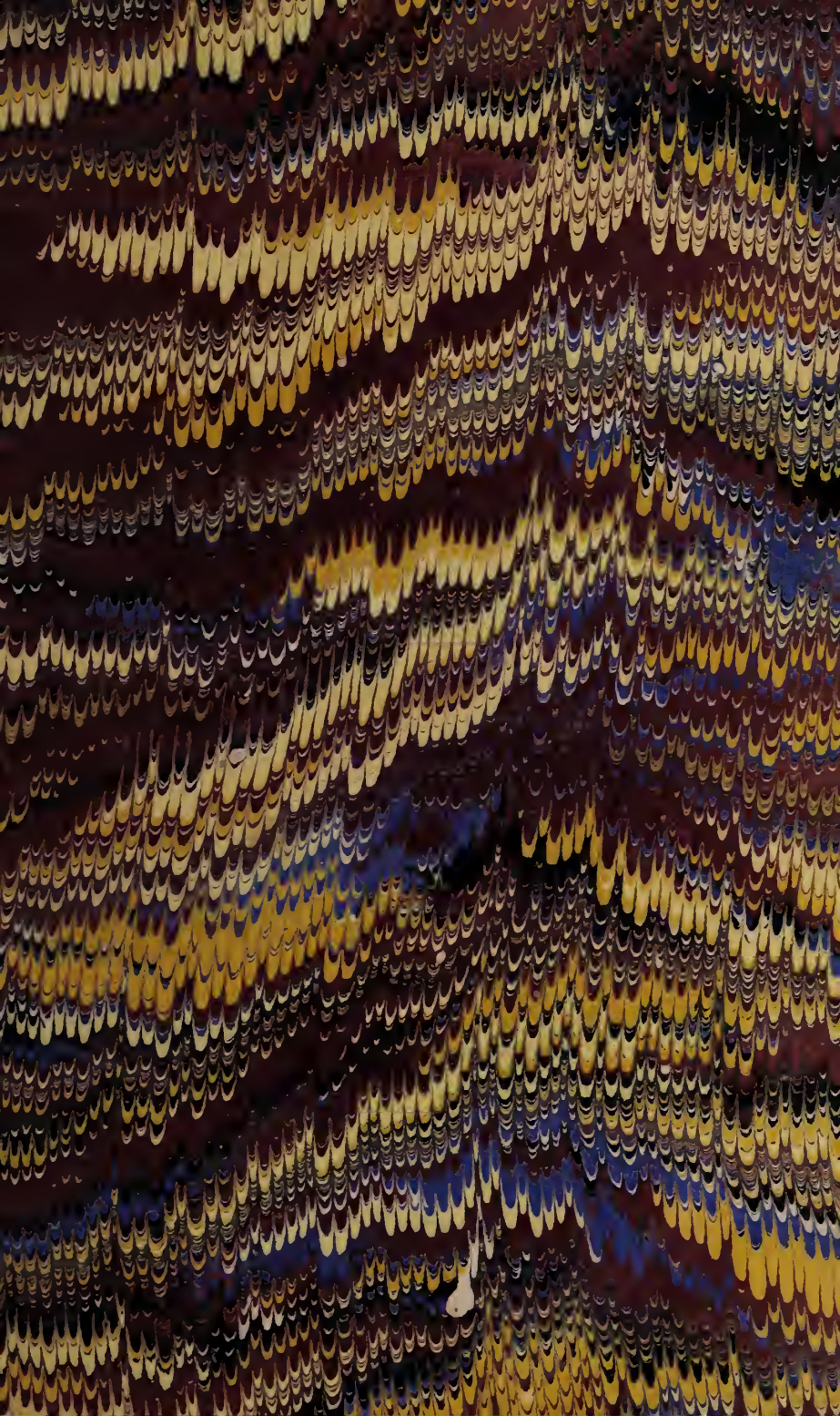
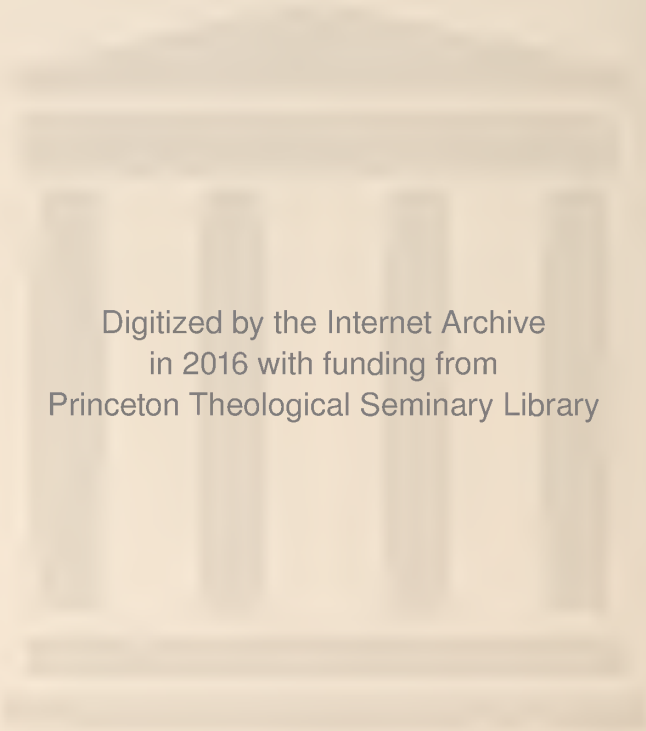




THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

JULY, 1858.

No. III.

ARTICLE I.—*Annals of the American Pulpit;* or Commemorative Notices of distinguished American Clergymen of various Denominations. With Historical Introductions. By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. Volumes III. and IV. New York: Carters. 1858. 8vo. pp. 632, 836.

WE have already paid our respects to the former volumes of this work, and we need not repeat the remarks which we then made upon the plan and manner of the collection. But this new portion has a peculiar charm, as containing the history of our own venerable and beloved branch of the church catholic. Delightful as it has been to turn over these pages, we have found it a slow process, as our progress has been continually interrupted by the emotions which memory awoke, as we saw passing before us in vision, the images, first of those whose names were perpetually on the lips of our fathers, and then of those at whose feet we ourselves once sat. The task or sacred office of recalling such associations has chastened every controversial heat, and made us fain to recall the day when the Presbyterian church in the United States was an undivided body; while the prospect of yet greater increase and diffusion over rising States and conterminous countries, lifts our hearts in thanksgiving and hope.

When we reflect that the series extends from 1683 to 1855,

that it contains regular biographies of two hundred and fifty-six clergymen, and briefer notices of two hundred and twenty-eight, we recognize the wisdom and even necessity of the plan adopted. A work so wide in range, concerning so vast a territory, and constructed chiefly from unpublished sources, would have been the merest sham, if attempted by the unaided toils of any individual. The author has drawn largely upon the amplest and most competent circle, and we are constrained to say his success has been complete. We may not always think the hero worthy of the song, or the statue of the niche; this might be said of an Iliad or a Walhalla. Yet the selection of names is as judicious, we are quite sure, as any living writer would have made it. Inequality, as we said on a former occasion, will always be predicable of joint labours like these; but what then? we have contributions as often above as below the average mark; and some of the letters are gems of characteristic biography which would shine even without their present tasteful setting. We cannot always subscribe to the admiring verdict of pupils, parishioners, and kinsmen; but the hyperbole in such cases is not to be ascribed to the careful and wise editor. Instances of this kind it would be invidious to point out, and happily their number is very small; while it is pleasing to observe, that of the opposite fault, or the blackening of departed purity, the book, so far as we can discern, affords no example.

Of the fathers of American Presbyterianism, beginning with the revered MAKEMIE, the third volume gives full and authentic histories. The line of Tennents and Blairs, whose descendants are among us, and to whose eminent services Dr. Alexander directed attention by his "Log College," is duly illustrated. It is remarkable how many of these worthies might be classed as the associates and defenders of Mr. WHITEFIELD.*

* We observe a tendency, in quarters where accuracy might have been expected, to abridge the venerable evangelist's name into *Whitfield*, thus inventing a new surname, and sinking the graceful etymology which Cowper has sweetly consecrated in his LEUCONOMOS. By which we are reminded, that having many years ago spent a Sabbath with the late reverend Joseph Rue, who as a pupil of William Tennent had often met Whitefield, we inquired of him how the name was pronounced: Mr. Rue's answer was emphatically "*White*-field."

The biography of William Tennent may be selected as a fair specimen of the care with which our indefatigable author has searched into a vexed question of fact, and of the singular interest which can be thrown round the history of a quiet country minister. The striking letter of Dr. Woodhull reminds us of a visit which we enjoyed at the parsonage of that venerable man, then surrounded by relics of the battle of Monmouth; and of his showing us a life-sized silhouette of his pious predecessor. The name of President BURR leads us to note, as indicative of the learning which then prevailed, that we possess an autograph discourse, in Latin, which he pronounced to his students upon the occasion of Dr. Doddridge's death. The memoir of DAVENPORT is one which carries a moral, never to be forgotten; and the story of his fanaticism and his retractation, taken in connection with the notices of the Great Awakening, is as valuable to the coming age as anything in the book. Indeed all the narratives in this stadium of our church-history read like an entertaining story-book; nor can we see how anything more full of interest could be brought into a Presbyterian family. In the compendious life of President DAVIES we are pleased to observe that Dr. Sprague, with his characteristic accuracy, omits the blundering fable about the great preacher's reproof of King George, during a sermon. It is high time that an idle anecdote, awkwardly patched up out of a story well-known to all readers of Scottish history, should cease to be published in the front of this great and good man's sermons. We have perused his autograph journals of his British tour, and have found no allusion to any appearance before royalty. Indeed the very thought of a persecuted Virginia dissenter being invited to preach before George II., is, in the eyes of one who knows the times, simply ridiculous.*

* 1. The story of Bruce.—"The same person (Mr. Livingston) told another account of Mr. Bruce's freedom with the king. One day he was preaching before his majesty at Edinburgh, and the king was sitting in his own seat, with several of the nobility waiting on him. The king had a custom very frequently of talking with those about him in time of sermon. This he fell

2. The story of Davies.—"His fame as a pulpit orator was so great in London, that some noblemen who had heard him, mentioned in the presence of king George II., that there was a very distinguished dissenting preacher in London, from the colony of Virginia, who was attracting great notice, and drawing after him very crowded audiences; upon which the king expressed

Our earliest memory of sepulchral marbles connects itself with a slab in the aisle of the Pine street church, over the ashes of the Rev. GEORGE DUFFIELD; our infant feet often trod upon that sculptured stone, which had then been laid about eighteen years. His grandson and great-grandson, Presbyterian ministers, bear both his names.

Few names in the history of our church and nation are more worthy of record than that of JOHN WITHERSPOON. The succinct memoir here given is just, being indeed all that such limits allowed; but we crave more. It is greatly to be regretted that Dr. Green, the pupil and ardent admirer of Witherspoon, should never have received encouragement to publish the copious life which he had prepared of his great predecessor; we have reason to believe that the manuscript has left the country. The influence of Witherspoon upon such minds as those of Dr. SAMUEL SPRING and JAMES MADISON cannot now be calculated. If Mr. Rives shall consent to give to the public the results of a learned research which he so well

into that day. Mr. Bruce soon noticed it and stopped, upon which the king gave over. The king fell a talking with those near him a second time, and Mr. Bruce stopped a second time, and if I remember, sat down in his seat. When the king noticed this, he gave over, and Mr. Bruce went on with his subject. A third time the king fell a talking; Mr. Bruce was very much grieved that the king should continue in this practice, after the modest reproofs he had already upon the matter given him; and so a third time he stopped, and directing himself to the king, he expressed himself to this purpose: 'It is said to have been an expression of the wisest of kings, (I suppose he meaned an apocryphal saying of Solomon's,) When the lion roareth, all the beasts of the field are at ease; the Lion of the Tribe of Judah is now roaring, in the voice of his gospel, and it becomes all the petty kings of the earth to be silent.'"—*Wodrow's Life of Bruce,* p. 154.

a strong desire to hear him, and his chaplain invited him to preach in his chapel. Mr. Davies is said to have complied, and preached before a splendid audience, composed of the royal family and many of the nobility of the realm. It is further said, that while Mr. Davies was preaching, the king was seen speaking at different times to those around him, who were seen also to smile. Mr. Davies observed it, and was shocked at what he thought was irreverence in the house of God, that was utterly inexcusable in one whose example might have such influence. After pausing and looking sternly in that direction several times, the preacher proceeded in his discourse, when the same offensive behaviour was still observed. The American dissenter is said then to have exclaimed, '*When the lion roars, the beasts of the forest all tremble; and when King Jesus speaks, the princes of the earth should keep silence.*'" *

* Dr. Hill, quoted by Mr. Barnes; Essay prefixed to Carters' edition of Davies, 1845.

knows how to conduct, we shall perhaps learn unexpected things concerning the early theological acumen of Madison, as evoked by the philosophic Scotchman. Dr. Sprague slightly errs in saying that the only American edition is of 1803, in three volumes; for we have before us an edition of 1800 and 1801, in four volumes, from the press of William W. Woodward, of Chestnut street, who may be described as the Robert Carter of that day.

It is to us a solemn memento, that we do not get beyond the middle of this first Presbyterian volume, before we find ourselves among those whom we personally remember; for the stately form of Dr. Woodhull, the son-in-law of Gilbert Tennent, rises distinctly before us. We further recall his venerable relict, and her reminiscences of President Davies, in full dress, and with his gold-headed cane. Still more vivid is our memory of Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, in his beautiful old age, and of the affecting scene when in 1812 he resigned his presidentship. Of Dr. James Hall we could relate numerous anecdotes, as it was our privilege to look upon him with reverence in the home of our childhood. In addition to the valuable statements of Dr. Morrison, we think it not superfluous to state, that this devoted servant of God was sometimes visited with spiritual distresses of long continuance, and such gravity as even to silence his preaching. One result of these desertions of soul was, that he sympathized in an extraordinary degree with persons labouring under similar depressions; so that he would go miles out of his way to administer comfort to such, amidst his frequent visits to the north. In these journeys, which were always either on horseback, or in his own gig, Dr. Hall had so many friends at every stage to welcome him, that we remember his having said, that in coming to the General Assembly he once paid no more than half a dollar. That similar hospitalities are not obsolete, is attested by a distinguished clergyman of Paris, who has just left us, and who declares, that in travelling between three and four thousand miles in the United States, neither he nor his son ever spent a day in any public house.

Memorials like this sometimes instruct by their very reticencies, confirming our belief that the unwritten history of the

church is the greater and more valuable; inasmuch as the sayings and doings of the best and wisest men often pass without a chronicle.* A remarkable instance of this occurs in the case of the Rev. Dr. MOSES HOGE. Valuable as were the few writings which he gave to the press, they are scarcely to be procured; nor could they give any notion of his profound knowledge, impressive discourse, and heavenly graces. Those who enjoyed the conversation of the late Dr. Alexander, can never forget the almost filial terms of loving admiration in which he was wont to speak of Dr. Hoge. The extracts which follow from letters of Dr. Hoge to Dr. Alexander, will not be without interest to a class of readers whom we are always solicitous to gratify. Of date March 12, 1811: "Several weeks ago I received a letter from you, which has made a very sensible impression on my mind. I am, however, in hopes that the designs of the most accomplished tyrant on earth, may not be as hostile to Christianity as Mr. Walsh supposes. That Barruel was, by his zeal for his king, as for royalty, and for his religion, led into many mistakes of this nature, is, I believe, acknowledged by his best friends. And I think it not improbable that this may be the case with a writer of similar religious sentiments. I intend, however, upon your recommendation, to send for the work itself by Mr. Wood." April 5, 1815: "For the account you have given me of the happy reformation which has lately taken place in Nassau Hall, I am much indebted to you. This is certainly a glorious event. Many of the youth of that place will no doubt become preachers of the gospel, and burning and shining lights in the church. I have long thought that the education of youth has, for the most part, been miserably mismanaged in our country. Piety and virtue seem rather to be secondary than primary objects in most of our seminaries. And can we reasonably expect religion to revive and flourish with us while this is the case? There are, indeed, some religious people in our country, who consider learning of little or no advantage to an ambassador of

* "Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique, longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro."

Jesus Christ; and the success which has attended an unlearned ministry in the world, ought certainly to check the pride of human learning, and lead us to depend less upon —— ——. Thus far had I written two days ago; but I was arrested by the prevailing epidemic. I think myself, however, better; nor am I under any apprehensions for the result. If I have any more to do on earth, my life will be prolonged, and if not, I wish not to live. It would, however, I acknowledge, be mortifying to me to leave the world, without having done something more for One to whom I acknowledge myself to be under infinite obligation; for Christian brethren whom I dearly love; and for impenitent sinners whom I sincerely pity. But the will of God is always right and best."

The sermons to which allusion is here made are really little else than full skeletons; for it was not his manner to write much in preparation for the pulpit. It was our lot to hear a sermon from his lips just before his last illness, in the summer of 1820; and on this occasion he reverently visited the burial place of Burr, Edwards, Davies, and Witherspoon. The wisdom, humility, and meekness of the apostolic man, are the more impressed upon us by reason of the solemn and paternal exhortations which he took occasion to give to a careless and inexperienced youth. Though Dr. Hoge often delivered sermons, which by the award of the best judges placed him in the very highest rank as a theologian, a believer, and a master of the human heart, it is almost proverbial that he looked upon his own performances with a sort of trembling contempt. In corresponding with Dr. Alexander, on the subject of ministerial education, which they both had so much at heart, he discloses his deep anxiety lest the day should arrive, when genius, erudition, and eloquence should carry it over heart-religion and zeal for the glory of God in the salvation of souls. There are many still living who remember him as the messenger of divine grace to their souls. In natural connection comes the name of Drury Lacy, a brother Virginian, who likewise by a notable coincidence departed this life in Philadelphia. The "silver hand" of Mr. Lacy is one of our earliest remembrances. It was a hemisphere attached to the wrist, in order to replace the hand which had been torn off by the bursting of a musket; into this

appliance he used to screw a table-fork. With the remaining hand he achieved an elegance of handwriting such as we may never see again, since the disuse of the "grey goose-quill." If the records of Hanover Presbytery are still extant, they present, we will venture to assert, an elegance unequalled by any similar document in the country.

The memoir of President GREEN carries us back to days when he, Dr. Wilson, Dr. Alexander, the Rev. George C. Potts, and Dr. Janeway, were the Presbyterian pastors of Philadelphia. In days when the flowing and powdered wig was not yet discarded, and when kneebuckles were part of clerical insignia, Dr. Green was one of the most conspicuous men in the streets of our greatest city. Neither his piety nor his eloquence has any fit memorial. His masculine style of writing is not exemplified in the autobiography which he penned late in life; nor have we any collection of his nervous epistolary composition. We are very far from considering his baccalaureate discourses as his best. Indeed, nothing ever proceeded from his lips which we would be more desirous to reproduce, than those Thursday Evening Lectures, of which the words were extemporaneous, and which blended doctrinal discussion with close and affectionate appeals to the heart. As a familiar expositor of Scripture we consider Dr. Green to have surpassed all we ever knew. When President of the College he assembled the entire body of undergraduates, on the afternoon of the Lord's-day. Five chapters were commonly embraced in each lesson. Some are living, who are remembered as having uniformly recited the whole of this long lesson by rote. We might summon such witnesses as Governor Lumpkin, Mr. Senator Iverson, Chief Justice Green, and the Rev. Dr. Kirk. The Doctor had an extraordinary knack of fixing the attention even of the giddiest. His explanations recur to our minds, after forty years, as having justly settled for us the meaning of numerous passages, and as having forestalled the most formidable objections of infidelity. Throughout his career, President Green never lost sight of the spiritual good of his pupils, as paramount to all other considerations. If he was sometimes deemed imperious and despotic, he showed a very different mien, as we can testify, when any resorted to his study under religious anxiety, as was the case

in more than one of the revivals. We yield hearty concurrence to the remarks of the Rev. Dr. Murray, in regard to Dr. Green's Lectures to the Sunday-school teachers of Philadelphia. A touching instance of Dr. Green's piety, in the delicate relation growing out of a collegiate charge, occurs in a letter of his preserved by Dr. Janeway, in which he says: "Be assured, my dear friend, that I long, long since, laid it down as a rule, and have considered it as a sacred duty, to pray for my colleague whenever, in secret, I pray for myself."* A man of more guileless honesty and more perfect courage, we never expect to see on earth.

From Dr. Green it is natural to pass to his coeval and co-presbyter, the Rev. JAMES P. WILSON, D. D. Just fifty years ago his name became known to us, in connection with an incident of childhood. From that time onwards we were taught to think of him as a great theologian, and a prodigy of learning. His tall spare frame and bloodless visage are justly noted in Dr. Hall's contributions; where allusion is also made to Dr. Wilson's practice of bleeding himself. This, let us add, was in like manner the habit of President Smith. Both suffered from hæmoptysis; and both were intimate friends of the arch-phlebotomist, Dr. Benjamin Rush, whom we also remember among the good and great Philadelphians of that day. The comic letters of Doctors Patton and Ely give a prominence to certain oddities of this remarkable man, which were but as spots upon the sun, scarcely observable amidst the mild radiance of his truly remarkable excellencies. His entrance on a religious life, after long practice at the bar, and under impressions produced by the murder of a beloved brother, was such as diffused a peculiar influence over his whole ministry. That refusal of presents, which some have placed in a ludicrous light, was a corollary from his scrupulous opinions concerning the independence of the minister, as president of a court. A spirit of judicial argumentation ran through his pulpit discourses. Each was an hour long, and was continuous ratiocination, with avowed exclusion of addresses to the feelings. We never heard more interesting trains of thought; nor do we wonder

* Life of Dr. Green, by Dr. Joseph H. Jones, p. 589.

that the most cultivated minds of a city always prominent for letters, gathered in the First Presbyterian church. Of that revered edifice we have a print lying before us; and well do we remember the meetings of the General Assembly, when that court had not yet lost its prestige by becoming ambulatory; and when the huge pulpit was graced by the magnates of the church. It was a scene quite parallel to that of Edinburgh in May. While Presbyterian preachers were more free from manuscript hinderances in that day than at present, there were few who could go the length of Dr. Wilson's remark: "I have preached twenty years, and have never written a full sermon in my life, and never read one word of a sermon from the pulpit, nor opened a note, nor committed a sentence, and have rarely wandered five minutes at a time from my mental arrangement previously made." A few words of Dr. Hall's letter to Dr. Sprague more accurately present Dr. Wilson's mode of preaching, than anything we have seen. After hearing many noted preachers, in more countries than one, we find no exact parallel to this cool yet fascinating reasoner; he was *sui generis*. In his simple view of ministerial address, the preacher was a father, talking as simply and plainly as possible to the family which surrounded him. There was therefore no change of tone, and no jar to the hearer's feelings, when Dr. Wilson requested that a lady in the gallery would cease to cough; or, turning to the famous Orbilius of our schoolboy days, would say, "These are points of grammar, which we refer to the better learning of Mr. Ross." He was himself an enthusiastic linguist. Besides his Essay on Grammar, 1817, which was indescribably dry, he had issued in 1812 an Introduction to the Hebrew Language; in which he warmly espoused the judgment of Capellus against the utility as well as antiquity of the Masoretic vowel points. When Middleton's celebrated work on the Greek Article appeared, it deeply interested Dr. Wilson. His exactness of learning made him a formidable examiner in Presbytery. On a certain occasion, when a manuscript of theological lectures was submitted to Dr. Wilson, he not only pronounced it to be in the main a translation from Turrettine, but added the odd remark, that the writer mended his pen at the top of each new page. He would sometimes examine young men upon books which

they had borrowed from him; and this we remember to have befallen our companion, Joseph S. Christmass, in regard to Edwards on the Will. Dr. Wilson died in patriarchal peace; and we gladly copy the most striking and edifying statement of Dr. Skinner. "He said to a friend, 'I have a difficulty, and you will perhaps think strangely of it; I am at a loss what to pray for;' and added, in a most solemn tone and with his eyes lifted to heaven, 'God knows I am willing that whatever he pleases should be done.'"

The name of the Rev. JAMES MITCHELL is one which connects our own generation with that of Todd, Waddel and Graham; for this veteran soldier laboured from 1781 to 1841. His frame was knotty and enduring. When he was seventy-eight years of age, we remember to have accompanied him on horseback fifteen miles from the place of preaching; and he was as alert as any one of the cavalcade. At times he delivered discourses which were remarkable for their fire. We have heard him speak of Dr. Waddel, whom he well knew; and who, according to his recollections, was not inferior to the glowing portrait of Wirt. Under the preaching of this great orator, Mr. Mitchell said, whole assemblies were often melted into tears.

We still wait for an adequate memoir of Dr. MILLER. Few men in our church have better deserved such a tribute. For the purposes of a work like this, the sketch before us is all that we could demand; but it is sad that we should lose the recollections still accessible, concerning one whose memory is sacred. Well did he discharge the debt, which, according to the dictum of Bacon, every man owes to his profession. A more staunch and loyal Presbyterian Calvinist never lived. The warfare which he waged against high-church assumption was prompted by pious conviction of the truth; its fruits are still held in honour as well by our brethren in Scotland as by ourselves; and we lately saw an Italian version of his treatise on Presbyterianism, printed at Turin. Here, as in other cases, Dr. Sprague's extensive knowledge and singular industry make his bibliographical lists highly valuable; it will be seen that Dr. Miller's pamphlet sermons reached a very high number.

His numerous volumes were chiefly in vindication of our ecclesiastical tenets.

Dr. Miller combined some admirable traits, which are oftener seen apart. For great and various reading he was noted from his very boyhood; yet no man showed less of the bookworm. His portrait, by Sully, as in early manhood, is fresh, beautiful and courtly; for he was the charm and decoration of the most select circles in New York; and all through life he stood unsurpassed, so far as our observation goes, for good humour in conversation, brilliant but innocent repartee, and a fund of anecdote at once jocund and inexhaustible. With all this, he was visibly growing in grace during his whole ministry. This was repeatedly remarked by Dr. Alexander, who lived by his side forty years, and who loved to testify, that he had never detected in his colleague a trace either of personal vanity or of envy. He was by nature fearless, we may even say polemic; yet a more melting forgiveness, or a larger charity, we do not hope to find. In all our knowledge of ministers, we never knew one who was so ready to own himself in the wrong, or so unfeignedly lowly in regard to his own attainments; nor one more conscientious in self-denial and special prayer. Those who judge him only by his books, can have but a remote conception of what Dr. Miller was, either as the vivifying spirit of delighted groups, or as the spiritual and tender Christian friend.

The translation is easy to Dr. ROBERT FINDLAY, the friend of African Colonization from America, towards which he was one of the first to propose any feasible scheme. Our personal recollections bring up the scenes connected with the early movements in 1816, particularly the earnest conferences between this fervent, energetic man, and the late Dr. Alexander, who shared in his enthusiasm, and was partner in all his counsels. And we pen these words with peculiar solemnity and grief, on the very day which reports the decease of a contemporary friend of Africa, we mean the excellent Mr. Anson G. Phelps, second of the name, and like his honoured Christian father, devoted to the work of Colonization. Dwelling in a house where ministers were continually entertained, we saw in our boyhood and youth many whose names adorn these volumes; for example, Doctors and Messrs. Balch, Romeyn, Grif-

fin, Richards, Lyle, Doak, J. P. Campbell, Blackburn, Flinn, Palmer, Fisk, Jennings, Blair, and W. S. Reid. But we cannot satisfy ourselves with a bare mention of one so honoured as the late Dr. Blatchford of Lansingburg. His portly person and benignant countenance rise before us, as we knew him first in his punctual visits to Princeton as a Director of the Seminary, and then as dispensing the hospitalities of his own generous mansion. Dr. Blatchford was a man of no common energy and warmth. His youth in England had been much cultivated, not only by classical studies but by the fine arts; and we have lately been examining a finished drawing from his hand, which has been pronounced extraordinary, even by great critics. His friends remember the singular talent which he had, for dashing off at the fire-side impromptu profiles of his friends. As the patriarch of a large family, Dr. Blatchford shone conspicuous; and the generous flow of his heart led him to enlarge this home-circle until it took in a multitude. We have good cause to attest his tender and encouraging disposition towards young candidates for the ministry. He never lost what was dignified and cordial in his English clerical manners; and in the pulpit he fairly represented the better class of Nonconformists in his native land. Instructive, animated, full of gracious doctrine and unction, he always satisfied his hearers, and sometimes melted them by the gush of his own emotions. Two of his sons entered the ministry, and were familiarly known to us more than thirty years ago.

Dr. Speece is recalled with a glow of interest, by all who remember Lacy, Lyle, Alexander, and Rice. If the remaining groves and thickets about Prince Edward Court-House and Briery could speak, they would testify of many a high argument, held by these inquiring and enthusiastic young men, upon baptism and other professional topics. Speece was a favourite with all the rest. Dr. Sprague's correspondents give a good notion of his huge ungainly figure, and rotund, deliberate, gainsaying discourse, all reminding one of Samuel Johnson. True, he was a rustic moralist, as proud of his native mountains as the other of Fleet street. But, in his sphere, he, too, was elegant, ingenious, learned, sententious, polemic, and even oracular. Careful in his diction, even to purism, Dr. Speece

often poured forth to his rural flock discourses which, though extemporaneous as to their words, were periodic and terse. We remember no conversations in our youth more deserving of a Boswell, than some which fell from the lips of this Augusta pastor, as he bestrode his tall horse among those beautiful woodlands. The licenses which he allowed himself in his home circle were almost antics, strikingly in contrast with his elephantine port, and often intended to awaken the wonder of martinets and cits. Thus we have seen him in a short jacket play on his flute, after coming in from the day's work, and have known him clamber into an open window, to the alarm of more proper brethren, whose intellectual loins were thinner than his little finger. All the contributions given here, touching this generous and accomplished friend of our boyhood, are valuable. We will add to these a few extracts from letters to the late Rev. Dr. Alexander; remarking, by the bye, that they are almost faultless specimens of a round-hand which is now seldom seen.

In allusion to a manuscript work of religious fiction, he writes, August 15, 1808: "I am delighted with the prospect of seeing your sweet Eudocia presented to the public. Before I received your letter, I had resolved to write to you soon, principally to entreat that the door which confined her might be opened, that she might walk forth for the entertainment and edification of the world. I hope the humorous and satirical parts of the work will be retained. They will be useful in themselves, and render the book alluring to a larger number of readers. And though I should not like to differ in a point of taste from Mrs. Alexander, allow me to put in a word in behalf of the dream or dreams which you read to me in the manuscript. Dreaming is indeed a delicate subject both in philosophy and religion. But we believe that God does sometimes speak to men in dreams and visions of the night, to fasten important instruction upon their hearts." "I have long been collecting ideas for a treatise on liberty and necessity; not to increase the mass of metaphysical subtilties on the subject, but if possible to diminish it. But I have another design in hand, more likely to be executed; namely, to write a sermon or dissertation on the doctrine of Election. Presumptuous as it may appear, I

cannot but think I could produce something more satisfactory than I have yet met with on that doctrine, especially in the business of answering objections against it." March 17, 1809: "Is poor old Virginia to be easily abandoned by its religious teachers? Is not Presbyterianism the only visible preservative, under God, of sound evangelical truth, and rational religion here? Surely this is a matter of very serious consideration. I may mention in confidence, that my friend, Dr. Miller, has repeatedly desired me to put myself in the way of a call from New York. Did I suppose myself fit for New York or Philadelphia, which I hardly can suppose, I should not the less regret to see our Northern friends labouring to strip my native country of its ministers, and abandon it to infidelity, enthusiasm, and licentiousness. After all, I can conceive calls of duty which might induce me to leave Virginia some years hence, should it please God to give me life and health. Nor have I any peculiar antipathy to Philadelphia; I like it, indeed, the best of any city I have ever seen. You will collect from the above what to say to my German brethren, should they speak to you concerning it. It seems impossible that I should comply with any call from them now. By the way, do you know how any one of us could be constitutionally dismissed from the whole Presbyterian church, to join any other denomination of Christians?"

The Doctor, it should be remembered, was the son of a German; the name being properly Spiesz. It was this which drew to him the attention of German congregations, then less able than now to procure preachers, in New York and Philadelphia; while at the same time it attracted his insatiable mind to the rationalistic writers. We could produce his clever annotations on Bauer and Michaëlis. In his country home he treasured up most valuable authors, and sometimes kept his learned stores laid away in boxes. A great book was by no means to him a great evil; and we behold him now in memory, dilating with animation upon a reperusal which he had just accomplished of Plutarch's Lives. No man in Virginia was more completely *au courant* of the recent theological literature, and certainly no one was so fascinating in observation upon all that occupied the public mind. It is known to few now living, that Dr. Speece

and Dr. Alexander once had an amicable controversy in print, upon the old question often mooted in the schools, whether souls were *ex traduce.*

The longer we ponder over these attractive pages the more cause do we see for thankfulness that God has raised up for our country so many strong and illustrious men within our church; and this term we here accept in no narrow sense. Among these some of the grandest and most admirable characters have been formed by the hand of Providence and Grace afar from cities and conventional refinements; growing up to varied erudition and masculine energy amidst the day-labour of actual service. Such preachers were Brainerd, Dickinson, Davies, Waddel, Smith, Hoge, Speece, Rice, Baxter, Matthews, Jennings, and Nelson. It would be easy to swell the list, and to add those more splendid names of professors, orators, and authors, who have achieved a national reputation. It is not for us as Presbyterians to say how much truth there is in the following judgment of our New England neighbours; but the source of the statements gives them peculiar interest: "We feel ourselves—we are sorry to say—among men of higher mark, in these new volumes, than in those which commemorated the Trinitarian Congregationalists. True, among the latter there were clergymen, from the earliest times, who had no superiors, and hardly any equals, this side heaven; but among the leading divines of the Presbyterian church, we discern, as we think, a more uniformly elevated standard of distinctively clerical talent, learning and character. One reason for this undoubtedly is, that the Presbyterian church, occupying a much larger extent of territory, and reckoning, certainly for an entire century, if not longer, a more numerous catalogue of ministers, would, by the laws of proportion, furnish a greater array of choice names for the biographer. But this is not all. In New England, with the legal support secured for nearly two centuries to the Congregational clergy, and with the life-tenure of their office, many men occupied prominent pastorates while devoid of superior qualifications for their profession. Such ministers were generally men of strong minds, cogent influence, and distinguished reputation; and being literally the *parsons* (*personæ*) of their respective parishes—wield-

ing often an autocracy, little short of despotism—they had scope for the unchecked growth and exercise of eccentric traits of character and abnormal habits of life. And they often acquired the local fame which would entitle them to a place in a record like Dr. Sprague's, by oddities rather than by graces, or by services and labours outside of their profession, rather than by preaching and the cure of souls. Accordingly, the first two volumes of the 'Annals' exceed these last two in variety of character and incident, in the affluence of piquant anecdote and grotesque description, and in the exhibition of the *manysidedness* of ministerial life. Presbyterianism, on the other hand, never had a local establishment in this country, but has been compelled to conquer by the 'sword of the Spirit' all the ground it occupies. Its ministers have, for the most part, won and held their places because they were fitted for them, and laborious in them. With few exceptions they have given themselves wholly to their work, with such subsidiary avocations in teaching or agriculture as were necessary to eke out their support in new or feeble churches, and in sparsely settled districts. The circumstance that has impressed us most of all in these narratives, is the very large number of men of surpassing ability, endowments, and sanctity, who have been settled for life, or for many years, in very obscure localities and humble pastorates."*

We must again express our opinion that Dr. Sprague has accomplished a great national work, of which the value will be acknowledged by posterity. The plan was formidable for its extent; the mode of securing the material, lying scattered and formless all over the country, was nobly and ingeniously devised; and the execution demanded a diligence and a tact which belong not to one in a million. Errors, and inequalities, and omissions there are no doubt; but who will reckon these, in a task so patriotic, honest, and desirable? The subsidiary parts have sometimes fallen into most able hands; and some of the letters offer felicitous specimens of out-line portraiture from distinguished pens. It is no small attraction of the volumes that they contain complete letters, of biographical interest,

* North American Review, for April, 1858, p. 583.

from Dr. Miller, Dr. Alexander, Dr. Lindsly, Dr. Knox, Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clay, and Judges Johns and Kane, among the departed; from such statesmen as Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Fillmore, Mr. Frelinghuysen, Mr. Butler, Mr. Choate; scholars, such as Presidents Day, Nott, Carnahan, Ruffner, Maclean, and Talmage; and Professors Beecher, Breckinridge, Park, Dabney, Silliman, and Skinner; to say nothing of a host of clergymen, including some of the greatest eminence. The descriptive power, the stirring incident, and occasionally the humour of these articles, deriving variety from authorship thus diverse, combine to make the work a mine of entertainment.

Whether the gifted author will forgive us for saying it, we know not; but he has been providentially in training for this very service almost all his life. Always welcome wherever he went, in Europe or America; always inquiring, yet always communicating more than he received, he has ransacked the chests, files, and memories of half the distinguished men in the nation. Some notion may be derived of his collecting zeal, from the library of American pamphlets, filling about twelve hundred bound volumes, and extending from the earliest Puritan *origines* to our own day; all presented as a free gift to the Theological Seminary at Princeton. If we err not, he is again building up a similar pile of material, which will be invaluable for future investigators. The history of our church and country, and the biography of our noted men have always commanded Dr. Sprague's warm sympathy; hence he has become preëminently an inquirer and a collector. These tastes and pursuits have fitted him for that elaborate compilation and digestion of facts, of which we here have the results. He has differed from many gatherers, in that he has always been acquainted with his own accumulations, whether in print or manuscript. There is no good reason why we should be silent concerning our author's magnificent collection of autograph documents; especially as this has directly contributed to the chief labour of his life. We are not among those who indulge in cheap sneer at such tastes. These very contemptuous critics will themselves sometimes chuckle over a single stray letter of Washington or Napoleon, while they affect to pity the crotchet of a man who has brought together with immense care,

fine historic knowledge, and exquisite arrangement, myriads of letters, compositions, even entire works, from the most famous pens, each redolent of personal associations, and collectively precious from their completeness and continuity. Nature and reason get the better of the cynic, when, in the penetralia of the British Museum, or the Advocates' Library, he alights on the original Magna Charta, the Solemn League and Covenant, Ben Jonson's Queen's Masque, the Aminta of Tasso, Comus, Irene, or even Waverley. No man can seek, procure, classify and con a great body of historic manuscripts, without at the same time augmenting his fund of valuable information.

We speak without book, and from hearsay, for we have never enjoyed access to Dr. Sprague's collection; nor are we sure that we shall escape his censure for telling what is reported. But we believe there are few such prodigies of diplomatic wealth in the world. Counting letters and other documents, from persons of all sorts, more or less distinguished, the visitor of this collection will find it amount to not less than sixty thousand. In regard to American names, we have been told there is scarcely a single class or series—such as Presidents, Generals, Governors, Bishops, &c.—which is not complete. A connoisseur informed us that Dr. Sprague's British collection would be a large one in England; his French collection in France; and his German collection in Germany. Unless some men of learning and taste were endowed with this additional talent for preserving the memorials of the past, we should have no such encyclopedic works as that which we are here about to lay down. That it has received so large a share of public applause from all parts of the country, and every branch of the church, must be a reward to the excellent author, second only to the inward persuasion that he has rendered a grateful service to the cause of Christ.

ART. II.—*Historical Value of the Pentateuch.*

THE first of these books, in giving us the origin of things, recognizes in almost its very first word, [Elohim,] the great, the final hypothesis of all science. The creation of matter out of nothing is the sublime announcement of its opening sentence. We are carried back to a period when no primordial elements, so called, existed, out of which this matter could have been evolved or formed. We are made to see a presiding Intelligence behind, a controlling hand over the dread potencies which are at work among worlds and systems of worlds. A great First Cause is an intellectual necessity; that is to say, it, and it alone, satisfies the intellectual, judging faculty in man. Science must here sit down at the feet of a divinely-instructed historian. That most historical of all the sciences, but in whose vast cycles, years and centuries are lost, as inappreciable units, finds here in these pregnant sentences, either the outline of that record, or ample room for it in their designed ellipses, which is written out at large, in the rocks and strata of the earth.

But passing to what belongs more strictly to the domain of history, Genesis commences its account of man with his origin. It does not leave us to the absurd fables of heathen mythology, nor to the senseless theories of some who profess to attribute the mysterious principle of life to a blind and casual evolution of some agency of matter, and tell us in learned phrase, that a few leading types of the animal kingdom have sprung from "nucleated vesicles," from which all the rest have been gradually developed; and that man himself finds his immediate predecessors in the advanced quadrupeds of the woods. It tells us that God formed the body of man out of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and he became a living soul. That in this statement we have the origin, the common origin of all mankind, all the most able researches in psychology, and the physiology and physical history of man, have hitherto abundantly confirmed. Following the received chronology, the common date 4004 B. C., points to the time of the creation of the first man, and marks the commencement of

human history. The Mosaic history alone of all the writings, or records of any kind, in the possession of men, furnishes the *data* for determining, with a good degree of accuracy, this initial date. Without it, chronology would have no reliable starting point; and we should be wholly without any means of correcting ambitious and fabulous dates, in the mythological histories of the old nations.

The history of man is a history of crimes and follies—of tyranny and servitude, of invasions and wars; in a word, it is a gloomy chronicle of the dominion of moral evil. It is, moreover, the history of a race, labouring to extract a livelihood from an unpropitious soil, contending with famines, pestilences and storms. It must to the philosophical historian be a question of the deepest interest, whether this evil existed by the will of the great Arbiter from the beginning; and if not, when and how it was first introduced. The only satisfactory answer ever yet promulged, is found in the Pentateuch. The earth was not always as it is now; it was once a garden of fruitfulness. Man was not always as he is now; he was once a total stranger to evil.

The value of the Pentateuch to history may be inferred from the length of the period, covered by the narrative contained in its several books, which, according to the received chronology, is no less than two thousand five hundred and fifty-three years; of which long period it is the only reliable history. The stories of profane authors respecting Belus, Ninus and Semiramis, and the whole line, so far as they have preserved any, of Assyrian and Babylonian kings, even down to the Greek dominion, are fabulous, or at the best, rest on very uncertain tradition; and little better can be said of what they relate respecting the Egyptians and Pelasgians. Of the above long period, the fifty chapters of Genesis contain the history of two thousand three hundred and sixty-nine years, a period of greater length by more than five hundred years, than has elapsed since the birth of the Redeemer of the world, and more than six hundred longer than the period from the death of Joseph, the last event recorded in Genesis, to the death of the apostle John, near the close of the first century of our present era.

The fact is important to chronology, to know through which

of the branches of the family of Adam, his posterity has been perpetuated. We learn that it is the line of Seth, born the year after the death of Abel, which forms the true stem of history. The race of Cain survives, only in the arts which some of his descendants were the first to invent. The first tents were made by Jabal. Tubal-Cain, (supposed to be the Vulcan of heathen mythology) was the first who discovered the art of working in metals. And musical instruments were invented by Jubal.

From the fifth chapter of Genesis, which appears at first sight like a dry list of names and ages of men, we learn a fact most important to the authenticity of the Mosaic history itself, when viewed apart from its inspired authority; to wit, that a single individual, Methusaleh, was contemporary with Adam about two hundred and fifty years, with Noah about six hundred, and Shem one hundred. It may be added that Shem lived one hundred and fifty years at the same time with Abraham, down to the middle of the nineteenth century before Christ. Thus a single living witness connects Noah and his sons with Adam; and another connects Abraham, the founder of the Hebrew nation, with this contemporary of Adam. Abraham received from the lips of Shem what he for a century had been learning from one, who, for more than two hundred years had conversed with the progenitor of the race. When the time is considered, it might be called tradition, but when the number of links in the chain of witnesses is but two, (if that can be called a chain) it can hardly with propriety be so denominated. As the oldest historian of the world was a Hebrew, and prefaced his history with an account of the origin of all things, the importance of this close connection of the progenitor of the Hebrew nation with the progenitor of the race, will be seen. Of similar importance, in a historical point of view, before books or written language had been given to men, was the great age of the antediluvian patriarchs in general. Their average age was eight hundred and fifty years each. This great age was important, not only to the rapid increase of population, but no less so to the faithful transmission of history.

Moses in the account which he gives of a deluge, by which the entire human race, with the exception of eight persons, was destroyed, furnishes us with the true history of an event of

which tradition is found in every part of the earth; which, if it is not strictly universal, is the most widely spread of any tradition among men. It is met with in almost every mythology, and among the most barbarous people. It is found in the sacred books of the Parsees, in the Scandinavian Edda, in the Veda of the Hindoos. It is prevalent among the millions of the Chinese Empire; it was found in the Pacific Islands, by navigators; it was found among the original inhabitants of Cuba, Mexico, and Brazil, by the Spaniards; it was found by Humboldt among the wild Maypuses and Tamanacs, and other tribes in the wilderness that surrounds the Orinoco; it was found by our forefathers among the Indians of our North American lakes. Its form is somewhat varied in different localities, but all may clearly be referred to the same original, or retain a sufficient number of analogous particulars to identify them as one and the same tradition, and as founded on the same event, the Noachian deluge. It is the most ancient as well as widely diffused tradition among men. The flood of Ogyges, the flood of Deucalion, and other floods of Grecian mythological history, may be taken as traditions of the same event, preserved by different tribes, and modified by them as to some of the circumstances. The parentage of the Assyrian tradition may be traced to the same great event. As it may be gathered from the fragments of the Chaldean Berosus, preserved by the patristic writers, like that of the flood of Deucalion given by Lucian, it is almost a literal reproduction, even to the mention of the raven and the dove, of the Mosaical narrative.

The year B. C. 2347 was the year in which Noah left the ark; and it is from this date we fix the beginning of post-diluvian history. As we are indebted to sacred history for the initial period in the annals of the race, so we are indebted to the same source for this epoch of the new world. Not one of the infamous race of Cain was left. The eight persons saved in the ark, constituted the entire population of the earth. Noah was the second progenitor of the race. The inhabitants of the old world sprung from a single pair, the inhabitants of the new from four. It was the will of God that population should rapidly increase. (Gen. ix. 1, 7.) The theories of Malthus,

and of the political economists, and staticians generally, as to the rate of increase in the population of a country, even where the proposed data for calculation have been well ascertained, have proved of little value, furnishing much foundation for the observation that "the increase of mankind seems to be, in an especial manner, kept by the Almighty, under his own immediate sovereign disposal." Under his control the rapid increase of population, just after the deluge, probably had no precedent, not even in the first origin of the race, and has had no example since. For exact arithmetical calculations there may be no basis; but we cannot suppose that the law of population was then fluctuating and uncertain, as it has been since. It may be that for a considerable period quite every child born lived to be the parent of a numerous family. Everything was made to favour a rapid increase. Animal food was now first allowed to men; and human life was invested with a new sacredness by the express threatening, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." The express will of God, and the provisions made by him for the increase of mankind, as shown by the inspired history, were sufficient to supply and account for all that population which the facts or most plausible theories of general history demand.

The Pentateuch gives us the true origin of those distinct races and nationalities into which the human family is divided. In the days of Peleg, in the third generation after the flood, the earth was divided by the families of the sons of Noah. Europe and Northern Asia fell to Japheth; Central Asia to Shem; and Africa to Ham. Shem, therefore, was the progenitor of the Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Assyrians, Persians, and Lydians. Japheth was the father of the Caucasian races. The tradition of the Arabs ascribed to him eleven sons, who were the parents of as many Asiatic tribes or nations. Ham was the father of Cush, whose descendants appear to have settled in Southern Asia and Ethiopia; of Mizraim, whose children peopled a part of Africa; of Phut, who also was the head of an African race; and of Canaan, from whom sprang the Phœnicians and inhabitants of Palestine.

It was the divine will, as it is most clearly intimated in Scripture, that the descendants of Noah should not be kept huddled

together in the land where the ark rested after the flood. There was very much land to be possessed, and replenished with inhabitants. There were vast continents, afterwards to be known as Europe, Africa, and America, and large portions of Asia to be peopled; and the process would require ages, if men were left to seek these new regions, only as they were driven out by their necessities. And the race would hopelessly degenerate, if only the most needy, desperate, and degraded, first found their way into these countries. It was therefore, by divine direction, that the descendants of Noah were required to disperse themselves in a regular and orderly manner, according to their families. And this doubtless was another provision of Providence for the more rapid increase of mankind, as it is a well-established fact, that population augments far more rapidly in a sparsely-settled, than in an over-crowded country. This provision it was, moreover, which prevented a confused mixture of the families of Noah, and enables the historian of our day to trace the history of the race back through its leading ramifications to its original stem, and the naturalist to classify the distinct races; so that the European can find his great ancestor not only in Adam or Noah, but in Japheth; the Asiatic in Shem; and the African in Ham. In a word, Moses has furnished the world with the great outlines and divisions of that primitive history, by means of which the modern student can find his way successfully through what must otherwise have proved to him an inextricable labyrinth.

The historical value of the Pentateuch is further shown from its enabling us to account for the great and essential difference in the languages spoken by men, who must have had a common origin. That division or partition of the earth, which it was the divine will should be made among the descendants of the sons of Noah, was, through the wickedness of men, resisted and deranged. The "children of men," disregarding the divine intentions, remained together in the land of Shinar, or the great plain between the Euphrates and Tigris, all speaking one language, and all apparently under the chieftainship of Nimrod. We must except perhaps Noah, who, as he had walked with God before the flood, still continued to set an example of obe-

dience to his expressed will, and went forth to an unoccupied portion of the earth. It has been supposed, and not altogether without plausibility, that he laid the foundation of what is called the Chinese monarchy. Fohi, on this hypothesis, is only another name for Noah. Fohi laid the foundation of the Chinese empire, B. C. 2207. We must except also some of the more pious descendants of Shem. And may not Shem himself be that Shing-nong, who is said to be the other patriarch, who, with Fohi, accompanied the first tribe that reached China? With these exceptions, all appear to have been under Nimrod, and under him began to build a city and a tower, to make them a name, and to bind themselves together as one people, that they might not be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. But God confounded their language, by causing part of them to forget the one they had hitherto known, and to speak in new tongues. It was a miracle. God was not only the author of the one original language of men, but of the distinct languages into which their speech was, at this early period, divided. It had the effect of arresting the work, and of scattering men, agreeably to the divine intentions, in groups or colonies, according as they were able to understand one another's speech. If, according to the researches of philologists, the languages of men may be traced to three principal roots, "it is enough to suppose," as Kitto suggests, "that the result was the formation of two new languages, which, with that already existing, would give one to each of the families of Noah—thus constraining their separation, their dispersion, and the fulfilment of their destinies." Thus does it appear, that as the ethnologist must go to Moses for the elements of that science which treats of the different races and families of men, the philologist must go to him, satisfactorily to account for the different languages spoken by them.

Approaching now the confines of profane or secular history, as it may be distinguished from sacred, we discover that we are indebted to the Pentateuch for all we know respecting the origin of an empire, which, in time, came to overshadow the earth—the Assyrian, or Assyro-Babylonian empire, of which Nebrôd or Nimrod was the founder. It grew up around the tower and city of Babel. The remains of that remarkable

tower, it is supposed by some, even now exist in one of the mounds [perhaps Birs-Nimroud] which still mark the site of ancient Babylon, afterwards formed by Nebuchadnezzar into the tower which became one of the wonders of the world. Nineveh was built soon after by Asshur, on the banks of the Tigris, and was probably before long united in the same empire with Babylon. For these facts respecting the origin of one of the most powerful empires of antiquity, we are indebted exclusively to Moses; but we hear no more of Babylon and Nineveh, from any authentic source, for more than one thousand three hundred years, or until the eighth century before Christ. The stories related in the fragments that remain to us of the early profane writers concerning Belus, said to be the same as Nimrod, and Ninus, said to be the son of Asshur, and Semir-á-mis, the queen and successor of Ninus, must to a great extent be fabulous, as such vast armies, and such immense buildings and wealth as are attributed to them could not have belonged to times so soon after the dispersion of mankind, and so near the deluge.

It is a curious fact, that the twenty-second and twenty-first centuries before Christ, are nearly or quite a blank in history, sacred as well as profane. All that Moses records, in addition to what has been already mentioned, is contained in the last twenty verses of the eleventh chapter of Genesis, which gives a genealogical table of the descendants of Shem through Arphaxad, and an account of the birth of Abraham, B. C. 1996. But freeing the Egyptian chronology of its enormous fabulous era, this chronology would make the Egyptian history commence not far from this time. Menes, the first king in the historical succession, is supposed to be the same as Misráim, the son of Ham. In the same catalogue we have the name of Busiris, who founded Thebes. And then follow the names of the builders of the pyramids, preserved on monumental records. But the little that is known respecting this country is vague and unreliable, until Joseph was carried into Egypt. For a long course of ages, even down to the times of the Ptolemies, the scattered but valuable notices in the Scriptures, in addition to its own monuments, furnish the only reliable information.

The founder of the Hebrew nation, which has had a distinct

existence as a people longer than any other in the history of the world, was called, i. e. singled out and separated from his father's house, B. C. 1921. In Nimrod we had an example of self-love, ambition, and desire of temporal advantages, carried even to the contemning of Deity; in Abraham we have an example of the love of God, even to the contemning of himself. By the exceeding brevity of the historian respecting the centuries which separate these two, they are brought, as it were, in one view before us. Abraham was a descendant of Shem, born in Ur of the Chaldees. He was separated from the idolatrous fire-worship to which he was exposed, by being commanded to remove from his native country. God made him the founder of a nation, and the head of a race, which, although long since scattered and peeled, retain all their distinctive peculiarities. They witnessed the glory of Assyria and Egypt, of Macedon and Rome; "mighty kingdoms have risen and perished since they began to be scattered and enslaved," but still they exist the sole surviving people, with the single exception of tribes of Abrahamic origin, of the old historical ages. Abraham left Mesopotamia with a retinue of more than three hundred servants, or retainers born in his house, who were capable of bearing arms. Lot, son of a deceased brother, accompanied him. He crossed the Euphrates, and, directed by God, after a journey over mountains, and vast Syrian deserts, of at least three hundred miles, came into the promised land. Almost immediately after his arrival, a famine compelled him to take refuge in Egypt, where he found a flourishing kingdom. The Pharaoh who then ruled, was probably one of the Theban kings. Or he may have been one of the Hycsos, or Shepherd kings, supposed to be of Phenician origin, whose invasion of Egypt took place not far from this time. They reigned at Memphis.

The history of war has hitherto filled the largest space in the history of nations; it is, therefore, worthy of mention that the Pentateuch contains the earliest authentic record of what has proved so dreadful a scourge of the human race. It is that of the war carried on by Chederlaomer against the Pentapolis of Sodom, which having been tributary, had rebelled against his authority. Abraham for the deliverance of his kinsman, Lot,

pursued and overtook the victorious enemy near the sources of the Jordan, surprised them by a night attack, and brought back the captives and the spoils. This war, and this victory of Abraham, occurred about 1913, B. C.

We have recently been furnished with a striking proof of the historical accuracy of the Pentateuch, even in those parts of the narrative which partake of the miraculous, in the results of the United States Exploring Expedition to the river Jordan and the Dead Sea, conducted by Lieut. Lynch of the Navy. "We entered," says the intelligent commander of that Expedition, "upon the Sea with conflicting opinions. One of the party was skeptical, and another, I think, a professed unbeliever of the Mosaical account. After twenty-two days' close investigation, if I am not mistaken, we were unanimous in the conviction of the truth of the Scriptural account of the destruction of the Cities of the Plain." He considers that the inference from the Scripture account, that the chasm which is now filled by the Dead Sea, was a plain which was sunk and overwhelmed, when these cities were destroyed, is fully sustained by the extraordinary character of the soundings obtained in that Sea. The bottom of the larger and deeper portion lies fully thirteen hundred feet below the surface. A ravine runs through it in a line corresponding with the bed of the Jordan, from which the inference is obvious, that the channel of the Jordan sank down, or rushed into the chasm made by a bituminous volcanic explosion, the waters helping rather than quenching the conflagration. The sinking of the plain of the Jordan, formed a bed for a lake sixty or seventy miles long, from ten to eighteen wide. Here the Jordan and its affluents are lost, for the Dead Sea has no visible outlet. This grave of Sodom and Gomorrah, stands as a monument to the historical accuracy of the Scriptural narrative.

To the Mosaical history we are also indebted for our knowledge of the origin of a numerous people still existing, that have played no unimportant part in history, and who were coeval with, if less important than, the Jews—the Arab tribes, inhabiting the great desert, which extends from Suez to the Euphrates. Ishmael, son of Abraham and Hagar, was sent in early life into this desert, already inhabited by Cushite colonies and

the descendants of Joktan, where he became skilled in the arts belonging to a predatory life. He married an Egyptian woman, and his posterity remain to this day living witnesses to the truth of the prediction, "He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him." Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, Mongols and Tartars have failed to subdue them.

When Alexander the Great conquered Asia, the Arabs alone disdained to send ambassadors to him to make their submission. Antigonus made two attempts upon them, but failed in both. When Pompey triumphed over three parts of the world, he could not conquer Arabia, and the failure of the expedition under Ælius Gallus, in the time of Augustus, was a proof that craft and treachery were not more effectual, when opposed to the invincibility of Ishmael, than force of arms or the terror of a name. The race of Arab kings to which Mohammed belonged, reckoned Ishmael among their ancestors. To the incidental notices in Scripture we are indebted for the little that is known of the ante-Mohammedan progenitors of these conquerors and powerful sovereigns. Josephus establishes the existence of an unbroken tradition in Arabia, from which the descent of the Mohammedans from Ishmael can easily be made out. St. Jerome confirms the fact. The wilderness of Paran, in the heart of which was Mount Sinai, was the primitive dwelling-place of Ishmael; but his sons, the twelve princes, spread themselves across the entire neck of the Peninsula of Sinai, from the mouths of the Euphrates to the Isthmus of Suez.

Lot sinned and became the progenitor of the heathenish Moabites and Ammonites, who occupied the country to the east of the Dead Sea. After the death of Sarah, Abraham married Keturah, from which marriage sprung the Midianites, a powerful people, inhabiting the country further north towards Mesopotamia. Esau, the eldest son of Isaac, laid the foundations of a powerful kingdom in Arabia Petræa, south of the Dead Sea, which was known as Edom, or Idumea. Its capital was Selah, afterwards known by the name of Joktheel, and there can be little doubt was the same as the ancient city of Petra. The Septuagint translators of the Scriptures make Job the same as Jobab, a great grandson of Esau, one of those kings of Edom

mentioned (Gen. xxxi. 31) as reigning before there was any king over Israel. If so, then, Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar, his three friends or kinsmen were probably emirs, or Idumean princes of great wealth and authority. Arabia Petræa was once a powerful country, possessing highly frequented marts. It has been recorded as a well attested fact, that within three days' journey of the Dead Sea, there are ruins of thirty cities entirely deserted. And when a firman, a few years since, was applied for at Constantinople, to visit the ruins of Petra, the existence of such a place was entirely unknown. Yet long before the Christian era, it was a city of great strength and immense trade; and its ruins are said to present a scene of magnificent desolation, without a parallel in the world.

The posterity of Esau and the Ishmaelites, with the other Abrahamic stocks, at length dwelt mingled with each other throughout Arabia. Mr. Forster, in his Geography of Arabia, has made the ingenious suggestion, that as the Ishmaelites and Midianites were designated after their mothers, Hagarenes and Keturians, so the posterity of Esau were denominated Saracens, from Sarah, the mother of their race; as among Arab tribes, the Edomites alone were the lineal descendants of Sarah. He supports this suggestion with many striking facts and considerations.

Ancient Egyptian civilization finds its best illustration, in connection with its own monuments, in the beautiful history of Joseph, and the history of his nation, as connected with that country. Hengstenberg, availing himself of the investigations of such men as Champollion, Rossellini, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson, has drawn incidental, undesigned, but most valuable proof, from witnesses that cannot be in favour of the trustworthiness of the Mosaic records: "Paintings, numerous and beautiful beyond conception, as fresh and perfect as if finished only yesterday, exhibit before our eyes the truth of what the Hebrew lawgiver wrote, almost five thousand years ago." In the far-distant age of Apophis, under whom Joseph was made prime minister, the history and the monuments attest alike to the existence of many of the same arts and customs which prevailed in the Augustan era of this people. Joseph may be traced in the ancient historians under the name of Hermes, as

having been persecuted by his brethren, and taking refuge in Egypt, where he was worshipped for having supplied them with riches, and as an interpreter of the will of the gods. From his history we learn that trade had been established by caravans with Egypt, at this early period, and that it consisted in part at least of slaves. No mention is made of the name of the royal city, the then residence of the Pharaohs. It was perhaps the ancient city mentioned as Zoan, or Tanis, situated in the delta of the Nile. We read of chariots, of vestures of fine linen or byssus, and chains, and rings of gold. The vine was cultivated, and the art of preparing different kinds of pastry for the table well understood. There was an established priesthood. The beard was shaven, and the hair cut short. They were in the habit of sitting, instead of reclining at their entertainments. The construction of the tabernacle and the priests' garments, by the Israelites in the wilderness, proves that the people from amongst whom they had just come out, understood the art of spinning and weaving costly fabrics, the arts of embroidering, of purifying and working metals, of cutting and setting precious stones, of carving in wood and the manufacture and use of leather. Champollion, Rossellini and Wilkinson have shown that all these arts were understood by the ancient Egyptians as early as the reign of Thotmes IV., and therefore that Moses is historically accurate. Pithom, one of the cities built by the Hebrews, under their Egyptian oppressors, was situated near the right branch, or Pelusiac arm of the Nile, in the Arabian part of Egypt. It is universally admitted to be the same as Patumos, mentioned by Herodotus. Raamses, or Rameses, another city on whose buildings and fortifications they laboured, was, at the time of the Greek dominion, known as Heroöpolis. The materials used for building, to a large extent, consisted of brick, and not only for private dwellings, but public edifices. "But the most remarkable agreement with the Pentateuch is in the fact, that a small portion of chopped straw is found in the composition of Egyptian bricks. This is evident from an examination of those brought by Rossellini from Thebes, on which is the stamp of Thotmes IV., (one of the oppressors of the Hebrews.) We are carried much further by the comparison of our history with a picture discovered in a tomb at Thebes, of

which Rossellini furnished an explanation as a 'picture representing the Hebrews, as they were engaged in making brick.' The dissimilarity of the labourers to the Egyptians appears at first view; the complexion, physiognomy, and beard, permit us not to be mistaken in supposing them to be Hebrews. The tomb belonged to a high court officer, and was made in the time of Thotmes IV." (Hengstenberg, &c. pp. 80, 81.) The Mosaic history contains the only account, in the possession of the world, of the remarkable events which took place in Egypt, during the year of the Exodus, B. C. 1491—the destruction of its harvests, its first-born, its army, and its monarch. The information which the writers quoted by Josephus profess to give, is evidently of Hebrew origin. It is a striking fact, that no trace of the tomb of the Pharaoh, Thotmes IV., called Pharmuthi, deadly, who pursued the Israelites, has been discovered in the valley near Thebes, in which the monarchs of the dynasty to which he belonged are buried. It may be mentioned here that the "mixed multitude" that accompanied the Israelites at their exodus from Egypt, was, it has been supposed, composed in part at least of a remnant of the Hycsos or shepherds, and that their leader, said to have been a brother of Amenophis II., who succeeded Thotmes as Pharaoh, may be identified as Danaus, who colonized Argos; who, after remaining with the Hebrews upwards of two years in the wilderness, proceeded to Greece, carrying with them those traditions and that mixture of Jewish rites and ceremonies which formed so remarkable a combination in the mythology and idolatrous worship of the Greeks. Danaus, according to the Parian Chronicle, arrived in Greece B. C. 1485.

In presenting a view of the historical value of the Pentateuch, we ought not to overlook the history which it contains of one of the world's greatest men—a man who was honoured to introduce a code which has existed for forty centuries, and long survived the more recent institutes of Minos, Lycurgus, and Solon. I refer to Moses, born B. C. 1571, a man whom pagan antiquity represents as possessed of profound learning, and who, considered merely in a human light, was not more celebrated as a statesman, than as a historian and a poet. Orpheus, one of the earliest and greatest instructors of the Greeks, was a

disciple of Musæus, who, according to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, was Moses; and who maintained that thus may be accounted for that mixture of Mosaic revelation and Egyptian superstition which is discernible in all the Orphic fragments, and which in time was melted down into the fabulous mythologies of Hesiod and Homer. It is also supposed that Moschus, the celebrated Phœnician sage, was the same person. By the authority of Pharaoh's daughter, Ameuse, whom Josephus calls Thermutis, who reigned twenty-two years, and who evidently designed to make Moses her successor, being without children of her own, he was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians. The priests and magicians were compelled to open to him their arcana and mystic lore. When he refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, she adopted Mœris, Thotmes III., and Moses soon after was compelled to flee into Midian. Mr. Cory, in his Mythological Inquiry, says that after the Exodus, the fame of the miraculous exploits of Moses and Joshua was wafted with the Danaan colonies to Greece, and with other fugitives, in whatever direction they journeyed. There is express historical evidence, he says, from Diodorus, to show that the colonies of Danaus and Cadmus went out of Egypt with Moses, and parted from him in the desert.

Nor must we overlook in this estimate that code of the Jewish lawgiver which contains laws, not for one time, or age, or people, but for man as an individual, and as a social being. It contains an epitome of the rules of social existence. It includes a summary of the principles of moral duty. No heathen country could possess a moral system to be compared with one that rested on the idea of there being one, and but one living, holy, personal, immaterial God. Love to this Being, from which is derived love to our fellow men, as we love ourselves, is the great ethical principle of that moral law, which lies at the basis of the Mosaic code. After so many centuries of inquiry and discovery, this great principle remains uneclipsed, the central truth of moral science, so that every man feels that to search for another, would be as wise as for a professed astronomer to search for another sun to our system. Many of the institutes of Moses owed their origin to the design of segregating the people from the rest of mankind, in order to preserve a divinely

revealed religion and cultus, from degeneracy and extinction; but the informing, animating principle of his entire code, as such, was derived from the Ten Commandments, and called into active demonstration a genuine philanthropy. It permits, or rather recognizes the existence of certain evils, and prescribes regulations for them, but it nowhere justifies them. The learned Michaelis, who was professor of law in the University of Gottingen, remarks that "a man who considers laws philosophically, who would survey them with the eye of a Montesquieu, would never overlook the laws of Moses." It was the opinion of the late distinguished Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, that "no man could be a sound lawyer, who was not well read in the laws of Moses." The laws of Greece, which exerted a moulding influence on the political condition of the entire classic world, were indebted, to a surprising extent, to those of the Hebrew state. Many unmistakable correspondences can be traced. The Agrarian law of Lycurgus has its prototype in that of Moses; and Solon appears to have copied many of his laws respecting the entail of property, and marriage, from the law of Moses.

To Moses, and not to Herodotus, belongs the honour of being styled the "father of history." Assyria and Babylon, Egypt and Greece, are all indebted to him. He was the only man, who from personal observation, had any considerable materials for the illustration of ancient Egyptian civilization. The disasters which befell Egypt at the epoch of the exodus, must have nearly extinguished its learning, as well as annihilated its power. Its priests and scholars, it has been suggested, probably accompanied Thotmes, and perished with him in the Red Sea. The writings of Moses contain the best commentary on the monuments of that land of wonders, and furnish Rosellini and Wilkinson the key with which to unlock the mysteries of its tombs and temples. The monuments of Egypt afford no evidence of a knowledge among its people of alphabetical writing; whence then did the first historian receive this art? whence but from God himself? And may he not have received it when he received the Decalogue? May not that perfect law be the earliest, the original specimen of written language given to men?

ART. III.—*Missions in Western Africa.*

THERE is scarcely any problem more difficult of solution than that involved in the duty laid upon the people of God by the great Head of the church, in relation to the evangelization of the African race. Reference is not now made to that portion of them who are to be found in our own country or in the West India Islands. Christianity has already done much to elevate the moral and religious character of these; and their future destiny may be safely left to the care of that kind and merciful Providence which has heretofore been exercised over them. But the 5,000,000 of this race in America are but a handful compared with the 100,000,000 of the same race on the continent of Africa. It is to the duty of the church in connection with these, that attention is invited in the present article.

When we turn our eyes to that far off land, what a vast continent spreads itself out before the vision! What untold multitudes of human beings are scattered in every direction over this great continent—along her seaboard, over her extended plains, along her mountain sides, in her rich valleys and throughout her unreclaimed forests! What a dark and unbroken cloud of ignorance and superstition overspreads the whole of these vast realms! What scenes of cruelty, inhumanity, oppression and brutality are enacted day by day among these benighted millions.

And yet these are our fellow-men—fellow-heirs with ourselves of immortal glory or of endless woe. To them the church is commanded to preach the gospel—that gospel which has a balm for every wound, a cure for every disease, and the power, under God, to raise up these people from all their deep degradation to that high and honourable spiritual destiny for which they were made, and for which they have been redeemed.

But plain as is the duty of the church, and urgent as are the circumstances of these benighted millions, it is scarcely possible to take a single step in remedying their condition without a severe trial of our faith. God, for reasons that are

wise and merciful, but not wholly apparent to human wisdom, has surrounded three-fourths of that great continent with a belt of pestilential air, which no civilized man, white or black, can invade with entire impunity. Whoever essays to rescue any of these people from their desperate condition, must do so at the peril of his own temporal life. It is impossible for any one to draw near to this fiery furnace without himself being scorched. We have had abundant and painful evidence of this in our past missionary experience; and it will scarcely ever be possible to prosecute the missionary work in that country, without trials and reverses growing out of the unhealthiness of the climate.

What then is to be done in view of this state of things?—In view of the solemn, unrepealed command of the Saviour, to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, about which there can be no mistake:—in view of the wretched and helpless condition of these people, about which there is equally little room for doubt:—and in view of the difficulties of the work, which, in some respects, appear to be almost insuperable?

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that this is a question of vast and momentous importance, and no serious minded Christian man will regard it with indifference. It may not involve our spiritual interests as individuals, or affect sensibly the church to which we belong, or the country in which we live. But touching the great interests of the Redeemer's kingdom among men, to which all Christians are solemnly pledged, and the salvation of a race of men four times as numerous perhaps as the entire population of these United States, it is scarcely possible to exaggerate its importance. The church of Christ, therefore, if she would be true to herself, faithful to her great Head, and would meet the solemn responsibility devolved upon her, will not turn away from this subject, but will take it up, and in the light of God's word decide what is to be done.

Can any other plan than the one now pursued be relied upon to accomplish the proposed work? In other words, can the services of white missionaries be dispensed with, in laying the foundation of that great spiritual superstructure, which we know is to arise in the midst of this profound darkness, and extend

its light and influence over the whole of these benighted regions? are they to be exonerated from doing anything in this work, simply because it is attended with hardships and perils? Is there any other kind of labour that can be substituted for that which is now employed in extending the Redeemer's kingdom among these people?

A great many expedients and substitutes have been suggested, but we know of none that will stand the test of scrutiny, or commend themselves to the judgment of those who understand all the bearings of the subject.

The Colonization scheme will not answer the purpose. As a secular, philanthropic undertaking, it is worthy of the countenance and support of all who feel an interest in the welfare of the African race. If it is carried on judiciously and efficiently, Liberia must ere long become an inviting home for such of the coloured race as find this country too straight for them; it will afford a good starting point from which the lines of Christianity may be extended into darker regions; and the people of Liberia themselves must, in the course of time, exert an important influence in promoting and extending Christian civilization among the aboriginal population of the surrounding country. But this is all that can reasonably be expected of the Liberians. If they can take care of themselves and develope the rich resources of the country, which they have adopted as their own, they will have done a great work, and all that can reasonably be expected of them for a century to come. To expect more of them than this, will be to insure disappointment.

Their geographical position precludes the possibility of their exerting an extended influence over the country at large. They occupy but a small spot on that great continent. They have no large harbours to draw people together from a distance for commercial purposes; and no rivers by which the country can be navigated to the distance of a hundred miles from the seacoast. They are not brought in contact with more than 100,000 native inhabitants at most. But what are these among the 150,000,000 of people in that wide spread country.

Nor are the Liberians, with a few honourable exceptions,

suited to carry on the missionary work, even if their position and other circumstances allowed them to engage in it. If there is any particular department of the work assigned the church by her great Head, that especially needs her strong men, we would unhesitatingly say that it is the foreign missionary department; and the deeper any people have sunk in the mire of heathenism, the stronger must the arm be that is to raise them up. How can it be otherwise? Look for a moment at the nature of the work which the foreign missionary must perform, if he would prove himself an able workman. He must study out, and in a majority of cases reduce to writing, for the first time, the language of the people among whom he lives; and perchance without the aid either of competent teachers or any written helps. He must translate the word of God into that language, and then expound it to a people who may be regarded as utterly destitute of all religious ideas. He must make himself acquainted with all the secret springs of the moral, social, intellectual, and religious character of the people, and perhaps in despite of studied concealment, so as to know how to influence them for good. He must know how to mould and shape the character of a people just emerging from the darkness of heathenism into the light of Christianity; and he must at the same time exercise all that patience, perseverance, and fortitude, which the foreign missionary work is constantly exacting. To meet these high requisitions, it will be seen at once, that none but men of high and respectable intellectual gifts and solid piety can be effective. And no one who knows anything about the coloured people around us, would think of looking to them for many specimens of such endowments.

More than this. The Liberians are regarded by all the missionary associations in this country, who have had any experience in African missions, as themselves the proper subjects of missionary labour. Four times as much missionary money is actually laid out upon their schools and churches, at the present time, as upon any other people of the same size on the face of the earth; and under the solemn conviction, on the part of those by whom these appropriations are made, that if anything less is done, there will be much more danger of the Libe-

rians relapsing back into the heathenism of their forefathers, than hope of their raising the natives up to Christian civilization.

The idea has often been entertained of establishing seminaries of learning in this country for the purpose of training coloured men for the African field, but hitherto without any decided success. The Ashmun Institute, recently established at Oxford, Pennsylvania, under the direction of the Presbytery of New Castle, promises much more encouraging results, and if the plan contemplated by its founders is carried out, it can scarcely fail to be a great blessing to the black population of this country. But no very early or important results can be anticipated, so far as Africa is concerned. There will be a demand for more educated coloured men in this country, for a long time to come, than this institution can possibly furnish, even should it take rank with the largest seminaries of learning in the country. A few occasional labourers are all that could reasonably be expected for the African field; and these, while they would form an important auxiliary in carrying on the work of missions, would be no substitute for the large number of effective white missionaries who are now engaged there. Besides which, it should be borne in mind, that coloured men, brought up and educated in this country, are liable to the same casualties in passing through the process of acclimation in Africa that white men are. The only difference in the two cases is, that coloured men may, in the course of time, become thoroughly acclimated, and enjoy comfortable health, whilst the white man seldom ever does, though with care and prudence he may live and labour there for a long series of years, as is the case with a large number of missionaries now residing in that country both from England and America.

After having looked at this subject under all its bearings, and from every possible stand-point, we find ourselves shut up to the solemn conviction, that the church must continue to carry on this work as heretofore, whatever may be its perils and trials, or these benighted millions in Western and Central Africa be abandoned to perpetual and unmitigated heathenism. We must of course adopt such modifications and alterations in our plans of operation as may be suggested by

experience. If it is ascertained that white men cannot travel through the malarious districts for the purpose of proclaiming the gospel, without too great peril of life, let them locate in some healthier region, and give themselves up to the work of training natives, who can perform this kind of service with impunity. White men must at least aim to lay the foundation of a better state of things—to give such an impetus to the work as will enable it to sustain itself after a while without any other aid than that which comes down from heaven.

Can these plans be carried out? Is there really anything impracticable in the task which is thus laid upon the people of God? Certainly not, if the subject is contemplated in connection with the trials, self-denials, and perils, which the Saviour assured his disciples would be inseparable from the progress of his kingdom in any part of the world, and in connection also with the promises he has made to his people, that their labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.

Men of the world, whom our Saviour pronounces wiser in their generation than the children of light, and whose examples, in some respects, are held up for the imitation of the people of God, would never think of abandoning any of their enterprises on account of such difficulties as cause multitudes of Christian men to falter and hesitate in relation to African missions. The Christian world has scarcely ceased to feel the vibrations of that mighty shock which one year ago came so near throwing the empire of India out of the grasp of the British nation. There is no part of the civilized world that has not felt the pulsations of that mighty struggle. The British empire itself was agitated to its very centre. The whole nation, as with the heart of one man, rose up to resent their injuries and regain their lost power. All classes of persons vied with each other as to who could render the most effective aid in securing to the country the prestige of her former greatness and power. The nobleman and the peasant, the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant brought their sons and their kindred, and offered them freely for the service of their country. And these brave men, as they turned their backs upon their native homes to encounter a two-fold conflict with an unhealthy climate and a bitter foe, carried with them the prayers,

the sympathies, the benedictions and the plaudits of the whole nation. And look at the actual conflict, how desperate and how prolonged! What treasures are expended! How much of England's best blood is freely poured out on the field of battle! Where are Lawrence, Wilson, Wheeler, Havelock, and many others of kindred spirit? But what is the object of all this intensity of feeling on the part of the nation, this unbounded enthusiasm, this waste of treasure and life? It is simply to make sure their hold of a temporal kingdom. And now that that object is attained, or likely soon to be, who begrudges the cost? Would less have been done, even if the whole cost had been known beforehand? Would those brave men, who have fallen in this conflict, have turned aside in the hour of their nation's trial, even if they had foreseen their own fate?

But if so much is perilled for the sake of temporal dominion in India, is nothing to be perilled for the spiritual renovation of a continent equally as large? Have the people of God reason to expect such an achievement without cost? But at the same time, is it probable that it will cost the church of Christ one-tenth part of the treasure or agency in extending the knowledge of the gospel throughout the African continent, that it has the British government to establish and maintain their authority over India? How is it, that in one case there is so much promptness, energy, and unshrinking firmness, whilst in the other there is so much indecision, hesitation and want of faith? How inconsistent with our professions, and dishonouring to the cause of Christ is such vacillation on the part of his people!

But this argument may be brought to a still more direct application. It should be known and borne in mind, and especially by those who are disposed to magnify the difficulties connected with African missions, that there are not less than six or eight thousand white men living on the shores of western Africa, and on islands adjacent to those shores, where the climate is essentially the same, engaged in secular pursuits; while there are not more than one hundred and fifty white persons engaged in the missionary work. Commerce, science, and the various governments of Europe and America can command

as many white men to carry out their objects as are needed. These men have their trials, their reverses and their losses, as well as the missionaries, but they never think of abandoning any of their undertakings on this account. If one man falls, another is ready to take his place. If one scheme does not succeed, another is substituted in its place. In the palmy days of the foreign slave trade there were probably more than ten times as many white men engaged in carrying on this nefarious business, as has ever been employed by the whole Christian church at any one time in diffusing the light of the gospel in the same regions. These men not only lived in the most insalubrious districts, but their intercourse was with the most barbarous portions of the population. They were in consequence exposed to greater hardships and more real dangers than it is necessary for missionaries to incur. They never thought however of abandoning their unholy calling on account of the unhealthiness of the climate. If all the existing restrictions to this traffic were taken away, there would soon be fifty or a hundred white men on those shores to engage in it, for every one now employed in the missionary work. But it is not necessary to pursue this humiliating comparison any further, and we abandon it for a more direct argument.

We refer now to the decided success which has attended missionary labour in that country. If God in his providence has been pleased to subject the faith of his people to a severe trial in this matter, he has, at the same time, given them such unequivocal evidence of his approval of their work, as to leave no room for doubt about their duty. We do not now refer so much to the results of any one mission, as to the work of missions in that country generally. On this subject the most erroneous impressions prevail, but in correcting them it will be necessary to limit our remarks to a few general statements.

Those who have given particular attention to the subject are aware that the history of Protestant missions in Western Africa, with the exception of two missions of somewhat earlier date, is substantially comprised within the last twenty-five years. What then has been effected in that time? More than one hundred Christian churches have been organized in that country, and upwards of fifteen thousand hopeful converts have

been gathered into those churches. Nearly two hundred schools are in full operation, in connection with these various missions, and not less than sixteen thousand native youths are receiving a Christian training in those schools at the present moment. More than twenty different dialects have been studied out and reduced to writing, into many of which large portions of the sacred Scriptures, as well as other religious books, have been translated, printed, and circulated among the people; and we are no doubt in the bounds of truth and probability, when it is assumed that some knowledge of the Christian salvation has been brought, by direct and indirect means, within the reach of at least five millions of immortal beings, who had never before heard of the blessed name of the Saviour.

Now these general results, presented in this summary way, may not make a very strong impression upon the minds of our readers; but when we take a retrospective view of the missionary work in that country—the difficulties that had to be encountered in acquiring a footing in regions where the gospel had never been preached—the reverses that were experienced in connection with the unhealthiness of the climate, and ignorance of the best modes of treating the diseases of the country—the roughness and perversity of heathen character with which the earlier missionaries had to contend—the ignorance and superstition that had to be removed before the people were prepared to receive the simplest truths of the gospel—the difficulty of organizing and maintaining in purity and efficiency churches among a people just emerging from the darkness of heathenism—of establishing and keeping in efficient operation schools among a people who had but an imperfect appreciation of the advantages of education—the difficulty of studying out and reducing to writing these barbarous languages without any suitable aids, and the still more difficult and responsible task of translating the word of God into them—and then remember, that not only have all these difficulties been surmounted, (and that by a handful of feeble missionaries from this country and Great Britain,) but that bright Christian lights now begin to blaze up at intervals along a line of sea-coast of more than three thousand miles, where unbroken night formerly reigned—that the everlasting gospel is now preached in Kumasi and

Abomi, the capitals respectively of Ashantee and Dahomey, two of the most barbarous kingdoms on the face of the earth—that Christian missions are now being established all over the kingdom of Yoruba, a land once wholly given up to the slave-trade and bloodshed—that along the banks of the far interior Niger, where the bones of the great African traveller have slumbered for half a century, Christian lights are springing up in the track of the exploring expedition—that at Old Calabar, a place renowned in former times, not only for being one of the chief seats of the foreign slave trade, but for the unparalleled cruelties and barbarities of its people, the gospel is not only preached, but the Spirit of God is poured out upon that debased people—that the gospel has recently been proclaimed by our own missionaries from Corisco, on the heights of the Sierra del Crystal mountains, to a people who had not only never before heard it, but who themselves were unknown to the Christian world until within a few years past—when all these things are taken into consideration, every discerning mind must see at once, that a footing of immense advantage has already been acquired; and if present measures, with such modifications as may be suggested by experience, are followed up, in dependence upon divine aid, the time is not far distant when the light of the gospel shall reach the darkest and most remote corner of that great continent.

When we couple with all this the remarkable interpositions of Providence in laying open all parts of the country to missionary labour, and the newly awakened desire among the people in all those regions where missions have been formed, to know more of the gospel, the argument amounts almost to demonstration.

It is but recently that missionaries could have any access to that country at all. The unhealthiness of the climate, the barbarous character of the people, and the absolute predominance of the foreign slave trade over the seas and shores of Africa for nearly three centuries, seemed to preclude the possibility of doing anything to diffuse the knowledge of the gospel among these unhappy people. And for a long time after the church, both in England and America, had been thoroughly aroused to the solemn duty of imparting the gospel to the hea-

then nations of the earth, Western Africa was still passed by as inaccessible. But a brighter day is now arising upon this unhappy land. The foreign slave trade, which once maintained undisputed ascendency over the country, has experienced a severe check; and although it may find countenance and support in the cupidity of unprincipled men for some time to come, it can never recover its former power and ascendency. Lawful commerce, commerce in the natural products of the country, has sprung up all along the sea-coast, and is increasing in value and extent day by day with almost unparalleled rapidity. Settlements of Christian and civilized men are being multiplied along her seaboard, and their influence is being extensively felt in all the surrounding regions, not only in developing the natural resources of the country, but in promoting the cause of Christian civilization. The geography of the country has been extensively explored by missionaries and men of science. The highways to the capitals of Ashantee, Dahomey, Yoruba, and the country lying beyond the Sierra del Crystal mountains, are all known and travelled by the missionary of the cross. The Niger is now being navigated into the very heart of Soudan, and a regular mail has been established between Rabba and the Gulf of Benin.

Now what has brought about these wonderful changes in the general condition of the country? We ask not about the various squadrons that have been stationed on that coast for the suppression of piracy and the foreign slave trade—not about the colonies of civilized men that have been planted there—not about the commerce that has sprung up there—nor about the Christian schools that have been established there. But by whom has all this varied agency been called into existence, if not by the providence of God? And is there no language in such a providence for the people of God? How can they hold back or turn aside from a work to which they are so plainly called by the providence of God?

Another consideration of great weight is to be found in the desire which is manifested by people in all those regions where the gospel has been preached, to have Christian teachers settle among them. This was not the case twenty-five years ago. At that time the great mass of the population were utterly

averse to the introduction of the mysterious art of reading and writing among them; and in a few isolated cases, where natives of the country had learned to read on board of foreign ships, they were under the necessity of concealing the fact from their countrymen; otherwise their lives would have been forfeited. But this state of things has passed away, at least in all those regions where the influence of missionaries has been felt. Thousands of the rising generation have been taught to read, not only without bringing down upon themselves any of the calamities that had been apprehended by their superstitious fears, but on the other hand they have secured thereby great advantages to themselves and their untaught kindred; so that their former aversion has been changed to an earnest desire to be taught. Missionaries residing in the country have applications for Christian teachers which they cannot possibly meet. It matters not that these applications in many cases arise from worldly motives; or that these people have but an indefinite idea of the nature and requirements of that gospel which they ask to be proclaimed among them. It is enough for the church of Christ to know that any such desires exist at all; and this is all that can be expected of any heathen people, until they have had some instruction in relation to the nature of Christianity. The views and wishes of these simple-hearted people are sometimes expressed in a very touching manner, and they ought to be so recorded, as not to be forgotten by the people of God. It is but little more than a year ago, that most of the religious journals of the country circulated the well-authenticated fact, that a messenger had been sent by a heathen chief in the interior to the sea-coast, for the purpose of seeking a Christian teacher for his people, and that after waiting there for several months, he had to return without one. Another fact occurred about the same time, and equally well-authenticated, of a chief who had performed a voyage of nearly two hundred miles in an open canoe, for the same purpose—promising if a Christian teacher would go with him, he would not only guaranty his personal safety, but would do all he could to promote his comfort and further the objects of his mission; and even he had received no response. These are calls, loud and clear, that ought not to be forgotten by the church; and

especially in connection with the aptitude for improvement which these people are evincing, and their readiness to yield themselves to the influence of the gospel, wherever it has been distinctly set before them. It is but a short time since, that one of these tribes, breaking through the fetters of ignorance and superstition, and, without any foreign aid, invented a new and original mode of writing their own language; and are now drinking from the fountain of living waters through this channel of their own opening.* Surely these are not the people to be forsaken. How can the friends of the Redeemer turn a deaf ear to such plain calls of Providence, or neglect the great advantages which have been brought about by the energy of these people themselves?

A very strong motive, if we had time to enlarge upon it, might be urged in support of the cause of missions to this part of the world, from the wonderful increase and perpetuation of the African race, and the preservation among them of a language eminently suited to convey the truths of the gospel to their benighted minds. The Ethiopian race, from whom the modern negro or African stock are undoubtedly descended, can claim as early a history, with the exception of the Jews, as any living people on the face of the earth. History, as well as recent monumental discoveries, gives them a place in ancient history as far back as Egypt herself, if not farther. But what has become of the cotemporaneous nations of antiquity, as well as others of much later origin? Where are the descendants of those who built the monuments and the cenotaphs of Egypt—the Numidians, Mauritanians, and other powerful

* Reference is made to the Vey people, residing half way between Sierra Leone and Cape Messurado, who have within the last twenty years invented a syllabic alphabet, with which they are now writing their language, and by which they are maintaining among themselves an extensive epistolary correspondence. The Church Missionary Society in London have had a font of type cast in this new character, and several little tracts have been printed in it, and circulated among the tribe. The principal inventor of this alphabet is now dead; but it is supposed that he died in the Christian faith, having acquired some knowledge of the way of salvation through the medium of this character of his own invention. Some account of the origin of this discovery was published in the *Missionary Herald* for June, 1834, and a more particular account has recently been published by Mr. Kœlle, a German missionary at Sierra Leone.

names, who once held absolute sway over all northern Africa? They have been swept away from the earth, or dwindled down to a handful of modern Copts and Berbers of doubtful descent.

The Ethiopian, or African race, on the other hand, though they have long since lost all the civilization which once existed on the Upper Nile, have, nevertheless, continued to increase and multiply, until they are now, with the exception of the Chinese, the largest single family of men on the face of the earth. They have extended themselves in every direction over that great continent, from the southern borders of the Great Sahara to the Cape of Good Hope, and from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and are thus constituted masters of at least three-fourths of the habitable portions of this great continent. And this progress has been made, be it remembered, in despite of the prevalence of the foreign slave trade, which has carried off so many of their people; the ceaseless internal feuds and wars that have been waged among themselves; and a conspiracy, as it were, among all surrounding nations, to trample out their national existence. Surely their history is a remarkable one; but not more so, perhaps, than is foreshadowed in the prophecies of the Old Testament Scriptures. God has watched over and preserved these people through all the vicissitudes of their unwritten history—and no doubt for some great purpose of mercy towards them, as well as for the display of the glory of his own grace and providence; and we may expect to have a full revelation of this purpose and glory as soon as the everlasting Gospel is made known to these benighted millions.

Nor is the preservation of their language, especially that of the great southern division of the race, a less remarkable feature in their condition and history. There is scarcely any known language of more marked features, or better adapted in its primitive condition to be a vehicle for conveying divine truth. For the completeness of its classifications, the philosophical and systematic character of all its arrangements, the precision and definiteness with which it gives utterance to the ordinary thoughts and emotions of the mind, and for the extent of its inflections, it is perhaps unsurpassed by any uncultivated language in the world. But the most remarkable feature about it is its power of expansion, its adaptedness to give expression to any new

thoughts that may be suggested. This will be seen at once to be a matter of vast importance in connection with the introduction of the principles of the Gospel among this people. The want of this among most of the heathen nations of the earth is one of the most serious difficulties with which missionaries ever have to contend. To find terms to convey definite ideas on the subject of religion to the minds of men who are absolutely ignorant of its first rudiments, is no easy matter. The process, in most cases, is tedious and unsatisfactory; and it is only by great perseverance that any important results are attained. This is not necessarily the case in relation to the language and people which we have under consideration. The flexibility of the language is so great, that not only may all ordinary thoughts be expressed in it by a little circumlocution, if need be, but new terms may be introduced, by simply carrying out the grammatical principles of the language, which will convey clear and definite ideas, though they had never before been heard.* This feature of the language, as well as others that might be developed if our limits allowed, shows that the hand of Providence has been over the language as well as the people by whom it is spoken; and it is but a natural and legitimate inference, that the one has been preserved as the instrument of enlightening, purifying, and elevating the other.

We have now laid before our readers, not in a very methodical manner, but as they have suggested themselves, some of the considerations which should induce the church to go forward with a steady and unfaltering step in the good and great work which has been begun in Africa; and it is necessary only to recapitulate some of these in order to secure their combined force, viz. the wonderful preservation of the race through all

* This may not be distinctly apprehended without an illustration. The people in their native condition have no knowledge of the Christian religion, and their language, of course, has none of the technical terms which belong to Christianity; as, for example, Saviour, salvation, Redeemer, redemption, &c. But they have a word, *sunga*, to save any thing on the point of being lost or destroyed; and another, *danduna*, for redeeming a man who is held as a pawn, or is a prisoner. Now, from a well-known law of the language, we derive from the first, *Ozunge*, a Saviour, and *isunginla*, salvation; from the second, *Olandune*, Redeemer, and *ilanduna*, redemption. These words, in connection with the name of the Son of God, are apprehended at once, though never heard before.

the untoward circumstances of their past history, and their language also; the marked interposition of God's providence for a few years past in laying open all portions of the country, and bringing the people within the reach of the gospel; the newly awakened desire of the natives to have Christian teachers settled among them; the marked success which has attended the efforts of the church, imperfect as they have been, to establish the gospel on these benighted shores; and above all, the command of the great Head of the church to proclaim the gospel in all portions of the earth. Surely no stronger or weightier arguments could be offered in behalf of any cause; no clearer tokens of the divine approval can be expected in connection with any undertaking, and the church of Christ must forget her own high calling and prove unfaithful to her great Captain, before she can withdraw from a contest, where duty is so clear, and where such decided advantages have already been gained.

This work cannot be sustained, however, without great trials and sacrifices on the part of those by whom it is carried on. Partial exile from Christian society, impaired health and constant watchfulness against the insidious encroachments of disease, are some of the peculiar and indispensable conditions of missionary life in that country. It may be found necessary too for the missionary to deny himself the high spiritual luxury of roaming extensively over the country to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ, for the more quiet and less exciting business of training natives of the country for this kind of service. He may have to modify and alter his plans of labour, and it may become necessary now and then for him to retire from the field of action for the purpose of recruiting his impaired health.

But if the work has its trials, it has, in a higher degree, its consolations also. The missionary who consecrates himself to labour in a field where there are confessedly so many trials and dangers, must do it from love to his fellow-men and obedience to his Saviour. He carries with him the comforting reflection that he has left all for Christ, and he casts himself, as a matter of necessity, upon his Almighty arm alone for support and defence. Such persons may expect and always do

enjoy such tokens of the Saviour's approval, as they only know who are willing to forsake all for Christ. The missionary will find no want of stimulus or scope for the exercise of all the nobler faculties of his nature. He will find a fruitful field of research in the character of the people around him, in the study of their language and in the labours that will devolve upon him in his new calling. He will have constant opportunities by the wayside, under the wide spread shade-tree, in the smoky hut, and in the open council-house, to unfold to men and women who never heard it before, the wonderful love of the Saviour, than which there is no richer spiritual enjoyment on earth. And if called to die in that far-off land, he will have the sustaining presence of his Saviour, and find as direct a pathway to heaven, as from any other spot on the face of the earth.

ART. IV.—*The Present State of India.*

THE great event of this generation is the revolt in India. The standing of Great Britain among the nations; the destiny of the millions of India; and the progress of Christianity in the East, are all involved in the issue. The sympathies of the Christian world must be with the English in this momentous conflict. Not only are they our brethren in the flesh and in the faith, but it is patent to all men, that the outbreak in India is the rising of the powers of darkness against the kingdom of light. It is heathenism against Christianity. It is Belial against Christ. It is Satan against God. This is the essential nature of the conflict, whatever collateral or subordinate issues may be involved. There would have been no revolt, or it would have assumed an entirely different character, were it not for the deadly hostility of the people to Christianity; and the triumph of the rebels would be the triumph of heathenism and the suppression of the gospel. Viewed, therefore, either in its cause or consequences, this great conflict is essentially

the conflict of light and darkness. In saying this, we do not mean to say that the East India Company is a Christian institution, or that its government has been conducted on Christian principles. All we mean is, that the English rulers in India being Protestant Christians, they are of necessity the representatives of Christianity in the eyes of the people. Their presence gives facilities for the open inculcation of the gospel, and the progress and consolidation of their power must inevitably secure the progress of Christianity, and the consequent downfall of Mohammedanism and Hinduism. It is the consciousness of this truth which lies at the bottom of the conflict. Other things may be exciting or occasional causes, but this spiritual antagonism, this essential opposition between Christianity and heathenism, is the motive power. Temporal grievances may have weakened the levee, but the overwhelming rush of waters is from a higher source—from the inner or spiritual world—a world which politicians and statesmen, unfortunately, seldom take into account. The fatal error of the East India Company, its condemning sin, has been that they ignored their religion. They thought they could govern as neutrals in religion. They went about India, as men entering a cavern filled with bats and unclean birds, with dark lanterns, for fear of disturbing the inhabitants. Enough of light, however, gleamed through to arouse and terrify the spirits of darkness. Had they allowed the light to shine freely, those spirits would have fled or quailed. Our Lord said, "He that is not for me, is against me;" and the same is true of Satan. Not to be a Mohammedan is to be an infidel; and not to be a Brahman is to be unclean. The East India Company, by their assumed neutrality in religion, have Satan against them, without having God for them. Thus it ever must be with any individual or nation which acts on the principle of treating all religions alike.

A great distinction is to be made between the East India Company and the English in India. The former has, to a great degree, ignored their religion, while multitudes of the latter have been devoted Christians; and through them it is that Christianity, with its disturbing light, has been brought to bear on the powers of darkness. Christ said he did not come to send peace, but a sword. The East India Company were not wrong

in assuming that Christianity would be a disturbing element in India. Their mistake was in thinking that they could keep it out; that the sun could be hid under a bushel; that Christian men, the temples and organs of the Holy Spirit, could be scattered over the country, and yet Satan not know it, or knowing it, not resist.

In ascribing a religious origin to this revolt we, of course, do not deny the existence or reality of other causes. The mere disparity in numbers between the governors and the governed, forty or fifty thousand Englishmen controlling a population numbering a hundred and fifty millions, is of itself enough to account for this rebellion. To this must be added the diversity of race. If we should be restive under the military government of Malays or negroes, is it wonderful that the Hindus feel the domination of a handful of Europeans, whom they regard as a lower order of beings, a degradation?* Was a Mohammedan nation ever known to submit quietly to the authority of Christians? Then again the government of a semi-civilized people must of necessity be more or less arbitrary, and when exercised by a minority, forced to rely in a great measure on the natives for the execution of the laws and the collection of taxes, it cannot fail in a multitude of cases to be oppressive. The substitution also of the rule of Englishmen necessarily displeased the native rulers; whole classes of men, before powerful and wealthy from the possession of office, were necessarily set aside and reduced to insignificance, and of course rendered discontented and revengeful. All these causes of opposition would exist, even had the Company and all its European servants been perfect saints. No one, however, in England and America is disposed to deny that many mistakes and many crimes have been committed by the rulers of India. Surely therefore causes enough for this revolt are to be found, without attributing it to the peculiar injustice and cruelty of the English. The common sense and Christian feelings of the community would be shocked

* Father Spaulding, of the Ceylon mission, once said to us, that the meanest Tamul boy in their schools would feel himself degraded if forced to marry a daughter of the sovereign of England. A lady belonging to the same mission said, that even when professing Christianity, a Tamul youth would regard himself insulted if she should offer to shake hands with him.

at the assertion that the slaveholders of our Southern States are more unjust and cruel than the slaveholders of ancient Rome or of modern Africa. It would be regarded as a calumny against Christianity itself. No less revolting is the assertion that the Christian rulers of India are no better masters than the Mohammedans or Hindus. This cannot be true, unless Protestant Christianity is no better than heathenism. This charge is not only preposterous in itself, but it is contradicted both by the almost unanimous testimony of competent witnesses, and by facts patent to all men. Did systematic oppressors ever train their victims to the use of arms, organize them into regular battalions, discipline and marshal them as infantry, artillery, and cavalry, put under their charge vast magazines of all the munitions of war, and make them the custodians of the public treasury? Yet all this the English have done in India. Even Delhi, the sacred capital of the Mogul empire, with its countless stores of ammunition, arms, and money, was left without a single European soldier. Would the most benevolent and indulgent slaveholding community on earth dare to act thus towards their slaves? Would it answer to have a trained army of three hundred thousand slave-soldiers in our Southern States?

The conduct of the English is absolutely irreconcilable with the hypothesis of their being deliberate and cruel oppressors. The present calamity has arisen from their overweening confidence in the people. They confided not only in the prestige arising from their past achievements, but to the self-interest of their subjects. By bettering the condition of the masses, by substituting law and order for the arbitrary exactions and cruel treatment of the native rulers, and by petting and pampering the sepoys, they supposed they had sufficiently guarded against either popular insurrection or military revolt. They underrated the power of the hostile principles of race and of religion. The mass of the people of India are either Mussulmans or Hindus. To the former, all infidels are dogs, whom it is an act of piety to destroy; to the latter, all other people are unclean. Men with these sentiments wrought into their nature, the English have armed and disciplined, thus placing themselves, their wives, their children, their wealth and authority in their power,

and then, some would have us believe, goaded them into rebellion by deliberate injustice, insult and cruelty!

When we think over the real facts of the case, the comparative fewness of the English, the hostility of race and of religion, the reduction of so many princes and aristocratic families to insignificance or poverty, the immense mass of disciplined native soldiers to whom the English soldiers were in the proportion of one to a hundred, we must regard it as little less than miraculous that this revolt did not occur long ago, and we shall not feel constrained to believe our Protestant fellow Christians to be worse than the heathen in order to account for the event. All that was necessary to produce an outbreak of the hostile elements which everywhere existed in abundance, was combination. Skilful effort was all that was required to secure concert of action. India has long been like a vast galvanic battery, pregnant with latent fires. It was only necessary to bring the poles together to produce an explosion. The moment the Mussulman and the Hindoo joined hands the circuit was completed, and the whole fabric of British power trembled at the shock. It is generally admitted that the annexation of Oude brought about this fatal combination. Oude is one of the finest provinces of India, and the chief seat of Mohammedan power. The king resided in Lucknow. The whole land was apportioned off to large landholders, who farmed the revenue, giving a certain portion to the king and exacting manifold more from the people. Each of these talookdars, as they are called, had his castle or fort and his armed retainers. They were constantly at war among themselves, and exercised the greatest injustice and cruelty towards the cultivators of the soil. It was the feudal system in a heathenish form. The king was powerless, even if he had the inclination to control these landholders or to protect his people. In fact he cared nothing for the people, but was content to let violence take its course so long as he was allowed to live in splendour and debauchery in Lucknow. The whole land was filled with robbery and murder. The authority of this king the English government was bound by treaty to uphold, and by upholding became responsible for the character of his administration and the state of the country. After all other means had failed to induce

the king to discharge in some measure the duties of his station, and to protect the people, the Earl of Dalhousie determined on the annexation of the kingdom. This measure has been condemned by some as unjust, by others as inexpedient, while others who justify the act condemn the manner in which it was done. On these points we do not pretend to judge. If however the facts reported by Major General Sir W. H. Sleeman, British resident at the Court of Lucknow, after an official tour through the country, be true, then we think there can be little doubt of the justice of the annexation, whatever may be thought of its expediency or the mode of its execution. If it be right for any man to prevent another from robbing or murdering his neighbour; if it was right for England and France to prevent Turkey exterminating the Greeks, we do not see how it could be wrong for the East India Government to put a stop to such a state of things as is said to have existed in Oude under the late king. Whether the measure, in itself considered, however, were right or wrong, it is easy to see that the substitution of the strong arm of British power in place of the nominal rule of the king of Oude, would make the rapacious zemindars tremble for their right to plunder, and for the security of their ill-gotten possessions. These men were thus furnished with a motive for applying the spark to the train long since prepared. The malignity of the Mussulmans was always ripe for revolt. They had only to alarm the Hindoos, and especially the Brahmans, for the security of their religion, to persuade them that the English intended to force them to become Christians, or at least to make them lose caste—an evil to them a thousandfold worse than the loss of rank to European nobles—and the union of effort necessary to success would be secured. This was the course actually taken. A year after the annexation of Oude, a conspiracy had been organized, extending all over Northern India, which, by a merciful dispensation of Providence, leading to a premature outbreak, was prevented from being completely successful. The Mussulmans were the originators and plotters, the Hindus were the dupes. This view of the case accounts for the fact, that the Bengal army, recruited principally from Oude, was the first to revolt. This also explains why the outbreak assumed in Oude the

character of a rebellion, while, elsewhere, it was, in the first instance at least, little more than a military revolt. As soon, however, as the fire was kindled, it spread with fearful rapidity. The prisons were broken open and the convicts let loose, and all persons who had any grievance to avenge, and all who hoped to better their condition by plunder, joined in the revolt. So far as the facts are yet developed, this appears to us the natural account of this dreadful tragedy. "The heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing. The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against his Anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision."

We hope our readers will excuse these remarks as introductory to an account of the revolt in India, from the pen of one of our missionaries, who has been on the ground during the whole progress of the conflict. Although this communication occupies more room than is usually allowed to a single article, and although it contains much already known from other sources, yet the ability and various knowledge which it displays, and the profound interest of the subject, must secure for it a cordial reception, and an attentive perusal. Our correspondent writes as follows:

In the history of mankind there are some pages much darker than the rest of that generally dark record. The passages which relate to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the dragonnades attending the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Sicilian Vespers, the Irish Massacres, the deeds of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, numerous scenes in the long drama of the Thirty Years' War, the Reign of Terror in France, are not read without a shudder and a melancholy feeling that such things could have been done by *man*. Our feelings are, perhaps, less enlisted as the distance of time increases which separates our days from those times and those events. But bitter, indeed, comes home to our own bosoms the truth of the utter corruption of mankind, when we are bound to insert another page into the dark record, detailing horrors that have

taken place in our own day, and that have befallen those of the same great race with ourselves.

The early part of the year 1857 saw Hindustan peacefully governed by the small number of its conquerors; the husbandman toiling in the field, the shepherd tending his flocks, the collector gathering the taxes, the banker weighing his rupees, the Brahman going out and in with rapid step at the low door of the temple of Mahadev, mumbling his formulas, pouring the water, strewing the flowers; the muezzin's call, loud and shrill, assembled the "faithful" to prayer; the Sikh blew his conch; the missionary preached in the crowded bazar, or taught in the humming school; the sepoy was bathing, or drilling, or practising at the target, or escorting treasure, or going on parade; the officer lived his listless monotonous cantonment life; the magistrate, with drowsy ear, listened to the drawling voice of the native writer reciting some evidence; the Grand Trunk Road was lively with traffic; the picturesque two-wheeled bullock-cart of the native; the large lumbering six-bullock wagon conveying government stores; the *dák-gari* conveying the solitary European traveller, or the palanquin, with its grunting bearers, or the rougher *doli;* numberless natives travelling on foot; regiments of Europeans, Hindustanis, Gurkhas, Sikhs, on their march from one station to another; in a number of places preparations going on for the commencement or completion of railroads; messages flashing along the wires from Bombay to Calcutta, and from Calcutta to Peshawur; men were digging canals, building barracks, erecting jails; whilst in the civil and military stations gayety and half-starved gossip were required to fill the time of many of their inhabitants; they were marrying and giving in marriage, when the idyl, in the twinkling of an eye, was terminated by the rattle of musketry and the booming of cannon, by the shrieks of maltreated English women—"the mother's, the maiden's wild scream of despair"—the piercing cries of English children caught on bayonets, the agonized wail of English infants hewn piecemeal, the dying groans of those that should have been their protectors, brave Englishmen. Rich and poor, young and old, all that was white, were overtaken in the one common calamity. From scores of places, almost simultaneously, rose the despairing

cry for mercy—for vain was it to withstand such massacre—in language foreign to their foes, and choked in their own blood. Delicate women, who the day before were accustomed to every luxury, which in that hot land becomes necessity—for whom the high, large, darkened room, the thickest walls, the constantly moving fan overhead, the platted, saturated grass filling the whole doorway, the large machine that is to produce a current in the atmosphere, were all required to make the Indian climate bearable, who at home, in the mild English sun, would never go out without sun-bonnet and parasol—these are seen to-day flying through the scorching, stifling dust, which the simoom blows into their faces, more than half naked, under the rays of a sun such as none can conceive who has not felt them, without shoes or stockings—for the savage villagers have stripped them of everything which, besides their lives, they saved from the hands of the infuriated sepoys and their own treacherous servants. Thus they fly for days, hiding and flying alternately, repulsed and maltreated in this village, and supplied with scant, coarse food in the next; looking death in the face a score of times in various shapes—yea, and worse, much worse than death—and sometimes reaching a place of safety only to die in delirium. Imagine the husband entering the home which he had left but an hour ago, and seeing there his wife swimming in gore, seeing the dread familiar look of that dear face distorted and ghastly; and here the child pinned to the wall, its blood oozing forth in a black, sluggish stream, in its broken eye a trace of life, and intense pain in its pleading glance. Think of young girls whose *end* (and oh, what a relief!) it was to be torn limb from limb; think of whole families obliged to witness the disgrace, and the cruel, foul butchery of those most loved; think of crucifying, flaying, and burning alive, of forcing the still quivering flesh, torn from the child's body, down its parents' throats! Think of children tossed for sport on bayonets, or *spitted*, writhing, living, on troopers' sabres. Think of Mohammedans, their notions of women, and the deep hatred they have always borne European ladies for their freedom and their virtue, let loose, unrestrained by *any thing*, and—yes, think of what has been most cruel in history and in fiction, what have been the greatest and most barbarous tortures, what the lowest

conceivable indignities; yea, imagine new ones, tax your imagination to the utmost, and all your conceptions will fall short of the dreadful realities of the mutiny of the Sepoy army.

For India, eminently, is the land of the habitations of cruelty; a land where people revolt because their government will not let them roast their mothers, choke their fathers, and strangle their daughters; where for pastime they torture their fellows with unheard of inflictions; where the practice of torture has become blended with the customs of all sects and classes; where the poor practise torture on each other; robbers on their victims, masters upon their servants, zamindárs on their ryots, (landlords upon their tenants,) schoolmasters upon their pupils, husbands upon their wives, and parents upon their children; where atrocity, brutality, and cruelty become ingrained in their very character. The methods they pursue (and they have a name for every method) are scorching various parts of the body by lighted torches, by red-hot iron, or by pouring boiling oil. They rub the face upon the ground so much sometimes as to fracture a jaw; they put a stinging beetle upon the navel, and cover it with a pot; they stick thorns under the nails; they fill the mouth with pebbles, and strike the chin upwards with sufficient force to break the teeth. These are their minor tortures. It is impossible even to name or describe some other methods. To such a people, infuriated and intoxicated with religious bigotry, and driven to madness by the falsehoods of their inciters, let loose upon Europeans and Christians, women and children looked in vain for mercy. They neither knew the word, nor acknowledged such a feeling. They ran riot in blood and shame.

In order to understand this insurrection in India, it is necessary to look at the causes which apparently led to it. Many of the best Indian statesmen had always said that the great danger to India was its sepoy army. But before we look at the army of India, it may be advisable to obtain a bird's-eye view of the country and the government of India.

According to a parliamentary return published in August, 1857, the gross total area of all the governments in India is 1,466,576 square miles, with a population of 180,884,297 souls. This area equals the whole of the United States, without the

Territories; and all these 180,000,000 are often said to be under British rule. This is substantially correct; the French and Portuguese, the only other European nations which have now any possessions on the Indian peninsula, occupy no more than 1254 square miles, with a population of little more than half a million. But still we hear constantly of about a hundred or two of independent kings and princes in India: rájahs, ránas, ránís, peshwás, nizáms, nawábs, amírs, and whatever else their names may be. And it is true we find in that parliamentary return, that the British States occupy 837,412 square miles only, whilst the remaining six hundred and odd thousand square miles are called Native States. A clue why these States have remained so long "independent," may be found in the same return, by looking at the population severally belonging to them, which is doubtless an index of the comparative value of the countries these powers occupy. The population of the territories directly under the East India Company's government is 157.6 to the square mile; that of the native States only 77.3. Moreover, all these States are independent only in a very qualified sense. Some pay as much tribute as the revenue under the British system, deducting the cost of collection, would amount to. There are treaties with all of them; none are allowed to have any diplomatic intercourse with any power except the Governor-General; and there is a British resident usually with the court of the prince, without whose consent no internal measure can be carried. Many also are obliged to support a military contingent, usually officered by the Company's officers, which is to aid the British goverment in time of need; whilst others again obtain the permission only as a privilege to organize and maintain police corps for the internal management of their appanages. Hence it is no exaggeration to say that 180,000,000 of people are ruled over by a company of annuitants in London, or rather by their Board of twenty-four Directors, very few of whom have ever seen the vast country whose destinies they sway.

Before the late outbreak, the number of Europeans in all India did probably not exceed forty thousand; and it was quite a matter of course to hear people speak of the irresistible moral force, prestige, and what not, as the instrumentality by which

England held India. Those who have the office of lubricating the machinery by which the rivets that attach India to the fortunes of England were held fast and in their places, smiled at such phrases. They knew that this "prestige," this "force of opinion," this "mental superiority" required a vast amount of nutriment, that there was a solid basis to all these intangible abstractions which absorbed the entire enormous revenue of India, and that of late years the *prestige* had been seriously encroaching upon the solid income, and that by an infallible law, at the same ratio, it could not go on much longer, and nothing would be left but an enormous "prestige" and an enormous debt. At one time, at the commencement of the late Persian war, it looked as if England were not conquering countries by the sword, but by the famous means of Philip of Macedon, the donkey-load of silver. They had become accustomed in India to a state of things which it was attempted to transfer bodily to a new soil. The Persian war was ordered by the British ministry to be carried on by the Indian government; the latter, however, has not been in the habit of going to war in Asia *à la Crimea*, i. e., of wasting millions of money and thousands of lives, and then leaving things pretty much *in statu quo ante bellum.* The Indian government were at once speculating upon a welcome extension of seacoast, and sent therefore their instructions to the commander of the expedition in the Persian Gulf, *at once to enlist fourteen regiments of Persian subjects on Persian soil in order to reduce Persia.* This is the plan: buy the people; in our day a talent of gold is cheaper than military talent; a good financier not such a *rara avis* as a good general; and the magic touch of gold and silver might overcome the hardy Arab, Lurian and Kurd, more easily than the baser metals, lead or steel. In India the institution of caste has made the enlistment of its population as mercenaries comparatively easy. The profession of a soldier belonging to a certain caste only, it was not difficult to keep the unwarlike castes unwarlike, and to attach the Kshatriya (the warrior caste,) by comparatively high pay and few demands, to the rule of the foreigner.

The country has really been always held by the sword. It could not be otherwise. Appropriated strip by strip almost

wholly within the memory of men now living, the elements of resistance are too numerous to be kept down in any other way than by physical force. There are the descendants of the countless chieftains who once held possession of the country, eager, whenever opportunity should offer, to assert their claims; there are always long lines of frontier to be guarded against powers mostly professing friendship, but naturally not to be trusted; there is the proud, restless Brahman priest, who sees his power waning, and who would willingly see his country rid of the "unclean" foreigners. There are the fanatical Mussulmans whose religion is war against the infidels and death to every one of them; and it is very doubtful indeed whether the taxes, the only revenue in that land, would be paid by the landholders and the peasantry, but for the ever present influence of a large standing army.

This army, on the first of January, 1857, consisted of about 300,000 men, a little over 30,000 of which number were Europeans, the rest natives of the country, and that pretty much all natives of one and the same district; a district in which most of the Hindu mythology had its home, and which to all Hindus is a species of sacred land—the last annexed province of Oude. For convenience we classify this native army into regulars and irregulars, Infantry and Cavalry. The Artillery consists to a large extent of Europeans. Of course, it is the regular army that forms the bulk of all this force. Their organization differed little from that of the English line; the officers of each regiment are partly Europeans, partly natives; the highest rank which a native can attain, is that of Subadár Major, about the same as Captain.

But it is not our object to give an account of the Indian army, as much as to show what predisposing elements and causes there existed in it for the development of the mutiny and insurrection so lately witnessed.

The history of the sepoy teems with tales of acts of insubordination, all of which had their origin either in some imagined or actual slight or insult to the sanctity and majesty of caste, or in some dissatisfaction with his pay and allowances. There is more tendency to mutiny, also, in the Hindu sepoy of the regular infantry regiments than in any other arm in or

out of India, in modern or in ancient times. It may be doubted whether this is due to reasons which have lately been brought forward prominently, viz. that with the large portion of officers holding staff and civil appointments, and those absent on medical certificate, furlough, and private affairs, the number present with their regiments is never sufficient; that they, as well as those of a higher grade, have lost, and are daily losing, much of their influence, in consequence of the measures constantly taken by government to diminish their immediate power and authority over their subordinates; and that the ties between the officer and the sepoy, from want of sympathies, are too weak. There is doubtless something in the moral tone of a corps of officers which may silently work for good or for evil; and it is to be feared, that with society, artificial as it must be in India, the latter predominates; and that the seniority system which prevails gives to many regiments but nominal commanders. Three or four years ago, a young officer related his Indian experience in the following language:

"How on earth a corps holds together with such an utter absence of discipline and *esprit de corps* on the part of its officers, I cannot imagine; I suppose that the adjutant is a good officer, and does the work of the whole regiment himself. The rest are nonentities; but I pity poor John Company, who must find them terribly expensive ones. As to the commanding officer, there *is* one I know, for I called on him, and saw the poor old man on parade at muster, but otherwise might be in happy ignorance of his existence; it would be hard to blame him for doing nothing, and being a complete cipher in the regiment which he is paid for commanding, because he is, I believe, physically incapable, half blind, quite lame, and almost imbecile. Whether the command of a regiment should be entrusted to such a man, is quite another question. I can only say that Jack Sepoy must be a very docile animal, and require very little commanding."

A more solid reason for this tendency to mutiny may be found in the cowardice of government, who have pandered to the spirit of caste until it has become too strong for them. It is notorious that the scrupulousness with which the British government have regarded and treated caste, as if it was a reli-

gious and not merely a social prejudice, has actually increased the number of castes. Caste, and what it forbids, and the danger attending any attempt to control or weaken its despotism, have been grossly exaggerated and greatly overrated; and this, being only too apparent to the apprehension of the native, has suggested to him the advantage of keeping up the delusion, and gratuitously furnished him with a weapon formidable enough to check the progress of improvement, and a pretext under the cloak of which he could further his own ends.

A practice has prevailed in the whole of the Bengal Presidency, of not permitting one of the working class, or of menial birth or occupation, whatever may be his qualifications, to enlist. This causes many inconveniences, excludes many of the strongest and best men, and induces an aristocratic feeling among the native soldiers, which, however, as may be expected, is greatly prized by many Englishmen. But the recruiting monopoly must be still more contracted; and, therefore, with the plausible excuse that the peasantry of Oude are the finest of the Hindu race, and best adapted for the profession of arms, it was confined, with, comparatively speaking, few exceptions, to that country. And, to make the regular Infantry still more select and recherché, there is a tacit arrangement, by which each regiment, as far as Hindus are concerned, is allotted to, and reserved for, a certain set of families and kinsfolk; and even in hospital, a sick Brahman does not allow himself to be attended and waited on by *any* Brahman; no, it must be one from his own clan or village. Of course, the Brahmans refuse to dig, to build, or perform any one of the thousand services as needful in a campaign as fighting itself. A regiment of cavalry on arriving at its halting ground, would decline to picket, unsaddle, or groom its own horses, and would wait for hours in conceited indolence till servants of subordinate caste, called *saises*, come to do the work for them. At the quarter-guard of a battalion on duty is kept a gong, which is struck every hour to indicate the time, but a Bengal sentry would not demean himself by touching the instrument at his very elbow, and the gongs are sounded by men kept and paid for the purpose.

There was an order of several years' standing, that each

regiment should contain two hundred Sikhs, but this, with great infatuation, was generally considered by the officers a dead letter. The line, then, being by this process composed, with the exception of some Mussulmans, of men of one district and one religion, bound to each other by feelings, by ties of relationship, and ties of caste, it could not be an arduous task for an uneasy, or turbulent, or discontented spirit, to get up a conspiracy, using some scruple of caste as a pretext, which should travel with the speed of wildfire from soldier to soldier, and from corps to corps. It was the plague of caste which worried the Sepoy army from the beginning, and now has apparently worried it to death. The poisonous influence of the Brahmans, who enlisted in large numbers, contributed in no slight measure to the diseased spirit of these troops; for a high Brahman in a regiment, such is the deference paid to these people by all castes, though a mere recruit, had more real power than the colonel. And of regiments consisting of such material, and thus constituted, there were in the Bengal Presidency alone eighty-four, comprising nearly one hundred thousand men, and this does not include local regiments, contingents, and irregulars.

How this spirit of the aristocracy of caste has worked itself into the minds of the old Indian officers, was curiously illustrated as late as the 24th of August, 1857, at Barrackpore, the station near Calcutta where mutiny made its first appearance. The native troops there had been told by the General of Division, Sir John Hearsay, that they could to a great extent retrieve their damaged character, (for though the first to show a mutinous spirit, they had been prevented from actual outbreak by the overawing presence of a superior European force,) by volunteering for the campaign in China. On the day mentioned, the 24th of August, he addressed them again on the same subject, and after reiterating what he had said on a previous occasion, he told them that they had now had one week to consider the affair, and make up their minds; that they must remember it was a matter of free-will, and no fault would be found with those who declined to volunteer, these would remain in Barrackpore doing their duty as usual. This he said, that he, their General, told them: he also said, that a few *wretched*

banias (shop-keepers) *and low-caste scoundrels;* had lately attempted to make them believe that the government intended punishing their regiment, and had even collected carts to carry off their dead bodies, etc., but that this was false, etc., etc.

On would have thought that after the horrible exhibition that caste had made of itself by that time, in addressing men forming part of a most miserable remnant of an army that was numbered by scores of thousands, who themselves were prevented from making a similar exhibition of caste prejudices only by the pressure of outward circumstances, General Hearsay could have found some more appropriate way of expressing his scorn of wicked men, than by designating them as men of *low caste*, which in truth the individuals meant, in all probability were not. Yet General Hearsay was precipitately knighted for a speech very similar to this one. There is a volume in that expression. It brings, as said before, into full view the manner in which officers of the Bengal army have treated the subject of caste. Though themselves, in the eyes of the Brahman sepoys, and indeed of all Hindus, low caste, and lower than low caste, they made it their study to speak of men and things always in accordance with the Brahman standard. Whom their Brahman sepoys despised, they despised; whom their sepoys revered, they revered. To be of low caste was in their eyes to be low and contemptible. The monstrous injustice and oppression of caste, its utter opposition to all that is generous and magnanimous, its irreconcilable contradiction to morality and true religion, to right feelings, and to the law of God, all this was nothing: it was deemed fitting that caste should be flattered and pampered, even to its minutest requirements, and every Brahman sepoy treated as though he were a king. It was considered necessary to purchase the obedience of these religious monarchs, in a few things, by falling down before them, and giving them honour in the various ways insisted upon by them.

There were other things, moreover, which kept up a real irritation in the sepoy's mind; and the most striking, perhaps, is his attempted assimilation to a European model. Nothing is more ludicrous to one unaccustomed to the sight, than a sepoy of the line, with his black, handsome, bearded face, surmounted

by a rigid basket *shako*, which it requires the skill of a juggler to balance on his head, and which cuts deep into his brow if worn for an hour; with a stiff stock around his neck, well calculated for strangling; buttoned tight in a red swallow-tailed jacket, with white lace covering his breast; trousers in which he can scarcely walk, and cannot stoop at all, and can seat himself only by keeping his knees perfectly stiff; bound to an immense and totally useless knapsack, so that he can hardly breathe; strapped, belted, and pipe-clayed within an hair's breadth of his life. What a difference between this poor petrified relic of Frederick the Great's drill discipline on parade, and the same well-shaped, broad-chested native, swaggering through the bazar in his well-fitting, loose roundabout, his easy *lungî* gracefully slung about his loins, the smart turban on his head, and his well-developed calves unconcealed by trouser or boot.

The irregular cavalry is an approach to a more rational system. These irregulars are free lancers, receiving monthly pay for themselves, their horses, and arms. They are armed with sword and carbine. The horses are surveyed and passed by European officers, and none admitted under a certain value. Their dress consists of a small turban, worn generally on the side of the head, long frockcoats of peculiar semi-oriental cut, and high jackboots. They take immense pride in the condition and appearance of their horses, and in the brightness and temper of their arms. They ride long, and their seat is most graceful and erect. The handling of their horses, and the rapidity with which they wheel, halt in full career, and again dash off with the swiftness of the deer, made it almost impossible during the mutiny for one of them to be overtaken by any European cavalry. This service has usually very respectable men in it, and often men of property. It was at first believed that the disaffection of the native army did not extend to the irregular cavalry; but obligations of caste, and the bonds of a common country, in most instances, proved stronger than their sense of loyalty and fidelity to the foreign master.

Passing over the middle classes, the inhabitants of the towns and cities, the traders and artisans, because they are the least numerous and the least influential among the people of India, let us look at the aristocracy, or rather the remnant of the

ancient aristocracy. The Moghuls, to whose empire and institutions the English succeeded throughout India, resembled in many points the Normans in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The aristocratic element was the basis of their entire political system; but they differed from the Normans in the important particular, that they recognized no hereditary aristocracy. Rank was the result of official position, and of that alone; and official position was dependent upon the will and power of the sovereign. There was the *súbadár*, appointed by the king himself; he was the governor of a province. There were the *kárdárs*, appointed by the latter, with a delegated power within a certain district, called *parganna*, containing towns and villages to the number of two and three hundred. The *kárdárs* were invariably men of importance, wealth, and consideration; their powers were very considerable, as their functions included an almost irresponsible jurisdiction, fiscal as well as judicial, over their respective districts. But it is unnecessary to enumerate the various gradations of an official aristocracy, which can easily be conceived of; and the remnants of one like it may still be seen in England. The English conquest at once did away with this entire aristocracy. The honours and high emoluments of government are of course entirely in the hands of the English. Power and authority is abstracted from the natives, with a very few exceptions, which may be mentioned afterwards.

Now, although this Moghul aristocracy was not hereditary, it naturally created a class from among whom the high officers of state were usually taken, and to step beyond which was always a hazardous measure. This better class of natives, who are far more intelligent than the mass, have never been partial to the British government; they have no attachment for it; not a drop of blood or piece of coin would they voluntarily expend for its support; they are wealthy often, and they know the uses of capital; yet they will not voluntarily subscribe to government loans, though the highest interest be offered them; and there are hundreds of cases where they actually withdraw from contact with the English; they prefer living and serving under the openly corrupt and capricious control of a native principality, to passing an obscure and despised existence in

the Company's dominions. Sometimes, nay frequently, the effect of the extinction of that ancient aristocracy is sad enough. It is sometimes asked, what has become of the families whose members filled important and dignified offices, civil and military, under the various native powers that have been successively swallowed up within the last seventy years? Why, if the children of those men *were* willing to enter the Company's service, they could only enter the army as a sepoy at seven rupees a month, or civil employ as a writer at thirty. This the pride of family would never admit. There are *sháhrádas* (princes) in Lodiana, living with a pension of ten rupees (five dollars) a month, who would yet rather starve than work. The annals of one such family would form a curious and painful social picture. We may conceive an old *Diwán* (farmer-general, chancellor of the exchequer, or secretary of the treasury) carrying the wreck of his fortune to some large city. He receives a pension from the British government, which ceases at his death, or the half of which is continued to his son. For two or three generations his descendants cluster together and preserve a shadow of their former position in gradually increasing poverty and discontent. They pass their lives in killing time; they are ignorant, extravagant, and licentious; they are overwhelmed with mortgages, usurers, and religious leeches; and if they have any estates, they frequently fall into the hands of government by some process of assumption, resumption, or for want of heirs, (that is, such as the government would recognize as heirs,) or in default of payment of revenue. They present a sad picture of frivolity, baseness, and depravity; but certainly the occasion of their demoralization is the total annihilation of their former power, and influence, and circle of duties; the absence of a hope, an object, or a purpose in life. In all this, however, no fault can be found with the English government; they do not fail to perceive the evil, but it appears an inevitable one. One of the Reports, written by an Indian official, graphically states that "the feudal nobility, the pillars of the state, are tending towards inevitable decay. Their gaudy retinues have disappeared; their city residences are less gay with equipages and visitors; their country seats and villas are comparatively neglected.

But the British government has done all it consistently could to mitigate their reverses, and render their decadence gradual." These are reasons why we might have expected to see this large and still influential class the most bitter, intolerant, and brutal enemies of the European rule.

The last class we shall mention is the least numerous, but as events have proved, they were the main spring of the rebellion; and it is only necessary to mention them to make it clear why it should have been so; we mean the kings and princes. The entire empire now in the hands of the British, is made up of conquests, annexations, and so-called lapses, to all of which there are claimants, unseated princes, or their sons, to whom it still seemed possible to regain their lost position. These waited only for some favourable juncture to carry out their long-cherished schemes for the dismemberment of this great empire. The old king of Delhi received a sufficiently large pension ($750,000 a year, together with his ancestral palace,) to keep up a considerable show of mock royalty within the walls of his fort; and by a considerable amount of literary patronage, he had adherents all over the country, besides those large numbers who caring less for the individual, yet wished for a restoration of the Moghul dynasty as a religious matter. On the occasion of his son's death, in 1856, who had been looked upon as his heir, the English papers had articles on the subject of this royalty, and discussed the expediency of abolishing the title. In appointing another of his sons heir apparent, his wishes had been somewhat thwarted by the British authorities, as there was a disagreement as to the person to be selected, and this added doubtless to the embitterment. Another lackland king had been added to the number of royal personages out of employ in India, in February, 1856, by the long-threatened annexation of the fertile kingdom of Oude. Indeed, however long discontent may have been brooding, and however slowly the conspirators were adding to their number, this most arbitrary annexation of all (*dacoitee in excelsis*, one calls it,) seems to have been the feather which broke the camel's back.

The annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, the late Governor-General of India, has been widely discussed, and frequently

blamed, not without reason. One of the earliest measures of his long reign was the nullification of the law of adoption. It had been the custom of the Hindu princes from time immemorial, in case there was no son to succeed the father on the throne, for the latter to *adopt* an heir to the crown. This law, being as everything else among the Hindus made a religious matter, was respected by the English governors until Dalhousie abolished it, and thereby added considerably to the Company's possessions. However much discontent the resumption of principalities by means of this abrogation of an old law caused, there was yet a show of legality about it, which the annexation of Oude could not exhibit. The last royal family had been raised to that dignity, it is true, by a former Governor-General; but there were several treaties in existence by which the British government were bound to give all needed protection to their neighbour, and which contained conditions none of which had been violated by that State. Indeed, Oude had often proved a friend in need, a most faithful ally in times of distress and pecuniary pressure. During the disasters in Kabul, Oude aided the British government to the extent of three millions of dollars in cash, besides furnishing numerous elephants, and other materials of war. Nevertheless the country was annexed "because the people were not happy" under their actual king. This is a phrase Alexander the Great and the old Romans never thought of. The "people" have their own thoughts about such matters, as is evident from the late insurrections. Bishop Heber tells us of a British officer, who, when riding through the country with an escort of Oude troopers, and freely conversing with them about the frightful misrule that prevailed, asked them if they would not like to be placed under British government. Whereupon the Jamadár in command of the escort replied with great fervency, "Miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that!" "Why so?" said the officer, "are not our people far better governed?" "Yes," was the answer, "but the name of Oude, and the honour of our nation would be at an end."

Nor did the fears of the people as to interference in their religion, and an eventual forcible conversion to Christianity,

appear to them so entirely without any foundation, as it has been represented they were. It was pretended on the part of the Legislative Council in Calcutta, that it was in accordance with the wishes of the people that they legalized the re-marriage of Hindu widows, a thing supposed to be forbidden by the Shasters. It is, however, remarkable that though the new law has been in existence for nearly two years, not more than two such re-marriages are known to have taken place; considering, too, that there is scarcely a Hindu family in which there is not one of these extremely young widows. The projected law prohibiting polygamy, primarily directed against the Kúlin Brahmans, who contract as many as thirty marriages because they are paid for it, was nevertheless believed by the Mussulmans to be intended to interfere with their own domestic institution. They say, too, that government shows much more favour to the missionaries than they were wont to do. They remember the time when no missionary ever was allowed by the same government to trouble them, and when no attempt was made (as it is made now at the instance of the missionaries) in the government schools, to use expurgated editions of their Persian classics; and when missionary schools received no grants-in-aid as they do now. The missionaries, also, being almost the only Europeans in the country not connected with the government, the native cannot bring himself to believe that the missionary is not paid by government for preaching, knowing as he does that the other *padres*, the chaplains, *are* paid by government; and the inferior style of living common among the missionaries generally, the smaller number of their servants, and the great contrast between the single small tent of the itinerating missionary, and the gay camp of the travelling official, do not appear sufficient to convince him. And perhaps there may be also a secret consciousness in the native mind, that Christianity is slowly and silently, but surely, gaining the day; and that the old religion, now that people go on pilgrimages most shockingly by railroad, and now that the sacred goddess *Gangá* (the river Ganges) has allowed herself, like any other common water, to be diverted from her course, and been made, like a slave, to flow in a canal which the foreign *Mlechha* has built for her, in spite of all the evil prognostications of Brah-

mans and devotees, is gradually waning, and the old idolatry, like

> "A mighty rock,
> Which has, from unimaginable years,
> Sustained itself with terror and with toil
> Over a gulf; and with the agony
> With which it clings, seems slowly coming down,"

is about to crush them by its fall.*

If we add to all this the existence of various classes and individuals who, for divers reasons, or for no reason at all, manifest that love of change, so apparent among all subjugated nations, that propensity *rebus novis studere*, which Cæsar considered his most turbulent foe in Gaul, and the prospect such people would have of plundering the well-furnished houses of the Europeans, and their well-filled treasuries, and the hope of rapine during such a state of anarchy as must ensue at the subversion of an existing, evidently careless dynasty, we shall be inclined to compare the masses of Hindustan to the heap of pine shavings upon which the oil poured by some designing hand produces what has been called spontaneous combustion.

The oil on this occasion was the religious bugbear of the greased cartridges thrown among the native army. It is difficult for us not to call it an absurd prejudice, which makes it so obnoxious to the sepoy to be compelled to handle a cartridge greased with materials which he cannot touch without loss of caste. But loss of caste in India is the most serious thing that can befall a man. There is nothing like it in any other country. Perhaps the Roman interdict *aqua et igni* resembled it; or the later Roman excommunication in the time of a Hildebrand, which Cardinal Bembo in his affected classicity also called *aqua et igni interdictio*.

In India, by a breach of the regulations of caste, the man becomes an out-caste, and can never more be associated with by his family or friends. No one will eat or drink from vessels polluted by his touch. His wife and children will no longer

* When, in the presence of many breathlessly expectant thousands, the water was for the first time let into the Ganges Canal, numbers of Hindus, in religious frenzy and *despair*, plunged into the flood, to reappear only as corpses.

dwell with him; they are separated from him for ever by their own feelings, perhaps, but certainly by the rigid priestly code under which they live. No house in his own village will receive him. This is the most fearful infliction. For one of the most prominent features in the character of a Hindu is his strong and lasting attachment to his village. However long his absence, however great his prosperity may have been elsewhere, however effectually death may have deprived him of the friends and relatives of his youth, he never ceases to regard his native village with feelings of lively affection; he never ceases to yearn that he may once again be enabled to sit gossiping under the old gateway, or to be dreaming for a few hours under the wide-spreading shade of the sacred *pipal*, where he reposed so often when a boy; of patriotism he knows nothing; for his country, for his race, even for the neighbouring hamlet he cares nothing; the one may be conquered, or the other destroyed, still for them he has no sympathy; but for his own village his affection remains lively, and vivid, and unchanged to the end. What misery then to be shunned like a leper at this, of all spots! If he is unmarried, none but an out-caste will give his daughter to him in marriage, and wherever he turns, he is an object of loathing and disgust. The embrace of brother or sister he must never look for again; even the mother is taught to regard him with horror. He is incapable of inheriting property of any kind.* The temples of his gods are closed to him, and the priest turns away from him with the haughtiest disdain. Thus he lives the life of the accursed; he dies the death of the dog.

The hand pouring the oil was that of Mohammedans of the highest ranks, and of ample means, who were conspiring "against the state." The Secretary of the Punjáb government, a shrewd observer, remarks in reference to the difference of disposition manifested by the Hindus and Mussulmans towards the English government (in the *First Punjáb Report:*) "With the single exception of the Sikhs, it is remarkable that the Hindu races, whether converts to a foreign creed, or pro-

* This last item has so far been interfered with by an enactment of the Legislative Council, in Calcutta, that a man, on becoming a Christian, is not thereby incapacitated for heirdom.

fessors of their ancestral faith, consider themselves as subjects by nature, and born to obedience. They are disposed to regard each successive dynasty with equal favour or equal indifference—whereas the pure Mussulman races, descendants of the Arab conquerors of Asia, retain much of the ferocity, bigotry, and independence of ancient days. They look upon empire as their heritage, and consider themselves as foreigners settled in the land for the purpose of ruling it. They hate every dynasty except their own, and regard the British as the worst, because the most powerful of usurpers."

The unreasoning fatalism of the Mohammedan leads him to believe victory as entirely due to "luck," that the prosperity of the British is owing to their *igbál* (good star,) which like all stars must eventually set; that power has been granted to them by God, but only for a time, say *one century*. That century, a native almanac, published at Benares, hinted, should, according to the conjunction of the stars and by the agreement of all prophecies, come to an end on the 23d of June, 1857, the anniversary of the battle of Plassey, which established the absolute dominion of the English in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

As far as the machinations of the conspirators can now be traced, from the intercepted correspondence, and the confessions of prisoners, they extend back to the year 1855, and seem to develope full activity several months before the annexation of Oude. This however does not invalidate the theory that this annexation gave the conspiracy its final impulse. For the English newspapers in India were discussing long before February, 1856, the impending annexation, some condemning, most defending it; the "*Friend of India*," the principal organ in the Bengal Presidency, looking upon this and other annexations as inevitable events. Moreover, Lord Dalhousie informs us, that long before the edict went forth, he had fully matured his plans and preparations. A complete civil administration had been prepared, and the military force which it was intended to retain had been fully organized, before negotiations were opened with the king. Officers had been named to every appointment, and the best men that could be found available were selected from the civil and military services for the new offices. In a red-tape government like that in Calcutta, such

things take time; and in every office, from the highest to the lowest, natives, both Hindu and Mussulman, are employed; hence the preparations were no secret.

Warnings to government were not wanting from parties who were informed as to what was going on underneath, as well as from parties who made simply shrewd guesses, that this annexation should prove a perilous undertaking; but the Ides of March came, and Cæsar went to the Curia. The annexation of the province was not accompanied by an outbreak; the transference of power was accomplished peaceably; the government jeered the "croakers," and with the indifference of conscious power surrendered themselves to oriental *insouciance*, and to the pleasing delusion that they were welcomed as the deliverers of mankind wherever they went.

In November, 1856, old Guláb Singh, the astute Hindu on the throne of Kashmir, since dead, wrote to Lord Canning that the Mohammedans intended to rise and overturn the British government, and had offered him the direction of the projected movement. The government laughed, and did not even reply to the letter. Mr. Hamilton, a merchant in Cawnpore and Allahabad, who had gained the confidence of the native dealers, received notice to send away his family in six months. At first he refused to do so, but at last he followed the well-meant counsel. At the same time he wrote to the government, and offered to obtain further information, but received no reply to his letter. (A copy of this letter is in possession of a book-selling firm in Calcutta.)

The emissaries of the king of Delhi, of the Nawáb of Murshidabád, and of the court party of Lucknow, in the meanwhile were active among the people, but particularly among the native soldiery, (for without *them* nothing could be done,) endeavouring to show the utter faithlessness of this infidel government, how they broke treaties without the shadow of an excuse, and that the sepoy should now have to pay back again to the British taxgatherer his hard-earned pension, when after long years of service he should return to his native, but no longer his own, country, the song-famed land of Ayodhya, now invaded by the jails and the kutcherries (court-houses) of the foreign Mlechha.

Once give a Hindustanee an object, and it will be difficult to

find his equal in the art of scheming, and in a cunning seizure of every circumstance that can favour his plans, as the records of every court throughout the country can testify. An occurrence which almost entirely escaped the minds of the Europeans, was laid hold of by the natives to further their aim.

The extension of territory made it evident that an increase of the military force was necessary. Many military commanders had warned the Indian government against an increase of the native army without a corresponding increase of the European force in the country. The Court of Directors, therefore, probably at the instance of the Governor-General, applied to the English Ministry for permission to raise some more European regiments of their own, as distinguished from the Queen's troops, that are only *lent* to the Indian government, intimating at the same time their design to reduce their regular native army by about 50,000 men. With their usual jealousy, which often has been wholesome, frequently also injurious, the Ministry refused this permission.

The correspondence on this subject, through native employees in the government offices at Calcutta, doubtless became known to the conspirators, and the story they manufactured out of it was the following. It must be presumed also that Lady Canning appears to take a lively interest in missionary schools, and that the Secretary to the Indian government not long before had presided at an examination of the Free Church Institution in Calcutta. The machinators circulated largely among the natives, especially among the sepoys, a printed circular, setting forth with great circumstantiality, and in an inflammatory style, that Lord Canning, the new Governor-General, had quitted England, pledged that he would convert the whole of India to Christianity; that for this purpose he considered it necessary to kill off at once fifty thousand of the sepoys; and since to this end a large European power would be requisite, he had written to England for thirty-five thousand men, who had at once been despatched in steamers by the Mediterranean; that, however, the successor of Mohammed, Sultan Abdul Medjid, had informed the Pasha of Egypt of the design of this large force, and that the latter, as a good Mussulman, had annihi-

lated the whole army when off Alexandria; and that the English had sent another equally large army by the Cape. The proclamation then goes on, calling upon all the natives to rise and strike the blow before *they* should be able to carry out their nefarious purpose of conversion; to unite at once and murder all the Europeans in the country, etc. In addition to this, numerous agitators in the guise of *faqirs*, or religious mendicants, kept up irritating reports and rumours in every military station; one of these many, pretty generally believed, was, that a general parade was to be held, at which all the different castes of Hindus, as well as Mohammedans, would be obliged to eat together, and thus break their respective castes, preparatory to being made Christians. At another time, a report had been widely spread, and was possibly believed by some, that the flour which the sepoys had to buy in the regimental bazars had been mixed, by the order of government, with ground bones, (a most polluting substance;) that thus the sepoy would unconsciously break his caste; and what would remain then but forcible conversion? Again, a report extensively believed was, that as there were a great many widows in England, in consequence of the Crimean war, these were to be brought out and married to the different Rajahs; and that their children, brought up as Christians, were to inherit all the estates. Now it was this, now that; the whole mass was in a ferment with the connivance, and under the leadership of their native officers, the European officers being the whole of that time in profound ignorance as to the state of their respective corps, the most of them putting almost unlimited confidence in their men.

During the hot and rainy seasons of 1856, a phenomenon was observed by many district officers throughout Bengal and Hindustan, which some did not fail to report to their superiors, but which all deemed of very little consequence. A man would suddenly appear in a village with five *chápátis;* this is the common bread of the people; they are always made when they are to be used. They consist simply of coarse wheaten flour, kneaded unleavened, spread out flat between the hands, and dried rather than baked upon a hot iron plate; they have no

connection or kinship with *patties*, as Disraeli seems to think.* These *chápátis* would be distributed and eaten in the village, five new ones made, and passed on to the next village, and so on. These *chápátis* seem to have passed over the whole Bengal Presidency. The European officers could obtain no satisfactory account concerning their use or import. In one place they were said to belong to some religious ceremony connected with the harvest, which ceremony, however, had never been observed before; whilst in other places it was pretended to be a measure intended to stay the cholera, which was then raging in many places. They seem to have served the purpose of ratifying a mutual covenant, or engagement, by the old oriental method of eating together. It is certain that an extremely active and lively correspondence was kept up among *all* the native regiments, the sepoys but rarely entrusting their letters to the public mail, but keeping up messengers of their own, defraying the expense by regimental collections; money was also distributed, especially among the native officers, through the means of those vagabond beggars on horseback, and sometimes on elephants, the pretended faqirs.

Indeed, language which has been employed to describe the origin of the mutiny at Vellose, in the year 1806, is word for word applicable to the case in hand: "Hired emissaries, under every variety of caste, and character, and costume, swarmed in all directions, armed with the means of bribery and corruption. And these means were employed at once with oriental adroitness and Punic unscrupulousness. Working on the natural attachment of Mohammedan soldiers to rulers of their own

* Disraeli has fallen into another error to which all persons are so extremely liable in treating of Indian affairs, if they have never been in India. He speaks of a *lotus* flower, as a symbol of something or other, having passed from hand to hand among all the regiments. This *fact* is entirely unknown in India. It is supposed that he confounds the *lotás* with the *lotus*. A *lotá* is a brass urn which no Hindu can well be without. The Hindu bathes every day, that is, he pours the water from his *lotá* over his body, usually at some stream. The secret meetings of the sepoys took place generally when they went to bathe, all with their *lotás* in their hands. It is difficult otherwise to divine the manner how Disraeli's misapprehension originated. Those periodicals which, in consequence of Mr. Disraeli's speech, had learned antiquarian dissertations on *the symbol of the lotus flower*, and found that it was the emblem of *mercy*, made themselves very ridiculous.

faith—acting on the natural prejudices and bigotry of the Hindoo—appealing to the covetousness of the human heart by large promises of pecuniary aggrandizement—and playing, by turns, on the ignorance and all-devouring credulity of all, they succeeded in inspiring them with vague and indefinite fears of their own religion on the one hand, and indefinite hopes of promotion and prosperity under a restored native dynasty on the other. The alleged purpose of the British government to destroy their ancestral faith, and compel them to embrace the hated creed of their European conquerors, was the principal stalking-horse of the cunning intriguers; but the destruction of the British power, and the reëstablishment of a Mohammedan despotism indeed was their real object. There were thus at the outset the crafty deceivers and the simply deceived—the dupers and the duped; though doubtless, in the onward progress of events, many of the subordinate became principals—many of the misled, misleaders—many of the deceived, deceivers themselves."

The plan of the conspirators was well laid; it may be doubted whether, with the vast and heterogeneous material they had to act upon, the details were sufficiently well taken care of; but there can be no doubt that had they succeeded even in the general outline of their plot, the massacre of Europeans which would have taken place in one day, would have exceeded enormously the actual loss of life, great as that has been. That day was to have been the 24th of May, 1857, the Queen's birthday. It is a sad thing that the European soldier in India should offer to the observant native no characteristic more prominent than that of love for intoxicating drink. This propensity, doubtless, carries off its hundreds in India, for the tens that fall under the effects of the climate. A Bengal officer reports that from the year 1840 to 1848, only 33 men died at a certain station from fever, and 41 died of *delirium tremens;* and in a strength of 3451 men, there were 2375 cases of drunkenness. At the delightful station of Kasauli, six men of Her Majesty's 29th regiment died in September, 1845, including three from *delirium tremens*, because, as their colonel remarks, a certain donation allowance "was paid on the 14th of this month." It was thought a sufficient reason to account

for soldiers drinking themselves to death, when it was said that they had got some money.*

It is absolutely astonishing to see the eagerness with which the mass of European soldiers in India endeavour to procure liquor, no matter of what description, so that it produces insensibility, the sole result sought for. And the native, observant as a child, even in times of profoundest peace and amity, made his gain from this prevalent vice. Some of the most remarkable facts during the insurrection hinged on this matter of drink. Whilst the mutineers held Delhi, there were still numbers of natives living within the city who were suspected of friendship towards the British government, whose wealth at the same time excited the cupidity of a paramount unbridled soldiery. The uniform charge upon which their houses were plundered was that of harbouring some "Christian," and the uniform and sole proof of this latter circumstance which the military or non-military ruffians ever offered to give, was the production of a bottle of rum which they pretended to have found in the house—unmistakable evidence, this, that a European must be concealed there. At Allahabad there was a revolution and a counter-revolution, both drawn in deep grooves, first burnt by the incendiary torch, then filled up with streams of blood. When Colonel Neill (since fallen) arrived there, he found all the European soldiers dead drunk; indeed, he could only stop the unbridled drunkenness by buying up all the plundered wines and liquors himself for his own commissariat. When Dion returned to Syracuse, we are told,

> "Lo! when the gates are entered, on each hand,
> Down the long street, rich goblets filled with wine,
> In seemly order stand,
> On tables set, as if for rites divine."

A scene in Delhi reminds one of this. At the storming of that city it was found that the cunning sepoy had placed various favourite intoxicating beverages in conspicuous places, as the siren whose silent song he knew the European soldier could not resist; and—*proh pudor*—he partly succeeded; one of the

* The Bombay Quarterly Review, No. III.

attacking columns had actually to retreat, after having entered the city, partly, doubtless, because it consisted mostly of the Kashmerian auxiliaries, raw recruits, whose bravery was by no means commensurate with that of their European leaders,* but mostly because it was found that the artillery-men attached to some guns which were to support that column, had found some European stores which, for the time being, they having been at work for nearly eight hours, unfitted them for any further military duties.

Hence we may infer why the conspirators selected the 24th of May. It was easy enough for the sepoys to kill their officers and the families of these at any time, at those stations where there were no European troops; but where there were European troops, the first thing to be done was to put these out of the way.

On the Queen's birthday the European soldier receives double rations of grog, and besides, discipline being slightly relaxed on such a day, he avails himself of other facilities to obtain the loved enemy. This day was fixed for the entire native soldiery, foot and horse, regular and irregular, and even police corps, etc. in Bengal, the north-west provinces, Oude, the Punjáb, the Trans-Indus frontier, even in distant Assam, and as it appears from the event, also in some parts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, to rise simultaneously. They were to attend on the parade usually held on that day everywhere, with muskets loaded, and provided with plenty of ammunition, not only their pouches, but also their haversacks filled with cartridges, powder and balls; and on the word to break line being given, the unsuspecting and unarmed Europeans were to have been massacred before they could reach their lines. Simultaneously with this movement, the sepoys on duty in Fort William, (in Calcutta,) the forts at Allahabad, Futtehghur, Agra, Delhi, Lahor, Multán, Peshawur, and other important places, were to have seized those strongholds, and murdered all the Europeans, whilst the whole Mussulman population was to rise *en masse* and slaughter all with the name of Christian—men, women, and

* When they were told to retake some guns which the enemy had taken from them, they answered that there was no need of it, as the Maharajah (the ruler of Kashmir) had plenty besides.

children, without distinction. The king of Delhi, until that time residing in the palace of the old imperial city, with a pension of three quarters of a million of dollars a year, was to have his old empire, the Nawáb of Murshídabád was to have Oude as a semi-independent province, with the title of king, and the king of Oude was to become the ruler of Bengal and Behar. This distribution shows the hand of some lover of the old regime, for the present royal family of Oude are such really only by the creation of the Company's government, and not by ancient hereditary right. In the proclamation, also, issued by the mutineers, calling upon all India to rise, the king of Oude is simply styled "ruler of Lucknow." It is notorious that the assumption by the Anglo-Indian government of the right to make the *Nawáb** (vicar or viceroy) of Oude into a *king*, was for years the pet grievance of the mock sovereign at Delhi; and the Mussulman population of Bengal and Upper India never ceased to offer daily prayers in their mosques for the restoration of the empire to the descendants of Timur. A writer in the *Dublin University Magazine*, October, 1857, says:

"The Kabul disasters showed how hot a fire of malevolence and bigotry burned under the thin crust of allegiance to which we trusted. At that season of peril many officers had opportunities of discovering the truth. One of General Nott's staff, returning from the war, continued to wear his Affghan dress as he traversed the north-west provinces, and his acquaintance with the language and customs of the East disarmed suspicion. He passed thus through Delhi and the neighbouring districts, visiting the chief places of resort, the mosques, and every spot to which a traveller would be attracted. Everywhere he heard the same avowal of rancorous hate from the lips of the Mohammedans. At that very time another political officer, the writer of this article, was invited by Saiyid Karámat Ali, the friend

* The same as the cognate Hebrew word *nábi*. There is really no such Kal as נבא, as Gesenius assumes; and the *passive* forms נִבָּא, etc. only being used, might lead to the supposition that these are denominatives, and that the cognate Arabic verb is not *nba*, (*editus fuit*, and then by a change of the passive into the active, *annunciavit*, i. e. *edidit*,) but rather *nab*, *vicem subiit;* so that etymologically also, *nábi* would mean "a delegate or representative;" cf. Exod. vii. 1. This is the first and fundamental meaning.

of Arthur Conolly, to be present at a great religious meeting of Mohammedans near Calcutta. Two thousand Moslems of the higher classes thronged the Imámbárah, or Hall of Mourning, and amongst them were many of our native officers. In the costume of a Mogul, the European visitor passed unnoticed, and heard on all sides the eager and oft repeated hope that the star of the Feringis had set. There was not one of our native officials there who remembered the salt he had eaten; that salt had, indeed, lost its savour. The smiling mask had been laid aside in that secure assemblage of the faithful, and beneath it appeared a scowl of hatred and defiance."

The whlole matter was, most skilfully, made a matter of religion with the Mohammedans; and next to cupidity, no more powerful motive in a Mussulman's breast could be appealed to. When the Meerut mutineers had arrived in Delhi, and demanded entrance into the fort, the native officer on guard demanded the countersign; and the words "Friend of the Faith" at once caused the gates to fly open. At Hissar the mutiny was excited by a number of troopers of irregular cavalry, who had come there from Hansi, after murdering everybody at the latter place. The principal magistrate at the former place put himself under the protection of the sepoy who mounted guard at the treasury. The sepoy seemed at first inclined to protect the officer, but on being asked by one of the troopers, "Art thou a friend of the Faith?" he deliberately loaded his musket, turned round and shot the magistrate dead.

Among the Mussulman portion of the army, it was not difficult to get up a factitious religious enthusiasm, Islam being a proselytizing faith, which commands every opponent to be put to death. But with the Hindu, religion is a matter of birth; nobody can *become* a Hindu; hence there is no room for proselytizing; and as for attacks on his own religion, he does not fear argument or discussion, being able to spin arguments thin as air, in a rare atmosphere, whither the earnest, truth-seeking European opponent can hardly follow him. But what the Hindu does fear is to break his caste, and on this vulnerable point, as said before, the wily plotters applied their irritating cataplasms.

In doing this, however, they evoked an element which soon

passed beyond their control, and which ultimately, in its violence, destroyed their craft. There is a legend of a wizard who used to call his familiar spirit to do for him the work of a domestic, to sweep the house, to bring water, etc. In the absence of the master, the apprentice calls the familiar, and bids him do what he has seen his master bid him do. The house is swept, and now he brings the water. He fills the different vessels about the house, and continues to bring water. The apprentice now with horror observes that he has caught the formula by which to call the demon, but the abracadabra which is to stay his activity has escaped him. In vain does he put on the master's magic robe and incantatory hat, in vain does he wave the mighty wand—the word, the spell, the charm he cannot recall. With the irresistibility of a machine the indefatigable spirit brings the water, fills the room, fills the house, fills the street, and the rash apprentice is drowned.

In playing upon the credulity of the Hindu sepoy in regard to the pretended attempts upon his caste, the Mussulman overstepped the bounds of that cunning craftiness which he had hitherto displayed. Besides the purely fictitious attempts which he imputed to the government, he also brought in the famous cartridge question; and this, most probably, saved *British* India. As far as the facts have become known, they are these:

At Dumdum, near Calcutta, there is a large artillery depot and a general military laboratory. One of the native labourers at this laboratory was one day found by a high-caste sepoy drawing water at a well usually frequented by the sepoys, at which the sepoy was very indignant, upbraiding the man with the lowness of his birth. The labourer* retorted by telling the sepoy that the days of his caste were numbered, as he and his companions would soon have to chew bullock's fat every day. The Enfield rifle musket was just being gradually introduced into the native army, the cartridge for which is greased at the ball end, to increase facility in loading. It may be remarked, *en passant*, that there being no grease at the extremity intended

* Whether the labourer was a bought or an unconscious agent of the Mussulman cabal, does not appear. It is certain that the Mussulmans in every regiment were extremely active in fanning the perhaps casual spark into a fierce flame.

for the bite, no good reason exists why the grease and the teeth should come into contact. Still, the cartridge *contained*, may have been the thought of the sepoy, the fat of that animal which he had been taught to revere as inviolable and sacred. He hastens to his comrades and coreligionists, and imparts the grievance. It is passed on from one to another; councils are convened forthwith, (with the knowledge of the native, but without that of the European, officers,) and grave discussions ensue. The priestly caste especially are entreated to take care *ne quid detrimenti Respublica Brahmanica capiat;* so that, finally, the hitherto languid adherence of the Hindu sepoy to what even *he* regarded as the Mohammedan cause, is changed into a violent partisanship, and an earnest personal concern. The government could not but become aware of some very serious agitations, which might result in a very great calamity. They do not seem, however, to have realized the greatness of the danger, and believing the ostensible cause to be the real and the only cause of the prevailing discontent, they addressed themselves to filling up the chinks of the apparently started timbers of the ship, whilst there was really a great hole unobserved below the water-line.

It was given out that a fraudulent contractor had substituted cows' fat and hogs' lard in lieu of the mutton fat ordered by the government, and that the objectionable cartridges had been cancelled. The sepoys would not believe it. They were then ordered to buy their favourite *ghi*, (clarified butter,) and grease the cartridges themselves. Almost as if to show that they were determined not to be satisfied, they now maintained, that as the *paper* used for the cartridges came from England, unclean animal fat was used in its manufacture. They were told to buy their own country-made paper, and manufacture the cartridges in their own lines; but like the spoiled children that they were, they said, No, the government had a design someway to deprive them of their caste; why else should they introduce a new weapon at all? Had they not conquered all India with the old musket? Besides, they said, they did not know how much injury had been already done to them before they found out about the fat, etc. The military secretary of government then published that none of the new cartridges had as yet been

served out; the commander-in-chief even was led to promulgate the humiliating, and, as it appears, ill-timed (because it came too late) order, that the sepoys should not be required to use any cartridges which were in any way objectionable to them. An exhibition of weakness this, which only urged the proud sepoy into the belief that government were afraid of him, and that he might, if he chose, also prescribe his own wishes in other matters.

This under-current of violated caste prejudices, whilst it helped on the fraternization of Hindu with Mohammedan, yet agitated the ocean of oriental life too much for the safety and success of the plot. But those feelings were now beyond control. The Asiatic, servile, cringing, sinister and untruthful, as his slavish nature is, no sooner becomes master than he is the most intolerable, unconcealed tyrant, oppressor and despot. In this instance his triumph appeared certain. He heard from all quarters of the country that there was but one heart and mind in the matter; that as all power resided in the native army, it was utterly impossible for the handful of Europeans either to escape him, or to resist him with any hope of success; the seapoy already revelled in the prospect not only of doubled pay under the new regime, but also of the large amount of property he should acquire in the shape of hard cash, since every treasury in the country was under the guard of sepoys. The native officer, the highest rank attainable to whom is that of captain, already saw himself riding in his colonel's carriage, and addressed as Brigadier, or General Sáhib Bahádur, with his former general's daughter for his slave-girl. Many an idle scion of former royalty, with his large government pension, continued inviting the European officers to his table, at which, though sitting, he himself never ate, and whilst listening to the entertaining conversation of his guests with the blandest smiles, was thinking of the approaching day when he should bear his share in exterminating these hated Feringhis, these proud Englishmen who live on raw meats, and wines of fire, who laugh at their fathers, and never say a prayer, and who, when they can wring no more from their own peasants, plunder the kings of India. The servant, as he was setting out his master's table with the

plate and the crystal, was gloating over the shining array which so soon should be his own, and the place for whose reception he had already prepared. And the sanguine, hotblooded children of the sun could not conceal their anticipated triumph. The hitherto, generally at least outwardly, obedient soldier assumed airs of consequence, became sullen, disrespectful and contemptuous. He who always saluted with ostentatious military salute every European he met, now passed with firm unyielding step and scowling countenance every white face. Servants, so wofully familiar with the children of their masters in India, would tell the wondering little ones how soon their mamma would grind the corn for the king of Delhi's horses. These things could not remain unknown to the government and its servants; but, like the inhabitants of Catania, they had become accustomed to the rumbling of the mountain, and even to its occasional smoking; they did not believe in the predicted eruption which was so soon to overwhelm them. And yet there is mercy in severity. A judgment was to be brought upon a government that had failed to give God the glory, and to honour him in all their acts before the heathen; but God looked upon the churches gathered by his servants, even amidst so much surrounding darkness and forgetfulness of God, and he diverted the frightful stream of lava from its terrible course of destruction; it did not burst out in full fury, and there was time to sound the tocsin, and to warn the people.

The outbreak at Mecrut, which was at first considered the origin of the mutiny, was really the cause of its failure; it was premature, deranged the preconcerted plans of the conspirators, gave time to the vigorous administration of the Punjáb to disarm the native forces in that important land, and ultimately to furnish the troops which were to save India for the crown of England. But we must not anticipate. Although we cannot pretend in these pages to give a detailed account of this mutiny and insurrection, we shall yet endeavour to give an outline of its main course.

As early as February, 1857, disaffection had ripened into open mutiny in two regiments stationed at Barrackpore, twelve

miles from Calcutta, which manifested itself so far as that the lives of some officers were attempted. The result was the execution of a native officer of one of the regiments, and the disbanding of the other. The words "caste" and "interference with the religion of the natives," were then much bandied about, and the General commanding the station, in a speech to the native troops, went even so far as to intimate (so at least it was understood) that he would not allow a missionary to remain in the cantonments under his command. Like Lord Ellenborough and those of like mind with him in the British Parliament, there were members of the Indian government who would have been glad to be able to trace the existence of the discontent to the direct labours of the missionaries. No attempt, however, could be more futile. Though missionaries make no distinction of persons, and preach to all that are willing to listen, yet from the nature of the case, and the peculiar circumstances of the native soldiers, their labours have been much less among these than any other class of people. Of Christianity the sepoys know far less than any other class of people. Indeed, neither the sepoys nor the populace ever opened their mouths against the missionaries during this insurrection; some have fallen victims to the bloodthirstiness of the fanatical miscreants, but not so much because they were missionaries, as rather because they were foreigners. The people, too, often revile the missionary to his face in the marketplace and at the city gates, but they usually speak well of him behind his back. It is impossible to say that the missionaries have been the cause of the discontent or the outbreak, in any way, but it is possible to say, and perhaps to prove also, that the *want* of missionaries may have something to do with it. Among the number of Mussulman officials who turned against the government whose salt they were eating, none have as yet been pointed out that have been educated in the missionary schools, whilst those who have remained faithful are of that class.

An interesting circumstance connected with the Barrackpore mutiny must not be passed over. The commander of one of the mutinous regiments was Colonel Wheeler, a man well known throughout the Bengal Presidency for his zealous Christian character. The obloquy heaped upon this man, when the

mutiny became known, passes all belief. He was known to have preached to the people, and to have distributed Bibles and tracts. Efforts appear to have been made to deprive him of his commission; he *was* deprived of his command; and during the investigation which ensued, he was obliged to write two letters to his military superiors, in vindication of the course which he had been accustomed to pursue. As an instance of the soul-crushing influence of a bad system, it may also be remarked, that the Military Secretary, who played the unenviable part of Inquisitor-General on this occasion, and to whom these apologetic letters had to be addressed, is himself an officer who is generally considered as possessed of decided piety. We regret not to be able to transfer these letters to our pages; but their length precludes them. He therein shows that he is not ashamed of Christ, and that he considers it the duty of every Christian to make known the glad tidings of salvation to every man; that whatever his military duties might be, they could not prevent his serving his "Heavenly Superior;" he confessed to the charge of having preached to the people whenever he could get them to listen, and that he was not careful that sepoys should not be among his audience; and he avows his conviction that he has been right in the course which he had been thus pursuing for twenty years. It is gratifying to know that this is by no means a solitary example of the Christian soldier among the officers in India. When the Board of Directors of the East India Company sent orders to the government of India, to proclaim to every native of India that they would proscribe any one of their Christian servants, who should afford pecuniary aid or countenance to missions, or to any such efforts for the enlightenment of the people;—which orders, we are expressly told by the Chairman of the Court, were in furtherance of "the policy so long observed by our government"—they were not carried out, because it was known that some, yea many, of the very best officers the Company had in India, would at once throw up their commissions, if such restrictions should be placed upon them. (*Kaye's Life of Tucker*, p. 562.)

After the disbanding of the mutinous troops at Barrackpore, there occurred, night after night, incendiary fires in the

different military stations throughout the north-west; officers' houses, churches, hospitals, and the huts of the native soldiers themselves illuminated every night the sky with their lurid glare, and might almost have suggested the beacon-fires on the heights of Switzerland, which called on the mountaineers to rise against their masters. Whilst the authorities supposed that this was the way in which the sepoy vented his feelings in regard to a fancied wrong done to him by government, and never dreamed that matters could go further, and that the fate of India was really then in the balance, the fact was, that these conflagrations were but the preconcerted signal to show which stations were "ready." The appointed day was approaching; the month of May, with its stifling hot winds, had already set in; a fortnight more, and the most brilliant gem in the crown of England would have been lost. But on Sunday the 10th, the Meerut mutiny broke out.

Meerut, a station on the road from Delhi to the hill Sanataria, the headquarters of the Bengal artillery, contained, besides artillery, also one regiment of European infantry, and one of cavalry, besides the third Bengal light cavalry, and two other native regiments. Eighty-five troopers of the light cavalry had refused to use the cartridges which had been served out to them. They were tried, and convicted of disobedience, amounting (as there was a distinct combination) to the crime of mutiny. The punishment in all standing armies is simply death. But from that principle of imitating and aping the Queen's service, which, as has been observed, has done so much to injure the Company's army, the Bengal articles of war necessitated the prisoners being tried by native officers, who in this case, of course, were their secret confederates. They, as may be expected, would not pass a death sentence; but they did not object—they knew at the time it was only for form's sake—to sanction the cruel and insulting punishment of twelve years' hard labour in chains. They were publicly stripped of their uniforms, manacled in presence of the entire division of the army, and led off to prison. The next day, towards evening, the native regiments openly revolted, killing every European they met. The cavalry galloped off to the jail, released their comrades, with twelve

hundred prisoners besides, obliged the commissariat blacksmith to free them from their fetters, and then they all joined in the worst of pillage and destruction, burning the officers' houses, and carrying away what they could lay their hands on. They were joined largely by the native domestics, by the bad characters that infest all military cantonments, and especially by the Mohammedan rabble of the city, who had been waiting with eagerness for the signal of rapine. And here commenced those unspeakable atrocities and heart-sickening horrors which were repeated in almost every station whither the mutiny spread, which make us ashamed of our very humanity; acts so abominable that they will not bear narration, for which our Western languages not only have no names, but hardly words to describe them. The perpetrators of the crimes may thus escape punishment from the very enormity of their offences. Those merciless, fiendish Mussulmans treated their masters, and still worse, their *ladies* and their children, in such a manner that even *men* cannot hint to each other in whispers the awful details. The narrative of such sufferings and such indignities could never be printed; they are too foul for publication. What is the murder of whole families in cold blood, when murder was mercy; and when the well-nigh universal massacre of the British officers by the sepoys must be called the very mildest feature in the affair? But who can speak of what preceded the hacking to death piecemeal? We occidentals have too sluggish imaginations to conceive of a tithe of the horrors perpetrated; and even were we told of some things, our minds could not take in the shocking picture, either as a whole or in its details.

One of the London newspapers, bolder than the rest, gave a short enumeration of some of the enormities committed at a few stations, and the heart of England shuddered at the recital, and a wail of horror arose from one end of Great Britain to the other, whilst a sad smile played on the features of the surviving English in India, when they read it, knowing how very far short fell that impassioned account of the unutterable realities. Especially guilty were the filthy bazar rabble who burst out of their dens to prey upon all; rapine their sole object. Plunder and defilement, cruelty and sensuality, Moloch and Chemosh, were

their characteristics. Brute force had the upper hand for a time, and they hurled themselves into the whirlpool of lust, as if this was only for them to live.

Of the marvellous fact that such enormities were committed in Meerut in the presence of a European force amounting to more than two thousand, and of the inaction or tardiness of the military authorities in that place, we cannot speak; everybody knows the sad facts, that British troops lost their way in going from one end of the cantonment to the other; and after the mutineers and released convicts had finished their fiendish work, and left the station, the European soldiers remained to guard the burning houses, "the corpses of the slain, their own barracks, and the slumbers of the division head-quarters:" while three regiments of natives, without leaders, made good a march of twenty-six miles to seize the native capital of the country! No explanation has as yet been given.

Twenty-six miles south-west of Meerut lies the city of Delhi, the ancient seat of the Mogul empire, and the modern residence of the pensioner, who has been known under the name of "King of Delhi." The name of the city most generally known is said, by Ferishta the historian, to be derived from Rajah *Delei* of Kanauj, its founder, who appears to have been a contemporary of Darius Hystaspis. Its ancient Hindu name is Indraprastha, or Hastinapúr, whilst the Mussulmans frequently call it Sháhjahánabád. It stands in the middle of a plain, surrounded on every side with the ruins of the ancient metropolis; it contained 160,000 inhabitants; it has nineteen gates, and walls seven miles in circuit. The Jumna, crossed by a single pontoon bridge, flows close under the walls of the palace of Sháh Jahán, which dominating the whole scene by its size, with granite-faced walls of sixty feet in height, is crowned with domes and minarets, and flanked by forts. Mosques with their enamelled and gilt cupolas are conspicuous, and some striking oriental buildings, intermixed with a specimen here and there of the curious nondescript European architecture of India, might be seen rearing themselves above the low flat-roofed houses of the Indian city. The royal palace, in which the king was allowed to exercise some shadowy sovereignty, was said to contain 12,000 inhabitants. The *Chándrú Chauk*,

a *wide* street, (a great rarity in oriental cities,) the principal mosque, and the *Diwán-i-kháss*, or Hall of Audience, composed of exquisitely carved blocks of white marble, and bearing the inscription mentioned in *Lalla Rookh*, (Agar bihishte bar rúe zamín ast, hamín ast, hamín ast, hamín ast, "If there is an elysium on earth, it is this,") are the boast of Hindustan. Couched under a ridge of sandstone rocks, lay the military cantonments, which, like most cantonments in India, presented the usual alternation of uniquely built houses for the European residents, low, windowless mud huts for the native soldiery, and groups of gaudy trees, among which the unfrequent palm formed a conspicuous object. The city wall or rampart is built of red granite, battlemented and turreted, and presents a sufficiently formidable aspect.

The garrison of this place, at the time of the outbreak, consisted of three regiments of native infantry, and three companies of native artillery, and no Europeans. The Meerut mutineers reached this city early in the morning, were immediately joined by the sepoys in Delhi, and together they took possession of the fort and city; the cantonments were soon laid in ashes, the treasury containing more than two millions and a half dollars in coin, was at once appropriated, the Delhi bank plundered, and the government college destroyed. The Delhi Gazette press was preserved to print insurrectionary manifestos and proclamations. The European males and children were assassinated with the most exquisite cruelties, and the ladies reserved for a worse fate. Some escaped these shambles, but only to perish on the road from hunger, and thirst, and nakedness, and sun-stroke, and the hot wind, and fever, and the hostility of the villagers, who mostly turned against the Europeans, and also by the hands of robbers and marauders, who in a moment sprang up on every side, destroying the lines of telegraph, and intercepting the mails. Very few, indeed, and these through incredible sufferings, some by apostasy, saved their lives; for such was the rapacity of the villagers, that those who reached European habitations again, did so often in a state of utter nakedness.

The loss of this city was so much more important as it contained the principal magazine and arsenal of the North-west,

besides the splendid camp of the commander-in-chief. The magazine contained hundreds of cannon of all sizes, vast stores of muskets, sabres, carbines, and bayonets, and military accoutrements; shot and shell in uncountable measure; gun-caps, powder, in short, everything that makes an army efficient, and the want of which paralyzes the efforts of the largest numbers. So great was the quantity of these warlike stores, that after some brave officers, before finally evacuating the magazine, had laid mines and blown up a portion of it; after the mutineers in the city, soon swelling by constant accessions from without to the number of twenty-five or thirty thousand, had been using them with the utmost profusion for one hundred and forty-five days, sometimes keeping up the fire on the besieging force night and day, and after much had been wantonly destroyed by explosions, the Europeans, on their re-occupation, found whole piles of ammunition entirely untouched. The plundered treasure the sepoys distributed among themselves; and as every man carried his entire property about him, we are told by native eye-witnesses that the men could hardly walk under their loads, and that they paid from twenty-four to thirty rupees for gold pieces whose real value was only sixteen, whilst the cunning Hindu bankers, who had not gold enough to exchange all the stolen silver, brought thousands of brass mohurs into circulation. The king, of course, was at the head of the rebellious troops; but the sepoys obeyed his orders only when they pleased; the king's sons were appointed to high military commands, but the sepoys derided their ignorance and incapacity. Men suspected of leaning towards the British government were plundered, while most of those decayed Mussulman princes whose subsistence depended hitherto upon their pension from government, remained unmolested. This premature outbreak, doubtless, took the other regiments by surprise, and by deranging their previously agreed-on plan, may have shaken the resolution of some. Still, the country being very large, and the means of communication soon getting into hopeless confusion and entire stagnation, some stations hardly heard of what had taken place before the day originally fixed for the rise really came on. Indeed, it would appear from the manner in which regiment after regiment mutinied and deserted, how every day for six months brought the information

of a new defection—one regiment revolting as much as six weeks after the recapture of Delhi—until at last but one regiment remained of that entire splendid army, the regular infantry amounting to seventy-five thousand men, who had retained their arms and had not mutinied, whilst most of the irregular cavalry and the contingents of the protected states "went," that these regiments considered themselves bound in some way to mutiny, whether they could effect any thing thereby or not. In the meantime, the Meerut authorities had sent to Rurki for a battalion of native sappers and miners, who also at once proceeded on their march, but when in the neighbourhood of Meerut, they killed their commanding officers, and tried to make their way to Delhi.

Alighar is a station halfway between Agra and Delhi, containing a large establishment belonging to the government bullock-train, the great means by which European goods and stores are transported in India. The garrison here mutinied, drove away the officials, took possession of the treasury, destroyed the post-office, and the bullock-train magazine, containing at the time goods to the amount of more than half a million, belonging mostly to private persons in the Punjáb.

And now the mutiny and insurrection spread with great rapidity. One hundred and twenty miles southwest of Delhi is Nasírabád, a station with two regiments of native infantry and some artillery; they seized the treasure, but were fiercely opposed by some Bombay lancers, who remained true. They marched then to Ajmír, having first destroyed the cantonments at Nasírabád, and then to Nímach, where they were joined by two more regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, some horse-artillery, and marched all together to Delhi, which, it became soon apparent, was the rendezvous of the revolting regiments. But it would be too tedious to go over town, and city, and station, one by one; the mutiny, in a word, soon became general;

> "Surge leaping after surge, the fire waved onward red as blood,
> Till half of *India* lay engulfed beneath the eddying flood;
> For miles away the fiery spray poured down its deadly rain,
> And back and forth the billows sucked, and paused, and burst again."

Everywhere the sepoys made it their first business to seize the

treasure, release all convicts and prisoners from the jail, then murder their officers, leave the wives and children of the officers to the mercy of the lustful Mohammedan rabble, and march to Delhi, or if Oude was more convenient, to Oude, and Lucknow, its capital. There are exceptions also to the universal ill-treatment. In some, though extremely few, places, some sepoys or troopers remained with their officers, until these had reached some place of safety, whereupon they returned to join their mutinous comrades. At one place in Oude, Fairabád, the troops assembled on parade in all due military order, then informed their officers, without rudeness, that they were taking possession of the country in the name of the king of Delhi, presented to them one of their native officers as the newly *elected* Brigadier, gave them money for their travelling expenses to Calcutta, from the government treasury, of course, and saluted them on their departure. However, these officers were all set upon by another mutinous regiment and killed.

The mutiny actually extended from the borders of Afghanistan to Assam, and from the Himalaya to the Deccan. Were the places to be enumerated where the British rule ceased for a time, it would but be a recital of the plagues of fire and sword, and in many places, where a brave band of Europeans made a stand, in some fort or other building—also of famine.

At Futtehgurh, a name well known to the friends of missions, information was received on the 3d of June, that the troops at Sháhjahánpúr (fifty miles north of Futtehgurh) and Baraili (about fifty miles further) had mutinied, and that a body of Oude mutineers, consisting of troops of all arms, were marching on Futtehgurh. This caused great anxiety, as the native regiment stationed there were known to be mutinously disposed, for they had given out that as soon as another corps arrived, they would rise and murder all the Europeans, only sparing their own officers. That night a consultation was held, and it was considered absolutely necessary to send off the ladies and children to Cawnpore, and as boats had been secured, it was settled that a start should be made at once, as it had been before agreed that it was impossible to hold the fort, and it was at that time thought that the river was quite open. The party started at one o'clock, A. M., on the 4th of June, and got on

very well that night. The next morning they were joined by the officers of the Futtehgurh regiment, who reported that their men had mutinied, seized the treasure, abused the colonel, and fired on themselves, and that there was little chance of any of those who had remained behind having escaped. The fugitives proceeded on their way, and when opposite the village of Husúnakhore were fired upon by the villagers, but only one was slightly wounded. The next day they had not gone far when a report reached them that Oude troops were crossing at one of the ferries a few miles below. On a further consultation it was deemed best, as the party was very large, to divide. Accordingly, about forty Europeans landed and were received in the fort of a native. The remainder of the party, amounting to one hundred and twenty-six souls, proceeded to Cawnpore, as no intelligence of the mutiny there had reached them.

In the meantime, the Bhitúr Rajah, Sri Mant Dhundú Pant Nána Sáhib by name, had raised the standard of revolt, and made the region around Cawnpore the theatre of his bloody deeds. In bloodthirstiness, wanton cruelty, and utter faithlessness, he showed himself the true Maratta that he was. He was a son, real or adopted, of the vizier of the late ex-Peishwá, Báji Rao, the last of the recognized Maratta chiefs, and on some frivolous pretence (the Court of Directors said) had laid claim to the revenues of the Peishwá, but government had overruled his pretensions, and he thirsted for revenge. During the times of peace he showed himself most friendly and kindly disposed towards the English officers. He had some English education, professed to be a great admirer of everything English, and often invited the English officers stationed near him, gave them banquets and dancing exhibitions, or placed his elephants at their disposal for the exciting tiger-hunt or elephant chase. Before the mutiny fairly broke out at Cawnpore, and while the British were still temporizing, in the vain hope that Delhi would soon be recaptured, and that this event would restore peace and confidence, Nána Sáhib proposed to bring his fifteen hundred men to the assistance of the British garrison at Cawnpore, and for the dispersion of the mutineers. At the same time he was entreating his favourite English friends, among them the chief Collector, to send their young wives and

children to his castle at Bhitúr, as a place of safety. Nobody seems to have doubted his friendship and honour. Was he not a man of immense wealth and power, all through the favour of the English government? Did he not occupy a large estate, and a stronghold of very difficult approach, only six miles from Cawnpore, not inherited, but actually presented to him by the British rulers of India? At the same time he was organizing a corps of assassins, dug out the guns which he had kept concealed, and not a day passed during the bloody interregnum, in which some poor hunted European was not brought in, and literally hacked to pieces by his orders.

Before this tiger, the incarnation of brutality and treachery, whose crimes seem to surpass even what human nature was thought capable of, the pitiable Futtehgurh fugitives were brought, and put to death; all perished, cut to pieces on the parade ground in Cawnpore. Among these fugitives were four American families, the missionaries stationed at Futtehgurh: the Rev. Robert McMullin and his wife, who had only arrived from America three months before; the Rev. Albert O. Johnson and his wife, whose residence in India only dated from December, 1855; the Rev. David E. Campbell with his wife and two children, and the Rev. John E. Freeman with his wife; the latter had but lately removed from Mynpúri to Futtehgurh, to take charge of the Orphan Asylum. Thus did a most cruel and unexpected death terminate the lives of these brethren which had been devoted to the service of their Master. It must be a consoling reflection how these victims of barbarity were doubtless enabled to spend their last breath in directing their one hundred and sixteen fellow-sufferers, amidst the clangor of arms, to the Prince of Peace; how their last few days were possibly crowned with souls saved by their instrumentality; with what fervour, surrounded by enemies, they must have pointed to Him who is the friend of sinners, and how a dying Lord was offered by dying men to dying men. The church and the work of missions have lost, by a sudden stroke, their talents and their piety; but we know that *they* have lost nothing. A great gap has been made in those family circles with which these brethren and sisters were more immediately connected, but the Lord reigneth,

whose judgments are a great deep. He is in his holy temple, let all the earth keep silence before him!

The other fugitives from Futtehgurh fared hardly better. After remaining for a few days in the fort of Dharmpúr, where they had taken refuge, they returned again to Futtehgurh. The regiment used various artifices to make their officers believe that they would remain faithful, although they were in possession of the treasure—and they almost succeeded. But on the 18th of June they released all the prisoners and convicts from the jail; a regiment which had mutinied in Oude, crossed the Ganges, and entered Futtehgurh; a company of the Futtehgurh regiment then marched to the Nawáb of Furrukhabád, placed him on a throne, laid the regimental colors at his feet, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns. The Nawáb, however, at that time would have nothing to do with them, unless they made over to him the money which they had robbed. They would not do this, and ultimately dispersed. The Europeans, in number upwards of one hundred and ten, including women and children, now took refuge in the Futtehgurh fort, and there being thirty-three able-bodied men among them, they prepared for a siege. They defended themselves with great courage and perseverance for a number of days against an overwhelming force of sepoys, who had been joined by about one hundred and fifty of the Afghan settlers of that region. But after they had lost several of their number, and the enemy's guns and mines had effected two breaches, their position became desperate, and they resolved once more to take to the boats. This was nearly a month after the first ill-fated party had started. They were soon overtaken, however, by the pursuing sepoys, and men, women, and children, one by one, perished miserably, from wounds, by drowning, from exhaustion, and through treachery. But two survived, and reached a place of safety to tell the sad and sickening tale. In the meantime the district of Futtehgurh was formally taken possession of by the Nawáb of Furrukhabád, who was greatly assisted by one Hidáyat Ali Khán, who had been a taxgatherer under the British government, and who made himself vizier of the Nawáb, retaining all the government officials and employees, and continuing to collect the revenue for the coffers of the Nawáb. The latter put all that could yet be found of any European descent or connec-

tion to death; among them we hear of *twenty-one* native Christians, who had doubtless belonged to the Christian village gathered there by the Presbyterian Mission. A native witness tells how two of the women and one child were twice shot at, by way of execution, without being hit; whereupon they begged the Nawáb for their lives. He seemed inclined to relent, but Hidáyat Ali, who was also present, said they were infidels, and the Koran commanded such to be put to death. And this is the spirit of Mohammedanism wherever it has the power.

At the junction of the Ganges and the Jumná, five hundred miles from Calcutta, lies the city of Allahabad, called by the Hindus, Prayàg. When the news of the Meerut and Delhi mutinies arrived, the sepoy regiment there volunteered to march against the mutineers; and on the same day, the 6th of June, they rose and killed eighteen out of twenty-six of their own officers. With loud invocations of Rám Chandra, their favourite name of Krishna, they proceeded to the jail, and liberated two thousand robbers, the offscouring of mankind. Even the native population of the city started with horror as the clanking of the irons, still dangling on the legs of the convicts, resounded for hours through the city. The sepoys in the mean time plundered the treasury of three millions of rupees, and each took away as much as he could carry, leaving the rest to become the cause of strife and bloodshed among the convicts and the mob. The sepoys, to carry the more, threw away their arms, and were consequently set upon by the villagers and spoiled of their spoils. In the city a Mohammedan schoolmaster set up the standard of rebellion, and by dint of much Arabic, or what passed for it, endeavoured to excite the populace to attack the fort in which the European residents had taken refuge. Though demonstrations were made against it, it remained in the possession of the Europeans, who thus saved their lives, though many who could not reach this place of safety were killed by the insurgents. A Sikh regiment, stationed there, though somewhat doubtful at first, ultimately remained staunch, and garrisoned the fort, assisted by thirty European artillery men, who had arrived on the day of the outbreak from Chunár. But nearly every European habitation was burnt to the ground; the church of the station as well as that of the American mis-

sion was gutted, the mission press destroyed, and almost everything was lost. The usual and more than the usual atrocities were committed; neither age, nor sex was spared, and we hear of whole families tied to trees and burnt alive. After the fort had been besieged* for about ten days, and the Sikhs had begun to waver, Colonel Neill, with forty Europeans of the Madras fusileers, who had arrived by a steamer, appeared most opportunely and restored confidence. The following day two hundred more of the same regiment arrived; a sally was made, and the rebels routed. Two of the Sikhs who were left wounded on the parade ground, whilst the English force pursued some mutineers, fell into the hands of the towns people, who cruelly murdered them. At this intelligence the whole Sikh regiment rose up, mad and infuriate, and demanded revenge. With a party of Europeans they proceeded to the town, and murdered every man, woman, and child they met. Those who a few days before had mocked the helpless Europeans, and exulted over their shame and their calamities, and danced howling round their burning bodies, were slaughtered like sheep. The Sikhs exasperated at the wanton cruelty practised against their brothers; the Madras fusileers stung to the quick by the dishonour of their countrywomen; European indigo planters who in one hour had been reduced from affluence and power to beggary and helplessness, and officers whose homes had been made desolate, and who but by a kind providence had escaped the miserable fate of their brothers, precipitated themselves upon the guilty city, and gave no quarter. At the approach of night the city was fired, and half of it destroyed. Many perished in the flames. The revenge was terrible. At such a time, when

> "— Weiber werden zu Hyaenen,
> Und treiben mit Entsetzen Scherz,
> Noch zuckend, mit des Tigers Zähnen,
> Zerreissen sie des Feindes Herz,"

what can be expected from an infuriate, *intoxicated* soldiery? A banker, who had encouraged the sepoys in their revolt, was stripped of his three hundred thousand rupees, and then nailed

* Fifty-nine women and children died during the siege.

to a large mahogany table, which he had obtained a few days before from one of the houses of the plundered Europeans.* The American Presbyterian Mission buildings, the school, the library, one of the best in Upper India, were all ruined; the missionaries plundered of nearly everything they had. Two of the missionaries with their families fled. Gopí Náth Nundy, a native of Bengal, a Presbyterian minister in Futtehpore, who had fled to Allahabád, was in the hands of the mutineers for some days, his feet in the stocks a part of the time; but he would not recant, in spite of all menaces; on the contrary, he maintained a good confession, and offered praise and prayer to the only true God, in the presence of his enemies. Some native Christians are said to have pronounced the Mohammedan creed, to save their women from dishonour.

The capital and the seat of government of the north-western provinces is Agra, called by the Mohammedans Akbarabád, well known to the Christian reader as a great missionary station. Here is the American Presbyterian Mission, with three missionaries, a fine Presbyterian church, and three flourishing schools; here the English Baptists had a mission, as well as the Church Missionary Society; the Romish mission dates from the days of Akbar; here was the centre of the North India Bible Society, with its fine depository of thirty-eight thousand Bibles, Testaments, Psalters, etc., in Asiatic and European languages; the Christian Tract and Book Society, with a depository of not less than one hundred thousand pages in various languages; here was the Secundra Orphan Press, one of the largest in India; a Mission College, and a Government College. To the reader of Indian travels, Agra is specially known for its remains of Mogul magnificence, and their crown, the Táj. But during the insurrection the interest of Europeans centred on the other side, on the fort, which extends along the banks of the river, and within whose lofty embattled walls there is the Motí Masjíd (Pearl Mosque) of pure white marble, unrivalled in chasteness of design and elegance; the remains of the palace, with its gilded cupolas,

* There may be inaccuracies in this account, as we have seen no details in the newspapers; our version is taken from an unpublished official document.

and rich tracery on the walls and ceiling; but also an arsenal, and numerous compartments and sheds for all the paraphernalia of war; for in this fort, hardly strong enough to stand an assault, was shut up a European population of nearly six thousand souls for three months.

Agra was garrisoned by three native regiments, one European, and a company of artillery. The native regiments mutinied early, and moved off to the focus, Delhi. Agra being in the very midst of the mutinous districts, was soon cut off from regular communication with east or west, north or south, and hence the government, as far as it depended upon the head, was at once paralyzed. The station remained quiet, however, until the end of June. Immediately south of Agra are some dependent states which are obliged to maintain military contingents; nearly all of these mutinied; and the Gwalior contingent, on its way to Delhi, after having shed the blood of their officers, passed near Agra. Now the Europeans took refuge in the fort; though a detachment of the European regiment, with two guns, marched out to prevent the mutineers from entering the station. An engagement took place, during an early part, in which the ammunition tumbrils were blown up; the Europeans had to retreat, with great loss; and the city and cantonment rabble soon made havoc of the station, burning and destroying everything, and murdering everybody that bore the Christian name, who had not been fortunate enough to reach the fort. So many people being crowded together in gunsheds, casemates, and verandahs, cholera made its appearance, though the mortality from this source does not appear to have been very great. Captain Thomas, well known for his beautiful sketches of Simla scenery, and Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces—the latter perhaps overcome as much by anxiety and grief as by disease—were among the victims.

The most disorganized and anarchical district, during the entire period of the insurrection, was that of Rohilcund, settled by Rohillas (Afghans) about a century ago, and the barbarities committed at Baraili, Sháhjahánpúr, and other places, only proved that the descendants of those wild warriors who had so often overrun India, held blood as cheap as their brothers across the Indus. At Baraili the native infantry destroyed

every European house, the college, and every public building. The green flag of Islam was raised, at the sight of which no Mohammedan dares remain neutral, and *Dín*, *Dín*, *Yá Alláh* became the watchword of the rebels. The artillery and the irregular cavalry soon joined them, and Khán Bahádur Khán, a Rohilla prince, proclaimed himself governor of the province, in the name of the king of Delhi. The Europeans fled, but many were cut up. Those who escaped owed their lives mostly to a few native troopers, who had remained faithful. They wandered about for a long time in disguise, often maltreated by the villagers, and suffering every hardship before they reached a place of safety in the hills. At Sháhjahánpúr, on the 31st of May, the European residents were nearly all in church, looking to God for protection, we may imagine with what intense fervour at such a time, when the sepoys rushed in with swords, and murdered most of them. Some fled to the fort of a neighbouring rajah, but were turned out the next day, and hunted to death like wild beasts.

In Hissar, the splendid government stud was destroyed; most of the horses houghed, the treasury plundered, the prisoners released, the European buildings burnt, the government records destroyed, the Europeans murdered. Prince Mohammed Azím Beg, who was in government employ, proclaimed himself governor in the name of the king of Delhi; and the other native officials immediately took service under him. He was ostentatiously engaged in the evening prayer when information was brought to him that two Feringhis were concealed in a certain place. "The prince thanked the Prophet that the merciful God had been pleased to keep the two Káfirs (infidels) for his share of the massacre."

> "Ces monstres furieux, de carnage altérés,
> Excités par la voix des prêtres sanguinaires,
> Invoquaient leur Seigneur en égorgeant leurs frères;
> Et, le bras tout souillé du sang des innocens,
> Osaient offrir à Dieu cet exécrable encens."

At Jhansi, the famous episode of "the round tower" took place. Two officers, Skene and Gordon, had taken refuge in an old martello tower. They fought the mutineers, Skene's wife

loading his rifle for him, and thirty-seven of the enemy fell before their steady fire. But ladders scaled the place; the ruffians surrounded them; Gordon's head was pierced by a bullet, and he fell. All hope seemed then gone; Skene kissed his wife, shot her, and then shot himself. "Kiss of love and anguish; in famous story or true record of love and death, no kiss like that was ever recorded." The rest of the Europeans, fifty-seven in number, held out for days against large bodies of insurgent horsemen. At last cannon was procured, and the rebels effected an entrance into the old fort in which the Europeans had taken refuge. On this, the latter capitulated for the safety of the women and children, which was granted. Faith was not kept. The men were bound with ropes and placed in a long line, and their wives and children being forced spectators, were all beheaded with a cruelty such as hitherto it was believed belonged distinctively to the Chinese. The children were then cut to pieces before the eyes of their wretched mothers, who then were stripped, flogged—but how can pen describe the undescribable, the inexpressible? We stand aghast at such treatment; for we had forgotten that with the proud Brahman, we always were considered as out of the pale of humanity. We had forgotten that the Mohammedan is a ferocious animal, made so by his creed, which inspires him with a blind, vindictive exclusiveness, that makes him a true demon as soon as the restraint of fear is taken off. The very contact with a Western, a Christian civilization, had an influence over these wild natures, which, however, left the inner unseen man of these aliens entirely unchanged. When a set of low wretches once break loose from a spell which has long restrained them, there is on ordinary principles no knowing how far they will go. They exult in their release from the tie of respect, and think they cannot hurl the burden too far. They toss it off with wild and frantic delight, and rush into boundless insolence. They revel and wallow in the absence of respect as the greatest luxury they can enjoy, and having once torn the veil, rush with a voracious relish to the pollution of the sanctuary. This is the extravagance of vulgar irreverence, to soil the marble surface of the temple with vilest filth, to spit in the face of Majesty, and

kick the Royalty which has won such deference, in very revenge for the deference it has won.

But even such recitals fail to prepare our minds for the gigantic treachery of the Bhitúr Rajah at Cawnpore. He had already shown his temper by the wanton massacre of the poor Futtehgurh fugitives; but the tiger had tasted blood, and blood only could slake his bestial thirst. The first accounts of the mutiny at Meerut, and the reception of the rebels at Delhi reached Cawnpore about the 16th of May. The garrison of that station consisted of about four native regiments. Cawnpore is situated on the right bank of the Ganges, about six hundred miles from Calcutta, separated from Oude by the river. The station is built on a dead level; the lines of the different regiments straggling to the distance of five miles along the river bank; it possesses no fort or place of refuge, and is in every respect ill adapted for defence. The town contains about one hundred thousand inhabitants; many of them were armed; and the proportion of Mussulmans is large. It was a divisional station, commanded by General Wheeler, a man of nearly seventy years of age, fifty-three years in India; he had fought at the original capture of Delhi. He at once turned his attention toward the provision of a fortified position, in which, at all events, he might await the arrival of succours. He pitched upon the hospital barracks for the purpose. He intrenched it and armed it with all the guns of the battery. He had with him a few Europeans, who had been hastened up from Benares, but the whole force did not exceed one hundred and fifty men. The sepoys mutinied on the 5th of June, and then he had only this force to rely on, with about forty officers of various regiments. With this small body of troops he had to protect the depot of a European regiment, (who were in Lucknow,) consisting of one hundred and twenty women and children, and the whole Christian population of the place, which included civilians, merchants, shopkeepers, engineers, clerks, pensioners, and their families, to the number of nearly four hundred persons. He had very short supplies of food and ammunition. Against him were assembled a body of men probably exceeding four thousand in number, animated with fanatical rage, well supplied with ammunition, assisted by artillery, and led by the

truculent Nana. Lucknow was not fifty miles off, but no help could be expected from that quarter; and relief from Allahabad was soon rendered doubtful by the tidings that there had been a mutiny there, and that a large body of insurgents had assembled in the city. The enemy obtained mortars and sent shells into the crowded garrison—six hundred persons crowded together in a space calculated for two hundred—in an Indian June! Their supplies were exhausted, and water scarce. Daily men died from fever, and from the heat, and from wounds, and from hunger, and there was no place to bury them. Pulse, used to feed horses, was placed in buckets, raw, in the midst, and on this the delicate women subsisted until the 27th, when they capitulated. Favourable conditions were agreed upon; the garrison (including women, children, and camp followers,) were to be permitted to take their arms, property, and one hundred and fifty thousand rupees with them into country boats provided for their reception, in which they were to proceed to Allahabad. The miserable, half-starved Europeans were conducted to the boats, and pushed off into the stream.

> "The starving mother clasped her shrunken child
> And hurried to the boats, O ecstasy,
> The thought of safety and of once again
> Rejoining those they love! The gentle crowd
> Is now on board, and, as the river air
> Breathes in their faces, smiles are interchanged,
> And thanks are wafted silently to heaven."

But suddenly, on a signal given by Nana himself, guns on the bank were unmasked, and opened upon them. Out of the forty boats they embarked in, some were sunk, others set on fire, and the rest pushed over to the Oude side, where cavalry were awaiting them, and hacked them to pieces. Some, among whom was General Wheeler himself, got ten miles down the river; but they were pursued, overtaken, captured, and brought back in triumph to the barracks. The men were massacred, the women reserved for a worse fate. Some fifty or sixty ladies were kept as prisoners by Nana for about a fortnight. What their sufferings during this time must have been, can hardly be conceived. It is certain that they were allowed but very little food, and had to exist in the most revolting filth. On the wall

of the apartment in which they were kept, was found written, in a lady's hand, that such sufferings had not been endured since the siege of Jerusalem. When Nana heard that a British force was advancing against him, he ordered the execution of the captives. The native eyewitnesses, servants mostly, described the cries and screams of the ladies as heartrending. Gradually, they say, these cries ceased, and there was an awful stillness. All were left for dead: the wretches did not examine the bodies to see if life were extinct, but slunk quietly away. On the morrow it was found that twenty-five were still not dead; they had only been wounded. But it made no difference; the dead and dying, in a promiscuous mass, were thrown into a well, and earth heaped over them. Here, a few days after, they were found by the European soldiers, who came too late for relief; and the sight of all the memorials of the butchery so infuriated them, that they rushed upon their own native camp-followers, and killed many of them; and even slaughtering many of the inhabitants of Cawnpore, as well as of the surrounding villages, scarcely satisfied their desire for vengeance. Some of the scenes that occurred at the massacre, which were afterwards related by the native servants who were witnesses of them, bring the fearful distress of such a time vividly before us.

When the unhappy Europeans were brought back from the boats, they were separated from their wives and daughters, bound with ropes, and placed before their butchers. The chaplain obtained permission to read prayers, probably the burial-service, before the final command to despatch them was given; but he was interrupted by some of the victims who were suffering intensely, under that burning sun, from wounds they had received whilst in the boats. The women were present. The wife of a surgeon rushed upon her husband, embracing him convulsively, and determined to die with him; the other ladies followed her example, but the Nana ordered them to be separated by force. It was done; and the women had to witness the last death-agonies of their husbands, fathers, and brothers, with the exception of the surgeon's wife, whom no force could sever alive from her husband.

Here is the state of a single family in the besieged entrenchments during those terrible twenty-five days of June. The

whole family consisted of twenty-six souls, not one of whom is now in the land of the living. "Mrs. Samuel Greenway, who was delivered of a boy two days before she entered the entrenchment, became mad shortly after, and died about the 9th of June. Mr. Gee, while seated on a chair, received a part of the building, knocked off by a cannonball, on his head. He lingered till the following day, the 11th of June, and died. About this time, Louisa (a girl of fifteen years) was attacked by fever, which continued for three days. During this period her sufferings were agonizing, as little or no water could be procured to still her feverish thirst. She called to her father, and said, 'I am dying.' She kissed him, and expired. My master seldom got up from his mattress, and most deeply felt the death of his daughter, who was his favourite child. Under this grief he sunk, and died about the 17th. On the 18th, Miss Stewart, being frightened by the burning of the barrack in which she was, was running from it to the other quarters, when she was struck by a cannonball on her back. She fell, and died. Mrs. Gee became distracted at the scenes around her, and died on the 21st. The baby, who had subsisted on water only, died about eighteen days after its birth. All the dead bodies were thrown into a well by the soldiers." And so the sad tale of the domestic goes on. Then comes that moment, full of hope, when the boats received the deluded captives: "I saw my mistress seated in the boat, resting against a post, holding the Bible, from which she had never parted. Frederick (seven years old) was seated near her. About this time the fire commenced from a battery of masked guns. I saw my mistress's boat burn. I saw her open the Bible, clasp Frederick to her arms, and then she sunk under the flames. A horseman cut Henry (eleven years of age) with his sword, taking the right shoulder off entirely. Henry then ran a little, fell, and died. John and Mary, with Mr. Samuel Greenway's two children, were taken prisoners, and subsequently barbarously murdered."

Calcutta did not escape at least a panic, and but for the timely arrival of reinforcements from Mauritius, might have fallen into the hands of the conspirators. During the latter part of the month of May and the beginning of June, hundreds of people took refuge in the fort and shipping. A plot was

discovered in which the entire native garrison, and many of the Mohammedan inhabitants of that large city were implicated, in which the taking of Fort William and the destruction of the city were contemplated. At that time there were only three hundred and fifty European soldiers in garrison, and five hundred in Barrackpore, the military station a short distance from Calcutta. It was arranged that the sepoys should release the prisoners in the Alipore jail, join the body-guard of the ex-king of Oude, then living in Calcutta, which amounted to a thousand well armed men, and aided by the Mussulmans generally, march on Fort William, while the three native infantry regiments were to come in from Barrackpore, after destroying the Europeans there by surprise at night, join another set of Mohammedans who were to be in readiness, take possession of the government-house, the mint, the treasure, and plunder and murder all they could. At the same time, two other native regiments which had just arrived from Burmah, and were encamped near Kúli Bazar, were to seize Fort William, aided by the native guard within, amounting to seven hundred men. The city people were to rise *en masse*, and murder the European and Christian inhabitants, while the regular and irregular regiments stationed at Behrampore were to destroy that station, and march down to Calcutta. The higher classes of the English in Calcutta were, in fact, all invited to an enormous banquet by some native prince, where they were to have been surrounded and destroyed. But a thunderstorm of unprecedented violence burst upon Calcutta that evening, so that no one could move from his place. At the same time an unaccountable panic seized the Barrackpore sepoys, the execution of the plot was delayed, and hence defeated. For in the mean time the authorities in Calcutta received such authentic information in regard to the existence of this plot, that no doubt remained even upon their incredulous minds that the English rule was really upon the edge. They found, for instance, that a number of firms who dealt in firearms, especially revolvers, had disposed of nearly their entire stock to certain wealthy natives, and the manufacture of native weapons had also been going on very briskly. But though cognizant of the true position of affairs, they felt themselves paralyzed, not having

sufficient European troops to enforce any measure of disarmament which they might have devised, or to change the fort guard; which measures, if unsuccessful, would only have precipitated the crisis. At that critical moment, unexpectedly, the steamers came in, bringing European troops from Ceylon and the Mauritius—and Calcutta was saved. The ex-king of Oude and his prime minister were at once imprisoned, their communications with their followers cut off, and thus probably the head of the rebellion was, at least, scotched. For after all, Oude must be regarded as the hotbed of the whole insurrection. The annexation in February, 1856, was, as one of Lord Dalhousie's admirers has termed it, "a miracle of quietness." This quietness should have alarmed a sagacious government. The population had been turbulent on religious questions immediately before. Should the edict of a foreign infidel *really* have the power to produce "a miracle of quietness"? There is such a thing as the silence of rage; when a man gnashes his teeth, he cannot speak. Did the government read the native newspapers during the summer of 1856, the Koh-i-núr of Lahor, for instance? A country covered with forts, bristling with arms, filled with armed and warlike men, *peaceably* admitted a foreign ruler, whom the kings of the country had been constantly buying off during the last half century! Marvellous, indeed! Strong zamindars entrenched in their castellated dwellings, ryots living in villages surrounded by the impenetrably interlaced walls of the rank bamboo and belts of thorny jungle; a numerous, turbulent, ill-disciplined, exacting soldiery; chiefs, nawábs, and rajahs, in possession of strongholds and guns above and under ground, all submitted quietly to a system of taxation which nothing could escape. Wonderful! Lord Dalhousie himself, in his minute of the 28th February, tells us with pride, that despite the long prevalent and latterly universal anarchy, and the most disproportionably large army kept up by the king, the transference of power was accomplished peaceably, and without a drop of bloodshed.

Lucknow, of course, the capital of the country, and the residence of the king, a city of three hundred thousand inhabitants, was perhaps the point concerning which most apprehensions had been entertained. There was there a class of courtiers and

hangers-on of the royal family; the inmates of an unusually well-stocked harem, their numberless relatives and their attendants; the office-bearers of the court, chamberlains, mace-bearers, soothsayers, physicians, savans, musicians, men-in-waiting, falconers, lion-tamers, elephant-trainers, jugglers, rope-dancers, actors, most of them Mohammedans, who had considerable influence upon the lower orders of the population. From these, who by the deposition of the king lost almost everything—for such men are not provident—most had to be feared; and there is no doubt that they at once set to intriguing against the English government. One of their most prominent and able men is said to have boasted, after the outbreak, that he had surrounded the English with toils which they would not readily unravel. This whole class, indeed, were banished from the capital, and the lawless royal army of some sixty thousand men was replaced by some ten or twelve *native* regiments, and only a single regiment of Europeans. General Sir James Outram was the man whom Lord Dalhousie had selected for the task of annexing and conducting the administration of the new territory. At the sailing of the expedition against Persia, however, he was chosen to conduct it, and a man put in his place, in whose character "were singularly blended the heroic chivalry of the old Greek, and the inflexible sternness of the old Roman, in happy combination with the tenderness of a patriarch, and the benevolence of the Christian philanthropist." This was Sir Henry Lawrence, a man alike distinguished for the noblest qualities of head and heart, a glorious warrior, a great civil administrator, a far-sighted statesman, and a man who ruled with justice and humanity.

Before the outbreak at Meerut the military station at Lucknow had been troubled by incendiary fires. On the 30th of May, one of the irregular regiments, which had been in the king's service before the annexation, mutinied; but the mutineers were overawed, threw away their arms, and fled; and the personal courage and the judicious measures of Sir Henry were thought, for a little while, to have subdued the discontent. But the troubles of the handful of European soldiers at once began. For the sake of increased vigilance they were encamped; and at that season it is one of the greatest hardships

imaginable to have no shelter but a tent against the furnace blasts of the hot wind, with the thermometer in the coolest spot constantly at 110°. On the 19th of May the sepoys, three regiments, rose in arms, killed the brigadier and other officers, burnt the station, plundered all they could reach, shot down all who opposed them, and advanced on the city. Sir Henry Lawrence, however, had not neglected to prepare for the worst; he had fortified the Residency, and placed in it the women, wives of officers, clerks, and others. The Residency is a piece of ground elevated above the rest of the city, allotted by the king of Oude to the British civil residents, when he first put himself under British protection, some fifty years ago. It is walled round, almost entirely; on one side native houses abut upon it, but on the other three sides it stands clear of buildings. This space contains the chief and other commissioners' houses, the post-office, city hospital, electric telegraph office, a church, and some other buildings. The cantonments were about five miles from the city. Lawrence also repaired, armed, and manned the old castle of Machibháwan, and a magazine, all these being adjoining to one another. As soon as he heard of the outbreak in the cantonments, he moved to the attack with three hundred Europeans and two guns. He attacked the rebels, beat them, and pursued them for miles, capturing more than one hundred of them; these were all hung. He foresaw worse things, and continued his preparations to stand a siege; he laid in provisions, and bought up very large quantities of wheat, flour, sugar, etc., knowing well that the whole country would soon be up; for in despotic countries with a centralized system of administration, Paris is France, and Lucknow, Oude. Hence the outbreak at Lucknow was immediately followed by a general rising in the whole of the province. In the military stations, all of which were garrisoned by natives only, the Europeans were killed, or if they escaped immediate death, it was mostly to find a slower end by privations of all kinds, and the hostility of the villagers. Sir Henry Lawrence's force now consisted of some six hundred Europeans, and a company of artillery. He mounted every available gun upon the Residency, placed ten guns to play upon the city, and adopted every precaution to strengthen his position. He was now

besieged by all the Oude regiments which had not gone to join the mutineers in Delhi.

On the 2d of July, the besieged Europeans, pressed by want of meat and fuel, made a sortie in the direction of the enemy's camp. The advanced guard was taken by surprise, and utterly routed, after two hours' desperate fighting. A considerable quantity of provisions fell into the hands of the English troops. This operation was conducted in person by the noble chief, Sir Henry, at the head of less than three hundred Europeans. Returning from the scene of action, bearing the proceeds of their hard fight for the relief of the poor sufferers in the fort, just as the troops reached the town, the native artillery who had accompanied the expedition, suddenly wheeled round and opened a deadly fire from the guns on the unfortunate Europeans, and before they were able to recover themselves and face their assailants, one hundred and thirty men were killed, and several of the officers severely wounded; among the latter the gallant leader, who was cut in the leg by the splinter of a shell, and died two days after of lockjaw. "In him," says the eloquent Dr. Duff, "the native army, through whose treachery he prematurely fell, has lost its greatest benefactor; while the girls' and boys' schools, founded by his munificence on the heights of the Himalaya, of Mount Aboo, and of the Nilgírís, must testify through coming ages to the depth and liveliness of his interest in the welfare of the British soldier's family in this burning foreign clime. I mourn over him as a personal friend—one whose friendship resembled more what we sometimes meet with in romance rather than in actual every-day life. I mourn over him as one of the truest, sincerest, and most liberal supporters of our Calcutta mission.* I mourn over him as the heaviest loss which British India could possibly sustain, in the very midst of the most terrible crisis of her history." In consequence of these casualties the Europeans had to fall back entirely upon the old fort. At this time one of the civilians among the besieged writes: "The most painful consideration is the number of ladies and women, and helpless people who have fled for

* Many other missions in India bear a like testimony to his worth and liberality.

protection to the fort, and are now here. Upwards of two hundred of these poor creatures are crammed into this narrow place, where it is impossible to describe their sufferings. Death would be, indeed, a happy release to many of them; and it is enough to melt the heart of the hardest soldier to witness their cruel privations, while it is wonderful at the same time to see the patience and fortitude with which they are enabled to endure the unparalleled misery of their position."

The number of rebels besieging the Europeans ultimately, is stated to have been not less than one hundred and twenty-five thousand men, about twenty thousand of whom were well-equipped troops of the Company's service, the rest an armed rabble, under wealthy and aristocratic Mohammedan leaders. One of the sons of Wájíd Ali, the ex-king of Oude, Birgis Qádir Bahádur by name, was proclaimed regent for the king of Delhi. His prime-minister was Sharífuddaula, who had been formerly minister of Oude. He reënlisted the disbanded regiments of the former reign, invited the petty rajás and great zamindárs to join him with their followers, issued orders to the villagers to kill all the Europeans passing through their villages, promised rewards for every European killed, and struck a new rupee to commemorate the downfall of the British power, bearing an inscription in Persian in honour of "Sultan Alum Shah," the nonagenarian Delhi miscreant.

Wonderful to tell, this closely pressed handful of English in Lucknow were able to hold out, thanks to the foresight of Lawrence, until, after many, many delays, they were relieved, towards the end of October, by the gallant and Christian soldier, General H. Havelock, who himself never was to leave that city again. He died, of dysentery, on the 25th of November.

It would be endless to recount all the places visited by these disasters. Let the reader imagine the whole of the Bengal Presidency from the Sutlej to the sea, one scene of anarchy and bloodshed, and he will have in his mind a faint shadow of the reality; women and children, naked and destitute, crowding the river boats from Allahabad downwards, to fly from the scene of their husbands', their fathers' murders; the beautiful cantonments a desolation, churches, colleges, schools, presses,

banks, court-houses, destroyed; the fine costly European furniture in heaps on the roads, ruined for ever; the thousand things that go to make up what the Englishman in India must prize so highly, *comfort*, all adding on every side to the impression of some convulsion; *destructae urbes, eversa sunt castra, depopulati agri, in solitudinem terra redacta est*, like the once fertile Campagna, after the Vandals had swept over the smiling land. During the latter half of the month of July and the month of August, there was not a single European living between Ráníganj and Benares; from Calcutta to Allahabad the English held only those districts which were commanded by English troops, and from Allahabad to Delhi the forces held but little else than the ground upon which they stood. The Bombay and Madras Presidencies remained free from a general rising, but there were in both Presidencies, especially the former, a number of active mutinies, connected with the murder of officers, burning of stations, and a general flight of Europeans; this, however, took place mostly in districts contiguous to the Bengal Presidency, or in territories nominally under native rule. Nevertheless, all over India, even where no active outbreak took place, plots continued to be discovered, the ringleaders of which were usually Mohammedans in government employ. So, for instance, the Kotwál (or ward officer) of the Landour Bazar, to rescue one of his friends, a khidmatgár, (or table-servant,) sentenced to receive two hundred and fifty lashes for indecent and insolent behaviour towards unprotected ladies, tried to get all the Hindus of the place to rise. To effect this, he cunningly and schemingly reported to the commandant of Landour that a Hindu temple near at hand had become so dilapidated and mutilated by the rain that it would fall and injure passengers, if not immediately thrown down; hoping that the representation of such an emergency would cause an order for its immediate demolition to be given without previous inspection; but the commandant went to the temple, and found it strong and complete in every respect. The object of this Mussulman was twofold; by destroying a Hindu temple he would have secured a heavenly reward as *but-shikan*, or iconoclast; and secondly, by studiously impressing the Hindus with the belief that the destruction of this

temple was but the beginning and a specimen, and that it was the intention of government to throw down all Hindu temples, he might undoubtedly, in the then excited state of the minds of the populace, and the illimitable credulity of the heathen, have succeeded in producing a general rising.

But in this case, as in the case of the cartridge myth, and in several other instances, where the Mussulman endeavoured, by playing upon the sensitive religious or caste prejudices of the Hindu, to make a cat's-paw of the latter, he overshot the mark. The Hindu, unlearned and careless of history as he is, had forgotten that he had no greater foe to his religion than the bigotted bawler of the *Kalma;* but the insurrection had not progressed very far before he found it out. In Rohilcund, where the fanatic descendants of the fanatic Afghans loudly proclaimed that the times of their great idol-breaker, Mahmud of Ghazni, had returned, they proceeded *bona fide* to destroy the Hindu temples, after they had made such short work of the few Christian churches within their reach. The Hindus, therefore, had their eyes opened very quickly, and actually sent a petition to Meerut, praying for the return of their English rulers, and for deliverance from their tyrannical Mohammedan masters. In Delhi, too, the shaky descendant of Timur committed the capital blunder to proscribe the Sikhs, and actually sent a Sikh, whom the insurgents had taken prisoner, into the English camp with lips, nose, and ears cut off, and his hands hanging by a string round his neck. This may have contributed much to the generally staunch adherence of the Sikhs to their English masters.

The mention of the Sikhs brings us to the Punjáb—the Punjáb which saved the English rule in India in 1857. Strange things certainly do happen in this strange world of ours, with its strange, surprising, startling history. Any one might have predicted, ten years ago, that in 1857 the Bengal sepoy would be opposed to the Sikh in the field, for the Sikhs were then the enemies of the British, and had their own independent government in the Punjáb, and were even threatening to cross the Sutlej and march on Delhi. The great arsenal of Delhi was therefore expressly provided against the dangers of such an invasion, and its walls and fortifications were repaired and

strengthened by English engineers. But could the prophet of ten years ago have foreseen the position of the English at this period, that *they* should be the assailants of Delhi, that the Sikhs should fight on their side? Ten years ago, an English army was marching against Kashmir; it might not be strange, therefore, that one of the columns assaulting Delhi on the 14th of September, 1857, should consist of three thousand Dogra Rajputs, sent by the ruler of Kashmir; but it is strange that these three thousand auxiliaries should have been supported by English artillery. Ten years ago, the indomitable mountaineers from Peshawur and Multán were fighting against the Company's sepoys, and for the last eight hundred years Delhi has always been the cynosure of covetous Afghan eyes; no wonder then that men from the Sulimani mountains should to-day make incredibly quick marches to reach Delhi in time to plunder it; but that they should receive, for this service, fifty thousand rupees a month, from Colonel Edwardes, the British commissioner at Peshawur, would not readily have been foretold by our supposed prophet. Calderon, in his tragedy of *Absalom*, makes an old wise woman predict to Absalom that "his locks would lift him high," which he interprets to mean, that his personal attractions should procure him the favour of the people and raise him to the throne. So there was a semi-political prophecy current, that Delhi should once again be found in the pathway of the conqueror from the north-west. Russophobia had a ready interpretation of this sibylline dictum. It would have been difficult, *a month* before the event, to predict that England should be outside Delhi, and herself at the head of the deprecated invasion, literally coming from the north-west, to conquer Delhi and Hindustan.

This shows the unreasonableness of those who would throw the entire blame of this mutiny on Lord Dalhousie. Lord Dalhousie, they say, annexed Oude. But Lord Dalhousie also annexed the Punjáb. The foresight of a Lawrence saved the Europeans in Lucknow; the energy of a Lawrence preserved the Punjáb, and saved India. The General Order after the capture of Delhi announces:

"The Governor-General in Council will not postpone his

grateful acknowledgments of the services which have been rendered to the Empire, at this juncture, by the Chief Commissioner of the Punjáb.

"To Sir John Lawrence, K. C. B., it is owing that the army before Delhi, long ago cut off from all direct support from the Lower Provinces, has been constantly recruited and strengthened so effectually as to enable its commander not only to hold his position unshaken, but to achieve complete success. To Sir John Lawrence's unceasing vigilance, and to his energetic and judicious employment of the trustworthy forces at his own disposal, it is due that Major General Wilson's army has not been harassed or threatened on the side of the Punjáb, and that the authority of the government in the Punjáb itself has been sustained and generally respected."

That the comparative tranquillity of the Punjáb was preserved, not because the mutinous and insurrectionary elements were wanting there, but simply on account of the energetic measures of Lawrence and his coadjutors, is proved by the fact that a number of more or less successful outbreaks did take place where the orders of Sir John had not been sufficiently obeyed, or where the peculiar position of things made the authorities helpless. As soon as the telegraph had announced in the Punjáb the outbreak at Meerut, a general disarming of the sepoys throughout the Punjáb was ordered, and a movable column was formed without delay, to march in haste upon any point where disturbances should take place. Still, some mutinies did occur. A native infantry regiment in the immediate neighbourhood of Peshawur seized a fort, but fled at the approach of a European force; their commanding officer, who had put great trust in them, killed himself. This is not the only instance of suicide from such a cause during this mutiny. An irregular cavalry regiment who were ordered to fire upon those mutineers, but refused, were ignominiously disbanded. As late as the end of August another regiment in Peshawur mutinied, after having been comparatively quiet, without arms, for three months; they were all killed. A like fate overtook a regiment in Lahor, who killed some of their officers. In Rawal Pindi executions and numerous imprisonments were necessary to keep the sepoys quiet. At Jilam a regiment refused to be

disarmed, and killed and wounded more than sixty Europeans, among whom were several officers. When this news reached Siálkot, the brigadier there began discussing the propriety of marching his sepoys against the Jilam mutineers, when a mutiny broke out in which he and other officers were killed, as also a missionary of the Scotch church, with his family. The brigadier in Jalandar delayed the carrying out of the wishes of the Chief Commissioner as to disarming the native troops; hence the latter, after firing buildings in the station, went off with their arms to Delhi. On their approach to Lodiana, a Kashmirian rabble availed themselves of the confusion, and plundered the Presbyterian Mission; fourteen of the criminals were hung the next day, and the city had to pay to the mission a compensation of about twenty-five thousand dollars. In Filaur the native troops mutinied and went off to Delhi. In Firozpúr the confusion was great; several Europeans were killed, and there were two mutinies, with an interval of three months. Multán and other stations escaped risings with difficulty. Even the hill sanatarium of Marí, forty miles from Rawal Pindi, had to repel an attack of the hill people, who thought that such a favourable opportunity for plunder should not be let slip. At Gogaira there was a rising of the prisoners in the jail, but it was suppressed, not without bloodshed. "Groves of gibbets" had to be erected in all these and many other stations, and those whose lives were finished by the hangman's rope, must be counted by the hundred, besides those much larger numbers even who were blown from guns, or despatched by musketry. There are multitudes also imprisoned, who will probably be transported whenever the country settles down in some measure. The road from Lahor to Multán, the only one remaining by which the northwest had any communication with the world without for nearly six months, was also closed up for a time. This road passes through wastes overgrown with grass and brushwood, scantily threaded by sheep tracks, and the foot-prints of cattle. Here and there a dirty village stands alone in the wilderness, tenanted by a semi-barbarous population, the Fattehánas, Bharmánas, Kharsals, and other tribes, probably the very aborigines of the land;—lawless pastoral tribes, who collect herds of cattle stolen from the agricultural districts.

These, probably stirred up by straggling, wandering mutineers and deserters, rose in large numbers, robbed the mails, attacked the villages and custom-houses, and committed various outrages. Forces had to be sent against them, and it was only after experiencing tremendous losses that they were pacified. An assistant commissioner and some European travellers were killed by them.

But on the whole, Sir John Lawrence succeeded not only in keeping the Punjáb tranquil, but also in raising at once a large number of regiments of Punjábis, Sikhs, and through the admirable management of that accomplished administrator, Colonel Edwardes, even Afghans, to replace the mutinous, disbanded, or disarmed Purbia troops. He did not hesitate even to denude the Punjáb (with the exception of the north-western frontier) of European troops, in order to reinforce the small army before Delhi; and what is more, he had, from the ordinary resources of his province, only with the aid of a small, but successful, forced loan, to maintain all the troops which he had raised. But he failed in nothing; and had but his instructions been fully and promptly carried out in the different stations, there is no doubt some mutinies would not have taken place, and some lives would have been spared. The thing for which he deserves, perhaps, most praise, is the boldness with which he took upon himself that from which so many Englishmen shrink, preferring routine to it, viz. responsibility. Though aware of the jealousy existing between the Queen's and the Company's officers, he did not scruple to raise a Company's officer, a regimental captain, John Nicholson, to the rank of Brigadier-General—and the result fully justified his eagle-eyed choice. Nicholson, at the head of the movable column, promptly and severely punished the Siálkot mutineers, defeated an overpowering number of the insurgents in the neighbourhood of Delhi by most consummate generalship and unsurpassed bravery and hardihood, urged the attack on Delhi as soon as he had joined the besieging force, contributed much to its success, and fell on the ramparts of the hard-contested city.

The siege of Delhi, if such it can be called, lasted from the 8th of June until the 14th of September. When the Commander-in-chief, whose headquarters during the hot weather

are generally in the pleasant hill-station of Simla, heard of the fall of Delhi into the hands of the mutineers, he proceeded to the plains, in order to advance with a force towards Delhi. But the change from the cool regions of the Sub-Himalayas to the burning plains of Hindustan in the hottest time of the year, was too great for Sir George Anson, and he died in Karnál, whether of cholera, from the heat, from anxiety, or, as is loudly whispered, in some other way, (for the relation of the Commander-in-chief to the whole army is very much like that of a commanding officer to his regiment,) does not clearly appear. This untoward circumstance, the want of carriage and artillery, and other causes, combined to delay the arrival at Delhi of the small English force available, for four weeks. The senior officer, General Reid, also called from his summer retreat into the field, had to retire again to the Hills, (he, like nearly all the other generals of division in India, is very old,) and General Barnard, who had been in the Crimea, took the command of the force. He was a cautious man, and also died of dysentery. Major-General Wilson, who had been Brigadier of Meerut at the time of the outbreak, now took the command, and retained it until the end of the siege. He also thought that the English force was too small to assault a city held by a far superior number of desperate men, who would contest every inch of ground. But when, finally, sufficient troops had been engaged and raised in the Punjáb, and when the Land of the Five Rivers was sufficiently quiet to warrant the measure, General Nicholson was despatched to his aid with a column, and the city, after an ensanguined fight in its streets, which lasted nearly a week, was ultimately captured, entirely denuded of its inhabitants, who had all fled. Perhaps the name of Nádir Sháh was then in their mouths, who, when he had captured Delhi, in 1739, ordered a massacre of the inhabitants, in which the number who perished were eight thousand, according to the lowest estimate.

During the siege there were almost daily engagements with the sepoys, who would come out in large numbers to attack the entrenched position of the English, but were uniformly routed and driven back. Many incidents of a very curious nature took place during this time, which, however, we cannot mention

in this place. A European woman came out from the city as a spy for the sepoys; she was captured and hanged. During the first day of the siege two Europeans were taken and killed, who had been engaged in laying the guns for the besieged; they confessed that there were ten more Europeans in the service of the king of Delhi. One of the Baraili regiments obliged its European sergeant to remain with them, when they mutinied and marched to join the rebels in Delhi; he was found in the city at its recapture, and cut to pieces. The old king and some of his large family were captured in the tomb of Humáyun, a few miles from the city; the officer who took him prisoner at the same time killed two of his sons and a grandson. His life has been guarantied to him, although there was a report that he was to be tried for the disappearance of a lady who was known to have been alive in Delhi up to the capture of the city, but was probably murdered when the royal family evacuated the palace, which held out longest. The fearful nature of the engagement on the 14th of September may be conceived, when it is remembered that the three assaulting columns consisted in all of two thousand seven hundred and fifty men, Europeans and natives, whilst the defenders of the city were at least ten times that number. No wonder that on that day the number of killed and wounded on the side of the English was eleven hundred and forty-five; it was a bloodier affair, old soldiers said, than anything they had seen in the Crimea. Of the king's family twenty-nine had been executed by the middle of November; others were kept prisoners; others fled and remained concealed; whilst some joined the insurgents in their irregular warfare and continued resistance to the government forces. The capture of Delhi by no means terminated the insurrection; for that the reinforcements from England were urgently required; and the first ship-load of these only arrived a month after in Calcutta. Their reaching the upper provinces would consume another month. In the mean time we hear, for instance, that on the 7th of October, Sandar Sháh, "late a prisoner for life at Hazáríbágh," takes possession of Sambalpúr. About the middle of this month, a battle was fought under the walls of Agra, in which the same force who plundered the station more than three months ago, were severely

punished. About that time also General Havelock arrived with a force in Lucknow, but only to strengthen the position of the European garrison, not really to relieve them; for this purpose his own force was too small, and that of the insurgents too large. He could only join the besieged Europeans, and wait for further reinforcements, which finally arrived, on the 12th of November, under the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, who had to fight his way through the city step by step; he was himself wounded in an engagement in its streets about a fortnight after.

The task which the British still had in India was not a light one; they had to reconquer strong positions and extensive districts, to destroy some hundred regiments of treacherous mutineers, to chastise and terrify into submission independent princes, numerous contingents, crowds of irregulars, whole tribes of robbers and murderers, and a population naturally apt to side with the rebels. But we must stop here. The first act of this sad drama doubtless closed on the 14th of September, and we cannot, at this time, pursue the course of the revolt any further. It might have been interesting also to glance at the part which it is alleged Russia and Persia had in this revolt, the attitude of Afghanistan in reference to the Trans-Indus frontier, the perilous situation of the English mission at Candahar; the policy of *suppressio veri* adopted by both the English and the Indian governments during this crisis; the deep religious feeling which it appears to have excited in England, the influence it is likely to have on the future of India and its millions, especially in reference to the evangelistic work; and the changes which it will necessitate in the administration, and probably also in the form, of government; but space forbids.

In endeavouring to enumerate the causes of this remarkable mutiny, we have hardly alluded to the highest and deepest consideration which must arise in the mind of a reflecting Christian, namely, What national sin called down such a severe national infliction? We have refrained from speculating on this topic for a very obvious reason. It is with nations as with individuals; the charge is too often a true one, that we are liable to regard the calamities that befall ourselves as chastisements, and those that befall our neighbour as punishments.

But, nevertheless, if we believe in a special providence at all, we must believe that "affliction cometh not forth of the dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground;" nations live only in this world; their national sins must be visited on them. It is not difficult to charge Great Britain, and especially the Indian government, with many things. A Russian organ has said, "We should be justified in considering these bloody dramas as a retribution for Kertch, Odessa, Uleaborg, etc." Some, with greater probability, have pointed to the opium trade as most likely to have incurred the wrath of the Almighty. But we find in Scripture that God pursues a certain method in his dealings with nations, which may serve as a clue to guide us in our contemplation of great historical events.

We find in the ninth chapter of Exodus that the boil that broke forth upon the Egyptians was caused by Moses sprinkling the ashes of the furnace. The furnace spoken of is supposed to have been that of the brick-kilns used in their taskwork by the Israelites; and Matthew Henry thus remarks on it:— "Sometimes God shows men their sin in their punishment. They had oppressed Israel in the furnaces: and now the ashes of the furnace are made as much a terror to them as ever their task-masters have been to the Israelites." In Isaiah, ch. xxx., we find a woe denounced against Israel, "that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth; to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt." Hence their punishment is to come from that very quarter: "Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion." One burden of Hosea's impassioned speech is the infatuation of Israel in regard to foreign alliances: "They call to Egypt, they go to Assyria." Hence their punishment is to arise from that very quarter: "How will he remember their iniquity, and visit their sins: they *shall* return to Egypt;" "And they shall eat unclean things in Assyria;" "Egypt shall gather them up, Memphis shall bury them." So, without doubt, at a previous period, their backwardness in obeying the divine command in reference to the extermination of the wicked Canaanite nations, became the means of their corruption and

their consequent punishment. When the sea, and the rivers, and the fountains of waters become blood, the angel of the waters says, "Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus. For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink." (Rev. xvi. 3–6.) We may, therefore, not be accused of presumption, if we endeavour to find in the infliction the index to its internal moving cause. We find that the mutiny, from beginning to end, was placed on a religious ground. Mohammedans and Hindus, who have nothing in common, except hatred of the truth, joined in a crusade against Christians. This is not natural; it is rather surprising. The whole creed of Islam is opposed to idol-worship; and the Brahman is, perhaps, the subtlest and at the same time the grossest idol-worshipper that can be found; his most spiritual conception of a Deity is a most hideous, unreal, pantheistic idol; and at the same time, there is no religion that has so outraged decency in its audacious representation of the infinite unseen Being, that has dragged him so unceremoniously to the very surface of the world of sense, and clothed him in such gross, grotesque shapes. Islam, on the other hand, exhausts the plasticity and copiousness of that opulent language, the Arabic, in its attempts to remove the Deity from human sense, to divest him of form and quality, and to enwrap him in seventy thousand veils of mystery and inaccessibility. The cobweb-metaphysics and fine-spun abstruse speculations concerning the Deity and his attributes, which we find in Aquinas and the schoolmen, are but the grosser northern imitations of the aërial fabrics proceeding from the earlier thought-looms of Cordova and Granada.

The extraordinary spectacle of a union of such discordant elements justifies us in saying that this insurrection is a solemn call on the Indian government to review their religious policy and tactics. The most cursory observation will soon convince them that it is not opposition to heathenism and idolatry with which they have to charge themselves, but a cowardly concession to the Hindu religion, an undignified bowing to caste prejudices, and a want of either seriousness or moral courage to confess Christ before men. Says the Psalmist: "If we have

forgotten the name of our God, or stretched our hands to a strange god, shall not God search this out?" We have said above, that the feeling of the Hindu as to the decline of his religion, was not without foundation, and his ascribing this to certain government measures, was not so entirely without some show of reason, as some have thought. But this does not militate against what we are maintaining now. It is a remark of the greatest profundity, and one betokening close observation, and true philosophy, which has been made by an English writer, that "our present difficulties are due, in some degree, both to the neglect of the fundamental maxim of Anglo-Indian administration, that the religious and social prejudices of the natives are, above all things, to be respected, and to a mistaken and exaggerated application of that maxim." If infanticide and *satí* were put down, was it not after seventy and eighty years' toleration of them? These and similar measures could never have provoked even astonishment among the natives, much less such dissatisfaction as could lead to a revolt, were they not so entirely different from what the Hindus had been accustomed to see in their *Christian* rulers. Did they not see temples and mosques restored at government expense, whilst most stations, with their Christian inhabitants, were left without churches? Do they not know, that even now hundreds of idol-temples are endowed and supported by their Christian government?* Did not, until very lately, if the practice does not exist even now, the government derive some revenue from the horrid exhibitions at Púri? Did the salutes from the ramparts, in honour of idolatrous and Mohammedan festivals, even on a Sunday, never sound in the natives' ears? Did they not know that grants were made from the public treasury, in seasons of famine and drought, for idolatrous rites to propitiate the Hindu deities for rain? Did they not see the offerings presented in the name of the government to idols, whilst in the next street the missionary was proclaiming—"The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God"? Do they not know, that in the government colleges, where maulwís are paid to

* In the small Bombay Presidency alone, the annual expenditure under this head amounts to no less than one million five hundred thousand rupees. (See "A few Remarks upon the Present Crisis." London, 1857. Page 9.)

teach the Koran, and pandits are entertained to expound the Shasters, the Christian teachers are not allowed to open their mouths in the defence, or even explanation of any point of their professed creed? Was not a native officer, a man of good birth, a Brahman, and an excellent soldier, expelled from the Bengal army, under the immediate orders of the Governor-General, on the sole ground that he had sought Christian baptism? Were not the natives aware that a Mohammedan or Hindu employee of government had but to profess Christianity, to be summarily dismissed from his situation? Is this not being ashamed of Christ?* Was not high caste, as we have set forth more fully in a previous page, the idol before which English officers loved to bow? Is not that great evil, now almost ineradicable, viz. the multiplicity of servants necessary to be kept by every European in India, the result of this ignoble compliance with absurd and spurious pretensions of caste? It is true, there are officers in India who are much better than the government or its policy; and this, by the way, makes Indian matters so extremely difficult to be understood. The traveller or foreigner in India comes in contact with a variety of officers, and he finds none of them the despotic, heartless sultans which sciolists and demagogues would have led him to believe he should find. On the contrary, he finds many actively engaged in devising means for the amelioration of the condition of the natives. It is the *system* that is bad in plan and bad in faith; but it is ably, and on the whole, kindly administered by energetic, generous Englishmen. The cold cruelties, the fatal mistakes, the irremediable blunders of Indian rule, come from the apprentice statesmen in England, or civilians high in office, who never see a poor native during their whole stay in India; whilst the genial sympathies and good tact of the military instruments and subordinates alone give the system what efficacy it has. There are

* The revolt, in this respect, seems to have inaugurated a new era. Mr. Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjáb, has expressed, by a circular to the different Commissioners, his desire that special efforts should be made to employ native Christians in the government service. It is possible that this example will be imitated in other parts of India. We have no space to remark on the probable effect of such a measure on Christian missions. The Directors, however, appear opposed to such a course.

pious officers also in the army; but there is a government order interdicting their speaking to the sepoys on the subject of religion. When some, on their march to Kabul, took Persian Bibles with them for distribution, their attempts were absolutely prohibited by the English authorities. It was surely not the Bible, its doctrines, or its morality, that caused the rising of the Afghans!

It is all right and proper to grant religious liberty, to permit freedom of conscience, and to respect the right of every man to worship after his chosen fashion; no one calls on *government* to proselyte India; but what can justify their throwing the immense weight of their influence all into the other scale? What can we say to an exhibition such as was witnessed in the House of Lords, when one lord, an ex-Governor-General of India, ascribed the mutiny to Lord Canning's having contributed to some missionary fund; and other lords said that if Lord Canning had really committed such a great crime, he ought to be at once recalled? Must a man cease to be a Christian on becoming Governor-General? Is it no interference with the liberty of the individual to say, that civil and military officers, and even Governors-General, may not in their private capacity, subscribe to missionary funds? It is perfectly gratuitous to say that Colonel Wheeler, and Christian men like him, have done harm by their religion; no one has ever attempted to bring any evidence of it; nobody can prove it. But there is no doubt now in the mind of any one, that truckling to native prejudices has done harm. Even the government's policy, not to say anything of their Christianity, has conceded far too much to the pride of caste. The sepoy, so far from thanking them, has simply accepted their concession as the reluctant homage of fear, and has risen in his own conceit of himself proportionally.

The nature of Christianity is such that without the sword, and often without the word even, merely by its silent influence, it proselytes and propagandizes; and where it fails to do this, it arouses opposition and hatred. No external agency seems to be required frequently to produce either effect; the Mohammedan hates the Christian because he is such, and the Brahman feels his religion tottering by the mere presence of a man who

he knows believes only in one incarnation. If the Indian or the English government think that they must not proselyte, they must stay away; they cannot help proselyting; the very presence of the Christian religion in that country is a missionary appeal. In the Hindu mind, everything begins and ends with religion. He sees European greatness, power, wisdom, and justice; and he ascribes these attributes, involuntarily, and perhaps unwillingly, to the religion of Europeans. If the government think the preaching of Christianity dangerous, then they must abandon all schemes for improving and elevating the natives, enlarging their minds and acquainting them with European literature and history; for such advance in knowledge must have the effect of making them discontented with their old absurd religion, and introducing them to the evidences and moral fruits of another.* Whilst, therefore, the Indian government are not called upon to preach the gospel, let them not pander to a vile idolatry; let them cease to bow down in the house of Dagon; let them not be ashamed of the religion they profess; let them now hear the rod, and Him who hath appointed it; let them give God the glory, lest a worse thing befall them than even THE MUTINY OF 1857!

ART. V.—*The General Assembly.*

THE General Assembly met in the city of New Orleans, May 6th, and was opened with a sermon by Rev. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, D. D., from 2 Cor. xiii. 11. The Rev. WILLIAM A. SCOTT, D. D., of California, was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. D. X. JUNKIN, D. D., Temporary Clerk. The next Assembly was appointed to be held in Indianapolis, Indiana, on the third Thursday of May, 1859.

The American Bible Society.

In the Assembly of 1857, an overture had been presented by the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, D. D., in reference to the

* This view has been fully recognized and endorsed by the *London "Times."*

action of the American Bible Society in the preparation of a new standard edition of the Bible, which was referred to this Assembly. The subject was called up on the first day of the sessions, and, after some discussion, was made the second order of the day for the following Monday. When the subject was again called up, the Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge presented the following minute, which was unanimously adopted:

"By a vote of the General Assembly of 1857, an overture to that body, which is printed in its Minutes, pp. 35, 36, relating to the American Bible Society's new standard English Bible, and to the best method of preserving, in its integrity, the common version of the English Bible, was specially referred to the consideration of the present General Assembly. During the year which has intervened, the attention of the Christian public has been diverted to this important subject in a very unusual degree; and, so far as this Assembly has the means of judging, it is apparent that the Presbyterian church throughout the country is decidedly opposed to the line of conduct in the premises, pursued by the late Committee on Versions of that Society, and to the circulation by that Society of their new standard English Bible. It is, therefore, matter of great satisfaction to this General Assembly, that the Directors of the American Bible Society have resolved to cease publishing and circulating the aforesaid new standard Bible, and to resume the publication and circulation of the standard English Bible in exclusive use by the Society before the late work of collation and change, commenced about the year 1847. We also cordially approve the further action of the Board of Directors, so far as it secures a more vigilant oversight, in future, of the work of its Committee on Versions, and prevents any future change, either of the text or its accessories, without the careful consideration and special order of the Board of Directors. With regard to any change whatever, either in the text of the English version of the Bible, commonly called King James's Version, or in the accessories to that text, as they were commonly printed at the formation of the American Bible Society, we do not admit that the said Society has any power or authority to make any alteration in said accessories or said text, except such as appertain to a printer, and not to an editor.

By the text of King James's Version, we do not mean a copy corrupted by errors and unauthorized changes—no matter where that copy may have been printed, nor how those errors may have occurred, nor who may have ventured to make those changes;—but we mean the true text in English, produced and published after the labours of the translators appointed by King James the First of England, which for nearly two centuries and a half has been the standard Bible of all people speaking the English language, and which the Presbyterian church in the United States of America is resolved to preserve in its integrity and purity, and to use and circulate. Along with the greater portion of the Christian public in this country, we have confided to the American Bible Society the great work of circulating the English Scriptures in the version in common use; and while we deeply regret the serious error into which it was betrayed, its recent action, in the premises, demands a cordial response from all the earnest supporters of the great work in which it is engaged. In discharge, therefore, of our duty as the General Assembly of one branch of the church of the Lord Jesus Christ, to which he has committed his most blessed Word for the guidance and salvation of men, we have made this deliverance. And upon the terms herein set forth, we reiterate our approval of the principles upon which the American Bible Society was founded, our desire to coöperate with our brethren of all Christian denominations, in united efforts to furnish the whole world with the word of God, and our earnest recommendation to our people to give liberally to the support of this good cause."

We hope that the exciting and painful controversy on this subject is at an end. It is not the Presbyterian church alone, but the Christian sentiment of the country, which has decided the matter, and settled, we trust, finally, the principle that the Bible Society has no authority to alter the received version of the Scriptures or its accessories in any manner or degree affecting the sense. This principle lies at the foundation of the constitution of the Society, and faithful adherence to it is essential to its existence. The Directors seem never intentionally to have called this principle into question. The avowed object of the collation instituted by the Board, and referred to the Committee on Versions, was to correct the "discrepancies still

existing between the different editions of our English Bible; and also between our editions and those issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society." These discrepancies related to "orthography, capital letters, words in italic, and punctuation." The removal of these discrepancies was a perfectly legitimate object, and the collation of the different standard editions was the legitimate means of effecting that object. The whole difficulty has arisen from the Committee transcending not only the power delegated to them, but the power of the Society itself. Instead of limiting themselves to the removal of discrepancies, they assumed the authority of altering the text at discretion, not only in matters of orthography, capital letters, italics, and punctuation, but also as to the words. The objection is not that they exercised this discretion recklessly, or even unwisely, but that they assumed it at all. They had just as much authority to alter a whole book as a single sentence. Besides this, they substituted a new set of headings for the chapters, a work entirely transcending the powers of the Society, and which the Board never referred to the Committee. It was assumed, as the Committee state in their Report, p. 16, "in practice," i. e., without any authority from the Board. This is a work which the church would not commit to any six or six hundred men in the country. Its assumption by this Committee, the acquiescence of the Board in this assumption, and their sanctioning the stereotyping and distribution of thousands of copies of the Bible with these spurious headings, has done more to shake public confidence than anything which has ever occurred in the history of our benevolent institutions. It is the greatest public wrong that, so far as our knowledge extends, has ever been committed by any of our national societies. The fact that these changes, in almost all instances, eliminated the evangelical element from these headings, tended greatly to increase dissatisfaction and alarm. The pertinacity with which the Committee (with the honourable exception of Dr. Spring) have defended this great wrong, and the principles avowed by some of its members and friends in their justification, have rendered the matter, so far as they are concerned, manifold worse. It was asserted, according to the published reports of the debates on this subject, that the Society was bound to give the people

the best Bible they could; that it would not be justified in circulating a version which did not express the mind of the Spirit; that the received version had already passed through many changes and still remained the same version, implying that any alterations consistent with the identity of the version were within the constitutional powers of the Society. The old frigate Constitution, it is said, has had her timbers renewed one after another until scarcely a beam of the original structure remains, and it is the Constitution still. Thus, according to this principle, King James's version may be changed, chapter by chapter, or sentence by sentence, until nothing of the original remains, and be none the less King James's version. It is evident that such assertions assume that the office of the Bible Society is not merely the circulation of the Scriptures, but the improvement of the English version, according to the judgment of the Board or of its Committee. It is the practical assumption of this principle, despite its formal renunciation, which has created so much alarm in the public mind. And it is the explicit condemnation of that principle, by the Christian public, which the controversy on this subject has called forth, which is the permanent good God has brought out of the collision. The foregoing remarks are not made with the design to keep up irritation of feeling, but with the intent that the importance and true nature of the question at issue may be understood and remembered. We do not impute any conscious or intentional wrong to the Committee. We cheerfully acknowledge the zeal and ability manifested in their work. They, as was the case with the Apostle, no doubt thought they were doing God service. This, however, does not render the wrong done either less obvious or less dangerous.

The Board of Domestic Missions.

Dr. Musgrave, Secretary of the Board of Domestic Missions, gave the Assembly a brief summary of its action during the past year, of which the following is an abstract.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary commercial and financial revulsion which has overtaken the country, and produced for a time almost a total suspension of business of every kind, bringing bankruptcy to thousands, the Board have been able to

execute the work entrusted to them with extraordinary success. Indeed, no sooner had the gloom begun to disperse, than the contributions to its treasury largely increased. In the month of February, the receipts exceeded those of the corresponding period of the previous year by $5,000. The Board have increased the number of missionaries by twenty, making the number now employed by them 600. The appropriations for the past year are slightly in advance of those made during the one preceding it. The total receipts are $105,277.52; the entire disbursements for the same period are $104,143.67. The receipts of the Board are considerably above the record of any previous year, and this increase is not the result of individual bequests so much as of the contributions of the churches. The excess of increase in the past year over any preceding one, is above $8,000. An average reduction of $3.00 has been made in the appropriation to each missionary, in view of the embarrassments of business; but the churches in which they laboured have increased the amount which they contributed to the salary: so that the salaries received by those engaged in missionary labour average $500 each.

The reports from the missionary churches indicate the most extraordinary success. There is a sensible manifestation of the influence of the Holy Spirit in a revival of the church, and an awakening of the people. Although the fruits are not reported to this Assembly, it can be confidently stated that such an extensive interest on the subject of religion has never before been witnessed.

The usual series of resolutions expressing the gratitude of the Assembly for the blessing of God on the labours of the Board, confidence in its wisdom and zeal, and urging on the churches their duty, was presented, and, after recommitment and amendment, adopted. The point in the resolutions which excited debate, was the expression of regret that so large a part of the funds were absorbed by feeble unproductive churches. This was considered as an intimation that such churches should not be sustained. Dr. Musgrave disclaimed any such interpretation of the language used. He advanced it as a principle of the Board, that churches however feeble, and however little prospect there might be of speedy increase of strength, should

be sustained. What the resolution objected to really designed, was discountenancing the application for aid on the part of Presbyteries in behalf of churches which did not really need it, or which could be sustained by a less liberal appropriation. The resolution having been modified so as to express that idea was adopted.

The Board of Foreign Missions.

The receipts from all sources, (including a special contribution of $18,112.57 to repair losses in India,) have been $223,977.79. The expenditure has been $207,051.51, (the sum specially donated for India, $18,112.57 being reserved,) leaving a balance against the Board of $1,186.29.

Thirty missionary labourers have been sent out during the year, twelve of whom are returned missionaries, and ten others are waiting opportunities to embark for the fields to which they have respectively been designated. Under the direction of the Board, there are nine missions among the Indians; one to the Jews, and one to the Chinese in California, within the boundaries of the United States; two in South America; two in Western Africa; one in Siam; three in China; two in India, embracing fifteen stations, and extending over a region of country more than a thousand miles in length; besides which, pecuniary aid has been extended to the Evangelical Societies of Belgium, Paris, Geneva, and to the Waldensian Synod.

Connected with these various missions, there are 170 missionary labourers from this country; 54 native helpers; 50 principal stations and out-stations; 23 organized churches; and nearly 5,000 native youths under Christian training in the schools connected with these missions.

A general survey of the missionary work, during the past year, brings to view facts and events both of a painful and a cheering nature; the former calling for sorrow and humiliation, the latter for praise and thanksgiving.

Under the former head stands out painfully and conspicuous the sad disaster at Futtehgurh, in which the lives of eight beloved and valued missionary labourers and two children were sacrificed by sepoy violence; the removal by death, in other parts of the field, of five other valued missionary labourers;

the partial interruption of the work at one of the principal stations in China; and the withdrawal of a considerable number of labourers from the field, either temporarily or permanently, on account of the failure of health. These are occurrences that call for deep humiliation, and they ought to awaken the heart-searching inquiry, why these reverses have been permitted to befall this great work.

On the other hand, there are facts of an encouraging nature, that are equally deserving of the grateful consideration of God's people. Among these may be mentioned the merciful preservation of the health and lives of the great body of our missionary brethren and their families in India, during all the trials and dangers to which they have been exposed; the noble testimony which the martyred brethren were enabled to bear to the truth, in the immediate prospect of a cruel and violent death, and the heroic fortitude with which their Christian converts endured persecution, and in some cases, met death, forming together a lesson that will be rehearsed from generation to generation in India, and will long be cherished by the church of Christ, as a sweet and precious memorial. The early prospective settlement of disturbances both in India and in China, on a basis more favourable to the spread of Christianity; the quiet and effective manner in which the missionary work has been prosecuted in most of the fields occupied by the Board, in connection with which a large number of immortal souls have been gathered into the fold of Christ; the opening of new fields for missionary enterprise in portions of the earth heretofore inaccessible, and the enlargement of the area of labour in those that have been partially occupied; the present great outpouring of God's Spirit upon the churches in this and other Christian lands, furnishing and sanctifying the means and agents, as it is hoped, for a great extension of the missionary work; the increased contributions of God's people to the support of this great cause notwithstanding the existing financial pressure, and the growing disposition manifested, not only by the students of our Theological Seminaries, but to some extent by settled ministers and laymen of the church, to devote themselves personally to the promotion of this work—all these, if the indications of divine providence are rightly interpreted, betoken

a purpose on the part of the great Head of the church to bring about grander results in connection with the enlargement of his spiritual kingdom among men, than have ever been witnessed before, and a willingness on his part to employ the church as the honoured agency for the accomplishment of this great end. How shall the church respond to this solemn call? How shall she act in view of this momentous emergency?

Mr. Lowrie, the Corresponding Secretary, gave a detailed and most lucid account of the operations of the Board during the past year. Rarely in a lifetime, can it have been the good fortune of an audience to listen to such a narrative of martyrdom, and to such examples of fortitude, worthy of the earlier days of the Christian church, as were illustrated in the death of native Hindoo converts as well as of American missionaries. The mighty influence of this church organization upon the civilizing, the evangelizing, the humanizing of savage nations, was most conspicuously displayed.

He said that in the twenty-one years during which annual reports have been submitted, we have made the discovery that missionary work is never stationary. If it does not advance, it always goes backward. That work consists of three distinct, but harmonious branches: 1st. Preaching the word as soon as the language is sufficiently mastered to enable missionaries to be understood. 2d. Translating and printing the Bible. 3d. The education of the young natives in boarding-schools, for the specific object of raising up a native agency. To supply India alone would require one hundred thousand ministers, and China would need not less than three hundred thousand. They never can be obtained in America; and these necessities can only be supplied by the countries themselves. He spoke of the terrible financial straits to which the Board has been reduced, to meet demands of the holiest character. Though a native missionary in Africa, "a white man, all but his colour," was ready, and most admirably fitted for the work, it took the Board three weeks to make up for his support the indispensable sum of five hundred dollars. Mr. Mattoon, in Siam, the finest Siamese scholar in the world, has completed the translation of the Scriptures, of tracts, and of school books. If we sent him no printing press, or other means to print, of what use was it to send him? Yet all the

Board could do was to send him the promise, relying on, they know not what resource, to meet the promise. Such expenses are often caviled at as needing justification. Preaching is thought to be the great and paramount work of the missionary; but is not the use of the Bible, and the dissemination of religious knowledge, a process of declaring the will of God to man? And is preaching orally anything more? Even to preach requires travelling, which, in all those countries, is expensive. There are no inns; the people dare not receive you into their houses, nor give you food. They dare not give you drink; the glass that has been polluted by your lips must be broken, and only metal vessels can in any way ever be made fit to be used again. Missionaries must go, as in apostolic times, by two and two. They must take with them tents, provisions, and all else they need to maintain life, and these require a team, and are expensive in such countries. In China and in Siam they can avail themselves of the canals; but there are thousands of localities which these do not penetrate, and there they must travel on foot. They can nowhere stir without additional means.

These details of expenditure refer mostly to small funds; but there are so many of them that they exhaust the treasury, despite any supplies hitherto poured into it. The contributions of churches, since the disuse of agents to collect money for missions, have slowly but steadily increased; but it is a mournful fact, that nine hundred and forty churches, with four hundred and thirty-seven ministers, and sixteen thousand one hundred and twenty-eight communicants, have, during one whole year, not contributed one cent. Were every member of our church to contribute half a cent a month, our receipts would have been increased by five or six thousand dollars. Were they to contribute one cent a week, it would produce a fund of twenty thousand dollars. Of all the contributions of Presbyterian churches, for every purpose, the amount actually given to foreign missions amounts to barely four per cent.

He spoke of incidents of recent martyrdom in India. A native missionary was tied to the mouth of a cannon, and cut to pieces with swords, after the gun had twice missed fire. A mother and her babe left to die, remained two days unburied,

and were at last flung into a stream by men of the lowest caste. The speaker's own son was mentioned in this connection, in the simplest words that could describe his drowning, by violence, in a Chinese sea; but it electrified the Assembly, as nothing but genuine feelings can do, and the entire house melted into floods of irrepressible tears. He told of the personal loveliness of four ladies who were victims; of four men who are not excelled by the greatness or the excellence of any four brothers in this Assembly. When taken, they threw away all weapons, offering no resistance. Mr. McLain, an Indian planter, offered one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for their ransom, and used all other possible means to save them; but the cry was, "We want not money, but blood!" Husband and wife were tied arm to arm, and, carrying their infants, they were marched to the place of butchery, and received the crown of martyrdom. But we need not grieve. In the Revelation, these things are described like a history more than a prophecy, and we are assured by the word of Him who permits such things, that "the wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder thereof he will restrain." "Not by power, nor by might, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord."

On a motion to adopt the report, Mr. Atkinson said: The church is essentially a missionary organization. It is its character to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. It is the first instinct of a new-born soul to gather in other souls. What motion is to the health of the body, and exercise of the faculties is to the well-being of the intellect, missions are to the well-being of the church. Macaulay's wonder at the sudden arrest and congelation of the Reformation, would never have been recorded in his history, had he understood church history as he did secular. The church lost her missionary spirit.

He looked on nothing human as so great as the man who takes his life in his hand, and goes forth to the ends of the earth to carry the gospel of Christ. He hoped this Assembly may be hereafter distinguished for the missionary character of its present meeting, beyond all that have preceded it. The best bestowed wealth is that given to this cause. It was his deliberate conclusion that the highest elevation attainable by a

mortal is in the gospel ministry. He knew the martyr Lowrie in the Theological Seminary, and he could not but look with reverence on that father, here among us, whose son is now a glorified saint.

Mr. Paynter spoke in terms of overflowing gratitude of one of the missionaries whose murder had been referred to. He owed to him his nurture, training, education, and love of missions. He had always brought the claims of missions the most prominently of any before his church, and every member of it freely gives to this cause. One whose husband prohibited her from all means of giving, with feeble health, had laboured at midnight to earn means for this cause, and placed it where it was found and secured to missions—almost literally a widow's mite. He thought it essential to keep the heart warm on this subject. Unless the heart is moved, it is little we shall give from mere principle. He hoped that no member who has anything to say on this subject, calculated to send us home with new enthusiasm for this cause, will withhold it.

Dr. Palmer moved that the Rev. Mr. Hay, a missionary recently arrived from India, be requested to give an account of the disturbances in India. A recess was then taken.

On resuming the session, the Rev. Mr. Hay occupied the attention of the Assembly with a thrilling narrative of the mutiny, which lost nothing in its interest from the reflection that in many of the most terrible scenes he had been a personal sufferer.

He said British India embraced a population of not less than one hundred millions. It is not homogeneous in race, language, nor religion. The greater part are idolatrous Hindoos, occupying the eastern, northern, and central portions. Nearly all the rest are Mohammedans. Three hundred years ago the Jesuits first established their missions in the extreme southern parts, whence they spread and extended into other parts, assuming the dress and habits of the people, and propagating their religion under the forms of Hinduism. The Pope at length caused a rigid examination to be made into the condition of Indo-Catholicism, which resulted in repeated bulls and edicts, condemning it as heretical.

After them came Schwartz and his followers, until the Pres-

byterian church established its missions in the northwestern provinces, along the Ganges, up to the Punjáb, and when that was annexed to the British empire they were protected by that government.

The distinction of caste meets the missionary everywhere, and is recognized by the British government. The high caste Hindoos claim their descent from the brain of Brahma, being themselves but divided portions of him, and after death they are to return into him, like cups of water returned into its original reservoir.

He gave an account of the peculiar policy of the British government in organizing armies of native troops, placing caste against caste, so as to have a check upon each other, and Mohammedans against them all. Previous to the arrival of the British the Mohammedans ruled the country; they destroyed the temples, suppressed the practices of many religious rites, and subdued the people.

Amid this mingled population, the missionary enterprise succeeded in a most remarkable manner. They established schools, translated the Bible, tracts, and other religious books, and were greatly prospered in their work.

The speaker had heard during his voyage to this country, that the missionary effort in India has proved a total failure. The same was asserted as to the Sandwich Islands. But these statements are based on insufficient data, and proceed from persons hostile to missionary enterprises. The mission work has stamped its influence upon all eastern life. But a few years since, thousands annually bowed before the car of Juggernaut, and human life was crushed out beneath its ponderous wheels. Now the temple of the idol is nearly deserted, and human sacrifice no longer propitiates its divinity. Not long since, through all India, widows were burned upon the funeral pile, and government itself dared not interfere. Now the custom is disused. Infanticide prevailed as a part of the religion of the inhabitants; and the crocodiles of the Ganges fattened on human flesh. Now parents exhibit the natural affection that marks civilized life, and cherish the offspring they once were taught to destroy. It was the power of mission influence in India which eradicated these horrible customs, an influence

which was brought to bear upon an unchristian government, compelling the Governor-General, contrary to the remonstrances of the Company, to crush out with iron hand the superstition grown strong through centuries.

Better than this, we see fruits of Christianization in India resembling those in our own country. A short time since a pagan prince from the Punjáb visited England, was presented with a Bible, and became a Christian; and at Futtehgurh he has long given liberally of his wealth in support of the mission cause. Another Indian, a Brahman, a Pundit, learned in all oriental science, a man of rank and honours, purchased a Bible, and in the self-sufficiency of his learning, *answered* it. It was hailed by his caste, and believed by himself to be a demolition of the book. But he reviewed the Bible to revise his criticism, and was converted. This man has now no higher ambition than to go into the highways and preach Christ to the lowest orders. He is willing to sacrifice his caste, his honours, his wealth, to spread the gospel. Have you such men here? But this is not a singular case. Similar examples are found in every caste.

The speaker had sat by the bed-side of dying men who but a little while before had worshipped stones and reptiles—degraded, morally and socially, below our conception, and had seen them, supported by the hopes of the gospel, meet death with composure, walking down through its gloomy portals to a glorious immortality. Do we need higher proof that missionary labour has accomplished much in India?

But the missionaries took with them the printing press—the arts and the sciences of the old world, and in that great land of ignorance, men of certain classes who enjoyed no privileges of learning are now compelled to learn to read and write. Mission schools are scattered throughout the whole fifteen hundred miles of territory occupied by your church. Five hundred pupils were in the schools of Allahabad; and these young men, convinced of the errors of paganism, go forth, not Hindus, yet not Christians, but prepared, when the Spirit of God comes down upon the land, to be converted in such numbers as to astonish the Christian world.

The missionary who has seen an hundred thousand of the

highest caste, drinking, as "the waters of immortality," water of the Ganges in which they had bathed their feet, and then, under the transforming influence of the truth, has seen these same men divested of their superstitions, and elevated to the Christian standard, has the strongest proof of the truth of the Bible, and of the success of the missionary work.

The speaker then detailed at length the difficulties with which the missionaries have to contend in India, and gave many interesting illustrations of the Brahminical arguments, and the manner in which they were refuted. There are now in India four hundred evangelical preachers, and sixteen hundred native helpers, and he felt that the day is not far distant, when the whole empire will give up idolatry.

The speaker then alluded to the disasters of the missionaries at Allahabad. It was not at first involved in the revolt, which commenced above it, among the population which was mainly Mohammedan. The first evidence of a spirit of revolt was however, exhibited at Berhampore, twelve miles above Calcutta. A man belonging to the regiment of sepoys, stationed at this place, ran across the parade ground, shouting "Religion! religion! kill the English!" The whole regiment was disbanded. The next day another regiment, supposed to be reliable, was found to contain four hundred men who were concerned in the revolt, and they were likewise disbanded. About the same time at Delhi, the commander attempted to enforce the use of the new cartridges. If greased with tallow, their use was sacrilege to the Brahmans; if with lard, they were an abomination to the Mohammedans. These cartridges were never used at all. Another kind of cartridges, which were discoloured, were ordered to be used by a regiment of high caste men, who refused, and threw down their arms. They were tried, and eighty of the ringleaders were sentenced to ten years' hard labour on the roads.

The speaker gave a narrative of the horrors to which they were exposed, near a fort which they dared not enter for fear of exciting the suspicion of the natives. For many nights they expected every moment to be murdered. They entered the fort at last on the 16th of June, at half-past nine, P. M. The fort was filled with native troops, as well as surrounded by

them, and their principal hope was to prevent the seizure of the twenty-six thousand stand of arms. They mined the magazine, determined to destroy themselves and the arms. They were confined in this fort for ten days, with the thermometer at 120°, and many dropped down dead with apoplexy. The Sikhs got hold of champagne, and drunkenness soon possessed all the soldiery: this among the most warlike soldiery in the world, where the least spark might have excited a general massacre. In all his life he never witnessed such agony of despair as stamped itself on all faces. For two long nights they expected every instant to be murdered, and their only prayer was for the light of morning. Succour came at last in the form of fifty European troops. The General was brave, humane, and wise. He foresaw that pestilence must immediately fall upon them, and he ordered all non-combatants to Calcutta. On board a little steam tug, they started on that voyage of eight hundred miles, and carried an enormous amount of treasure. Two days after they left, cholera broke out, and of those whom we left behind nearly all were swept away. Providence carried us away in spite of our wishes, and thus saved our lives.

He spoke of the wonderful fortitude of the native Christians. They were placed in the stocks to die by inches. They were told that they would be mutilated in their ears, their noses, their chins, and their lips, if they did not deny Christ. All this, too, while they knew not that a European Christian remained in all the land; but not one of them renounced his faith, or denied the Lord that bought him; while many Europeans did, and even derided these poor natives as fools for not yielding. Here is proof of the Spirit of Christ to which we can point evermore. It is hard to die, harder still to be mutilated. It is a terrible extremity, and multitudes preserved their lives by pronouncing the words, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet."

The revolt is almost exclusively confined to the regions where Mohammedanism prevails. It is not among the common, lower caste, orderly Hindus. It is to the Hindus we must continue to carry the gospel. Mohammedanism and Brahmanism will never rise again. The East India Company connived at idolatry, and

contributed to its support, But our glorious work will now go on better than ever before.

The Rev. Mr. Edwards, by request, spoke of the Indian Missions in our own land; but our limits compel us to forbear a report. He closed with a most moving appeal for help in our Western Indian missions.

The Board of Education.

The Rev. Dr. Van Rensselaer, Secretary of the Board, briefly addressed the Assembly. Not having met with any record of his remarks, nor with any abstract of the Report of the Board, we present the report of the Committee on the subject.

The Committee to whom has been assigned the review of the work of the Board of Education, would respectfully report:

That while the statement of the results of this important branch of our benevolent operations is full of encouragement, it ought to be impressed upon our pastors and people, that if our church is to do its part in preaching the gospel to every creature, the work of raising up an educated ministry is but begun. Even in our own land the increase of candidates for the office of an ambassador for Christ, has by no means kept pace with the growing wants of our country; while in foreign lands, hundreds of millions are yet without the living teacher, and must die in ignorance of the way of salvation.

Your Committee would also invite attention to the fact, that while the funds of the Board indicate the unfaltering attachment of the church to the cause of Christian education, the anticipated withdrawal of one annual donation of five thousand dollars, renders it necessary for the Board to look to the church generally for aid in carrying on efficiently the schools which have been mingling religious instruction with the ordinary course of a common education.

The Committee would also report, that they notice with regret the financial embarrassments which still seem to check the progress of the Ashmun Institute, designed for the education of young men of colour, and would express the hope, that by the liberality of our churches that excellent institution, full of encouragement as it is, may be placed on a firm and substantial

pecuniary basis, and thus be, in years to come, a source of blessing to the African race.

The Committee would also respectfully ask of the Assembly, if, in view of the remarkable outpourings of the Holy Spirit upon our land, in which many of our churches have largely shared, the time has not come for increased and earnest efforts to set before such of our youth as may give indications of usefulness, the duty of consecrating their lives to the work of preaching the gospel. They would, in this connection, call special attention to that part of the Report which is entitled, "Causes of anxiety to young men and candidates," and would express the earnest wish that the considerations there presented, and which they deem of great practical value, may be laid before the youth of our church.

In conclusion, the Committee would respectfully submit the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1. That the General Assembly record, with profound gratitude to God, the abundant tokens of the divine blessing which have attended the efforts of the Board of Education to introduce young men into the ministry, and to aid in the religious instruction of our children and youth, as seen in the unfaltering attachment of our churches to the cause, manifested even during a period of commercial disaster, in the numbers who have already been assisted to enter the gospel ministry, the enlarged number of institutions for Christian education, and the special influences of the Spirit of God, which have been poured out upon many of the Colleges and Schools under the care of this Assembly, or in connection with Synods and Presbyteries of our church.

Resolved, 2. That the field which now lies before our beloved church, demanding, as it does, a vast increase of ministers of the word, calls for earnest prayer to the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest, and that the Assembly, while they trust that the cause will be daily remembered by the people of God, recommend the last Thursday of February as a day of special and united prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit upon our colleges and seminaries of learning.

Resolved, 3. That in view of the great work which Christ

has laid upon his church to preach the gospel to every creature, it be earnestly enjoined on pastors to set before youth of piety and promise, the question of their responsibilities in this matter, and to endeavour so to direct and assist them, as that there shall be an increase of candidates for the gospel ministry, in some measure proportioned to the growing demands of the church and the world.

Resolved, 4. That this Assembly earnestly urge parents to consecrate their children to the work of extending the kingdom of the Saviour in the earth, train them for it, and, when prepared to enter upon the work, cheerfully to give them up to go wherever God in his providence may call them.

Resolved, 5. That the last Thursday in February next be observed as a day of prayer for the children and youth, especially those collected in our colleges and other seminaries of learning.

The Board of Publication.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary commercial embarrassments and depressions of the whole community, during the past year, the Board of Publication is enabled, by divine favour, to report results which compare favourably with those of any former year. This will appear from the following summary:

I. In the department of Production. The Publishing Agent reports that 55 new works have been issued, of which 45 are volumes. Of these new volumes there have been printed 85,750 copies. In addition to these, 24,000 copies of nine new tracts have been issued, and 30,000 copies of the Presbyterian Almanac, making in all 139,750 copies of new publications. Besides these, there have been published 326,750 copies of works before upon the Board's Catalogue. The total number of copies issued during the year has been 466,500. The total number of copies issued since the organization of the Board, to March 1, 1858, has been 6,819,938.

The report gives special notice of the publication, by the Board, of "The Presbyterian Social Psalmodist." The Confession of Faith has been published in German, and other German publications are now passing through the press. Attention is called to "The Sailor's Companion," as a new work

admirably adapted to do good among the brave and hardy sons of the deep. Dr. Jacobus's "Notes on the Gospels," with the accompanying questions, are now issued by the Board, and afford valuable aid to Sabbath-schools and Bible-classes.

A considerable number of choice volumes have, during the year, been added to the Board's Sabbath-school Library, which is increasingly popular and useful. The Board aims to furnish as soon as possible all needful facilities for Bible-class and Sabbath-school instruction. A good beginning has already been made by furnishing a variety of catechisms, question-books, and commentaries.

Periodicals.—The circulation of the *Home and Foreign Record* has declined during the past year from 19,000 to 17,500 copies. The circulation of the *Sabbath-school Visitor* is now 54,000, an increase of 9000 copies since the last report.

II. In the department of Distribution. The publications of the Board reach the hands of the people chiefly through three channels:

1. The regular trade sales at the publishing-house have been, during the year, 191,993 volumes, a decrease of 1583 volumes on the sales of the preceding year. Comparing these results of the year with those of other publishing-houses during the recent severe commercial embarrassments of the country, they afford cause for profound gratitude. The sales of tracts at the publishing-house have amounted to 706,963 pages, an increase of 229,522 pages on those of the year preceding.

2. The Executive Committee have granted, in response to appeals made to it, to Sabbath-schools, feeble churches, humane institutions, and to individuals for gratuitous distribution, 3724 volumes, and 246,395 pages of tracts.

3. By colportage, a most important amount of divine truth has been put in circulation, and the results of the year, considering all things, have been in the highest degree favourable. The number of colporteurs in commission during the year has been 263, being an increase of nine, notwithstanding the recent curtailments found to be necessary. These have been distributed into twenty-nine States and Territories, besides all the British Provinces of the north. Increased quantities of books and tracts have been sent to California, Oregon, Washington

Territory, and all the frontier and more destitute regions of our land.

The number of volumes sold by colporteurs has been 123,924, being a decrease of 655 volumes. The pages of tracts distributed by them have been 1,555,469. The number of volumes gratuitously distributed this year has been 17,905, an increase of 876 volumes on the number last year given. The number of families visited has been 119,685, an increase of 5503 over that of last year.

The total distribution of the year has been as follows:

By sales at publishing-house,	191,993	vols.
By sales by colporteurs,	123,924	"
Given by colporteurs,	17,905	"
Granted by Executive Committee,	3,724	"
Total of volumes,	337,546	

Being an increase on last year of 636.

Pages of tracts sold at publishing-house,	706,963
Distributed by colporteurs,	1,555,469
Granted by Executive Committee,	246,395
Total,	2,508,827

Being a decrease, for reasons explained in the Report, of 271,575 pages.

Besides the above matter, the Board has issued a large number of pamphlets and periodical papers.

III. In the department of Sustentation. The Treasurer's Report shows an aggregate of receipts for the year of $126,960.28, which is an increase of $7,639.25 over the receipts of the preceding year. The total of expenditures has been $106,801.68, leaving a balance in the Treasurer's hands of $20,158.60. This, however, will rapidly be called for by the renewed and enlarged operations of the publishing department.

The amount received from sales of books, tracts, and *Sabbath-School Visitor*, has been $80,842.86, being a decrease of $6,581.52 on the sales of the previous year.

The Colportage Fund.—The amount received from this fund has been $21,369.76, a decrease of $3,453.86. This decrease,

it is pleasant to observe, arises not from decreased church contributions, but from diminished receipts from legacies and miscellaneous sources. The sum received from the churches has been $17,150.92, an increase from this source of $1,761.67. The receipts, however, from legacies and miscellaneous sources have fallen from $9,434.37 to $4,218.84.

Church Extension.

The following is an abstract of the Report of the Committee on this important subject:

The Committee preface their Third Annual Report to the General Assembly with the statement that it shows a decided advance in the work entrusted to them.

Receipts.—The receipts from all sources during the year ending April 1, 1858, were $24,741.15, exceeding those of the previous year $1,475.54. Less than half, however, of this excess is from donations. The number of contributing churches named in this report is 518. The number named in the preceding report was 502. These results have been reached in the midst of the hard times, without any salaried collecting agent, and are as gratifying as they were unexpected.

Expenditures.—The total expenditures of the year were $24,384.03. The amount paid out to churches this year is in advance of the amount paid out to them last year over seven thousand dollars.

Appropriations.—During the year, appropriations were made to seventy-six churches, amounting to $27,571.03. This is nearly ten thousand dollars more than the amount appropriated to churches last year.

Applications.—From April 1, 1857, to April 1, 1858, one hundred churches applied for aid to enable them to complete their houses of worship free from debt. The amount of aid they ask is not less than $45,000, being fully twelve thousand dollars more than the amount of aid applied for last year. At the close of the year there remained on file *sixty* applications for aid, calling for $25,000.

Cost of Church Edifices.—In the two and a half years the Committee have been fairly at work, they have made appropriations to two hundred and five different churches. One hun-

dred and fifty-three of these two hundred and five church buildings cost from $500 to $2,500; thirty-nine from $2,500 to $5,000; and the other thirteen over $5,000: five of the thirteen were special appropriations.

Distribution of Funds.—The Committee have endeavoured to distribute the funds entrusted to them as equitably as possible over the whole church. How far they have succeeded in this endeavour may be determined from these two facts:

1st. Only three of the three hundred new applications received by them have been declined.

2d. Grants have been made to churches in thirty of the thirty-one Synods, and eighty-six of the one hundred and two Presbyteries, from whose bounds applications have come. The Synod and Presbyteries to whom no appropriations have been made, are those from whose applying churches the requisite information has not yet been received.

Results.—Scarcely three years have elapsed since the Assembly's Church Extension Committee was organized. In that time over $57,000 has been raised for the Church Extension cause, without any salaried agent. This is within $11,000 of the whole sum raised during the eleven years of organized effort, in connection with the Board of Missions. The amount received from churches in the last *three* years is *double* the amount received from churches during the previous *eleven* years.

Union with the New-School, South.

The Synod of that portion of the New-school Presbyterians, which last year separated from their brethren, having appointed a committee to confer with a similar committee, to be appointed by this Assembly, in relation to a union of the two bodies, Drs. Van Rensselaer and Palmer, and the Rev. W. M. Cunningham, were appointed. This committee submitted the following paper as containing the views of the "United Synod."

This may certify that at the meeting of the United Synod of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America, which was organized in Knoxville, Tennessee, the 2d day of April, 185[illegible], the following action, being instructions to the committee of two appointed to confer with a committee of the Old-school General Assembly, in the event of that body appointing one for

the purpose, with reference to a union of the two bodies, was taken.

"*Resolved*, 3. That said committee be directed to propose to the committee appointed by the General Assembly, the following terms of union, as indispensable to an honourable union on our part.

First. We agree to unite as ecclesiastical bodies by declaring, as this Synod now does, our approval of the Westminster Confession of Faith, and Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as an orthodox and excellent system of Christian doctrine, and also our adherence to the Plan of Worship, Government, and Discipline, contained in the Westminster Directory.

Second. Both bodies agree in declaring it to be a fundamental principle in the Presbyterian church, that no judicatory of the church can, *for any cause whatever*, by an act of legislation, constitutionally condemn, or exclude from the church, other judicatories, or ministers, or private members, without a process of trial, such as is prescribed in the Constitution of the Presbyterian church.

Third. Both bodies agree that it is consistent with the requirements of the Westminster Confession of Faith, to receive said Confession according to the adopting act of 1729, to wit: as containing all the essential truths of Christianity, and also the doctrines that distinguish the Calvinistic from the Pelagian, Socinian, and Arminian systems of theology. We agree likewise in believing that this system of doctrine includes the following truths; namely, the Trinity—the Incarnation and Deity of Christ—the Fall and Original Sin—Atonement—Justification by Faith—Personal Election—Effectual Calling—Perseverance of the Saints—the Eternal Happiness of the Righteous—and Eternal Punishment of the Wicked.

Fourth. Both bodies agree in declaring that slaveholding, or the relation of master and slave, cannot, *in any case*, be a bar to membership in the church of Christ. And whilst they admit the right of the judicatories of the church to take cognizance, in the way prescribed in the Constitution, of cruelties practised in the relation, they hereby declare the opinion, that as the continuance or abolition of the system of slavery, in this country, belongs exclusively to the State, the discussion or

agitation of slavery, further than pertains to the moral and religious duties arising from the relation, is inappropriate to the functions of church judicatories.

Fifth. It is further agreed that in effecting the union, the Presbyteries connected with this Synod shall be united as Presbyteries, and without an examination of their ministers, with the Synods belonging to the General Assembly, to which, because of their geographical limits, they should be attached, excepting that the Synod of Tennessee and the North Alabama Presbytery shall retain their name, and occupy their present territory.

Sixth. In the event of the General Assembly agreeing to the above terms, the Committee of Synod are directed to communicate the fact to the Presbyteries in connection with this Synod, and the Presbyteries are hereby requested by the United Synod to take action upon the terms of union agreed upon by the Committees of Synod and the General Assembly, and to send a copy of their minute to the United Synod that will meet in Lynchburg on the third Thursday in May, 1859.

Seventh. The Committee appointed by this Synod to confer with a Committee of the General Assembly, are hereby directed to attend the meeting of the Assembly in New Orleans, in May next, and present the preamble and first two resolutions adopted by this Synod as their authority for requesting a conference with a Committee appointed by the General Assembly, to the General Assembly which will then be in session in that city. And if no member of the Committee should be able to attend the meeting of the Assembly in New Orleans, they are directed to send a copy of the preamble and first two resolutions to the Moderator of the Assembly, and request that body, if they should think proper, to appoint a Committee for the purpose above specified, to designate a time immediately after the adjournment of the Assembly for a conference of the Committees. The Committee of this Synod are requested, in the event of a conference being had with a Committee of the Old School Assembly, to publish, as soon as practicable, the result of their consultations."

JOSEPH H. MARTIN,

Permanent Clerk of the United Synod.

The following additional article was submitted and adopted:

"*Eighth.* That in the event no union is agreed to, the Committee be directed to propose to the General Assembly the establishment of a mutual correspondence in the future between us as ecclesiastical bodies."

A true extract from the minutes.

JOSEPH H. MARTIN,
Permanent Clerk of the United Synod.

The following paper, presented by the Rev. Dr. Breckinridge, was, after discussion, adopted unanimously, in reference to this subject.

1. The Committee appointed by the United Synod of the Presbyterian church, has communicated to this Assembly the official action of said Synod, settling, on their part, the "*terms of union*" by them declared to be "*indispensable;*" and the Assembly is informed, through the public press, of the contents of papers adopted by that Synod, and called by it "*A declaration of principles.*" In the judgment of this Assembly, those official papers do not afford a basis of conference, upon which this Assembly is able to see that there is any prospect of advancing the interests of Christ's kingdom in general, or those of the Presbyterian church in the United States, or those of the United Synod of the Presbyterian church in particular.

2. The Presbyterian church in the United States of America has always received, frankly and in Christian love, all churches, office-bearers, and private persons, of all denominations, making application for admission into her communion, upon the single condition that they are like-minded with herself. At this time ample provision is made in her existing Acts and Ordinances for the reception of all such into her communion, on terms and by methods precisely equivalent, and where it is possible, identical with those provided in regard to her own children reared in her own bosom. Seeing that it was in a voluntary secession from the Presbyterian church that the present difficulties of the United Synod of the Presbyterians had their origin, and that the door has always been open for the orderly return of such of those who left us, as were like-minded with us, it can hardly be unexpected that we decline any official conference based on terms which appear to us to involve a con-

demnation of ourselves, and a renunciation of the rich and peculiar favour of God upon us, in the very matters which led to their secession from our church twenty years ago.

3. With reference to the recent secession in the New-school body, this General Assembly does not see in that event, or in anything which has hitherto resulted from it, any call of providence for the Presbyterian church to take any new steps whatever, either with the view of union or that of a closer intercourse than now exists, with either of the parts into which that body is now divided. The subjects upon which the whole New-School body differed from us, at the period of their secession from us, and the subjects upon which the two very unequal portions of that body have recently separated from each other, are questions upon which we as a denomination are at peace, and with regard to the whole of which, we see no occasion to revise the understood and unalterable faith of our church, or to enter into fruitless conferences.

Church Commentary on the Bible.

Dr. Breckinridge offered a minute to provide a Commentary on the Scriptures which shall be in accordance with the Westminster doctrines of this church, as follows:

Inasmuch as the want of a sound, godly, and thorough commentary on the whole word of God, composed in the sense of the constant faith of the church of God, as that is briefly set forth in the standard of the Westminster Assembly, held by the Presbyterian church in the United States of America, has long been felt to be a grievous want, whereby a great lack of due service to God and to his truth occurs, and whereby constant danger arises to men of needless ignorance on one side, and of dangerous misguidance on the other; therefore be it

Resolved, By the General Assembly, that the Board of Publication shall, and it is hereby directed to proceed with all convenient despatch to have such a commentary composed, prepared for the press, and published. And in the execution of this great work, the following rules and orders, together with such further as may be adopted from time to time by the General Assembly, shall be carefully observed by the Board of

Publication, and by all others in any ways engaged in the execution of any part thereof.

1. The commentary shall be prepared exclusively by the members of this church, and in the preparing of it they shall have all such indulgence as to time, as they shall respectively demand. And for their own compensation and their heirs, shall receive, for the legal term of twenty-eight years, a fair *per centum* on the price of the work sold, which shall be settled in advance by the Board of Publication, and which shall be uniform, and in lieu of all claims and cost of every sort in any way connected with their said work.

2. The said commentary shall be fitted for common use by all men, and in the preparation of it free use may be made of all material that may exist; the design being to procure not so much what may be original, as what may be best in the way of enlightening and saving men. It shall not be prolix, but so arranged that the whole may be embraced in five or six royal octavo volumes, of good print, containing, besides commentary, the English text in full, together with the usual accessories thereof, and such other suitable helps to its understanding as plain people need. And the text used in it shall be strictly that of the version prepared by the translators appointed by James the First, King of England.

3. In order to secure the fittest men for this great work, the Board of Publication shall make special application to the general Synods of our church at the next stated meetings respectively, and the said Synods shall, upon careful consideration, nominate to the said Board of Publication any number of their own members, not to exceed five from any one Synod, of such as they shall consider qualified to undertake the work, and the Board of Publication may add not more than four, in addition to the whole number thus nominated to it, and it shall communicate the list of names thus obtained by sifting the church, to the General Assembly, at its next stated meeting in May of next year, making, at the same time, and from year to year thereafter, report of its doings under and by virtue of this minute.

4. The General Assembly of 1859 will take such further order in the premises, especially with regard to selection of persons out of the list communicated to it, to the distribution of

the work amongst them, and to all things needful for its effectual prosecution, as shall seem most expedient.

It is evident, from the very nature of this proposal, as well as from the arguments of its advocates, that it contemplates an exposition of the whole Scripture, to which shall be given the sanction of church authority. If the mere suggestion of such an idea does not strike a man dumb with awe, he must be impervious to all argument. It is a fearful thing to give church authority even to articles of faith gathered from the general sense of Scripture. How large a part of the church universal, or even of the church of England, can conscientiously adopt the Thirty Nine Articles in their true sense? How do we get along with our more extended Confession? We could not hold together a week, if we made the adoption of all its propositions a condition of ministerial communion. How is it with the marriage question? If it is not only difficult but impossible to frame a creed as extended as the Westminster Confession, which can be adopted in all its details by the ministry of any large body of Christians, what shall we say to giving the sanction of the church to a given interpretation of every passage of Scripture? This is more than all the popes, who ever lived, merged in one, would dare to propose. It is a thousand fold more than Rome, when most drunk with pride, ever ventured to attempt. Where is there such a thing? who has ever heard of such a thing as a Church Commentary? There must be some mistake about this matter. The proposition cannot mean what it appears to mean, and what some at least, both of its advocates and opponents, understood it to mean. We cannot persuade ourselves that any one, having the least idea of the nature of the work, any apprehension of what it is, to come to a clear conviction, even for oneself, what is the true interpretation of thousands of texts of Scripture, how many questions of philology, of grammar, of logic, of geography, history, antiquities, of the analogy of faith and of Scripture, which such decision involves, could, for a moment, dream of the possibility of a church exposition of the whole Bible. The proposal, on the part of any man, or any body of men, to give an authoritative interpretation of unfulfilled prophecy, of the visions of Ezekiel, Zechariah, Daniel, and John, would be proof that God had given him or

them up to strong delusion. No amount of inspiration ever granted to man would justify such an assumption. The prophets themselves did not understand their own predictions. The apostles, though rendered infallible in what they taught, were as ignorant, it may be, as other men of what they did not teach. The Scriptures were as much an unfathomable sea of divine knowledge to them as they are to us.

It will no doubt be said, that the view above given of the design of the proposed commentary is exaggerated and distorted. It is very probable that the proposition lies in the minds of its advocates in a very different form from that which it presents to others. We are speaking of it as it lies in the record, and as it was exhibited in the speeches of those who urged its adoption. Some may say that there is no great harm in the Board of Publication publishing a commentary on the Bible. Certainly not, and simply because the Board of Publication is not the church, and therefore no special authority belongs to any of their publications. They may print the commentaries of Henry or Scott, or Dr. Jacobus's Notes on the Gospel, with impunity, because no one is responsible for the correctness of the expositions given but their authors. Who ever dreams that the church is responsible for Dr. Scott's interpretation of Ezekiel's wheels? Who thinks of attributing church authority to Dr. Jacobus's exposition of our Lord's discourses? These works pass for what they are intrinsically worth, and for no more. But here it is proposed to pursue the same course in making a commentary, as was adopted in making our Catechisms and compiling our Hymn Book. The church, as such, is responsible for the doctrinal correctness of every hymn in the collection. The people do not know who were the writers or who the compilers. They take the book on the authority of the church, and the church is fully committed to its correctness. This must be the case in regard to any commentary written by men selected and appointed by the church, reporting their work from time to time, as they proceed, and receiving as essential the imprimatur of the church to what they write. This of necessity commits the church; and this purpose was clearly avowed. It was said that the Westminster Confession has a sense, and the church has a clear conviction of

what that sense is; and according to these principles the commentary is to be constructed. That is, the church is to see to it, that the commentary is orthodox and correct; therefore the church must be responsible. When this commentary is quoted in controversy, it will come not with the authority of Luther, or Calvin, or of Scott, or Jacobus, but of the Presbyterian church. All Presbyterians will go to it, not as to the other publications of the Board, written by private individuals, but as to a book having authority, as being written or compiled by the church. The plan proposed is much the same as that pursued by our Baptist friends in the preparation of their new version. If that work should be completed, it will be the Baptist version, not Dr. Conant's or Professor Hackett's version, but the Baptist version—one to which the Baptists as a denomination stand committed. So the proposed commentary will be the Presbyterian commentary, not the commentary of Mr. A. or of Dr. B., and it must of necessity be clothed with church authority. This was evidently contemplated by those who urged that the exposition of Scripture should be kept under the vigilant eye of the church, and who pled the promise of the Holy Spirit to the church as a reason why the work should not be referred to the Board of Publication, but decided upon and carried out by the church itself, the Board being only her agent, as in the preparation of the Hymn Book. This is a fatal objection to the whole scheme, for the church will never submit, unless God has withdrawn from her the spirit of wisdom and of a sound mind, to have imposed upon her the interpretations of any man, as of authority in the reading of the Scriptures.

Besides this, the object aimed at is not only inconsistent with the liberty of believing, but it is utterly impracticable. It is said the Bible is to be interpreted according to the church's sense of the Westminster Confession. But who is to tell us the church's sense of the Confession? It is notorious, that as to that point we are not agreed. In the second place, even as to points in which the sense of the Confession is plain, there is want of entire concurrence in its reception; and what is the main point, there is no such thing as the sense of the Westminster Confession as to the true interpretation of thousands of passages of Scripture. The standard is an imaginary one.

What does that Confession teach of the dark sayings of Hosea, of the baptism for the dead, or the sense of Gal. iii. 20, concerning which an octavo volume has been written, giving no less than one hundred and fifty distinct interpretations? It is plain that there is not, and that there cannot be a standard for the interpretation of the Scriptures in detail; and therefore the church must either submit to have the opinions of some one man enacted into laws to bind the reason and conscience of all other men, or she must give up the idea of having a church exposition of the Bible.

Admitting, however, that such a work is desirable, and that it is practicable, where are the men to be found to execute the task? It is proposed that each Synod should nominate five of its own members for the work, some one hundred and sixty in all. We venture to say, that instead of our church being able to furnish a hundred men fit for such a work as this, it does not contain, and never has contained, any one such man. It is bad enough for any poor sinner, after all his study, to undertake to present his own private judgment as to the meaning of Scripture, and to state the reasons for his opinion, leaving all other men to judge for themselves, to receive or reject his interpretation as they may see fit. But to assume to act as the mouthpiece of the church in this matter, to say what the church believes as to the meaning of each text of Scripture, and what all its members, therefore, are bound to receive as its meaning, is a task which none but an idiot or an angel would dare to undertake.

Centenary Celebration.

The year 1858 being the hundredth anniversary of the union of the two Synods of Philadelphia, and of New York and New Jersey, after the great schism, the Assembly of 1857 determined to commemorate the event with suitable services. The Rev. Dr. Van Rensselaer was appointed to deliver a historical discourse before the Assembly at its late sessions. This service was performed not only to the satisfaction, but to the admiration of the audience. As his discourse was requested for publication, we hope to have another opportunity of bringing it to the attention of our readers. The following minute was adopted

in reference to this service: "The Assembly recognize the good hand of God in early bringing to these shores emigrants of Scotch, Irish, English, and Huguenot extraction, to assist in establishing the church of the Lord Jesus Christ among the waste places of this continent. The memory of the ministers who commenced the work of evangelization, and who laid the foundation of the church, is treasured by this Assembly with gratitude to Him who sent them forth to accomplish his purposes, with many self-denials, abundant labours, and great success.

The Assembly record the goodness of God in leading the fathers to adopt authoritatively the Westminster standards for the future guidance of the church, and under such circumstances in the ratification of the 'Adopting Act,' as to afford the clearest evidence of the entire unanimity of the Synod in doctrinal sentiment, and in all matters pertaining to Presbyterian order.

The Assembly further record their views of the unspeakable importance and blessedness of pure revivals of religion in the church; praising God for the general results of the great revival of religion within our bounds, in the days of Whitefield and the Tennents, and rejoicing that the present year has been signalized by the same precious and glorious outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

The Assembly further put upon record their sense of the obligations of the church to its great Head in preserving incorrupt its outward forms of order in the olden time; in gradually and surely increasing its educational and evangelistic resources, and in endowing it, after the lapse of the first century of re-union, with such enlargement of its missionary work at home and in heathen lands.

On an occasion which forcibly brings to mind the blessings of God upon re-union, and which commemorates the dwelling together of brethren in unity, the Assembly express a deep conviction of the desirableness of the union of all sound Presbyterians, and do hereby cordially and earnestly extend an invitation to all, who are of like mind with ourselves, to unite with this General Assembly in the way and manner conformable to the acts and deliverances on this subject, already made by this Assembly."

On motion of R. J. Breckinridge and J. M. Worrall, the thanks of the Assembly were voted to C. Van Rensselaer, for the address delivered in accordance with the order of the last Assembly; a copy was requested for publication, and it was committed to the Board of Publication, to publish the address in a book, containing, with the address, the whole record of proceedings respecting this occasion.

Theological Seminaries.

On motion of J. M. Worrall and G. W. Musgrave, the report of the Committee on Theological Seminaries was taken up, and the order of the day for 10 o'clock was postponed for this business. The report was adopted, and is as follows:

The Committee on Theological Seminaries respectfully report, that they have received and considered the Annual Reports of the Seminaries under the care of the General Assembly, viz. Princeton Seminary, New Jersey; Union Seminary, Virginia; Western Seminary, Pennsylvania; Danville Seminary, Kentucky.

The Assembly will learn, with joy and devout gratitude to the Head of the church, that all these institutions have, during the past year, been highly favoured; that the teachers have been faithful in their work of instruction; that the pupils have been diligent in study, and exemplary in their deportment. It is also gratifying to know that the numbers in attendance have been increased, and an enlarged desire for the foreign missionary field has been manifested.

Only one death has occurred, and generally it has been a year of health. The several reports in detail, as presented by the directors and trustees of these institutions, will fully develope their present condition.

In respect to their financial aspect, the Assembly, while rejoicing in what has already been done, will appreciate the need of continued effort to enlarge their means and complete their endowments. Your Committee would recommend the reiteration of the resolution adopted by the last Assembly, viz.

"That the churches be urged to complete the endowment of those Seminaries that are not yet fully endowed, to increase

the number of scholarships, to furnish funds for repairs and erection of suitable buildings, and the enlargement of libraries."

The Committee find in the Report of the Directors of Princeton Seminary the following resolution, viz.

Resolved, That the General Assembly be requested to amend the Plan of the Seminary, Article II., Section 1, so as to erase the following words, "and the President, or in case of his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents, shall be one." The Committee recommend that the request be granted, and that the Plan of the Seminary be so amended.

They also recommend that the arrangement made for this year, to terminate the session of the Seminary at Princeton two weeks earlier, or on the last Wednesday of April, be made permanent in this institution.

In the Report of the Directors of the Union Theological Seminary, Virginia, they request that "the Board of Directors be authorized, with the concurrence of other judicatories to whose care the Assembly has committed the institution, to transfer to 'the Trustees of Union Theological Seminary, in the County of Prince Edward,' recently incorporated by the General Assembly of Virginia, all the lands, funds, and other property now committed to the trust of the Directors."

The Committee recommend that the request be granted, and the following resolution be adopted, viz.

Resolved, That "the Board of Directors of the Union Theological Seminary, in Virginia," be authorized, with the concurrence of the Synod of Virginia, the Synod of North Carolina, and the Presbytery of Winchester, to transfer to the Trustees of Union Theological Seminary, in the County of Prince Edward, Virginia, all the lands, funds, and other property belonging to said Seminary, now in the hands of said Directors, or which may hereafter come into their hands.

By the report of the Directors of the Danville Seminary, it will devolve on the Assembly, at its present session, to elect a Professor of Church Government and Pastoral Theology, to fill the chair made vacant by the resignation of Stuart Robinson, D.D. The Committee recommend that it be the order of the day on Friday, at — o'clock, to elect a Professor of Church Government and Pastoral Theology in the Danville Theological

Seminary. This report was adopted; and several nominations were made for the vacant chair in the Seminary at Danville. When the time of election arrived, the names of the Rev. Drs. Anderson and A. Hamilton were withdrawn. Leave was asked by the nominator to withdraw Rev. Dr. Halsey's name.

Rev. Dr. Breckinridge said he is not authorized to speak here for the Directors or the Faculty. The directors are prohibited from making any nomination, but they had expressed their preferences, and these were for the Rev. Dr. Van Rensselaer. But that gentleman peremptorily said he was "not fit;" whereas they thought that Dr. Van Rensselaer thought they were "not fit." His next choice was the present Moderator, (Dr. Scott,) but that gentleman gave no encouragement. He was then at the end of his string. He would frankly say that the exigencies of their case require either a man who has no particular sectional character, or, if any, that it should be with the South. Two out of three of the present Faculty were from the North, and he himself is from no further South than Kentucky. The attempt has been made to create the impression that the Seminary is a Kentucky affair. But for this he would favour the election of Dr. Halsey. Upon the whole, his mind has inclined to the Rev. Dr. Stratton, of Natchez. Nevertheless, you are to understand that we can make no nomination, and have no preference.

Rev. Dr. Junkin said he felt it due to Mr. Peck to say that he has never conferred with him. He now nominates him, not to place him in competition with any other gentleman, but because of his eminent qualifications for the place. He is a Southern man, and resident of a Southern State. Besides, he is on terms of personal friendship with all the members of the Faculty. Mr. Peck answers the conditions mentioned by Dr. Breckinridge.

Rev. Mr. Squier said he cordially agrees in all that Dr. Junkin has said in reference to Mr. Peck, but he has lately been called, under peculiar circumstances, to the Central church, Baltimore, and moreover, Mr. Peck has distinctly directed him to withdraw his name in case he were nominated.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Junkin, Mr. Peck's name was withdrawn. Dr. Halsey's name was also allowed to be withdrawn.

No other nomination being now before the House, except that of Dr. Stratton, Rev. Dr. Breckinridge moved that it be the sense of this House that the Rev. Joseph B. Stratton be the Professor of Church Government and Pastoral Theology in Danville Theological Seminary. Unanimously agreed to.

On motion, a Committee, consisting of Rev. Drs. Green and Baird, and Rev. Mr. Worrell, was appointed to inform Dr. Stratton of his election, and to urge his acceptance of the position.

Appeal and Complaint of Rev. Robert S. Finley and Smith Bloomfield, against the Synod of New Jersey.

The Presbytery of Elizabethtown had dissolved the pastoral relation between the Rev. R. S. Finley and the church of Metuchin without the formal request of either pastor or people. Against this action a complaint and appeal were carried to the Synod of New Jersey. The Synod, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, sustained the action of the Presbytery. The case was then brought before the Assembly, and after a regular hearing the roll was called, and on the final vote eighty-four voted to sustain the complaint and appeal, twenty-four to sustain in part, and thirty not to sustain. A Committee of seven was appointed to bring in a minute expressing the judgment of the House. The report made by that Committee was laid upon the table, and a substitute proposed by the Rev. Dr. Palmer was adopted, and is as follows:

This General Assembly sustains the appeal and complaint of Robert S. Finley and Smith Bloomfield, against the Synod of New Jersey.

In this decision, it is not intended to censure the courts below for want of zeal and faithfulness in doing according to their best judgment what the case required. Much less is it intended to reverse, in form, what has been done in the case of Mr. Finley, so as to restore him to his pastoral relation, in the Second church of Woodbridge; for this would be not only impracticable, in the circumstances, as they now exist, but inexpedient, even if it were practicable.

But the Presbytery of Elizabethtown erred in attempting too

much to direct and control the action of that Session, interfering without being called to do so, according to the forms of our constitution; in arresting the process of discipline, before it had been issued—while the Session were pursuing it in an orderly manner; and in dissolving the pastoral relation upon a mere presumption of a majority of the people desiring it, without the regular application of either party; thus making what they judged a necessity in the case, of more importance than the forms of the constitution.

The Synod of New Jersey erred, not only in sustaining the action of the Presbytery in this case, but also in refusing to entertain as an appeal the remedy sought by a party, who was both injured and aggrieved by said action of the Presbytery.

John H. Rice asked leave to have his dissent entered on the Minutes, and others joined him in the request.

On motion of E. T. Baird, this leave was granted.

The dissent is as follows:

The undersigned dissent from the vote of the General Assembly, assigning reasons for the decision in the case of the appeal of the Rev. R. S. Finley, because in their opinion it does not express the sense of the court deciding the case, and because the minority were permitted by this vote to change or modify the deliberate decision of a majority of the court.

JOHN H. RICE,	L. H. LONG,
E. W. BEDINGER,	R. C. GALBRAITH,
J. A. SMYLIE,	LILBURN R. RAILEY,
P. E. BISHOP,	D. M. QUEEN,
R. V. SHANKLIN,	W. E. JAMES,
JAMES CLELAND,	C. M. GREGG.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Great Reformer; or, Sketches of Luther. By the Author of "The Claremont Tales." Chiefly collated from D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The salient points in Luther's character and life are here briefly sketched, and brought within a compass that will be likely to secure a large number of youthful readers.

Grains of Gold; suited to enrich youthful minds. Compiled for the Board of Publication.

This is a copious collection of anecdotes and stories, adapted to interest and enchain children, while they all serve to illustrate and enforce some important truth or maxim of religion or morals.

Scripture Baptism; Its Mode and Subjects. By Ashbel G. Fairchild, D. D., Author of the "Great Supper." Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The various questions which are raised by the Baptists against the baptism of infants, and baptism by sprinkling, are treated in a clear and judicious manner in this unpretending little volume. It is exceedingly well adapted for circulation in congregations which are subjected to the annoying assaults of Baptist proselytism. Most who are or have been pastors have suffered enough from this source, to welcome this addition to their means of defence.

The Divine Life; A Book of Facts and Histories. By Rev. John Kennedy. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

We have already had occasion to notice this work favourably, when it came to us from the hands of a private publisher. We are glad that our Board have adopted it among their issues. It sheds much light upon experimental religion, as to its nature, reality, and forms of manifestation. In doing this it affords much valuable and interesting information respecting a large number of eminent Christians. It is all the more useful for being highly readable.

The Sailor's Companion; or Book of Devotions for Seamen in public and private. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Such a manual as this has long been a desideratum. It enables pious shipmasters to conduct religious services of all kinds

needed on shipboard, in a devout and edifying manner. The prayers, Scripture readings, funeral services, hymns, the selection of abridged discourses from Burder, the counsels to mariners in various circumstances, all serve to make it a most valuable "Sailor's Companion."

Fashionable Amusements; with a Review of Dr. Bellows' Lecture on the Theatre. By Rev. D. R. Thomason. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1857.

This volume discusses the theatre, card-playing, dancing, and novel reading. The first it condemns utterly, except that it favours what we believe an impracticable thing, a provision for pure and wholesome dramatic representations, which shall be regulated by the representatives of the moral and religious part of the community. Card-playing it condemns entirely. Dancing in public balls, and by mature persons, it reprobates. It approves, however, of dancing in private by the young. As to novels, it justifies only the cautious and sparing perusal of some of the most select among them. Dr. Bellows' famous plea for theatres is reviewed with great candour and kindness, and with a strong protest against its principles and refutation of its reasonings. The work is evangelical in spirit, and its calm and moderate tone will gain for it a respectful consideration from some who would hardly listen to a sterner denunciation of their favourite amusement.

The History and Antiquities of the City of St. Augustine, Florida. Founded A. D. 1565. Comprising some of the most interesting portions of the Early History of Florida. By George R. Fairbanks, Vice-President of the Florida Historical Society. New York: Charles B. Norton. 1858.

Mr. Fairbanks has made in this volume a contribution to a part of the history of our country heretofore much overlooked. The facts are well arranged, neatly stated, and form a narrative of very considerable interest. Many will be glad to learn from this book, the origin, growth, and decline of our most ancient city. Its typography adds to its attractions.

The True Glory of Woman; as portrayed in the Beautiful Life of the Virgin Mary, Mother of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By Rev. H. Harbaugh, A. M., author of "Heavenly Recognition," &c. &c. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1858.

It is unnecessary to say that the author condemns Mariolatry. Shunning this extreme, he awards to the mother of Jesus her due preëminence among women, and finds in her the highest type of true womanhood. The characteristics of the true woman are developed from this stand-point with much force and beauty, and generally with great justness of sentiment. He especially resists "tendencies which go to press or allure woman out of

her true sphere, instead of working to elevate her in it. The evil takes several forms—they are these: the tendency to idealize her, to idolize her, and to masculinize her. In all these she is drawn from her true sphere, and so injured in the development of her true glory," pp. 19, 20.

Men of the Olden Time. By Rev. Charles A. Smith, D. D., author of "Illustrations of Faith," &c. &c. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blackiston. 1858.

The characters delineated, and the related topics discussed in this volume, are Abel, the martyr spirit; Cain, modern scepticism; Nimrod, unsanctified ambition; Esau, the mess of pottage; Aaron, the censer and the rod; Balaam, the angel and the sword; Gideon, the lesson of the fleece; Elisha, the voice of the mantle; Daniel, the model statesman. Many of these are not only of permanent interest, but are now of pressing moment. The author treats them in an interesting and effective manner.

Evangelical Meditations. By the late Rev. Alexander Vinet, D. D., Professor of Theology in Lausanne, Switzerland. Translated from the French, by Professor Edward Masson. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke. 1858.

The title and author of this volume will secure for it the attention of those who prize evangelical unction, profound and discriminating thought, a fresh and compact style, tact, and delicacy in the application of Christian truth. The sermons at the close of the volume, on Aquila and Priscilla, delivered at a marriage; and on the waters of Bethesda, delivered at a watering-place, are striking illustrations of these qualities.

A Plea for the Ways of God to Man; Being an attempt to Vindicate the Moral Government of the World. By William Fleming, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh.

As the problem of Moral Evil surpasses human solution, so there will be no end to Theodicies which seek to shed some new light on the subject. Nor are they, if written in a modest, humble spirit, without important use. They show that much which at first sight looks otherwise, is really a proof and outgoing of the divine goodness. This is largely and happily done in the volume of Professor Fleming. We cannot speak more definitely of the particular positions taken in the book, till we have time to give it a closer examination.

Memorial of Nathaniel W. Taylor, D. D. Three Sermons. By Leonard Bacon, D. D., Pastor of the Centre church; Samuel S. S. Dutton, D. D., Pastor of the North church; George P. Fisher, A. M., Professor in Yale College. Published by Request. New Haven: Thomas H. Pease. 1858.

Dr. Taylor had a position and influence in our American theological discussions and conflicts, which makes his death an

event of public significance. All his eulogists agree in ranking him as the last of the New England schoolmen, and the peer of the foremost among them. His peculiar system aroused an opposition as much more violent and persistent than the previous types of New England theology, as its innovations were more radical and startling. Our estimate of these innovations has been given too often to need repetition here. No reader of these eulogies can fail to see that their authors speak of Dr. Taylor's theological peculiarities in a tone of moderation, quite in contrast with that exhibited by his disciples and admirers twenty-five years ago. We do not doubt that the lapse of another quarter of a century will work a still greater change in the same direction.

The personal traits of Dr. Taylor were remarkable, and contributed largely to his commanding influence, and the wide diffusion of his doctrinal system. His very person was majestic; his noble countenance; his lustrous eye, at once piercing and benignant; his lofty and massive forehead; all blended to form a presence of uncommon dignity and beauty. The intellectual force and vivacity which sparkled on his face, found expression also in a voice of rare depth, compass, and melody. In his social relations and intercourse, he was hearty, frank, genial, in short, fascinating. No man was ever freer from that reserve, whether natural or otherwise, or that affectation of distance and superiority, which sadly abridge the power of so many strong minds over others. He was quite sure, in his contact with others, especially young minds, to win their friendly sympathy, and prepossess them in favour of himself and his system at the outset. As a natural result of these qualities, too, he was unusually dignified, forcible, and impressive in the pulpit, and, in the zenith of his power, was widely admired and sought after as a preacher. Indeed, Dr. Bacon attributes higher moment to his achievements in the pulpit, than in the chair of theology. However this may be, there can be no doubt, that not only in the pulpit, but in the divinity lecture, and in conversation, his oratorical power aided the promulgation of his system.

Dr. Taylor's predominant intellectual power was in the logical faculty. Few men have surpassed him in the power of evolving from given principles their utmost logical consequences, and of spinning out from two or three such principles entire systems of philosophy and theology. All the peculiarities of his system are logical deductions from the assumed power of contrary choice, and the further assumption that self-love is the spring of all voluntary action, and that moral quality pertains

only to exercises. Coupled with this extraordinary logical power, was, in our judgment, a deficiency of the intuitional, of which we have a striking example in his self-love theory. In these two respects he had a strong resemblance to Paley: but he had what we have never observed in Paley, the power, not only of argumentation, but of impassioned argumentation.

The above peculiarities in some measure explain the great strength of Dr. Taylor, and the narrowness and weakness of his theology. A man who seizes two or three principles, and has no eye for or ignores other moral and spiritual intuitions which should surround, modify, and control them, doubtless sees them, and all their consequences clearly and confidently. If he have good powers of expression, he will set them forth with a sort of gigantic energy and assurance. He will for the time constrain the acquiescence of many whose views are feeble, indefinite, and confused, and whose inner souls may silently and unconsciously protest against what they for the time admit. But one who recognizes the paramount authority of moral intuitions and first principles, even when his logic goes athwart them, of necessity views his own theorizings with less confidence, and urges them with less vigour. He who sees only one side of a subject, sees it more clearly and confidently than he who looks on all sides.

Connected with and resulting from this peculiarity was another. When Dr. Taylor had fairly presented his reasonings, he could not well understand how any one could help seeing the subject as he did, unless he were chargeable with some moral or intellectual fault. Says Dr. Bacon, "in the earnestness of debate he might charge an opponent with absurdity and nonsense; but it was not his wont to charge a brother with heresy." Of course he did not put this latter sword into the hands of his adversaries. It was more his nature to thrust the former.

Another consequence was a confidence in the power of what he apprehended to be truth, and of his way of apprehending and exhibiting it, which was almost heroic, and in a feebler man would have been that other thing which is only a step from the sublime. As it was, however, it intensified his force and efficiency in conflict. To these personal traits, which contributed to his great success at one time in propagating his principles, must be added the peculiar state of the American churches, and of American theology, at that period, which formed a copious receptivity for them. But whatever new forms of divinity may now be coming into vogue, this is certainly on the wane. It is delightful to see that Christ was the true light of

his soul, before which all the light of philosophy paled in the near prospect of death. His language was, "I can only wait, committing myself, like Stephen, to the Lord Jesus Christ." Here all theology must terminate that gives any real support to the soul in the last extremity. Other foundation can no man lay.

Dr. Dutton says, "the greatest mistake, in my judgment, which Dr. Taylor has made in his theological life, was in spending so much of his precious time as he did, when so often attacked, in proving himself orthodox according to human standards." There was only one greater mistake. This was spending so much of this precious time in attempting improvements upon the great features of theology of the church as expressed in her recognized symbols. This theology may be more clearly explained, defined, and vindicated—altered essentially it cannot be. The faith of the church of God is one and unalterable as his truth. If the truth unto salvation has not been found, possessed, and guarded by the church, in the vital, substantive elements thereof, we may look in vain for any true system of anthropology or soterology. Certainly philosophy can never invent nor discover it. While we regret this deflection of his powerful mind from its true course, we rejoice in the earnestness and power with which he inculcated many truths precious alike to us and to him.

Eulogy on the late Professor E. A. Andrews, LL.D. Delivered at New Britain, Connecticut, May 19, 1858. By Hubbard Winslow. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1858.

There are few Latin teachers or students in our country to whom Professor Andrews has not become known by his Latin Grammar, Lexicon, Reader, and editions of various classics, now extensively used in our schools and colleges. He was not, however, a mere scholar. He was a man of uncommon moral and Christian excellence. Few men have said and done less which, "dying, they would wish to blot." This well merited eulogy upon his character, by Rev. Mr. Winslow, is worthy of its subject and its author.

Sermons for the New Life. By Horace Bushnell. New York: Charles Scribner. 1858. Pp. 456.

These discourses, although they apparently differ a good deal in character, bear the clear impress of Dr. Bushnell's genius. There are the same originality of thought and elevation of sentiment, the same beauty of language and imagery, the same mingling of rationalism and mysticism, the same merging the supernatural into the natural, which characterize other produc-

tions of his pen. It is sad that the spiciest breezes should so often be laden with mephitic vapours. We cannot help thinking that if Dr. Bushnell had been formed under more auspicious influences, he would have been a different man. Had he been trained under authority, church authority, and taught to believe that some doctrines could be so settled as not to allow of being again mooted, he would have escaped many aberrations. By taking for granted the truth of such doctrines, he would have been enabled to see their truth. Having adopted the principle of thinking for himself, he has to go over all the ground over which the church of old groped her way, and pass through all her conflicts. Hence it is that there is scarcely an Apollinarian, Eutychean, or Sabellian error, of which traces, more or less distinct, are not to be found in his writings. Principles and modes of explanation, which in other ages were proposed, and for a time warmly advocated, but which subsequent examination proved to be untenable, Dr. Bushnell reproduces from the stores of his own mind, apparently ignorant that they have all been tried and found wanting. There is, however, so much that is true and elevating in these discourses, that a discriminating reader will find himself amply repaid for their perusal.

Narratives of Remarkable Conversions and Revival Incidents, &c.; Including an account of the rise and progress of the Great Awakening of 1857–8. By William C. Conant. With an Introduction, by Henry Ward Beecher. New York: Derby & Jackson, 119 Nassau street. 1858. Pp. 444.

The plan of this work seems to be judiciously carried out. It contains a great amount of religious history, in a form adapted to interest and to convey salutary instruction.

The Church of God as an essential Element of the Gospel, and the Idea, Structure, and Functions thereof. A Discourse in four Parts. By Rev. Stuart Robinson, Professor of Church Government and Pastoral Theology in the Theological Seminary at Danville, Kentucky. With an Appendix, containing the more important Symbols of Presbyterian Church Government. Historically arranged and illustrated. Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, No. 111 South Tenth street. A. Davidson, Louisville, Kentucky. 1858. Pp. 130 and xcvi.

This work of Dr. Robinson is too elaborate and contains too many important principles to be cursorily noticed. Its mode of exhibition is not sufficiently simple to enable the reader to discover at a glance its doctrine and bearing. It requires to be carefully considered in order to be understood or correctly judged of. It is obviously the production of a strong and thoroughgoing man, and will, we trust, secure increased attention to the important subject of which it treats. The appendix contains valuable documents, not easy of access elsewhere.

A Practical Grammar of the Latin Language. With perpetual Exercises in Speaking and Writing. For the use of Schools, Colleges, and Private Learners. By G. J. Adler, A. M., late Professor of the German Language and Literature in the University of the City of New York. Boston: Sanborn, Carter, Bazin, & Co. 1858. Pp. 706.

Our readers are aware that Ollendorf adopted the principle that the most effectual method of acquiring a language, was such practice as that to which a child is subjected in learning his native tongue. This plan is extensively known as the Ollendorf method; according to which books have been constructed for teaching almost all the modern languages of Europe. Professor Adler has applied this method in a modified form to the Latin. Ollendorf's plan was to give the student the language before he taught him its grammar. Professor Adler has not gone to this length. His plan is to give the language and grammar *pari passu*, to combine the theory with practice, yet in such a way as to entitle his work to bear the distinctive designation, a *practical* grammar. We are disposed to think that one plan of learning a language best suits one man, and a different plan another; at the same time the thorough combination of grammatical construction with practice in speaking and writing, which distinguishes Professor Adler's method, must commend itself to every mind. We are satisfied that the faithful study of this book, even by a private student, would lead to a far more complete mastery of the language than is often attained in the ordinary methods of instruction. Professor Adler's previous studies, his familiarity with the educational methods of Germany, his access to all the latest and best works on Latin grammar and literature, and his unwearied diligence, eminently qualify him for the task which he has so successfully accomplished in this work.

Darkness in the Flowery Land; or, Religious Notions and Popular Superstitions in North China. By the Rev. M. Simpson Culbertson, of the Shanghae Mission of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. New York: Charles Scribner. 1857.

The object of this work is to present the prominent features of the religion of the Chinese, not as it is found in the writings of philosophers and sages, but as it appears in its practical working among the common people. Mr. Culbertson, having resided eleven years in China, chiefly in Ningpo and Shanghae, many of the facts mentioned are new, and have been derived chiefly from his own observation. The volume is a powerful and affecting plea for the work of Christian missions, in that densely populated country. The chapter on the superstitious fears of the people affords a very striking illustration of the

terrible gloom which rests upon the heathen world. Guilty, and without excuse before God, conscience makes the bright face of nature hideous with frowns, and clothes her with ten thousand terrors. But there is hope for China. Mr. Culbertson regards the remarkable revolution, which has been in progress there, as the offspring, to a certain extent, of Protestant missions, and as affording many grounds of encouragement, as to the success of the missionary work.

In chapter twenty-second, the author makes and establishes the important statement, that the Chinese are quite at home in the art of necromancy, and are far in advance of the most expert among the table-turning, spirit-rapping, necromancers of our own Bible-enlightened Republic.

The Literary Attractions of the Bible; or, A Plea for the Word of God, considered as a Classic. By Le Roy J. Halsey, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner. 1858.

This volume seems to have been prepared with special reference to the young, and those who neglect the Bible from the impression that there is nothing in it but religion. The writer attempts to unfold its attractions in a literary point of view, especially its poetry and eloquence, as presented in its inimitable descriptions of nature, and portraitures of character. It is written in a sprightly and ornate style. But the subject is a difficult one. In contemplating the Bible as a mere literary production, that is to say, as a work of human genius or learning, we experience much the same difficulty we feel in forming notions of the Deity, from merely studying his creature, man. It is its great subject which gives beauty, dignity, and sublimity to the Bible. The author evidently felt this difficulty, and therefore confesses that the impression was ever present to his mind and growing to the end, "that it is impossible to look long, even upon the human, without seeing the bright beams of the Divine, streaming through from the other side. Like the manhood in Immanuel's person, humanity here appears in a mood so original, and so far above the usual style of men, that it seems itself a demonstration of Divinity."

The titles of the several chapters are as follows; 1. General characteristics of the Bible as a Classical book. 2. Poetry and the bards of the Bible. 3. Eloquence and oratory of the Old Testament. 4. The eloquent orators of the New Testament. 5. Types of female character in the Bible. 6. Representative young men of the Bible. 7. Science and the sages of the Bible. 8. Original conceptions; or, objects of sublimity and beauty in the Bible.

Sermons by Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen: First Minister of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in Somerset County, New Jersey. Translated from the Dutch, and prefaced by a Sketch of the Author's Life. By Rev. William Demarest. With an Introduction by the Rev. Thomas De Witt, D.D. New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church. 1856.

These are evangelical and pungent discourses. His ministry extended, in this country, from 1719 to about 1747. We are not surprised to learn that a revival took place under it, the fruits of which were extended and abiding. In his sermons we detect not a little which reminds us of the spirit and unction of Baxter. The biographical sketch with which the volume is prefaced, is interesting.

Gnomon of the New Testament. By John Albert Bengel. Now first translated into English. With Original Notes, Explanatory and Illustrative. Revised and edited by Rev. Andrew R. Fausset, M. A., of Trinity College, Dublin. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Vols. II. and IV.

In a recent number of this Journal we announced the publication of the first and third volumes of this renowned work. Mr. Fausset has associated with himself in the translation three other distinguished scholars, Rev. J. Bandinel, of Oxford, Rev. James Bryse, of Aberdeen, and the Rev. D. Fletcher, head master of the Grammar School, Wimborne. The work is elegantly printed, and in this convenient English dress is made accessible to thousands to whom the original was a sealed, or an unattainable book. This and the other publications of the Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, we understand, are for sale at the store of the Messrs. Smith & English, Philadelphia.

Zwingli; or, The Rise of the Reformation in Switzerland. A Life of the Reformer, with some Notices of his Time and Contemporaries. By R. Christoffel, Pastor of the Reformed Church, Wintersingen, Switzerland. Translated from the German, by John Cochran, Esq. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1858. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. Pp. 458.

This work is so constructed as to render it as far as possible a biography. The Reformer is made to speak for himself in reference to his opinions and purposes, and in relation to all the important events of his life. This is much more satisfactory than any delineation of character by another. The very best life of Luther is to be found in his letters. The three great representatives of the Reformation were Luther, Calvin, and Zwingle. Of these, the last mentioned is the least known, and, perhaps, the least generally appreciated at his true value. This life, therefore, meets a real want in our biographical literature.

The Words of the Lord Jesus. By Rudolph Stier, Doctor of Theology, &c. Vols. VII. and VIII. Translated from the revised and enlarged German edition. By Rev. William B. Pope. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1858.

We have repeatedly noticed this widely circulated work of Dr. Stier, as the successive volumes of the translation have appeared. These volumes constitute the 17th and 18th volumes of "Clark's Foreign Library," with which our readers are already acquainted, as furnishing in an English form the most important and soundest productions of the German theological press.

Hermeneutical Manual; or Introduction to the Exegetical Study of the Scriptures of the New Testament. By Patrick Fairbairn, D. D., Principal and Professor of Divinity in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Author of Typology of Scripture, &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1858. Pp. 480.

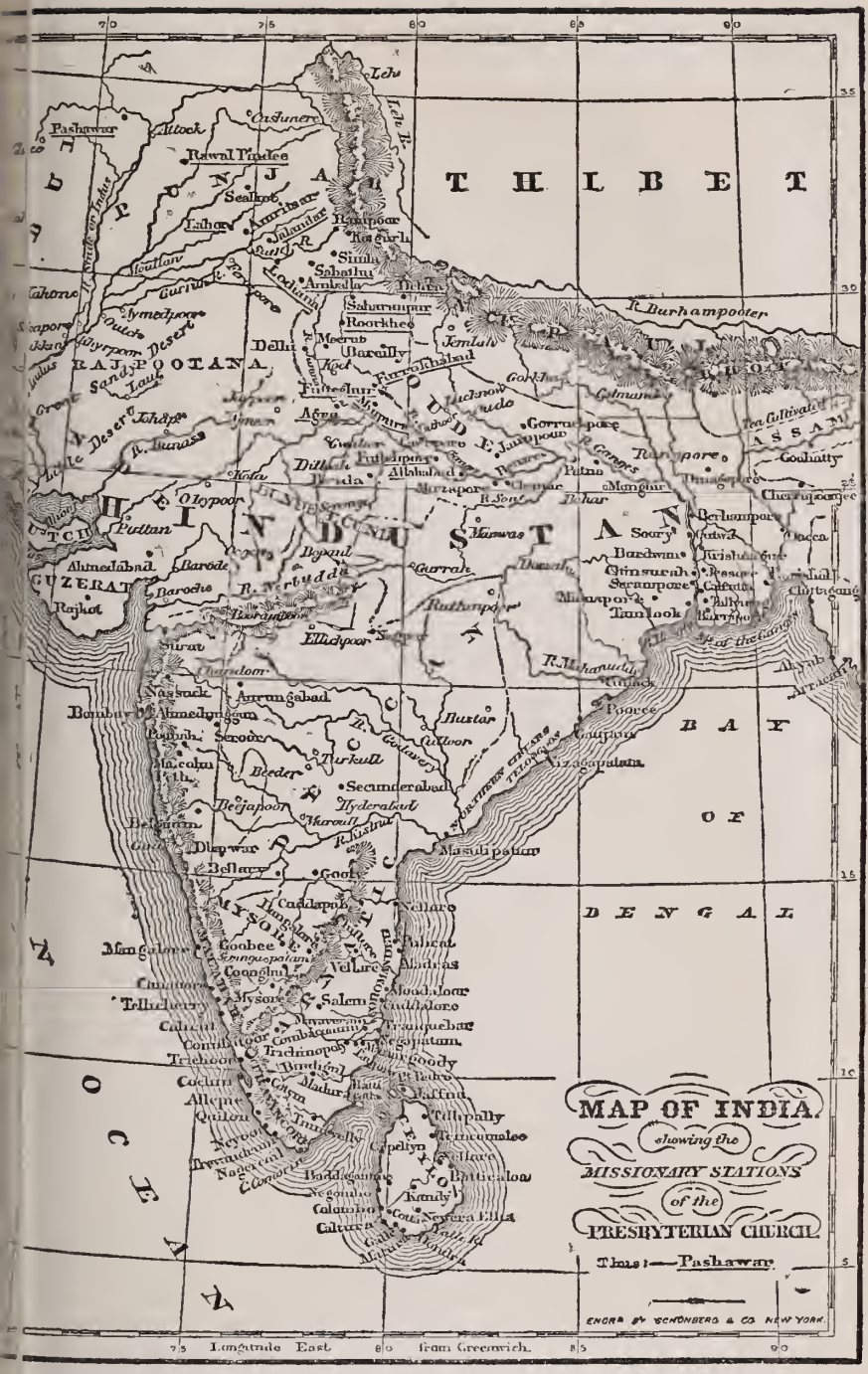
Dr. Fairbairn has given this alternative designation to his work, in order to apprize the reader that it is not simply an exhibition of the principles of interpretation. It consists of three parts. The first part treats of the language of the New Testament, and of the rules and helps to guide and aid the interpreter. The second includes dissertations on important words and subjects connected with the exegesis of the New Testament. The third treats of the use made of the Old Testament in the New. All the readers of Dr. Fairbairn's work on Typology, will be desirous to obtain this new and interesting volume. We think it is one which will soon call for republication in America.

An Exposition of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians. By Rev. Jean Daillé, Minister to the French Reformed Church of Charenton, A. D. 1639. Translated from the French by F. S. Revised and Corrected by the Rev. James Sherman, Minister of Surrey Chapel, London. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1858. Pp. 685.

The republication of a work two hundred years old is proof enough of its sterling value. It is eminently an available and edifying book. It is a series of sermons on the successive passages of the Epistle.

Among the minor publications of our Board which we have received are the following:

Pictures of Truth portrayed in Pleasing Colours.
The Stephenson Family, or Lessons on the Beatitudes.
The Efficacy of Prayer. By Rev. John C. Young, D. D.
The Valley of Achor, or Hope in Trouble. By Rev. S. S. Sheddan.
Only Believe, or the Sure Way of Peace. By Rev. Alfred Hamilton, D. D.
The Highland Glen, or Plenty and Famine. By Matilda Wrench.
Not a Minute to Spare. By S. C.
Talks about Jesus.


MAP OF INDIA.
showing the
MISSIONARY STATIONS
of the
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.
Thus:—Pashawar.
ENGRD BY SCHONBERG & CO NEW YORK.
Longitude East from Greenwich.
THIBET
HINDUSTAN
DECCAN
BAY OF BENGAL
ARABIAN SEA
RAJPOOTANA
GUZERAT
MYSORE
Pashawar
Attock
Cashmere
Lahore
Amritsar
Seahpt
Jalandar
Loodiana
Simla
Subathu
Ambala
Thibet
Saharunpur
Roorkhee
Meerut
Delhi
Baraully
Agra
Futtehpur
Allahabad
Mirzapur
Benares
Patna
Monghir
Berhampoor
Soory
Moorshedabad
Burdwan
Hooghly
Calcutta
Chittagong
Ahmedabad
Baroda
Rajkot
Surat
Ellichpoor
Aurungabad
Nassuck
Bombay
Ahmednugger
Poonah
Sevaree
Malcolm Hill
Beder
Secunderabad
Hyderabad
Beejapoor
Belgaum
Dharwar
Bellary
Gooty
Masulipatam
Vellore
Arcot
Madras
Cuddalore
Pondicherry
Tranquebar
Negapatam
Tanjore
Trichinopoly
Madura
Cochin
Allepie
Quilon
Tellicherry
Mangalore
Goobee
Seringapatam
Cananore
Mysore
Salem
Coimbatoor
Combaconum
Ramnad
Tuticorin
Jaffna
Tillipally
Trincomalee
Batticaloa
Kandy
Columbo
Point de Galle
Adam's Bridge
Maldive Islands
Laccadive Islands
Cape Comorin
Ceylon
Nerbudda R.
Taptee R.
Godavery R.
Kistna R.
Pennar R.
Cauvery R.
Ganges R.
Burhampooter R.
Indus R.
Sutlej R.
Jumna R.
Chumbul R.
Mahanudy R.
Northern Circars
Coromandel Coast
Malabar Coast
Gulf of Manaar
Gulf of Cambay
Gulf of Cutch
Runn of Cutch
Great Indian Desert
Sandy Desert
Loodiana
Lahore
Mooltan
Hydrabad
Jeypoor
Oodeypoor
Jodhpoor
Bikaneer
Lucknow
Gorruckpore
Jaunpoor
Goruckpore
Calpee
Gwalior
Oujein
Hoshingabad
Nagpoor
Chanda
Hyderabad
Warangul
Rajamundry
Ellore
Nellore
Ongole
Cuddapah
Chittoor
Vellore
Arcot
Madras
Pulicat
Sadras
Pondicherry
Cuddalore
Porto Novo
Tranquebar
Negapatam
Tanjore
Trichinopoly
Madura
Tuticorin
Jaffna
Point Pedro
Trincomalee
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