory remarks where they seemed to be necessary. The larger number of those records consisted of manuscript letters in English and Tamil, sought out and for the first time made public by myself. The records and notices I have collected are arranged consecutively in connection with the periods to which they belong, each period denoting not so much a definite portion of time, as an era in the history of the Mission—a stage in its progress towards its present state, so distinct in its character as to require to be treated separately. Chapter I. deals with Swartz and his life, especially from the first notice of Tinnevelly contained in his journals in A.D. 1771 till the arrival of Jaeniche in Palamcottah in 1791. This chapter includes the first Mission Register, giving the names of all the members of the Palamcottah congregation in 1780, then the only one in Tinnevelly, the number of members being then only 40. Chapter II, Jaeniche's labours. Chapter III, the period of the baptism of the inhabitants of many villages by Gericke and others. Chapter IV, Rengeltaube's period, with all that is known of his life. Chapter V, "The dark period." Chapter VI, Hough's labours in Tinnevelly. Chapter VII, Transference of the Missions from the Christian Knowledge Society to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Chapters VIII, IX, and X, Periods of the labours of Rosen, Irion and Cammerer, till the author's arrival in Tinnevelly in 1841. "The Stones of Zion."

The Appendix contains 1st, A paper read by me at the first centenary of the Tinnevelly Mission held in Palamcottah in 1880. 2nd, The Instructions issued by the Christian Knowledge Society to their Indian Missionaries in 1735. 3rd, The Instructions issued in 1706 to their Missionaries by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

LECTURES, PAMPHLETS AND SERMONS.

1. Lectures on the Tinnevelly Mission, London, Bell and Co., 1857. Three Lectures descriptive of the Field, the Work and the Results with an Introductory Lecture on the Progress of Christianity in India.

2. The Tinnevelly Shanars, Madras, 1849. London, 1850. (Withdrawn from Circulation.)

3. Tinnevelly and the Tinnevelly Mission. A Lecture delivered before the Native Christian Literary Society, Madras, May 13, 1869.

4. The Three Way Marks. A Lecture addressed to Hindus, being a translation from a Tamil Lecture by the author, published by the Christian Vernacular Education Society, Madras, 1860, pp. 60.

5. Account of the Governor's Visit to Palamcottah in 1862.

6. Remarks on the Honourable Sadagopa Charlu's Pamphlet, entitled "Theosophy of the Hindoos," published by Dr. Murdoch, Secretary of the C. V. E. S., Madras, 1863.

7. The Inner Citadel of Religion, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, pp. 32.

8. Christianity and Hinduism, Four Lectures, pp. 63.

9. On Reserve in Communicating Religious Instruction to Non-Christians in Mission Schools in India, pp. 196, Madras, 1881. C. R. S. Press.

10. Address delivered to the Graduates at the Convocation of the University of Madras, 1879.

11. On the Kudumi, printed at Madras 1867. Times Office.
12. The Mass disowned by the Missal, Madras, 1867. Times Office.
13. Revision of the Tamil Bible. Report of the Proceedings of the Delegates. Presented to the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society. April 1869.
14. On the use of Roman Characters for Indian Languages; Journal of the Madras Literary Society.
15. The Languages of India in their relation to Missionary Works. An address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the S. P. G. in 1875.
16. On the Demonolatry in Southern India. A paper published by the Ethnological Society of Bombay, 1887.
17. Journals of Evangelistic Work amongst Natives of the Higher Castes and Classes in 1876, 1877, and 1878. Four Journals.
18. Annual Letters to the Bishop of Madras. Five letters from 1877 to 1882. The first appeared in the M. D. C. Annual Report for 1877-78.
19. Paper read at the Madras Diocesan Conference.
20. Reply to Fr. Atteridge's attack on Tinnevely Missions.

SERMONS.

1. Ordination Sermon at Ootacamund, June 15th, 1851. On the Unsearchable Riches of Christ, Eph. iii. 8.
2. Sermon preached at Ootacamund on the Jubilee of the S. P. G., 1852. The World by Wisdom knew not God, 1 Cor. i. 22.
3. Ordination Sermon at Palamcottah on the 20th December 1862. On the wisdom that is from above, St. James iii. 17.
4. Sermon at Palamcottah October 21st, 1866. On Christianity in India and Indian Christians, Rom. i. 16.

TAMIL.

1. Sermon preached at the opening of St. Mark's Church, Christianagram, on the 25th January 1849. The

- Spiritual Temple, 2 Cor. vi. 16. Printed at Palamcottah, 1849.
2. Companion to the Holy Communion (Dyānamālai), 5th Edition, published by the S. P. C. K., Madras, pp. 152.
 3. Elementary Catechism. By S. P. C. K., Madras, 3 Editions.
 4. Rudimentary Catechism on Confirmation, Palamcottah, 1887.
 5. Translation of Service for the Dedication of Churches.
 6. Service for the Queen's Accession.
 7. Form for the reception of Catechumens.
 8. Form for Palmyra Climber's Service.

In conjunction with Bishop Sargent I revised the Tamil Hymn Book and re-arranged it for Church of England use. I inserted in it also a few translations of special English Hymns, among which are "The Church's One Foundation," "Hark the Herald Angels sing," two Easter Hymns, "Holy, Holy, Holy," a translation of the first portion of the 103rd Psalm, and "The voice that breathed o'er Eden."

APPENDIX.

I add here by way of Appendix a *résumé* of the principal events of this history read by me at the First Centenary of the Tinnevely Mission, held in Palamcottah on the 21st January 1880. The comparative statistics at the end of the paper will have a special interest of their own.

First Centenary of the Tinnevely Missions.

On Wednesday, January 20th, 1880, the Centenary of the introduction of Christianity into Tinnevely was celebrated at Palamcottah. The occasion was one of supreme interest to the Native Church, and to all supporters of Mission work. The proceedings of the day commenced with the administration of the Holy Communion in the Mission Church at 7 A.M. The Bishop of Madras was celebrant, assisted by Bishops Caldwell and Sargent, and two Native Chaplains. An appropriate sermon, on St. John xvii. 4, was preached by the Rev. S. Murley, the Domestic Chaplain. All the European Missionaries, and

most of the Native clergy connected with both the S. P. G. and C. M. S., were present. At 11 A.M. the "Centenary" meeting was held. The Bishop of Madras presided. On his right hand was Bishop Caldwell, on his left Bishop Sargent. The Church was filled with Native Christians—a great number of them leading men—from all parts of the province. The ladies of the Zenana Mission, and other friends interested in Mission work, were also present. A hymn having been sung, and a prayer offered, the Bishop of Madras, in a short speech, referred to the surpassing interest of the occasion, dwelling on the foundation and development of the Christian Church in general, and mentioning in particular the progress of the Church in Tinnevely during the first century of its existence. By some, that progress might be regarded as unreasonably and unaccountably small. But God's ways are not as man's ways—and what now, through our ignorance, we are unable to comprehend, will be abundantly clear in the light of eternity. In the Providence of God, our eyes behold results which are truly marvellous. And these call for our highest praise and thanksgiving. An interesting historical summary of the progress of Christianity in Tinnevely, from the plan of Bishop Caldwell, was then read, first by himself in English, and afterwards by the Rev. D. Samuel of Edavengudi in Tamil. The Rev. V. Vēdanāyagam of Vāgākulam then made a brief speech, in which he dwelt on the fact that the two great Societies carrying on Mission work in Tinnevely were one in the great object they had in view, and stated that he himself brought up at Edavengudi, and now labouring in the C. M. S., was an illustration of the mutual help the Societies were to each other. A speech from Bishop Sargent came next, in which he made touching allusion to the long period that Bishop Caldwell and he had been permitted to labour side by side in the work of consolidating and extending the Native Church. The Bishop of Madras then pronounced the benediction, which concluded the proceedings of this interesting meeting.

CHAPTER XIII.

FIRST CENTENARY OF THE TINNEVELLY MISSION.

PAPER READ BY BISHOP CALDWELL, 20TH JANUARY, 1880.

WE celebrate this year the centenary of the establishment of the Tinnevely Mission. Its beginnings were small, and for a long period it made but little progress, though in later times it has risen to the first rank amongst Indian Missions. It was in 1780 that the Mission first took an organised shape by the formation in Palamcottah of a small congregation. The founder of the Missions was Swartz, the most memorable name in the history of South Indian Stations, Swartz's earliest station, after some preliminary labour at Tranquebar, was Trichinopoly, and it was whilst he was connected with that station that he began to take an interest in Tinnevely. The first notice of Palamcottah in Swartz's journals was in 1771, when the nucleus of a congregation was formed by the baptism of a young heathen accountant by a Christian Serjeant, without waiting for Swartz's approval. Swartz visited Palamcottah for the first time in 1778, when he baptised a Brahmin widow called Clorinda, by whom afterwards a little church in the fort was built, the first church erected in connection with the Tinnevely Mission. A document of great interest has been preserved in connection with 1780. It is the first Tinnevely Church Register containing the names of the members of the congregation in Palamcottah. I found this register many years ago in Tanjore. The congregation in Palamcottah was then the only one in Tinnevely, and the number of members enrolled in it was 40. When we look around us now, although we see much that still remains to be done, especially amongst the higher classes, have we not much reason to thank God and take courage? The caste and condition of 18 persons included in this list of 40 are not mentioned, but we know that the remaining 22 belonged to 13 different castes. Nothing could more strikingly illus-

trate the infantile condition of the Mission at that time. It gathered but "one of a city and two of a family" into the Good Shepherd's fold. It is natural that many of those persons of whom nothing is known but their names should sometimes be regarded now as mere waifs and strays. But there was one family at least, consisting of six souls, of whom this could not be said. They were Vellâlas. The father, one Dêrasabâyam, is described as a poet, and amongst his children there was a son called Vêdanâyagam, who became a much more celebrated poet than his father. This was the Tanjore poet, Vêdanâyaga Sâstriyâr, who left Tinnevely for Tanjore when twelve years of age, and who during his long life enriched Tamil Christian literature with a multitude of poetical compositions. Many of his lyrics are still sung in our churches, especially on festival occasions, and they are still more frequently sung at marriages and prayer meetings.

In 1785, Swartz dedicated the little church in Palamcottâ to the worship of God. From this time the congregation gradually increased. An able catechist called Satyanâthan, afterwards ordained, was appointed to the new station, by whom several congregations were established in places in the country, and at length Swartz considered it desirable that a European Missionary should be appointed. This was done in 1791, when Jaenické came to reside here, and was so much struck with the prospects of usefulness that presented themselves on every hand that he uttered the remarkable prediction, "There is every reason to hope that at a future period Christianity will prevail in the Tinnevely country." Jaenické suffered so much from hill fever that he was never able to stay long in Palamcottâ at a time. He died in 1800 at Tanjore, but before he died—in 1797—that movement commenced amongst the Shanars in the neighbourhood of what is now the village of Madatur, which afterwards extended through the country and has produced such remarkable results.

In the first years of the century Tinnevely was visited by Gericke, perhaps the most eminent of Swartz's successors, when the movement towards Christianity amongst the Shanars in the villages in the South-East assumed remarkable dimensions. Gericke himself seems to have baptised 1,300 souls in the course of his tour, and Satya-

nathan baptised twice that number before the end of 1802. Kohlhoff visited the district in 1803. From 1806 till 1809 the Mission was under the management of a Missionary of the London Missionary Society called Ringeltaube, who generally resided in Palamcottâ, and who at the same time founded the Mission in Travancore.

1811 was a disastrous year for Tinnevely and the Tinnevely Mission. The district was devastated by a pestilential fever, owing to long continued unseasonable rain. The new Christians baptised by Gericke and Satyanâthan having been left without due pastoral care, a considerable portion of them, at least a third, were driven back by their fears to the worship of their ancient demons.

The first visit of a Bishop to Tinnevely was in March 1816, when Bishop Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta, visited Palamcottâ. He was only like a bird of passage on his way from Madras *via* Cochin to Bombay; still his visit formed an epoch in the history of the Mission. At his last stage before reaching Palamcottâ he received three deputations. One was as usual from the native officials of the neighbourhood, another was from thirty or forty Brahmans from the Tinnevely temple, representing to him that the allowances they received from Government for their temple services were so small that they and their religion were in danger of being starved, and requesting the Bishop to intercede with Government in their behalf! The next deputation was one which the Bishop received with much pleasure. It was from thirty representatives of the Native Christian community in Tinnevely and especially in Palamcottâ, headed by their Native Pastor. The Bishop's wife acted as interpreter, and this writer was a son of Satyanâthan, whose converts most of those people were. The Bishop remembered that before he came to India he had read a sermon by the same Satyanâthan, published in the Proceedings of the Christian Knowledge Society. In Palamcottâ the Bishop visited the school and the little Mission Church in the fort. The English service was held in the house of the Collector. A few days afterwards, on passing through the Aramboly Pass, he received a deputation from the Christians belonging to Ringeltaube's Mission in Travancore, who were then said to number 800 souls.

Mr. Hough, the author of the History of Christianity in

India—then recently appointed a Chaplain on the Madras establishment—reached Palamcottah towards the end of the same year 1816, and his labours mark an epoch in the history of Tinnevely Christianity of the highest importance. He must be regarded as the second father of the Tinnevely Mission. The land on which this building stands was originally purchased by Mr. Hough. The Mission-house now inhabited by Bishop Sargent was originally his house, but he succeeded in purchasing a piece of land adjoining it, on which he erected two schools, one English, the other Tamil.

In 1817, at the request of the Madras Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society, Mr. Hough visited all the stations of the Society in the rural districts. His account appeared in the only report ever published by that Committee, a very interesting report, of which Mr. Hough's communication was the most interesting part. This account did more than anything else to awaken an interest in Tinnevely. Indirectly it led to the establishment in Tinnevely of the C. M. S. Mission, in the person of Rhenius—in 1820, and ultimately to the resuscitation of the old Mission in 1829—or rather in 1835, in the person of Rosen. Rosen, like Rhenius, was in Lutheran orders. Rhenius came at first to assist Hough. In reality, however, he succeeded him in his work, for Hough left in March, shortly after Rhenius's arrival.

The two Missions were Hough's two children, the older and younger, and Swartz's two grand-children. Hough seems to have crossed his hands, like Jacob, in giving his parting blessing to his two children, for the younger outstripped the elder. From 1820 the Church Missionary Society's Mission was never without a supply of European Missionaries, whereas the succession of the missionaries of the S. P. G. dates only from 1835. Since then each of the Societies has pursued its course independently of the other. The lines have been different, but almost parallel, certainly not antagonistic, and it may be permitted to an old Missionary of the older Society to hope that that older Society is not now so much behind the younger as it was at one time. Till lately two-thirds of all the Christianity and Christian Agency in Tinnevely belonged to C. M. S. and only one-third to S. P. G. At present the difference, it will be seen, is not by any means so great. May God

bless both the Societies and make each of them, like each of Jacob's two grandsons, the father of a multitude!

The following is a summary of the statistics of the two Societies as made up to the 30th June 1879. The S. P. G. statistics include Ramnad:—

	No. of villages occupied.	No. of Native Ministers.	Baptised.	Unbaptised.	Total of baptised and unbaptised.	Communicants.	Contribution from Native Christians.		
							RS.	A.	P.
C. M. S. ...	575	58	34,484	19,052	53,536	8,378	24,498	3	5
S. P. G. ...	631	31	24,719	19,350	44,069	4,587	13,056	13	2
Total ...	1,506	89	59,203	38,402	97,605	13,205	37,555	0	7

Who could have predicted in 1780 that such an assembly as this would take place here this day? There was then no Bishop of Madras, and if there had been, the only clergyman of the Church of England he would have had in his diocese would have been the one Chaplain of Fort St. George. The only Missionaries in the country at that time were in Lutheran Orders. He would have needed no assistants in Tinnevely, like Bishop Sargent and myself, to help him to superintend the one congregation then in existence in Tinnevely, comprising forty souls. There would have been no European Missionaries of either of our two Societies present, for the C. M. S. had not then come into existence, and the S. P. G. had not then extended its operations to India. Its work was carried on by the Christian Knowledge Society. There would have been no Native Clergy present, and probably only one Native Agent.

Who can predict what the state of things will be in Tinnevely in 1980? If in the first 100 years of the History of the Tinnevely Mission it has grown from 40 souls to 50,203—to give the number of the baptised alone—by the end of the second 100 years nearly the whole of Tinnevely should be converted to Christ. It is useless, however, to

attempt to predict what may or not be witnessed here in so far distant a future as 1980. The future is in God's hands, but hitherto we have always found that the future takes its rise out of the past. The past, the present, and the future are under the government of one and the same Divine Ruler. All power is given to our blessed Saviour in heaven and in earth, and in sending his disciples to all lands he has promised to be with them always to the end of the world.

CHAPTER XIV.

DEDICATION OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, EDEYENGUDI.

This took place on the 6th of July 1880; the foundation stone was laid by me 33 years before. The church is in the style called Decorated Gothic, the chief beauty of which consists in the windows. The great east and west windows are of extreme beauty. Each of the pillars in the nave is formed of a single stone. All the windows, including their beautiful tracery, were modelled by myself in clay in full size, and then exactly copied in the white stone of the neighbourhood by the native workmen of the adjacent villages under my constant inspection. The gothic wood-work of the roof was in the same manner moulded by myself in clay and then copied by the carpenters. A very large number of visitors, Europeans and Natives, came to join in the services at the Dedication from all parts of Tinnevely and some even from Travancore. At 11-30 the service commenced by a procession which started from my house, headed by 50 boys of the choir, holding banners and singing native lyrics, then followed the long line of clergy (35 Native clergymen and 5 Europeans), and last of all Bishop Sargent and myself. The church was crammed from end to end, and the number of persons outside who could not gain admittance was estimated to amount to 5,000, of whom about 2,000 were Hindus. The number of communicants was 680. The order of Dedication was that adopted by the Bishop of Madras for use in his Diocese. The sermon was preached by Bishop Sargent, who took the opportunity of mentioning the interesting fact that forty-five years ago that day he first came to Palameotta, and a few months afterwards visited a C. M. S. village in this neighbourhood, after which in the evening he passed through Edeyengudi, which then contained only a few families of Christians. The special hymn sung on the occasion was a translation into Tamil of "The Church's One Foundation," made by myself for the occasion. The aid given by friends in India and England is especially deserving of record. It is not too much to say that had it not

been for the generous help rendered by friends, especially by Mrs. Gellibrand of Albys, Essex, and the Rev. Philip Ray, Greensted, Essex, the church might never have been completed. When Lord Napier saw the great eastern window, then set up on view in a finished state under a shed, he immediately gave 500 rupees towards it, which was what I estimated as the amount it would cost. A peal of four excellent bells, the gift of a member of my family, has been set up in the tower. The beautiful font is the gift of Mr. Robert Taylor of the Indian Financial Service. A full account of these Proceedings and of the special meeting which followed will be found in my Annual Letter to the Bishop of Madras for 1880-81.

Since then a large beautiful church has been built at Mudalur by the Rev. H. B. Norman, and another still more beautiful by the Rev. J. A. Sharrock at Sawyerpuram, the former in completion of the church erected in the same place by Mr. Heyne, the latter in completion of the church commenced by Bishop Huxtable 33 years ago.

CHAPTER XV.

CONSECRATION AS BISHOP.

It had long been felt that Tinnevely ought to have a Bishop of its own, but there were two difficulties in the way. One was that the Letters Patent of the Bishop of Madras gave him authority over Tinnevely as over the rest of the Presidency of Madras, according to the boundaries of the Presidencies then recognized, in consequence of which no person but the Bishop of Madras himself could have any territorial jurisdiction within those limits, and it was believed that no change could be made in this arrangement without the authority of an Act of Parliament. The other difficulty was that it was supposed to be necessary that there should be two Bishops in Tinnevely, one having the supervision of the Missions of the S. P. G., the other supervision over the Missions of the C. M. S. These difficulties were never removed, but they were in part neutralised or modified by the arrangement made that the two Bishops consecrated should be simply Assistants to the Bishop of Madras, without independent jurisdiction of any kind and possessed only of such authority as he thought fit to give them. I was far from thinking this arrangement satisfactory, but it seemed the best that was possible at the time, but the Bishop of Madras has been always so kind and considerate and so anxious to give me as much freedom of action as possible that I have never felt my ecclesiastical subordination to him as a burden. What I have felt, not only as a burden but as a galling yoke, is my subjection to the Madras Committee S.P.G., a committee consisting partly of laymen and partly of chaplains who happen to reside in Madras, and who show as little regard for my feelings and wishes as if I were a Native Catechist. I trust that we shall soon see the last of this most unecclesiastical arrangement and that the system of Diocesan Representative Councils set on foot in Calcutta will soon be introduced instead.

Bishop Sargent and myself were invited to Calcutta for our consecration to the Episcopal office. The consecration took place on the 11th of March 1877, in the Cathedral at

Calcutta. The consecrating Bishops were the Bishop of Calcutta as Metropolitan, the Bishop of Madras, the Bishop of Bombay and the Bishop of Colombo. Their names are Edward Ralph Johnson, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta, Frederic Gell, D.D., Bishop of Madras, Louis George Mylne, D.D., Bishop of Bombay, and Reginald S. Coplestone, D.D., Bishop of Colombo. I trust it may please God that I shall never forget the solemn services of that day, the most eventful day in my life, but may constantly endeavour to stir up the gift of God which was conferred upon me by the laying on of hands, especially striving to exhibit more and more of the spirit, not of fear but of power, and of love and of a sound mind, gifts which of necessity in every minister of Christ are especially necessary in a Bishop.

A few days after my consecration I set out with Dr. (now Bishop) Strachan on a visit to the great cities of the North West, intending to return to Tinnevely by sea from Bombay. In the course of this most interesting tour we visited Benares, Jounpore, Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Agra, Fatehpore—Sikri, Jaipur and Allahabad, and I utilized the tour by laying up a stock of information to be used afterwards (as I succeeded in doing occasionally) in lectures to natives. At Delhi I stayed over Good Friday and Easter, and had the pleasure of seeing the great work that was being carried on there by Mr. and Mrs. Winter. At Bombay I found a Tamil Church, where I took the services on Sunday. Dr. Strachan had to leave for Madras, but I stayed on for some time longer visiting Poona and Elephanta. From Bombay I set out in a B. and I. steamer for Tuticorin. Arriving in Tuticorin on April 1877, I was received by a large number of persons, Europeans and Natives, who had known me for so many years as a Missionary and amongst whom I had now come as Bishop, the first Bishop they had known who was able to speak to them in Tamil.

On my arrival in Tinnevely, I found myself in the midst of the great famine of 1877, and immediately set myself to endeavour to obtain help, especially from England, for the relief of the sufferers, and joined with the various committees that were instituted for the distribution of the funds collected.

In February 1883 I again visited Calcutta to attend a conference of the Bishops of India and Ceylon, presided

over by the Metropolitan. This conference was attended by nine Bishops, three of whom had been recently consecrated, viz., Bishop French, Bishop of Lahore, Bishop Speechly, Bishop of Travancore and Cochin, and Bishop Strachan, Bishop of Rangoon. The proceedings were printed, including a pastoral letter to all the inhabitants of India, Christians and Non-Christians. Soon after that I paid a visit to England, mainly in the hope of obtaining greater freedom for Tinnevely.

Since then all the work I have done in Tinnevely, especially in Confirmations and Ordinations, will be found in the Annual Letters I commenced to write to the Bishop of Madras.

(The number of natives connected with the S. P. G. confirmed by me since my consecration in 1877 up to 1890 is 8,336. The number of persons ordained by me during the same period has been 31 deacons, 23 priests, in all 54. Of these three were Europeans, one belonging to the Church Missionary Society. Of the Natives ordained 3 belonged to the C. M. S.)

During the year 1890 the number of natives connected with the C. M. S. confirmed by me was 1,681.

Total confirmed by me in connection with both Missions was 10,017.)

CHAPTER XVI.

HEALTH AND HEALTH RESORTS.

TINNEVELLY is one of the hottest districts in India. It may be said that we have no cold weather at all, but only three months of hot weather and nine months of hotter. It is therefore a very trying climate for Europeans. I am very thankful for having been allowed to hold on so long, doing a little work of various kinds, though I have scarcely ever enjoyed perfect health for a day. One great advantage we have had is that though the heat is so continuous, it is a dry heat and therefore more endurable than the moist heat that prevails in many other districts, especially those on the West Coast. In Northern India they have extreme heat one part of the year and real cold for another part, whereas in Tinnevelly we have neither of the extremes of heat and cold, but simmer as it were over a slow fire the whole year round. There was one alleviation of which I frequently availed myself, and that was that during the hottest portion of the year I have almost always managed to get away to some cooler place, where I might expect to regain some portion of the strength I had lost by carrying on my work in the continuous heat.

Of the places to which I resorted for restoration of health, the principal for many years was Courtallum, a place at the foot of the Ghauts to the west of Palamcottah, distinguished for the beauty of its scenery and especially for its waterfall, where unusual facilities exist for bathing under the fall, in water which comes down with a rush fresh and clear from the cold mountain tops. Courtallum may, I think, claim the distinction of being the best fresh water bathing place in the world. One disadvantage of the place is that it can only be visited during the rains. At other seasons it is unhealthy. Another and more serious disadvantage is that though the climate is cool, it is never cold and never really braces up the enfeebled constitution. For some time at first I frequently went in the beginning of the hot season to a sea-side resort, called Nanjundai, on the sea coast near Edeyengudi. As it was in the Edeyengudi district and very near I could carry on

from thence all the work of the district. At that time the place was resorted to in the season by nearly all the Missionaries in Tinnevelly, both C. M. S. and S. P. G., and they brought their Boarding Schools with them, so it seemed a thriving settlement, but it has now entirely disappeared; not a house remains except the one I built myself, and that I have not seen for many years. It was found that there was very little advantage to health in so hot and steamy a place so near the sea. The place we chose instead was on the Ashambu hills on the Travancore side of the Ghauts, which was much cooler, being 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. But this place also, though much frequented for a time, is now deserted, a malarious fever having broken out, from which almost every one suffered severely. We visited occasionally in the cool season Nagercoil, where Mrs. Caldwell was born, and several places in the neighbourhood, including two hill stations on the lower ranges from which we derived little profit. At length after suffering much for years from stomach and liver, I was recommended to pay a visit to the Nilagiris. We went there in 1851, and there we stayed for nearly a year. I was anxious to defer as long as possible a visit to England, and I thought that perhaps a visit to the Nilagiris would render that unnecessary, but the advantage derived, though it appeared for a time to be considerable, was evanescent, and in little more than a year my state of health was such that I was obliged to leave my beloved station and work at Edeyengudi and go home on regular sick leave. My recovery was so slow that I was obliged to stay at home for three years, occupied in working for the Society as a "Deputation," during which time I visited almost every part of England. Strange to say I was obliged to stay another year by a sun-stroke, with which I was visited one hot summer's day on the top of a coach in Somersetshire, in consequence of which I was obliged to take clerical work at home for nearly a year. This was at Addington in Buckinghamshire, the seat of Mr. J. G. Hubbard, now Lord Addington.

I have visited England three times since I first left it in 1837. My first absence from England was for 17 years, viz., from 1837 to 1854. I left for England in 1851 and returned at the end of 1857, the year of the mutiny. Our return to India at that time was considered dangerous, but on entering the steamer at Southampton we heard of

the first success of the British arms, the taking of the Cashmere gate at Delhi, which we concluded was the beginning of the end. Our next stay in India was for 15 years, viz., from 1857 to 1873. My third visit to England was after a stay of 8 years in India, viz., from 1875 to 1883. We returned at the end of 1884.

During my first absence from England of 17 years all the great movements that have taken place in Church and State in England were commenced and partly developed, and this includes the great Church movement, the great educational movement, and the great æsthetic movement. It was during the same period that the Railway and the Telegraph appeared, together with a multitude of religious, moral and material improvements of all kinds, which make the era of Queen Victoria the era of progress.

In 1864 I was visited by a somewhat alarming attack of congestion of the brain, which prevented me for nearly a year from reading, writing or preaching. This was probably an ulterior result of the sun-stroke I had in England. I went then to reside with Dr. Lowe, the Medical Missionary of the L. M. S. at Neyoor in South Travancore, and through his kind and skilful treatment I so far recovered as to be able to go and reside for some months at a house on the Ashambu hills, a sanitary station just then discovered; I then went to Courtallum, where I completely recovered. Most people feared that I should never be able to do any head work again, but it pleased our Heavenly Father to permit me again to resume my former work of every kind, including the composition of my principal books. It seems to me probable, however, that the tendency to giddiness from which I frequently suffer is a relic of that head complaint.

It was after my last return from England that I became acquainted with Kodaikanal on the Pulney Hills, a place far above fever range, about as high as Ootacamund and, people think, more salubrious, and that is our present "health-resort," with which we have every reason to be well satisfied. The only drawback is that it is yet somewhat difficult of access. In a considerable degree, through the help of my son-in-law, the Rev. J. L. Wyatt, we have succeeded in erecting on a commanding situation a very nice church, which supplies a want long felt by Church of England visitors. It was dedicated on the 4th Sunday after Easter, 1885. Unlike Courtallum, Kodaikanal is healthy all the year round.

KODAIKANAL CHURCH.

DEDICATION OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, KODAIKANAL.

All who are acquainted with the charming station of Kodaikanal on the Pulney Hills in the Madras District, will be glad to learn that the English Church, which long has been so urgently needed, was dedicated by Bishop Caldwell on the fourth Sunday after Easter in 1886. The church is situated in a commanding position, on a knoll, generally called Mount Nebo, and can be seen for miles round in almost every direction. In course of time it is hoped that a tower and spire will be added, which would add greatly to the external appearance. The design of the church is plain, but neat and ecclesiastical.

Bishop Caldwell preached at the dedication, and before reading the offertory sentences spoke as follows:—

"We are going about to make a collection in aid of the funds of the church. Before doing so, it may be desirable that I should make a few explanatory remarks respecting the financial history of the building. In the first place, we have to offer our thanks to the Government for the gift of the noblest site on which any church was ever erected. In this connection I cannot but mention our obligation to the late Sir Vere Levinge. It was mainly through his recommendation that the site was fixed upon, and mainly through his influence that it was obtained. He also gave a good start to the building fund by a liberal contribution of Rs. 250. The Bishop of Madras also showed his interest in the work by a contribution of an equal amount. We have been liberally helped also from time to time by visitors. Almost every gentleman who has visited this beautiful sanitarium within the last three years has helped forward the work by his contribution. (This was mainly owing to the untiring exertions of Mr. Wyatt, who was the treasurer of the fund from the beginning, and made himself responsible for raising the necessary funds. We are also much indebted to an English Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a Society which is not only a Bible Society and a Tract Society, but also aids in the erection of churches, schools and colleges in every part of the world. That Society contributed £50 towards the building fund of this church.) I have yet to mention the largest contributor, that is a resident in this place, Mr. McNair, who has most kindly superintended the building, and made himself responsible for the thoroughness of every portion of the work from the commencement to the present day, without a particle of remuneration. We are much indebted to him, not only for the trouble and labour he has voluntarily undergone, but also for the skill and taste he has displayed. I trust our friends will not suppose from the thankfulness with which I have acknowledged the contributions we have received, that our funds are in a flourishing condition. That is far from being the case. We still stand in need of much help, for I reckon that before this work is quite completed, we shall

be Rs. 4,000 in debt. There are also many requisites which remain to be supplied. Amongst these I may mention two, which perhaps some persons, whom Providence has blessed with the means, may have it put into their hearts to contribute. One of these is a bell—a good, far-sounding bell—which shall invite the people all round to the worship of God; the other is a harmonium, which shall help the congregation to sing God's praises. Other requisites also are needed, so that I hope the collection on this occasion will be a large and liberal one. This day's collection will be received in an alms basin placed to-day, for the first time, on God's Table, as a small token of thankfulness for a recent instance of preservation from danger."

The offertory amounted to Rs. 137. A marble font has since been promised by Mr. Scott of Madura.

In the issue of the *Madras Diocesan Record* for April 1887, there was an account of the opening of St. Peter's Church at the charming station of Kodaikanal, Pulney Hills, and the Editor kindly added that "from personal experience we are able to say that this church is a great boon to English churchmen resident at Kodaikanal. We hope that the debt the Bishop refers to is nearly cleared off by this and that it will soon altogether disappear."

I am thankful to the Editor for the expression of this hope, but I fear that the disappearance of the debt is further from realisation than he supposed. When I went carefully through the accounts a few days ago, I found that the church was still about Rs. 3,000 in debt, and though I have every reason to be gratified with the amount of the offertories and contributions, considering the smallness of the place, yet there are still many things remaining to be done before the church can be said to be completed, and these occasional contributions only meet requirements for furniture, a harmonium, and incidental expenses, without lessening the heavy debt that remains.

The marble font which was promised by Mr. Scott of Madura, has arrived from England, and been set up in an appropriate place, but we are still in need of a lectern, and brass rails for the chancel, and in particular a bell—a good, far-sounding bell—is urgently needed. I trust that every person who has ever visited this place will show his appreciation of the benefits here laid up in store for those who have suffered from the heat of the plains by liberal contributions to the church fund.

Since the above was written, a harmonium has been purchased and placed in the Church.

CHAPTER XVII.

MISSION PROBLEMS.

THESE have always been differences of opinion, and probably there always will be, amongst earnest Missionaries, as to the best modes of carrying on Mission work, and these differences have developed at different times into rival systems. I will not call them antagonistic systems, though sometimes what may be called antagonism has unfortunately sprung up and been encouraged. I call them problems, not controversial questions, because an impartial observer will see enough to convince him that much may fairly be said on both sides without any controversial bitterness.

When I first arrived in Madras in the beginning of 1838—now fifty years ago—I found two rival systems at work. One was the old system of the preaching of the Gospel in the vernacular, with or without the help of vernacular schools. The other was the system of English education introduced by the celebrated Dr. Duff in Calcutta, and then reproduced in Madras by the hardly less celebrated Mr. Anderson, best known as John Anderson, by whom the first great English school for Hindu youths was established in Madras and the first systematic effort made to use English education as a means of spreading Christianity among the higher classes and castes. The school long known as Anderson's school was eventually developed into the Christian College. At that time all questions connected with English education were very hotly discussed. Anderson and his friends were tempted to think their mode of Missionary work the only mode of any real value, and to depreciate work, in the vernacular. At present the tables are turned and the advocates of vernacular work are often found to depreciate the work of the English schools. At that time and ever since I have been an advocate of both systems, believing, and all experience seems to me to show that I was right in believing, that as the masses could only be reached through the vernacular, so the best, if not the only, way of reaching the higher classes was through education in English.

One of the objections now urged against the expenditure of Mission money on education, especially on higher education, is that people at home give their money for evangelistic work, and would be dissatisfied if it were expended on education; I must say that this supposition seems to me to have little or no foundation in fact. I was recently at home myself and attended large numbers of meetings of every kind, but never heard of this objection.

I attended many Committee meetings of the S. P. G. and also some of the C. M. S., but never heard any such idea expressed. In particular I had many opportunities of attending largely attended meetings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and as the object I had in view in attending those meetings was to advocate a measure I had recommended for the expenditure of considerable sums of money on a systematic attempt to raise the tone of Christian education in Tinnevely by grants for scholarships and in other ways, if any disapproval of the expenditure of Mission money on such a purpose had been felt then was the time when it would have been expressed, but no such objection was ever raised. The only question that arose was the very natural one, what did I intend to do when their grants, which were only for a limited number of years, came to an end.

I believe that the objection I have mentioned is entirely a local one, confined to India, confined indeed to Madras. When I returned to this country I found that a dispute had sprung up between the Madras Committee S. P. G. and the Principal of Caldwell College with regard to financial questions, and then the objection that Mission money was contributed for evangelistic purposes alone and ought to be expended on those purposes alone began to be urged for the first time. It was held that if any money at all were expended on education, it should be a very small amount only, and not in any case for the higher education of Native Christians. Before this, the only Missionaries I ever heard of taking this line were the Baptist Missionaries of Northern India, who always protested against educational work being done by Missionaries or anything being done by them but the preaching of the Gospel. The party who took this line in Madras disapproved of what I had done in getting grants from the Christian Knowledge Society for scholarships for Native Christians in Tinne-

vely. They held that those scholarships would demoralize the natives or pauperise them by preventing their doing what they could for themselves, but strange to say those very persons are now going beyond me in the direction of which they professed to disapprove and offering a high education, virtually gratis, in a rival High School they have established. The objects I had in view in setting on foot those educational measures have been to so large a degree accomplished that I have no reason to feel ashamed of what that great Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge enabled me to do.

{One great advantage we anticipated from promoting a higher education among the Native Christians was entirely overlooked by its opponents. It was the facilities it gave us for training up a well educated clergy, who would not only be competent to do the work of their congregations and schools, but be fit to stand forth as teachers of Christianity among non-Christians of the higher classes.

A new objection to the extension of the higher education in Tinnevely has been started. When it is stated that whilst the Native Christians of Tinnevely are amongst the poorest of their class in India, there is no class of people who are so desirous of the benefits of the higher education and more who have shown more appreciation of it or have turned it to better account in our schools and colleges, it is replied that if people wish to enjoy the benefits of a higher education, they should pay for them themselves and should not expect Missionary Societies to help them, and that if they are too poor to pay for those benefits, they should be content to go without. I confess that I have heard with great surprise of so ungenerous a view being taken of the duties of the situation. In England every town, and almost every village has its system of means for promoting the higher education, and that not only among the higher and middle classes, but also among the masses. Every promising boy, however poor, has the means of acquiring a high education open to him. No one thinks that there is any impropriety in endeavouring to extend those advantages to the various classes in the community. And where it is found that nothing more can be done—that grammar schools, scholarships and endowments have done their best, and that still the education of some classes remains unimproved,

they are obliged to be content with hoping that a better day will sometime arrive. If they do nothing more, it is their lack of means, not their will, that stands in the way. In this country however, at least in this Diocese, though poverty and inability may be pleaded, yet this objection holds good only in a very limited degree, for all the correspondence on the subject I have seen convinces me that the chief difficulty in the way is the adoption of a peculiar theory. It is mainly a theoretical inability which stands on the way. I trust, therefore, that this objection will pass away and be forgotten, as so many similar objections have been, and that the aspirations of our poor brethren in Tinnevely for a higher education will be encouraged, not checked.

The problem as to how much of the available funds of the various Missions should be expended on educational purposes and how much on evangelistic work, that is, on direct Mission work—how much also on the improvement of the organisation of the Missions by means of church councils, &c., is one which will come up in time and demand careful consideration. But I expect that this difficulty will settle itself when the representative system has been introduced, as I hope it soon will be.

The interest I take in the preservation of the distinctive Christian character of Caldwell College, Tuticorin, must be my excuse for giving prominence on this occasion to this question. If it is one of the Mission problems of the day, how our great schools and colleges can best contribute to the furtherance of Christianity in the country. One of the best answers I am acquainted with is that which may be furnished by Caldwell College, provided its character and aims remain unaltered. There are two circumstances connected with the Tinnevely Native Church which require to be fully understood. One is that the Native Christians of Tinnevely are generally very poor—poorer on the whole than the Christians of any other part of the country. The other is that notwithstanding the poverty of the people, there is no district in the Madras Presidency in which there is such a strong desire for the higher education. The people naturally wish to better their condition and rise in the social scale, and they see that the only door open to them to effect these laudable ends is by means of education. It is seen also that

wherever opportunities of education have been placed within their reach, the result has been very satisfactory. The Christian Knowledge Society, which is always ready to avail itself of every opening for promoting Christian knowledge, whether at home or abroad, by means of schools, colleges and publications, saw a few years ago that a favourable opportunity presented itself in Tinnevely for the promotion of the higher education by means of scholarships and a professorship to be connected with Caldwell College. The plan I proposed after much consideration and discussion was submitted to the Standing Committee of that Society in June 1884, and adopted in the following month.

One of the chief objects I had in view in obtaining from the Christian Knowledge Society these grants for scholarships and a professorship was that I might be able to give Caldwell College a good start. The grants were for six years, three of which have now elapsed.

The plan appears to me to have been eminently successful. Education is making rapid progress, and I hope that I shall be able to report ere long the existence of a goodly band of Christian graduates. The only difficulties that have been met with are such as I think ought not to have been allowed to arise. One is the permission given by the M. D. C. for the establishment of a rival High School at Nazareth, in opposition to my earnest protests and entirely without Episcopal or Governmental support.

The specially Christian and Missionary character of Caldwell College should be borne in mind, and every possible encouragement should be given to it to persevere in this course. I understand that the number of Christians in the College is 82 per cent. of the whole number, whereas the other colleges in Madras, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, &c., do not contain, I understand, 5 per cent. of Christians and are useful only or chiefly in training up Brahmins for Government employment. I consider, therefore, that it would be a suicidal act for a great Missionary Society to do anything which would have the effect of crippling the Christian energies of a great institution like this.

I consider it desirable that I should here give some explanation regarding the objects and aims of the Christian Knowledge Society's grants. In writing to that Society in 1884 I said: "The plan I take the liberty of submitting

to the Society may be described as a plan for promoting the higher education of the native Christian community of Tinnevely by providing an endowment, or lump grant, out of which a certain number of the more promising Christian youths may be educated and maintained for six years; that is, from the second year before their matriculation till they take their B.A. degree. The plan would also include the higher education of Christian girls—commencing, however, lower and necessarily ending at a lower point. The plan I propose for supplying this want is one which seems to me pre-eminently suitable for adoption by this Society, and one which will bring in a certain and immediate return. The great majority of the Native Christians in Tinnevely, and generally in the rural districts in India, belong to the poorer classes, and are unable to give their sons the education which the higher classes and the official classes can give. Yet experience shows that our Native Christians, notwithstanding the disadvantages of their surroundings, are able, when they get a fair opportunity, to take a respectable rank in society. The few Tinnevely Christians who have risen to the position of graduates in the Madras University have done exceedingly well as assistants in Colleges, and if their number were largely increased, Tinnevely could not only supply our Mission Colleges and High Schools with masters, as it does to a considerable extent already, but also obtain employment for them in Government Schools and Colleges, where they might be the means of doing much good. Some of them might also with advantage enter various departments of the public service.

"I trust, however, that a large proportion of them will eventually enter the ministry of the Church. Provision has been made for the special training of such persons in our Theological College at Madras, and I trust that all who have to do with the education of the students who will receive these scholarships will be so taught and guided of God that it will be their great ambition that their pupils shall become still more distinguished for personal piety and Missionary zeal than for secular knowledge."

When the Metropolitan visited Tinnevely a short time ago, he was much gratified with what he saw of the progress of the College in Tuticorin. He said "he trusted that the College would become a blessing to the country."

Speaking of the College he also said, "there is nothing like it in all India," and on another occasion, "the whole province is interested in its welfare."

When I first knew Tinnevely, more than 40 years ago, the first rudiments of the higher education were unknown, even vernacular education was generally unknown, or was of the most rudimentary type. Since then each generation has advanced higher and further than the preceding one. We have now a third generation growing up, and seeking eagerly for the education which the first generation could not receive or appreciate. The intellectual difference is so great that it might almost be supposed that the new generation belongs to a different race.

I regret to say that before these pages were printed, the Standing Committee of the S. P. C. K., on the recommendation of the Madras Diocesan Committee, had resolved to close the College Department of Caldwell College and retain it as a High School only for the present.—Ed.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MY MARRIAGE AND MARRIED LIFE.

On the 20th of March 1844 I was married at Nagercoil, South Travancore, to Eliza, eldest daughter of the Rev. Charles Mault, Missionary of the London Missionary Society. I was then twenty-nine years of age and had been six years in India. My wife was twenty-one. Mr. Mault was a most laborious and successful Missionary. He was born in Bishop Heber's parish in Shropshire, and his wife, whose family lived at St. Neots, in Huntingdoushire, was descended from one of the daughters of Oliver Cromwell. They came to India in 1818, and arrived at Nagercoil, their future station, in 1819. Mr. Mault, amongst other good works, established a printing press at Nagercoil, and there brought out a multitude of Tamil books and tracts, including most of the productions of Mr. Rhenius of Palamcottah, with whom he was much associated and whose style he followed. He had as his assistant in this work a native, named John Palmer, who stands next to "the Tanjore poet," Védanáyagam Shástri, in the number and popularity of his Tamil lyrics. This man was a descendant of one of Rengeltaube's converts, an account of whom will be found in my records of the Tinnevely Mission, published in 1881. Many of these converts still survived, especially at a place called Mayiláde, when Mr. Mault arrived, and they formed the nucleus of the Mission congregation he formed. Mr. Mault returned to England in 1856 in consequence of paralysis brought on by an accident. He had laboured up to that time continuously for 37 years without ever once leaving the country. Mrs. Mault was a woman of much intellectual power and great devotedness, who helped her husband much in many ways, especially in female education. Hers was the first Female Boarding School ever established in Southern India, and it was by her that lace-making, which she had learnt as a girl at home, was first introduced. South Travancore owes much to those two pioneers of Missionary work, and if Tinnevely has benefited by Mrs. Caldwell's lifelong labours, most of the benefit must be credited to the experience she acquired and the training she received in Nagercoil. One of her chief

qualifications has always been her perfect knowledge of colloquial Tamil, and she could not have acquired this in a better school than Nagercoil. When she went to England for her education, she went at a later age than most children and came back early and, therefore, never altogether lost the Tamil she acquired in infancy. We were married by the Rev. J. Thomas, C.M.S. Missionary, of Megnánapuram, Tinnevely, who came to Nagercoil for the purpose.

Immediately on Mrs. Caldwell's arrival at Edeyengudi, the station I was founding in Tinnevely, she set herself to aid me in perfecting every good work that had been commenced and supplying that which was lacking. It was from her that I learnt most of my colloquial and domestic Tamil. The Female Boarding School she set on foot at Edeyengudi shortly after she arrived was the first that had ever been established in connection with Missions of the S. P. G. in Southern India, and it led to the establishment of others in various places. It was also by her that lace-making was introduced into Tinnevely.

I cannot but regard it as a circumstance worthy of thankful notice that the good line of workers in the cause of female education, which commenced with Mrs. Mault at Nagercoil, has not ceased, but has been taken up and carried on by one of our daughters, Isabella, wife of the Rev. J. L. Wyatt, S. P. G. Missionary at Trichinopoly.

Looking at my married life from the point of view of a Missionary, whose memory covers a period of fifty years' labour in India, I think I may venture to say with confidence that the good work done by such Missionaries' wives as Mrs. Thomas and Mrs. Sargent, in connexion with the Church Missionary Society, and—may I not add?—by Mrs. Caldwell and Mrs. Wyatt, in connexion with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, not to speak of Mrs. Mault's still earlier work in connexion with the London Missionary Society, has not been excelled by any work done in India by professed sisterhoods. I cannot conclude this sketch without referring to the last educational work set on foot by Mrs. Caldwell—the Female Normal School she is transferring from Edeyengudi to Tuticorin—an institution which, in the midst of much discouragement from those who ought to regard it with thankful approval, will, I trust, prove her most successful work, if also her last.

APPENDIX I.

THE RETIREMENT AND DEATH OF BISHOP CALDWELL.

In the preceding pages, the Bishop has furnished us with an account of his early life, and has given us glimpses of his multifarious work as Missionary, Author and Bishop during the long period of 53 years that he was permitted to labour in the Mission Field. We have now to add a brief account of his retirement and of his death which so soon followed it.

On 31st January 1891, in consequence of his age and his increasing feebleness, at the earnest request of his family, the Bishop placed his resignation of his Episcopal office in the hands of the Bishop of Madras, and retired to Kodaikanal, where he proposed to spend his remaining days. His resignation having been communicated to the M. D. C., the following resolution was passed:—

Res. III.—"The M. D. C. desire to place on record their thankfulness that the Right Rev. Bishop Caldwell has been permitted to serve the Church of Christ for over 50 years as Deacon, Priest and Bishop.

"It would be out of place for this Committee to particularise the many ways in which Bishop Caldwell has exercised his great powers and gifts in the Evangelization of Southern India. They, however, fully realise how very greatly his labours have been blessed, and feel bound to express their high appreciation of these labours, and especially of the benefits which the Tamil portion of Christ's Church has derived from his scholarly attainments. The M. D. C. hope that Bishop and Mrs. Caldwell may live many more years to witness still further the results of that patient and loving work which they have been allowed in God's Providence for so long to carry on."

The rest allowed the Bishop in earth, however, was short, and God called him to his eternal rest with Him, and doubtless to higher service above. We quote from the accounts communicated to the papers at the time:—

"On August 19th, the members of the Bishop's family noticed that he had taken cold, but he took his usual drives and sat at meals with the family as before. On Friday night,

however, his cough was very troublesome, and the Apothecary was sent for in the night. In the morning he was better, and though confined to his room, he did not keep to his bed, but was able to move about, and on Monday morning, it being a particularly warm bright day, he walked for a little time in the garden with Mrs. Caldwell. In the evening, however, he seemed feverish, and on Tuesday and Wednesday, though better in the mornings, in the afternoons the fever again came on and remained till dawn. On Thursday his cold seemed decidedly better, and it was thought by the Apothecary and by his son, Dr. Addington Caldwell, who had lately arrived from Australia on a visit to his father, that if special medicines were given to prevent the fever coming on in the afternoon, all would be well. The fever, however, came on again, though later, and by 9 o'clock that evening a change for the worse was perceptible. He retired to rest soon after, and then his strength, which up to that time permitted him to sit in his chair and walk about the room, suddenly gave way. All night the Apothecary and his son and the other members of the family were with him, and nourishment was administered every half hour, but to no purpose. His strength never rallied, and he rarely opened his eyes nor could he answer the anxious enquiries of those around him except by monosyllables. At 9 o'clock on Friday morning, when all were kneeling around him, and while the commendatory prayer was being said, his soul passed peacefully away. The Rev. J. L. Wyatt, Missionary at Trichinopoly, and son-in-law of the Bishop, was telegraphed for at once to arrange for the funeral to be at Edeyengudi, Tinnevely, where the Bishop had lived for so many years, and to accompany the sacred remains thither. The late Bishop had expressed a wish that his body should rest under the Altar of the Church which he had built and consecrated at Edeyengudi and among the people for whom he had laboured for half a century. No difficulties were, therefore, too great for the family to endeavour to surmount and to carry the last wishes of him they loved and revered into effect. The Bishop was dressed in his robes and laid out in the coffin, and all day a stream of natives, who held him in great veneration, came quietly and orderly, made their profound reverence, and passed out. All who have seen the Bishop in life will remember his noble and striking appearance, but no words can describe how beautiful

he looked in death, and what an expression of blissful calm was on his features.

When all was ready, the Rev. Mr. Nugent held a service for the members of the family, which consisted of the Holy Communion with special prayers, Epistle and Gospel, the coffin being laden with flowers laid there by loving hands. After this the coffin was placed in another case, and all was reverently covered with a pall, surmounted by a cross of flowers, and was prepared for the long journey down the ghaut. There had been forebodings that much difficulty would be experienced with the coolies down the ghaut, which is 12 miles long and is very steep; but the 24 coolies, who were Native Christians belonging to the American Madura Mission, behaved admirably. They stood with uncovered heads as Mr. Nugent said a last prayer before they raised the precious burden on their shoulders, and expressed their gratitude for the honour conferred upon them of being allowed to bear *one who had been a Saint*. Dr. Caldwell accompanied the remains of his father, and they were met two miles from Kodaikanal by Mr. Wyatt, who had made all arrangements meanwhile for the journey to Tinnevely, and returned at once to conduct the party thither. Tidings have since reached the family that the journey by bullock transit as far as Annamalai-kannoor was safely accomplished, where carriages were waiting to be attached to the mid-day train, by which the journey was continued, reaching Palamcottah at 8 o'clock on Sunday night. Here the body of the late Bishop was met by the Revs. Mr. Walker, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Storrs of the C.M.S. with several Native Clergy of the C.M.S. and S.P.G., and a large crowd of natives from far and near assembled at the station. The Native Clergy lifted the dear remains into the conveyance prepared, and all went straight to the Church, which Mr. Walker had kindly offered. The Church was crowded, though the hour by that time was so late, and everything was most quiet and reverent. The coffin was placed in front of the Holy Table, and while this was being done, Mr. Douglas played the "Dead March in Sant," after which Mr. Isaac, the Native clergyman in charge, read the opening sentences of the Burial Service, the 90th Psalm, and the two last prayers. The whole scene was most solemn and impressive, and one could not help feeling what an appropriateness there was in the remains of Bishop Caldwell resting for the night in the Church

where his brother-Bishop Sargent had for so many years worked and prayed and preached. It was too on this very spot that Bishop Sargent's body was placed till his funeral took place.

On Monday afternoon the coffin was removed from Palamcottah Church, and placed in a spring coach and conveyed to Edeyengudi, a distance of 40 miles, which place was reached at about 7 A.M. on Tuesday. Before leaving Palamcottah, a touching incident occurred which showed how much the death of the Bishop was felt by the young as well as by the old. As the coach containing the coffin approached the toll gate, the road was lined on either side by the girls from the Sarah Tucker Institution, who were singing one of their lyrics of sorrow. When asked what had led to their being there on that occasion, Miss Askwith, who had accompanied them, explained that some of the girls had been confirmed by the Bishop during his last tour, and hearing that his remains were to pass that way, they had asked to be allowed to go and pay their last respects to him. About three miles from the village a few people were waiting to know when the *cortège* might be expected, and to run back to give notice to the villagers. About a mile from Edeyengudi, the Native clergy from various parts of Tinnevely and other workers in the Mission, members of congregations, school-children, Hindus and Mahomedans, from all parts of the district—a large crowd—were waiting to receive amongst them for the last time the dear remains of their beloved Bishop and friend. A beautiful banner, with a cross of embroidered gold, and another of white mounted on a black banner, on which was inscribed in Tamil, "I am the Resurrection and the Life," were carried in front, while the clergy and choir formed in procession and sang "For ever with the Lord," which was most solemn and impressive in the stillness of the soft morning air. Passing through the village, the crowds increased, and the lamentations of the people were heart-rending. The news of the Bishop's death had been telegraphed on the 28th, but now the reality of it all forced itself upon them, and they realised the fact that they would "see his face no more." Arriving near the bungalow, the residence of the Bishop for so many years, the coffin was removed from the coach, and for about half an hour was placed on benches in front of the old church, to allow the crowds to see and to over-

come the first burst of their great absorbing grief. It was then removed inside the church, in which the Bishop had for nearly forty years preached and taught his people, there to rest till it could be removed to its final resting place. All day long people from various parts of the surrounding neighbourhood passed through the church to take a last look, and to show their last token of affection by placing flowers on the coffin. At the evening service, the Rev. Joseph Gnanolivo gave a short but striking address on some of the characteristics of the Bishop's life, his minute investigation and accurate knowledge of everything with which he had to do, his gentleness and patience in dealing with and correcting the faults of his workers, and his indomitable perseverance in working out plans and in overcoming obstacles.

It had long been the expressed wish of the Bishop that when he died he should be buried among his people. In fact, so long ago as 1883, when he was last in England, and was requested by his friends to remain there, his answer was, "I wish to die amongst the people for whom I have lived." It seemed most fitting that his remains should rest in the grand church, the foundations of which he laid in 1847, and which he consecrated in 1880, the tracery of whose beautiful windows and whose every detail he had planned, and with his own hands had moulded in clay, and which for ages to come will be one great memorial of his life and work. Accordingly a grave was dug underneath the altar, east and west, and built with brick. At 6-30 A.M., the following morning, there was a celebration of the Holy Communion, at which the Collect, Epistle and Gospel for All Saints' Day were read, and the clergy and a large number of the laity communicated. Soon after the service was over, a deputation of Mahomedans, headed by the most influential person of their class in these parts, came with a great quantity of flowers and *pan-supari* and begged to be allowed to place the flowers on the Bishop's coffin as a mark of their esteem.

Precisely at 9 A.M., the time announced in various places where it was proposed to hold memorial services, the mournful procession formed. The choir and clergy, among whom Rev. J. L. Wyatt, the Bishop's son-in-law, Rev. A. Margöschis, Rev. T. Kember, Rev. A. Schaffter, and the Rev. T. Walker, and many representatives of the C. M. S.

preceded the coffin, while Dr. Addington Caldwell, the Bishop's son, as the representative of the family, and a large crowd of Christians followed. The Rev. T. Kember, C. M. S., who had travelled all the way from Courtallum to be present, and who was the oldest European friend of the Bishop's, read the opening verses, while the procession moved from the old to the new church. At the entrance to the latter, and while slowly moving up the nave, the choir sang again, "For ever with the Lord," and then chanted the 90th Psalm, after which the Rev. V. Gnanamuthu read the Lesson. The remains were then carried to the grave, and were committed to their last resting-place by the Rev. J. L. Wyatt. The Rev. M. Savarirayan, an old clergyman of the C. M. S., who had known the Bishop almost from his first arrival in Edeyengudi, read the last two prayers, and after the hymn, "Now the Labourer's task is o'er," Mr. Wyatt said the Benediction. Thus ended the last rites for the beloved Bishop. Memorial services were held in Kodaikanal Church, which was built mainly through his instrumentality, in Trichinopoly, in Vepery, where he spent the first three years of his Indian life, in Tuticorin, which was his last headquarters as Bishop, and where stands the College that bears his name, and in Negapatam.

While we sympathise with the irreparable loss which the late Bishop's family and the whole Church have sustained, yet our chief feeling must be one of thankfulness to God, for the example given to all of such a life as his was. A man of wide and varied knowledge, a scholar of European reputation, full of philosophical and practical wisdom, yet he was content to live for half a century in a remote part of Tinnevely spending and being spent for the benefit of the people of that province. The Tinnevely Native Church owes him a debt of gratitude it can never repay. "A little one has become a thousand," he has seen the numbers of the Native Christians increase from 6,000 to nearly 100,000, and the present stability, plans of working, and organisations of the Tinnevely Church which has made it a praise and a name, are in a large measure due to the wisdom and administrative abilities of the Bishop who is gone. With him the Church had lost one of her greatest Missionaries and India one of its most profound scholars and benefactors. "A great man even a prince, has fallen in Israel," and it will be the prayer of the Church that a double portion of his spirit may fall on his successor."

APPENDIX II.

NOTICES OF BISHOP CALDWELL'S DEATH AND WORK.

THE death of the Bishop very naturally called forth expressions of deep and sincere regret from numerous quarters,—from learned and religious Societies, from the Government of Madras, and the Madras University, from the Native Church Councils in Tinnevely and Tanjore, also from the Native Christians in Madras, as well as from a wide circle of friends, both in India and in England;—and it also led to some fresh notices of his life and work. A few of these are here given.

The following from the minutes of the General Committee of the C. M. S., London, shows the high appreciation in which the Bishop was held by that Society:—

"The Committee have heard with much regret of the decease of Bishop Caldwell, for 14 years the Coadjutor Bishop in Tinnevely, and for the greater part of the time in conjunction with his friend and colleague, Bishop Sargent, who was consecrated at the same time, and whose senior he was by one year. Bishop Caldwell commenced his missionary labours in Travancore in 1838, in connection with the London Missionary Society. In 1841 he joined the Church of England, and was ordained by Bishop Spencer as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and from that time till a few months since he continued his labours in Tinnevely, making his headquarters till 1877 at Edeyengudi, and subsequently, as Bishop, at Taticorin. He lived to see the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Native Christians in Tinnevely multiply tenfold, from 4,000 in 1841 to over 40,000 in 1891, while the Edeyengudi district, of which he had for so long the exclusive charge, grew from 400 to over 7,000. Throughout the whole of his career, Bishop Caldwell's relations to the Church Missionary Society and its missionaries were of the happiest and most intimate kind, and since Bishop Sargent's death, he last year laid the Society under great obligations by confirming their Native Christians, notwithstanding his advanced age and increasing bodily infirmities. The Bishop was not only pre-eminently successful as a missionary, but was also widely known in the world of letters as a learned Orientalist, his 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages' having been long acknowledged as a standard work on the subject. He was also the author of several missionary and theological pamphlets such as 'The Mass disowned by the Missal,' the doctrine of 'Reserve,' the untenableness of which he showed in a masterly way; also in later years he published two valuable historical books, one on the political history

of Tinnevely, and the other a history of its Mission. The Committee desire to convey their Christian condolence to his widow and children on the great loss they have sustained by his removal in common with the whole Indian Church.

Later, the Secretary of the S. P. G. wrote as follows:—

"I cannot adequately assure you of the feelings everywhere entertained by those who knew Bishop Caldwell, now that he has been taken to his rest, and there remain for us only an honoured memory to treasure and a noble example to follow. I enclose a copy of a Resolution passed, with every symbol of respect and esteem, at the Society's Meeting to-day, and I am sure that all felt that it falls short of what we would desire to have said."

In the Administration Report of the Ecclesiastical Department, the Bishop of Madras adds in his concluding paragraph:—

"Though Bishop Caldwell was not one of the servants of Government, yet his long residence of more than 50 years in this diocese, and his eminence not only as a missionary but as a philologist, historian, educationalist and benefactor to the people of India by his labours and writings, together with the high esteem in which he was held by the Government, render his death, which occurred in the year under review on the 28th August 1891, worthy to be specially recorded here as a loss to the whole Presidency."

On the above, the Government passed the following order:—

"The Government concurs in the remarks of the Right Reverend the Bishop regarding the late Bishop Caldwell."

On the 4th September the Senate of the University of Madras passed the following Resolution:—

"The Senate of the University of Madras at its Annual Meeting on the 31st August heard with very great regret of the death of the late Bishop Caldwell, the Senior Fellow of the University, and placed upon record its high appreciation of the services rendered to the University and to the cause of education in this Presidency by him, and desired me to communicate to you its deep sympathy with you and the other members of your family in your bereavement."

The following resolution was passed by the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society:—

"The Committee have heard with deep regret of the death of the Right Rev. Bishop Caldwell, D.D., LL.D., one of the Vice-Presidents of this Auxiliary. They would place on record the high sense they entertain of the distinguished services rendered by him to the country as one of the Revisors of the Tamil Bible and generally to the cause of Christianity in this Presidency. They rejoice that he was spared to carry on his devoted labours for the long period of over half a century, and they offer their condolence to Mrs. Caldwell and the members of the family in their sole bereavement."

A grant of £150 was given to Mrs. Caldwell, on the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone, from the Royal Bounty

Fund, in consideration of the Bishop's eminent services to the people of India.

Among the many notices that appeared in the papers at the time of his death, we select the following from the *London Times* of the 19th October 1891, which we understand is from the pen of Sir W. W. Hunter:—

"By the death of the Right Reverend Dr. Caldwell, Bishop of Tinnevely, Christianity in India loses one of its most venerated fathers, and Indian scholarship one of its great original workers. The event scarcely took his friends by surprise, for at the age of 78 the years which remain to an Englishman in the tropics are few and evil. During more than half a century Dr. Caldwell has, in spite of his retiring nature, held a foremost place among his countrymen in India, not only as a leader and moving spirit of the missionary church, but as a scholar without an equal in his special field of learning. The 53 years of his apostolic labours have witnessed a complete reconstruction of the British Government of India, and a change in the prospects of Indian Christianity, and in his own religious views, scarcely less complete. When he came to India in 1838, he was a member of a Non-conformist body. He developed into the most eminent representative of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He died an Anglican Bishop. The Native Christians at the time of his arrival were poor, unprogressive, and in places dwindling communities. During the last nine years, for which we yet possess the complete returns before his death, the Census of 1881 disclosed that the Native Christians were increasing at four times the rate of the general population in British India during the same period. In 1838 he found the native converts sneered at by the governing race as 'rice Christians'; and disdained by the Brahmans and educated Hindus as a new low-caste, begotten of ignorance and hunger. Not long before his death, the Director of Public Instruction in Madras—the Presidency in which Dr. Caldwell laboured—declared that if the Native Christians maintain their present rate of educational progress, they will before long engross the leading positions in professional life in Southern India."

"In the district which became the field of Dr. Caldwell's half century of toil, and finally his episcopal see, this change appears in its most emphatic form. It would be wrong to attribute the advance of the Tinnevely Christians, an advance not less striking in its social and intellectual than in its numerical aspects, to any single worker. Dr. Caldwell would have been the last man to attribute it unduly to himself. But during two generations, as a generation is reckoned among our countrymen resident in India, he has been recognized alike by Englishmen and by natives as the abiding and dominant influence in the concurrent movements which have combined to produce the change."

"Tinnevely is one of the earliest scenes of missionary enterprise in India, and it illustrates in a striking manner the vicissitudes to which such enterprise has been subject. Apart from traces of more ancient and prehistoric missions, the Christian Church in Tinnevely has a continuous record of exactly 456 years. In 1542 St. Francis Xavier, after his pause at Goa, commenced the Christianization of

India on the Tinnevely seaboard—the extreme south-eastern corner of the Indian peninsula. He found the low-castes, remnants of the aboriginal races, in a state of degradation and servitude. The Paravars, or fishing-caste, had sought the protection of the Portuguese against their Muhammadan oppressors. The Shanans, who claim to have been the original lords of the soil, had been ousted from the crop lands, and lived by the cultivation of the palmyra palm. Hinduism had not yet established itself firmly at that remote point of the peninsula, and the prevailing religion was the propitiation of demons, or the malignant forces of nature, which we conveniently sum up as Devil-worship.

"St. Francis Xavier grasped the situation. He converted wholesale the poor fishing population whom the Portuguese had protected from the Muhammadans, and during four-and-a-half centuries the Paravars have called themselves his children. The Tinnevely mission, for some time confined to the coast, was carried inland by devoted members of the Society of Jesus, and furnished the proto-martyr of that Order in India. The letters from the Jesuit fathers in Tinnevely and Madras afford important and picturesque materials for the history of the southern peninsula from the beginning of the 16th to nearly the end of the 18th century. During the same period the mission was rendered illustrious by great names, such as those of John de Britto, martyred in 1693, and Father Beschi, the Tamil scholar and poet, who died about 1746.

"Shortly after the latter date, a century of desolation commenced for the Roman Catholic Church in Southern India. On the suppression of the Society of Jesus by the Portuguese Government in 1759, many of the members of the Order labouring in Tinnevely and Madras were imprisoned at Goa, others were expelled from their districts, while those who remained were placed under a sort of ecclesiastical outlawry which rendered communication with Christendom difficult, and cut off the supply of priests. The general suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, and the long disturbances in Europe which followed the French Revolution, completed the misfortunes of the South Indian Mission. In the year 1837 the Roman Catholics in Tinnevely had only a few ignorant priests from Goa, and the Christian population had sunk to its lowest ebb. In that year the Tinnevely Catholics were placed under the charge of the revived French Order of Jesus, and the tide of deterioration and decline was turned back.

"Meanwhile Protestant missionaries had entered the field. The Lutheran Schwartz appears to have come into the district in 1770, and by 1816 the Protestant population amounted to 3,000, who had not been visited by any European missionary for ten years. The Church Missionary Society sent out two Lutheran ministers to Tinnevely in 1820; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel entered the field in 1826; and these two bodies have since then practically divided the district between them. It is not too much to say that, apart from the religious aspect of the case, their labours have produced a social and economic revolution in the condition of the low-castes and remnant of the aboriginal races. For more than 50 years Dr. Caldwell has been identified with this great work of humanity. In his funeral sermon at Kodalkanal last month, it was

stated that he had seen the Christians in Tinnevely increase from 6,000 to nearly 100,000.

"It is, however, as the investigator of the South Indian family of languages that Bishop Caldwell was most widely known. His 'Comparative Grammar' of the Dravidian group, originally published in 1856, was a revelation to Western philologists; and it remains, in the form of a second edition (1875), the standard authority on the subject, without a rival or a successor. Dr. Caldwell's intimate personal acquaintance with the people and their dialects, his patient study of their past, as proved by his 'History of Tinnevely' and 'The Tinnevely Shanars,' and the strong religious convictions which made pursuits that to another man would have been the relaxations of a busy life with him a serious and unremitting duty, enabled him to accumulate a mass of carefully verified and original materials such as no other European scholar has ever amassed in India. There are points, for example, with reference to the proportion of aboriginal words in the modern Indian vernaculars, in regard to which his conclusions have been modified by subsequent research. But his 'Comparative Grammar' of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages' will ever stand forth as one of the monumental works of the age. Scarcely less interesting, although on a different scale, were his contributions during many years to the *Indian Antiquary*, and the series of Sanskrit manuscripts which he brought to light in Southern India and rendered available to Western scholarship. But in this, as in every other branch of his untiring labours, he was inspired with the belief that he was doing true missionary service. The literary work to which he himself looked back with greatest satisfaction was the part which he took during 11 years in the revision of the Tamil Bible, and when that long labour was ended, in the revision of the Tamil Book of Common Prayer.

"His elevation to the episcopate in 1877, although an appropriate recognition of his splendid services alike to the Church and to scholarship, brought but little change into his life. He continued, as he had been for 40 years, the priest and leader and teacher and organizer of the numerous Christian communities under his care, and a most wise and gentle father and counsellor to the clergy, Indian and European, whose efforts he had long directed, and most of whom had grown up from childhood under his eye. He had so identified himself with the Christian population around him that India had long ceased to be to him a place of exile. He dwelt among his own people. Shortly after his death the christening of his great-granddaughter took place in a church which he had himself consecrated, and amid the mourning of multitudes whom he had himself baptized and confirmed."

The next extract we make is from a Native paper:—

"The mention of his name carries us back over half a century full of events associated with the growth of the Christian Church in Southern India, and his death leaves an aching void which will long be felt more especially by those who had to do with the late lamented Bishop. While a bright example of the Christian graces, the Bishop possessed to a pre-eminent degree that practical sense which is of so much use in a man's intercourse with the world. It

was by a combination of many characteristics that he became a great and distinct personality and rose to the high and responsible office he filled at the time of his death. The Bishop was not only a missionary, but a man of letters and, though much admittedly depends in the work of missions on the grace of God working in the hearts of men, it must not be forgotten, humanly speaking, that intellectual power such as the Bishop was endowed with is an invaluable auxiliary in the furtherance of such work. Indeed as the world now goes at a time when the allies of Satan are armed with all the newest weapons fashioned in the arsenal of controversy, it is necessary that Christian soldiers should not neglect to choose the most formidable weapons procurable wherewith to meet the assaults of the well-equipped foe. Still the excellence and beauties of the Christian life remain the powerful advocates of the Christian faith whence they have their source. But the exigencies of the time necessitate an adding to these of solid intellectual acquirements such as distinguished the late Bishop Caldwell, whose literary works will long remain enduring monuments of his learning and research and his zeal in laying out his many talents in the field of Christian efforts. Now that Bishop Caldwell has been taken away from us, let us hope that from among his surviving contemporaries one may arise in every way worthy of filling the gap his death has created in the Church. We mourn him as a giant dead, but our grief is tempered by the lively hope that this grand old soldier of the Cross who battled so long and so manfully in this distant land in the cause of the Master he so faithfully served is now the glorious and happy possessor of that Crown which the Lord, the righteous Judge, has promised to all who faint not in His cause, nor grow weary in well-doing."

From a letter received from a Eurasian Clergyman, who himself had spent a long and active life in the service of the Church as a missionary, we make the following extract:—

"Slim and delicate as was his build, he had a bold heart. When an unfortunate gardener was drowned in the Nazareth well, although all our S. P. G. missionaries were on the spot at the time, and crowds of natives besides, yet no one ventured to jump in to help the poor man. The Bishop, however, notwithstanding all the protests of friends, set the noble example of leaping into the deep well and I leaped in after him, and we succeeded in extricating and fetching up the body."

We close the notices of his work by the following appreciative extract from a layman who, when a young man, became acquainted with the Bishop and spent much time under his hospitable roof:—

"He entered the University of Glasgow, where he must have acquired or strengthened that love of what his countrymen call 'Metaphysics,' which afterwards made him so keen and subtle an analyst of the protean religious and philosophical problems that have ever perplexed the wise and troubled the simple.

"Other mental possessions of Bishop Caldwell's, which are not the universal inheritance of the sons of his own *abau mater* or of any

other university, were much aptitude for classical studies, a strong bent towards elegant literature, and an aesthetical capacity that invested his conversation on pictures, statuary engravings, and all forms of fine art with a rare charm.

"Those amongst the readers of these lines who were young with me at the period I am commemorating must well remember the elevating and refining influence which, without imposing undue constraint upon his company, the Bishop carried with him wherever he went. At his table conversation insensibly assumed a tone of greater dignity; in his presence it was difficult to be rude, or boisterous, or vulgar. Both in speaking and in writing he was a most thoroughly urbane and polished master of classical English. Minute attention to style as the means of accurately expressing and ornamenting thought was a marked characteristic of his literary composition. He did not believe in gaining force by the sacrifice of finish. His style was none the less forcible that it was polished.

"His memory will be safe in the hearts of his numerous friends in England and India. Those who have received his image into their hearts know that something has been given them which no time can take away; and to them we think no words will seem fitter than those which have cherished the memory of another beautiful soul who thus expressed his ideal of perfect character:—"He who has had the happiness of watching the lives of those who, in passing through the world, escape contamination; who devote their faculties, endowments and exertions to the promotion of the happiness of others, by making them wiser and better; and who show in all their actions and feelings and endurance that the moral sentiments are developed to the greatest height commensurate with humanity because they are interpenetrated with and become assimilated to the Divine Light and the Divine Pattern—he who has watched the course of such lives and characters will understand what is signified by 'the beauty of holiness.'"

The following is a copy of the inscription of a Tablet to be placed as a Memorial to the Bishop in St. George's Cathedral, Madras; a similar one in Tamil will be placed in the Church at Edeyengudi, Tinnevely:

Sacred to the memory of
The Right Reverend Robert Caldwell, D.D., LL.D.,
Fellow of the University of Madras,
who for 53 years devoted his eminent talents to the
furtherance of the Gospel,
and the building up of Christ's Church among
the Tamil people in Tinnevely,
the last 14 of those years
as Assistant Bishop to the Bishop of Madras.

Excelling as a Scholar and Philologist,
intimately acquainted with the Tamil people, their history,
language and customs,
a ready and elegant Writer, he attained a wide reputation,
bringing honor thereby to the Missionary's calling,
and strengthening the cause of Missions in the Church at home.

But all his attainments and fame did not divert him
from his great purpose
and the simplicity of his Missionary life. He continued to be
an earnest, sympathizing, vigilant watcher of souls.

By his Apostolic labours and example, he trained many native agents,
brought thousands of heathen into the Church of Christ,
raised the character and status
not of the Christians only, but also of those without the Church,
and won their attachment and reverence.

He was born at Belfast, of Scotch parents, on the 7th May, 1814,
and died at Kodaikanal, on the 28th August, 1891.

His body rests beneath the chancel of
Holy Trinity Church which he built at Edeyengudi, Tinnevely.

CORRIGENDA.

- PAGE 15, l. 33—combated *instead of* combatted.
" 16, l. 33—Athenæus *instead of* Athenasius.
" 21, l. 4—Burgoyne *instead of* Bargoyne.
" 69, l. 2—Nilgiris *instead of* Tinnevely.
189, l. 47—sore *instead of* sole.