

LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS

Fifth Series.

VOL. II.

LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL
ESSAYS.

WRITTEN FROM THE YEAR 1840 TO 1897.

Fifth Series.

VOL. II.

BY

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*ὅμοιός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ οἰκοδεσπότη, ὅστις ἐκβάλλει ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ
αὐτοῦ καινὰ καὶ παλαιά.—MATTHEW, xiii, 52.*

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PART III.

RELIGION.

THE MODERN RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS, WHICH HAVE COME INTO EXISTENCE IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD SINCE THE GREAT ANNO DOMINI.

IN a communication, in the English and French Languages, made to the Tenth International Oriental Congress, held at Geneva, 1894, I described "The Ancient Religious Conceptions of the World before Anno Domini." Some are now entirely extinct; some maintain a useless, degraded existence; some are still mighty factors in the world's history; some, again, were National, some Universal. All forms of Nature-Worship, or Animistic Conceptions, known at that date, are now slowly dying away, being out of touch with the Epoch. Under the influence of a Book Religion, and still more of a Propagandist Religion, such weak Religious Conceptions wither away.

At the present Epoch there is a marked difference in the Religious atmosphere, as well as in the feelings of mankind, on certain subjects. The very idea of Sacrifice of Animals, Augury, Oracles, Signs from Heaven, Miracles, Dreams, Visions, Supernatural Appearances, Magic Arts, Astrology, Possession by Evil Spirits, and such like, has disappeared. So also amputations of portions of the body, disfigurement of the features, colouring of the skin, self-imposed tortures, Asceticism, Celibacy, weaknesses of the elder world, if not gone, are dying out, and can no longer be used as indices of the relation of the Soul of man to God. Lying legends are put to scorn. Higher Criticism brings all the records of Ancient Men, and Ancient Times, to one stern test of credibility. The wild dream of written documents, supposed to have come down from Heaven, and the audacious assertions, mere assertions, of plenary inspiration of individuals, or aggregates of individuals, called Churches, are being respectfully, and with tender sympathy towards the fondly credulous, laid aside.

To all students of History and of Mankind down to the present day, the doctrines promulgated in Galilee at Anno Domini, seem to be the most suited to the requirements of mankind, all mankind in every stage of Culture, in every variety of Climate, or Geographical

environment, as there is no chain, which binds the receivers of these doctrines to any place, like Mekka, to any material object like the Kaaba Stone, to any domineering Language like the Arabic, Hebrew, or Sanskrit, to any social Customs, or Laws outside the great Moral Law of the Human race. But these simple doctrines have been altered—shall we say, “deformed?”—by accretions of Judaism and Paganism during the dark ages, and disfigured by the European coloured glass thrown over them. However, freedom of speech, writing, and assembly, having been obtained, and absolute equality before the Civil Law of the professors of every possible variety of Religious Conceptions having been developed, we may fairly leave the Religious Conceptions, which existed in the first century of the Christian era to take their chance in the internecine struggle, which social and commercial contact has produced: if, as I and many others believe, they are from God, they will triumph: they require no Bulls of Popes, no Ukases of Emperors, and no Acts of the British Parliament.

The writer of these lines has his own strong views on the subject, and they are dearer to him than life, but no trace of their having blinded his vision will be found in this argument, for he has stepped down into an open arena, and in his eyes wholesale abuse, or misdescription, or sneers, are not arguments; indeed, they indicate a weak case, which requires such support. To a person passing from the status of sincere Hinduism to that of a believing Christian it must be a severe intellectual struggle, and the danger is, that the foundations of belief, laid in childhood, being once disturbed, the first change may be the forerunner of many more changes. The Christian born in the Faith, who has passed through a period of doubt, if he comes back by solid conviction to his old moorings, is stronger and better than the easy-going believer, who has taken no trouble to measure the depths, or examine the difficulties. The majority of mankind are in this dull intellectual stage. Religion has no real influence over them. There is something in the biting sarcasm of Ernest Renan (“Israel,” v, 106) that Religious ceremonies have “become by the perverseness of mankind a necessary imposture. The Human race seems to have been created for the purpose of imbibing Error, and even when the Truth is admitted, it is not done so for the real good reasons.”

The old National Faiths of the elder world were very tolerant: if left alone themselves they would leave others alone. No doubt the shoe did pinch, when a member of a family adopted an entirely new phase of ideas, such as a Hindu becoming a Mahometan; and the convert was deprived of his heritage, and sent to social Coventry: but to a Hindu Sectarian within the pale there was no change. The precepts of Buddha were indeed propagandist, but there was no persecution. If it be argued, that there was persecution in the time of Darius the Mede, in the matter of casting

Daniel in a den of lions, it must be recollected, that the offence was disobedience of the king's command, and this Daniel did in an ostentatious and defiant way. He might have offered his daily prayers in secret. So the persecutions of the early Christians by the Roman Emperors was due very much to the defiant conduct of persons desiring to be Martyrs. If a Sovereign ordered, that an oath of allegiance should be made to him, surely this could be done without prejudice to Religious convictions. With Christianity began the epoch of Intolerance and Persecution. The Hebrews had set the example in slaughtering the Priests of Baal and stoning Stephen. The Mahometans followed the bad example set by Christians, but the arm of the Persecutor is now arrested. Even then the evil would have been comparatively light, but that the curse of the Arm of the Flesh was invoked, cruelties, persecutions, disabilities enforced by the Civil Power to support the "my Doxy" view of a deep mystery against "your Doxy." Thus differences in Religious views became one of the great curses of mankind: we see the latest survival of it in the present social persecution of the Hebrews in Eastern Europe.

The enfranchised intellect of mankind at the present Epoch really thinks out the relation of the Soul to God, and two questions of most serious import have presented themselves ·

- I. Is the same Religious Conception good for all time? Is there no room for Evolution?
- II. Is the same Religious Conception good for all climes, races, physical peculiarities, and Geographical environment?

Let us think out these points reverently yet faithfully.

I. Would the same Religious Conception, which was deemed to be good for Abraham and Jacob in the nineteenth century B.C., be equally good at the close of the nineteenth A.D.? Did the same Moral Law prevail? Abraham married his own sister, had a child by his wife's maid, was quite ready to kill his own son. Jacob, at the age of seventy-seven, when he ought to have known better, took two sisters, and their two maid-servants, to be his wives, and their children were all equal in position to each other, and deemed to be legitimate. He grossly deceived his old father. He was ready to receive Jehovah as his God, if he were supplied with food and raiment: "*Do ut des.*" His wife, when she left her father's home, stole "the images, that were her father's," and Laban, the Heathen father, charged his son-in-law, Jacob, with "stealing his gods." It must be admitted, that there was a considerable Evolution of the Religious idea during the nineteen hundred years which elapsed before the new Gospel was preached by Jesus to the petty tribes of the Hebrews

amidst the Millions of the Nations subject to Rome, who were as nothing compared to the hundreds of Millions of the round world. A second period of nineteen hundred years has since passed away, and can it be truly said that there has been no spiritual and intellectual Evolution since that date?

II. Is the same Religious Conception good for all climes, races, physical features, and Geographical environments? This question has been earnestly discussed. We know as a fact, that there is a great difference in the intellectual outfit, and capacity, of the races of mankind, and in these last days the whole round world has been explored, and every traveller brings home accounts of difference of colour, bodily structure, habits, aspirations, and Religious belief. There are portions of the Human race contemporaries in birth, but centuries apart in intellectual Evolution from other portions; and with regard to the Hebrews, of whom we have a continuous history since the time of Abraham, how totally they have changed in every matter susceptible of change, except the mutilation of the male body! And even as regards Nations in a state of Culture, what a vast chasm yawns between the learned and the unlearned! When I conversed in their own Language with my Native friends in India, I adapted my conversation to the level of their historical, geographical, theological, and scientific, Knowledge, or they would not have understood me. Strong meat is not given to babes: that is true: but should infant's food be given to strong men? Old weapons are usually hung up on walls with respect, but they are not made use of in battle. Old-world stories are alluded to with respect, but they are not brought into the counsels of practical man: they are reverently laid aside, as belonging to an intellectual phase of the Human race long since gone by.

This brings us to the subject of the Ancient Religious Books of the elder world. The knowledge of them has caused a vast change in the position of the great question, the relation of the Soul to a Higher Power. It was very well formerly to assume that all mankind, with the exception of the tiny tribe of the Jews, were in intellectual darkness, and gross ignorance of things spiritual. The writings of Plato and Cicero might, to any candid mind, have removed this illusion. But now the Sacred Books of the Hindu, Buddhist, Confucianist, Zoroastrian, Egyptian, Assyrian, and the Greek Philosophy, compel the inquirers into the subject to admit, that Wisdom, Holiness, Sin, a Future Judgment, and a just conception of the Creator, were not the monopolies of the Hebrew in Asia during the centuries before Anno Domini; and the fact, that the large majority of the population of the world still profess non-Christian Faiths is a fact, that cannot be gainsaid in spite of the strenuous attempts of the most powerful, civilized, and devoted

representatives of the great Nations of Europe and North America to lift up the veil. Take, for instance, the case of British India: the annual increase of population by way of ordinary procreation exceeds the number of converts and their families, the work of two or three centuries.

The great misfortune of dawning Christianity was, that there was no literary or social intercommunication betwixt the Hebrew and Graeco-Roman world to the West, and an absolute ignorance of the great intellectual advances of Zoroaster, Buddha, the Hindu Sages, and Kong-Fu-Tzee on the East. It was a period of literary isolation. Paul of Tarsus, a man of education, quotes two Greek Poets; but why had he not studied the works of Plato, and of the Roman Philosophers? He could scarcely have been ignorant of their existence. A visit of an hour by Paul to Seneca would have been well spent, and some communication with Epictétus would have been profitable to the great cause. The present Epoch, nineteen hundred years later, presents a totally different environment. All, who care to do so, read the utterances of Chander Sen, and Syud Amir Ali, and Comte, and many others, and those men read in their turn the utterances of those, from whom they differ. There is a bold questioning of the Past, and a still bolder looking out into the Future.

It was necessary to make the above discussion in order to clear the ground for a description of the new Religious Conceptions, outside the great Doctrines preached in Judea, which will now be briefly stated. There are two categories:

- I. The old systems purified, refined, and adapted to the environment of a Civilized Society.
- II. Modern Conceptions formed from the blending of the old systems with Christian doctrine, either consciously, or unconsciously.

The first category comprises:

- A. Islam, with its latest Evolution, Bábiism.
- B. Neo-Judaism.
- C. Neo-Hinduism.
- D. Neo-Zoroastrianism.
- E. Neo-Buddhism.
- F. Neo-Confucianism.

None of them are in precisely the same state, as they were before they came into contact with European Culture.

A. *Islam* is well known to those, who have lived in countries where it is professed. Ignorant persons choose to abuse it, but

it represents an immense advance in the Evolution of spiritual ideas from the standpoint of the elder world. In peculiar environments it is apt to be degraded, as Christianity is also; but in a realm of Law, like British India, the sixty Millions of Mahometans commit no outrages, live decent lives, perform their Religious duties, and make good citizens: the charges against Islam are not based on what is derived from their Religious Conception, but from their former lawless environment and the weaknesses of common Humanity, when uncontrolled by Courts of Justice, and a strong Ruler. The sect known as the Bábi, is a new one. A young Persian named Mirza Ali Mahomet in 1844 gave out, that God was manifested in his person, and he assumed the title of Báb, or Door, the channel through which the true meaning of the Korán is revealed: he wrote a Book called the Beyán, which would, according to his views, supersede the Korán, and he boldly asserted that he, whom God should manifest, would soon appear. He was martyred by the Mahometans, and in the hour of death was patient, and content, and willing to be sacrificed. A successor to him was named, and it is clear, that a Religious revival of an exalted stamp has taken place, and we know not what the end will be, now that the arm of the persecutor is restrained by European influences.

B. *Neo-Judaism*. There are sounds of life in this dead tree, a shaking of dead bones, and an advanced section proposes to start Judaic Missions, and a New Judaism. But to this form of Religious Conception and that of Islam, still clings the disgraceful rite of the mutilation of the male body, which differentiates it from all Religious Conceptions of the ancient world, and all Religious Conceptions of the modern world of a really spiritual character, which in the Nineteenth Century, an Epoch of Culture, and personal respect, must deter converts. Females are practically excluded from admission, as there is no initiatory rite for them: we have only to imagine an infatuated unmarried member of the New Woman type desiring to accept the doctrines of Islam.

C. *Neo-Hinduism* is a movement entirely independent of any Christian or European influence. Dáya Nanda, of Ajmír, the founder of the Aria-Somáj, died in 1883, and he was the determined champion of the literal interpretation of the Veda, which in his opinion were brought down from Heaven in material form, and embraced all Knowledge, Human or Divine, Past, Present, or Future. This movement is in sharp contrast with that of the Brahma-Somáj, which will be described further on. Two remarkable facts are asserted, that the Veda do not admit of Translation, only of Commentary, and that it is a duty to place them in the hands of the devout in the cheapest possible form.

The Doctrines of the *Aria Somáj* consist of negative opposition to Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam. The *motif* of the movement seems to be to get rid of many of the Hindu Customs of a late date, which had crept in after the Epoch of the Veda, and yet to keep clear of any new Religious Conceptions introduced from foreign countries: it is also an agency for mutual help, and self improvement. The idea is the elevation of a great Nation, considering independently its spiritual position as regards the Past and the Future.

D. *Neo-Zoroastrianism*. A community of about 100,000 persons in British India represents the survival of this most ancient and important Religious Conception; but they are eminently wealthy, respectable, and educated, and are Monogamists. The advanced party, as among the Hebrews, is ready to reform the abuse of centuries in their Customs. Their Sacred Books in Zend have literally been revealed to them by European Scholars. They, like the Hebrews, have seriously considered the expediency of attracting converts. The conception is purely Monotheistic, and there never have been temples, images, or altars. Herodotus said so 500 B.C.: it was true then and is so still. They reverence Fire, as the refulgent symbol of God, but are incorrectly called worshippers of Fire. The assertion, that they admit a Dualism of two independent, and hostile, spiritual Powers, is a mistake: the idea of the "Evil Spirit" is identical with the Jewish idea of Satan. They believe in the Immortality of the Soul, a life to come, and rewards and punishments. Their moral system is: "Good words, good thoughts, good deeds: think nothing but the Truth, speak nothing but the Truth, and do nothing but what is proper." Their Religious practice is disfigured by the exposure of the bodies of the dead to be devoured by birds of prey. I discussed this matter with an enlightened Parsi, but he considered it the best way to get rid of the dead: perhaps they will gradually accept Cremation as a compromise, as in a civilized country it would be intolerable to find feet and hands of human bodies dropped by birds of prey, who had brought them from the Towers of Silence.

E. *Neo-Buddhism*. This ancient Propagandist Religious Conception was well known in past centuries. The number of its followers, real or nominal, exceeds that of any other; but it is frightfully degraded. The question is, how far will it take a share in the Evolution of coming generations. There is a possibility of adherents joining them, of which we have a notable instance recorded in *The Times*, September 28, 1889, of an American named Powell being received with due ceremony into the Buddhist community by the spiritual head at Colombo.

The marked partiality for Buddhism exhibited in Europe and

America cannot but react upon the Native communities, as Education extends to them, and notices of revivals are chronicled in the newspapers. Buddhist associations are formed to counteract the Christian Missionary; opposition-schools are opened. In Japan we hear of a reformed Buddhism being preached by a Japanese fresh from Oxford.

Attempts are made to blend Buddhism and Christianity, and instances are reported in Barma among the Karén. The initiatory rite consists of swallowing a portion of rice, paying a fee to the spiritual chief, keeping the Christian Sabbath, and having a service in imitation of Christians. The adherents of this new form of Worship are said to number thousands. No information is given as to the doctrine taught, but the facts stated show the readiness of ignorant people to accept new teachings.

What is Buddhism in reality, and in what light does the cult appear to the inquirer into the Spiritual History of Mankind?

True Buddhism is Humanitarianism, something very like the Gospel of Humanity, which I shall notice under the head of Positivism, the essence of which is the elevation of Man by Human Intellect, Intuition, Teaching, Experience, and Effort, to the highest degree of Perfection; and yet something very different, for the Buddhist Ideal is the renunciation of all personal existence: the perfection of the Buddhist is Annihilation, and to the unsophisticated intellect the notion of Extinction by becoming Buddha has a weird attraction, and the Doctrine of Transmigration explains, and is the only intelligible explanation to minds not enlightened, the undeserved material prosperity of the Wicked, and the undeserved sufferings of the Good. I fear that the world has not got rid of either of these two Doctrines, or get out of this dilemma.

We have only now to estimate whether this godless moral machine will form a nucleus for the reception of educated and thoughtful men, seeking to follow what to them seems the right way. We are hardly fair judges, for to our apprehension there exists in the Human mind from the beginning of consciousness, a something, whether we call it a suspicion, or an innate idea, or an intuition, or a sense, of a Power greater than ourselves. The animal creation, except man, feels it not; but man has an ineradicable and congenital feeling of dependence and reliance on a higher Power, not necessarily a benevolent Power, a consciousness of control by it, which the word "Religion" suggests. "It is He, that hath made us, and not we ourselves." Buddhism is the absolute negation of this feeling. The great founder of Buddhism underestimated the power of this feeling in the Human breast. Let me say a word on the other side. Buddha claimed only to be the ideal of that self-subjugation, which man *might* attain. This ideal is not far from Christian perfection. What did Buddha leave behind him when he died 500 years before the Christian era? No

God, no Heaven, no Future State, but the spirit of universal charity and benevolence, mercy and pity, until then generally unknown; self-denial, self-consecration, simplicity of ceremonial, equality of all men, religious tolerance, and the absence of all the frightful disfigurements, which cling to the skirts of every other Religion, priestcraft, ritual, formality, pride, hypocrisy, ignorance. His leading principle was Altruism as opposed to Egotism.

F. *Neo-Confucianism*. The nature of the teaching of Kong-Fu-Tzee is well known. The system is imposed by the State, and it must be recollected, that the Great Sage was chiefly a compiler of the ancient traditions of the Middle Kingdom, as well as an independent author. It may well be expected, that the contact with the foreigner, and the publicity of the Press, and the advance of Education, will clear away much, that has degraded his teachings in after-times.

The strange notion, which underlies Ancestral Worship, is not peculiar to China, as in the system of Roman Pagan Worship, the *lamiaë* and *lemures* were believed to wander about as ghosts, not having yet come to their rest, and at a later period were regarded definitely as evil Spirits. Such antiquated delusions die hard, but they disappear under the influence of Education.

The subject of Ancestral Worship was discussed at the Missionary Conference at Shang-Hai in 1890: the features of that Worship are:

- (1) Divine attributes are ascribed to the Dead.
- (2) The real motive is Fear of evil from evil Ghosts.
- (3) The Manes of those, who have no descendants, are propitiated out of mere abject Cowardice.
- (4) Every individual is supposed to have three souls: (*a*) the one, which goes to Heaven; (*b*) the one, which sticks to the Tablet in the House; (*c*) the one, which remains in the Grave.

All this may be true, but the conception is so contrary to Reason, that it would appear possible to disentangle the Chinese mind: this will not be effected by mere abuse of the Custom, but by calm reasoning. There were a few Missionaries at the Conference of sufficiently enlarged views as to detect the good in the system; it indicated filial piety, and tended to preserve the purity and morality of the Family. Unfortunately Missionaries have, with many compensating excellent qualities, very contracted visions, and as on the Opium-Trade Question, so on this, they seem to have lost all power of forming independent judgment: remarkable as this Chinese Cultus is, the inability of reasoning men to understand things reasonably is equally remarkable. Reckless abuse cures no evils.

The doctrines of Kong-Fu-Tzee are based on the consciousness of right and wrong, either innate in man or bestowed by what is called "heaven" on man. Vague as may be the Chinese term translated "heaven," it is better than the avowed Atheism of the Buddhist, or the confused Polytheism of corrupted Taouism. The professor of the latter two forms of belief is indebted for his convictions of duty to his education in the teachings of Kong-Fu-Tzee, just as men of European Culture, who deny the Divinity of Jesus, have unconsciously, yet immutably, their sense of duty based on the Christian standard. The conversion of the Chinese thus presents a problem unequalled in difficulty and grandeur in any part of the world. I am informed by a Missionary, labouring in the China field, that purified or Neo-Confucianism is a very possible danger, for baptized Chinese still seem to think, that Christianity is only an improved form of Confucian morality. Perhaps the use of the term Shang-Ti contributes to this idea.

The second category comprises :

- A. Brahmoism.
- B. Theosophy.
- C. Hau Hau, Te Whiti, Te Kooti, of New Zealand.
- D. Mormonism.
- E. Positivism, or Comteism, or the Religion of Humanity.
- F. Agnosticism.
- G. Unitarianism.
- H. Theism.

A. *Brahmoism* is essentially different from the Neo-Hinduism of the last Category, as the influence of the Christian idea and practice is admitted: it thus belongs to a different epoch of Conceptions.

The founder of the Brahmo-Somáj, Keshab Chander Sén, broke away from the old conservative party, and went further in his zeal for Religious purity; he was ready to give up Caste, to select the best from all the sacred Codes of the world, and form a Sacred Code. Socially he condemned Polygamy and early marriages. He laid down, that there was one true God, that we must love Him, and do the works which He loves; that His only temple is in our hearts; that the only ceremonies are good works, the only sacrifice self-renunciation, the only pilgrimage the company of the good, the only Veda, Divine Knowledge; the most sacred formula, "Do good and be good"; the only true Brahmin was he, who knew Brahma. All founders of Religion thus speak with authority about the existence of God, and the spiritual Truths, which are essential to human Salvation. There is plenty of Christianity also on the lips of professing Christians. In one of his speeches he thus states

his case: "The Brahmo-Somáj was originally established for the propagation of Theistic Worship, and after a time, the movement spread through the length and breadth of Bangál. Wherever there was an English School, a Brahmo-Somáj was established, as a necessary consequence of English Education. After twenty years it was found, that there was a defect in the foundation, for the Veda, upon which their faith was based, taught, along with some truth, many Errors, such as Nature-Worship, Transmigration, and absurd rites and ceremonies. Abandoning the infallibility of the Veda, the Brahmo appealed to Nature, to their own hearts, to their own Religious intuitions, in order to establish themselves upon a purely Theistic basis. But the Society, though it attained doctrinal and devotional purity, was not practical. Hence lately there has been a secession of the progressive party, which protests against Caste and all social evils."

It is clear from the above, that Brahmoism is a place of refuge, temporary or permanent, for the educated Hindu. The movement has lasted seventy years, has advanced in the right direction socially and spiritually, is in consonance with the spirit of the age and with the tendency of the Hindu intellect to speculate on Monotheism, is free from all social defilement, and all spiritual transcendentalism, and is one of the most powerful rivals of the Christian faith.

In Exeter Hall, 1890, in my presence, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor in Northern India, who had full knowledge of the subject, thus expressed himself: "There was being rapidly raised up a class of men in India as educated and cultured as those, who left the Schools and Colleges of England. It was a small but very influential class, for they were the men of the Press and of literature, and had the control of the destinies of the many in the Future. They had no difficulty in procuring Books to read, for all the resources of English literature were open to them; but the great question with them was that of choice: what should they read? He thought that the Brahmo-Somáj was doing a splendid service in this direction. He regretted, that that system stopped short of Christianity, but it was opposed to Atheism, Materialism, and Immorality. He knew that differences of opinion existed as to that system, many regarding it as a hindrance to the spread of Christianity; but he believed it to be a help, in that it was preparing the way for a great Christian work in India."

In 1882 P. C. Moozumdar published in Calcutta a Book intended to give a tolerably complete idea of the principles of the movement, called the "Faith and Progress of the Brahmo-Somáj." It appears, that it sent out Missionaries, who had travelled far and wide. In 1884 there were one hundred and fifty branches all over India;

and Missionary work was a part of their system. They had prevailed on the Legislature of British India to pass an act to legalize civil marriages, so as to save them from even a formal conformity to idolatrous ceremonies. There are two or three bookstalls, well furnished with vernacular literature, the only article of Western origin being a Buddhistic catechism of English and Burmese, by Colonel Olcott. There are other interesting features of this new development, recalling the so-called heresy of Gnosticism in the second century of the Christian era, which was, in fact, of purely Pagan origin, assimilating certain conceptions from Christianity. This gave it its vital force, and procured it an interest long after it had died away. We must not be surprised to witness similar combinations, where the life-giving touch of even imperfect Christian development comes into contact with the decaying embers of moribund Pagan ideas. A combination of Neo-Buddhism and the Romish Worship is not impossible, and the uncontrolled transcendentalism of the Salvation-Army might possibly incorporate elements of Neo-Hinduism. The questions, on which the Gnostics speculated, were precisely those, which at all times, and in all ages, have agitated the hearts of men, viz., the origin of Life, the origin of Evil, and the hopeless corruption of the world, although created by a God perfectly wise, holy, and powerful. The Hindu intellect revels in such subtle and profitless questions.

B. *Theosophy*. It has no connection whatsoever, in its modern shape, with the Theosophy spoken of by early writers. It is an entirely modern development, and chiefly confined to India; the persons connected with it being an American, Colonel Olcott, and a Russian, Madame Blavatsky. Colonel Olcott defines the word Theosophy as "Divine Wisdom," "an all-pervading eternal principle in Nature, with which the interior intuitive faculty in man is akin." The objects of the Society are :

- (1) To form a nucleus of a universal brotherhood of Humanity without distinction of race, creed, and colour.
- (2) To promote the study of Eastern literature, Religious, and sciences, and indicate their importance.
- (3) To investigate the hidden mysteries of Nature, and the psychological power in man.

These are bold words. The Society has been in existence since 1875, and its headquarters are chiefly at Madras. It has a periodical literature of its own, and the whole of India, Ceylon, and Japan, have been visited. Truth can only triumph after thoughts have been stirred. We may rejoice at any wind, which breaks the hopeless calm of ignorant Paganism.

One extraordinary feature is the introduction on the stage of Mahatma, or Sages, supposed to be hidden away somewhere in the Ranges of the Himaláya, who have conquered all Knowledge, and appear in visions to their votaries.

In the *North American Review*, August, 1890, Madame Blavatsky claims for the movement a success beyond the dreams of the originators. She tells us that it is based on three principles:

- (1) The Brotherhood of Men.
- (2) The Study of Oriental Theories.
- (3) The investigation of hidden force in Nature and in Man.

She enumerates thirty-eight Chartered Branches in America, twelve in Great Britain, and one hundred and fifty elsewhere: there are seven centres of publication, with two Magazines in France, one in America, and one in London: their aim and desire is to help in some degree the formation of correct scientific views of the nature of man. For many a long year Humanity has been crying out in the dark for Light and Guidance: only the Masters of Eastern Wisdom (the Mahatma) can set the foundation, on which the new edifice can be built, so as to satisfy the intellect and the spirit, and guide Humanity through the night into clearer day.

So long as Philosophers draw on the imaginary spirits coined by their own fertile and excited brains, we can bear with them: such was it ever: but, when we are called upon to look for Spiritual enlightenment to the utterance of Indian Sages, the Sanyási, the Vánaprastha, the cave-dweller, whom no one ever met, or heard of, but are supposed to be lurking out of touch with Humanity, living apparently upon nothing; and, when these worthies appear in a marvellous way and reveal Truth to an American and a Russian, totally ignorant of any Indian Language, a line must be drawn. Whatever may have been the case in the time of the Emperor Augustus Caesar, at least at the close of the nineteenth century, the idea of Angelic appearances, Visions, Heavenly Messengers, and Miracles, must be respectfully laid aside, as out of harmony with a material Epoch.

C. *Hau Hau, Te Whiti, Te Kooti*. This is a Religious development among the Maori in New Zealand. In 1864 they rebelled against the British Government; a party of the 57th Regiment fell into their hands, were killed, and their heads cut off. In their hatred to the British Government they invented a new Religion, and made the head of the British Officer, who commanded the party killed, the symbol and centre of the system. They had been nominal Christians. Their new Religion was called Pai Marire, and a high priest was appointed, who professed to receive inspiration

from the Angel Gabriel through the medium of the Captain's head. They believed themselves to be under the protection of this Angel, and of the Virgin Mary, that the Christian Religion was false, that all Scriptures ought to be burned, no Sundays to be kept, the sexes to live promiscuously so as to secure increase of population. Their priests claimed to have superhuman powers, and could secure victory by shouting "Hau Hau!" Hence their name.

Te Whiti was a chief in the Northern Island at Parihaka, near Mount Egmont. He rebelled, and was defeated and imprisoned at Christ Church and Nelson, and has since been allowed to return to his home. He called himself a prophet, but was really only a patriot. He read the Bible, and no other Book; he pretended to have divine power, but his real object was to save his lands from the white settlers. He secured an influence over his countrymen in this way, preaching passive resistance; but when things became extreme, he declared that he had a divine message (Atua) put into his mouth, ordering his people to fight for their land.

Te Kooti was another of the insurgent chiefs, who, after rebellion and murder, assumed the *rôle* of a teacher, and founded a Religious system, which attracted many followers, including Native Christians. With an outward show of reverence for spiritual things, it served as a cloak for licentiousness. Most of the pervert Christians returned to their old faith. Of late years a change has come over Te Kooti's followers, and the cause of temperance has rapidly increased, and a few have become Christians.

D. *Mormonism or Latter-Day Saints.* In all the reports from New Zealand I read of the Mormons being very active among the Maori. Their Missionaries go about among the ignorant people, and the Book of Mormon has been translated into Maori, and printed and put into circulation. They have also appeared in India. The history of this sect is well known. It was only in 1830, that the prophet Joseph Smith produced the Book, and made known the new dispensation, communicated to him by Angels. The Christian Scriptures are accepted, but the Book of Mormon was added. The form of government is a strict theocracy maintained by the elders. A kind of Polytheism has come into existence, including Adam, Christ, Joseph Smith, and Brigham Young. They are total abstainers from the use of liquors, or tobacco, and practise total immersion. They prosecute their Missionary work with great zeal all over Europe, in America, and in Oceania. Their numbers are small; still they represent a disturbing agency, which has to be reckoned with. The custom of Polygamy has been authoritatively abolished, and was not part of the original Revelation.

A Christian Minister, 1890, thus states the case of the Mormons: "The Mormon Missionaries are not false-hearted, and deceitful,

“ but possessed of a large measure of sincerity and zeal: that the Latter-Day Saints send out more Missionaries, and make more converts in proportion to the number of their adherents, than any other body; that a worldwide dominion is their object. 90,000 converts made the long journey from Europe to Utah.”

Among their good features are :

- (1) No Saint lives for himself, but for the Kingdom.
- (2) Salvation was desired for the sake of Service.
- (3) All Personal and family considerations must be left in strict subordination.
- (4) An adherent must go where the Church sends him.
- (5) They go without salary, and serve at their own charges, for in their opinion to pay salaries would be to imitate the ways of the Christian clergy.

On the other side, let us consider their folly, and falsehood :

- (1) They pretend to heal their sick with prayer and oil: four hundred and sixteen suffering from smallpox were cured by simply laying on of hands.
- (2) They cast out devils, three hundred and nine in Wales all in one day, the work of one elder, and in parties of from three to thirty-seven at one time.
- (3) If not received, they denounce woe and malediction. New York was well-nigh destroyed by fire two years after one malediction, if we believe their story.
- (4) They used to deny that Polygamy existed, although notoriously it was practised.
- (5) Piety is not required of a Saint, nor even Morality.

It is asserted that the recent Circular (1890) forbidding Polygamy is merely a formal submission to the Law of the Land, not an *ex animo* condemnation of an immoral custom: in fact, Polygamy will be replaced by Profligacy.

E. *Positivism, or Comteism, or the Religion of Humanity.* Forty years ago Auguste Comte, a Frenchman, developed a system of Positive Philosophy, which, for a time, had a wide influence, as indeed there were certain incontestable truths in his method. He had a school which followed him, and Mr. Frederick Harrison is now the representative teacher, who propounds his views on the first day in each year, called the Day of Humanity. A few weeks ago there was a function of the Positivist community in London on the occasion of the death of a respected citizen. Before he was cremated his friends assembled round his coffin, covered with white

flowers and surrounded by palms. Mr. Harrison reminded the mourners "that there was no open grave, no Religious service of any kind, but merely an expression of personal affection and farewell, and he claimed for the deceased that immortality, which comes of well-doing and good example. Of Immortality beyond this Mr. Harrison knew nothing and asserted nothing." This form of worship, accompanied by cremation, may be an acceptable retreat for the devout and educated Hindu.

In 1895, in the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Harrison thus expresses himself: "If there can be a Scientific Religion, there is no alternative between Revelation or Humanity. If in this world God is not present to us as the dominant Power, as the object of our regard and trust, then Mankind must be. It is in vain for Agnostics to tell us, that we need no Religion, that there is no dominant Power ascertainable, that we should contemplate the Universe, the Infinite, the All, the Possible, the Unknowable, the inexhaustible sum of ceaseless Evolution. The answer is: 'We will have a Religion; we must have a Providence; we yearn for a Power akin to ourselves: it is either God—or Humanity.'" "

F. *Agnosticism*. There is no necessity to do more than write the word, which represents so much in the present age. Those, who profess it, have not concealed their light under a bushel, and their tenets are as old as the Book of Job: "Oh! that I knew where I might find Him!" It represents a resting-place, or rather a place of unrest, which must be taken account of in considering the subject, which I am now discussing. The enlightened one, the Buddha of the School, knows, or at least has tried to fathom, the depths of this system, as beautifully described by a modern English poet with regard to Lucretius:

" Who dropped his plummet down the broad
 " Deep universe, and said, ' No God,'
 " Finding no bottom, who denied
 " Divinely the Divine, and died
 " Chief poet by the Tiber's side."

But for the poor sheep, who have followed them in the wilderness, scientific Scepticism resolves itself into mere doubt, and intellectual Agnosticism into an ignorance as deep as that of the South Sea Islander. The last state of the Hindu and Chinese, when they have left their ancient moorings, which at least gave some guarantee to Morality, will be worse than the first. The tendency of the works of one of the greatest of the School is to display Humanity passing through one after the other of the world's historic Religions, the conception of the Deity and of Divine Government becoming at each step more and more abstract and indefinite. The ultimate

goal is philosophic Atheism, for, although the existence of a First Cause is not denied, it is declared, and proved, to be unknowable. The Hindu is better off with his Brahma, than the hapless heir of all the ages, who has followed the will-of-a-wisp of a god, until it finally disappears.

G. *Unitarianism.* A Unitarian magazine has been started in Japan. The Christian Missionary thinks fondly, that by the end of the nineteenth century the progressive Japanese will have cast off their old faith; but what will they have adopted from Europe? Some think, that Unitarianism will do for the common people, and may meet the perplexity of the educated Hindu mind. It is as well to know what Unitarianism is, and one leader has, after an honoured and holy life, put forth his final manifesto: "A conclusion is forced upon me, on which I cannot dwell without pain and dismay, that Christianity, as defined and understood by *all* the Churches, which formulate it, has been mainly evolved from what is transient and perishable in its sources, from what is unhistorical in its traditions, mythological in its preconceptions, and misapprehended in the oracles of its prophets. From the fable of Eden to the imagination of the last trumpet, the whole story of divine order of the world is dislocated and deformed. The blight of birth-sin, with its involuntary perdition; the scheme of expiatory redemption, with its vicarious salvation; the incarnation, with its low postulates of the relation between God and man, and its unworkable doctrine of two natures in one person; the official transmission of Grace through material elements in the keeping of a consecrated corporation; the second coming of Christ to summon the dead, and part the sheep from the goats at the general Judgment: *all* are the growth of a mythical literature, or Messianic dreams, or Pharisaic theology, or sacramental literature, or popular apotheosis. And so nearly do these vain imaginations preoccupy the creeds, that not a moral or spiritual element finds entrance there except 'the forgiveness of sins.' To consecrate and diffuse, under the name of 'Christianity,' a theory of the world's economy thus made up of illusions from obsolete stages of Civilization, immense resources, material and moral, are expended, with effects no less deplorable in the promise of Religion than would be in that of Science's hierarchies, and Missions for propagating the Ptolemaic Astronomy, and inculcating the rules of necromancy and exorcising. The spreading alienation of the intellectual classes of European society from Christendom, and the detention of the rest in their spiritual Culture at a level not much above that of the Salvation-Army, are social phenomena, which ought to bring home a very solemn appeal to the conscience. For their long arrear of debt to the intelligence of mankind, they

“ adroitly seek to make amends by *elaborate beauty of Ritual Art*. ‘ The apology soothes for a time, but it will not last for ever.’” (Martineau, “ Seat of Authority in Religion,” p. 650; Longmans, 1890.)

H. *Theism*. That this form of Religious Conception is making progress, cannot be controverted. Science progresses, and the minds of men expand: one increasing purpose runs through the age. It is impossible to take account of the steady progress of the Human race in its acquired power of reasoning, in its infinitely enhanced capacity of judging of the credibility of ancient narratives, without feeling, that what was suitable to the childhood of the Human race may not have been intended for his manhood. We cannot but be conscious of the Evolutionary atmosphere, in which we move: we cannot shut our eyes, or close our ears, to the movements around us. The *terminus ad quem* of all speculations must be the existence of a God, and that is Theism, something very distinct from Unitarianism. The question cannot be got rid of by platitudes, or common-form quotations. Uncongenial as may be the problem, there it is, the problem of the Future.

It cannot reasonably be concluded, that the knowledge of Man of his relation to his Creator reached its highest possible level nineteen centuries ago, when every branch of Human Science was in its infancy, and the Human race was in its childhood, with no knowledge of its environment, or its capability. There were many Eternal Truths spoken by ancient men, and they are still Truths, but do not occupy the whole orbit of the Human intellect. There may be still stores of Truth not yet distributed, stores totally unknown to the wise men of the Past, but which are gradually developed.

Existing Creeds were not all false, because they are not entirely true now: they were suitable to their time, and did their work: they were not final: and they have been corrupted by time. *Corruptio optimi pessima*. All that is asked is Tolerance to the opinions of others, and non-interference of the State. We can calmly wait for the survival of the Truest, and in the meantime each can accept those, which are most in harmony with his own spiritual wants, and deeply wrought-out convictions. The majority of mankind are by their hard lots, their want of leisure, their gross ignorance, their utter indifference, content to let things go on as before. Let each man believe, but understand what it is that he is believing, and not take it on credit, like the Hindu, from past generations.

April 21, 1897. *Contribution to the Paris International Oriental Congress, 1897, in the English and French Languages.*

A STUDY OF THE NEW FORMS OF RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE raised platform, and the desk in front of him, betokened the lecturer, but so simply and unaffectedly Dr. Cust handled his subject, as if he had been talking to a few chosen and sympathetic friends in his own drawing-room. Everybody was sorry when, at the end of an hour and a half, he rapidly brought his remarks to a conclusion. The parable of the unclean spirit (Matthew, xii, 43-5, in the Revised Version) gave the text. Having assured the Workers that his annual meeting with them was one of his greatest pleasures, Dr. Cust declared in earnest tones that they need not fear to hear anything of a sceptical nature from him; that even if he had an unfaithful thought, he would not give utterance to it in that place. Religions were divided, he observed, into three great classes: the Nature-Worship of savages, the "Book Religions" of powerful Nations, and the "Propagandist Religions," which sought to spread beyond the limits of mere Nationality, and which for that very reason must have in them something higher than mere ceremonialism, something of spiritual value. The Missionary efforts of Christianity had practically begun 100 years ago, and by the end of the present century the whole world, to all intents and purposes, would have had some chance of hearing the Message of Peace. Now a thoughtful perusal of Missionary Reports disclosed certain facts. In the first place, Nature-Worship was ceasing, had almost ceased, to exist. Secondly, the more educated Natives were beginning to oppose Christianity; and, although quite capable of understanding the errors of the old Civilization, were unable to tolerate the idea of a foreign Religion coming in. In the third place, it would appear that too large a proportion of Christian converts were weak both in faith and morality. Man is a "religious animal"; cultivated Natives throw off the old faiths, but still feel the importance and the need of a Religion: what Religion are they going to accept? Dr. Cust fully appreciated the gravity of the question, and briefly but clearly stated the obstacles, which lie, or are likely to lie, in the pathway of Christian progress.

He classified these obstacles under three heads: (1) "The Old Beliefs, purified, refined, and adapted to the requirements of a civilized society"; (2) "Modern Conceptions, formed from the blending of old beliefs with Christian principles, either consciously or unconsciously"; (3) "Departures from Christian Faith." The first class was subdivided into theistic and atheistic Religions. Neo-Islam at once suggests itself as belonging to the former of these two divisions, and though it was inferior in conception and in practice to Christianity, it was a most powerful enemy to the Gospel. In the first place, it was more consonant with the weaknesses of human nature; and, again, it was always moving, always coming into closer touch with the people. "Once you begin to coin dispensations, you can't stop." The developments of Islam in the tenets of the Súfi and Bábi appealed strongly to the mysticism of Oriental minds. Dr. Cust did not hesitate to defend the general Morality of Mahometans. The cry about slavery was all nonsense: right into the present century Christians had upheld the system, and even now there were Christians, who would only be too glad to have it restored; while there were 50,000,000 Mahometans in India without a slave amongst them. Total abstinence was imposed by the Religion, and generally observed. Monogamy, the Doctor further declared, was the rule, and polygamy the exception, amongst the followers of the "Prophet."

Before passing to Neo-Hinduism, the Lecturer had a brief word for Neo-Judaism, which, he said, could not be neglected in connection with the Religious Future of the world, while the Jews retained the Old Testament and had amongst them men of prominence like Claude Montefiore. The Jews seemed to be putting forth fresh efforts, as was evidenced by the new form for admission to the community, which had been prepared by the late Dr. Adler. On the other hand, Christianity seemed to have but little success in winning adherents from their ranks.

Hinduism was the Book-Religion of India, and, though now existing in most degraded forms, had promise of rejuvenescence. Educated Natives were clearing away all the débris of ignorance, new sects were being formed, and there was always a possibility of reform. Moreover, Hinduism had always been a tolerant Religion.

The last of the theistic Religions was Neo-Zoroastrianism. The Religion of Zoroaster had deteriorated much both in influence and in purity since the days of the great Persian monarchs, Cyrus and Darius. Reform, however, had set in, and the 100,000 Parsí in Bombay, all rich and all moral, who were at present the only adherents of the Religion, were anxious to spread its tenets.

Of reforming atheistic Religions, there were two, Neo-Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism, which, if a Religion without a god could retain an existence, would live as a danger, and an extraordinary danger, to Christianity.

Dr. Cust dwelt at less length on the "Modern Conceptions," which comprised his second division. Brahmoism was Hinduism influenced by Christianity, and the more these dangerous errors had of Christianity the more dangerous they were. Theosophy seemed very unreal. The Hau-Hauism of New Zealand is a strange combination of Religious ideas, bitterly antagonistic to the "English Religion," which is declared to be "bad." Mormonism was dismissed as not worth much consideration; but the books of Positivism, in England a creed of little importance, were declared to be very dangerous in the hands of the educated Hindu. Agnosticism and Unitarianism were briefly referred to. Scepticism and Agnosticism present much danger; a vast atheistical literature is being sent out to India and China, and numbers of Hindu are being led away.

The third division was taken hurriedly, for it was getting late. Among the "departures from the Christian faith" were mentioned Conditional Immortality, Future Probation, sensational Millennium teaching, Faith-Healing as understood by a certain class of people, the pagan elements in the Papal system, which are (Dr. Cust declared) "dreadful snares to a heathen people, degrade Christianity, and bring it down to old forms," "Plymouthitism," or rather, the self-proud individualism which mars it, and last, but not least, Nominal Christianity and Indifference. The lecture has been published, and the leading books of reference quoted, "so as to enable the serious student to follow up this great subject." Dr. Cust, in bringing his remarks to a close, urged the cultivation of a loving spirit in Missionary work, and spoke a few words of cheer also. Looking back over the history of Christianity, he saw the Church of God in the second and third centuries struggling bravely against such foes as these, and coming forth triumphant from the fight.

Rock, 1890.

III.

THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA.

THE subject is a complex one. There is no greater mistake than to suppose, that the Brahmanical Religion of Modern India is the same, as that of the old Arian immigrants from beyond the mountains of Afghanistan into the Panjáb, except that other common error, that the Brahmanical Religion did not, and does not to the present hour, extend itself by the quiet and unperceived method of social propagandism. Let us also do the Mahometans Justice, that, whatever their practice in past ages and other countries may have been, their silent absorption of millions in the Province of Bangál has been unaccompanied by any act of violence or external inducement. Let us look back into History, and try to build upon such foundations as are available, the story of the present Religions of India.

More than fifteen hundred years before the Christian era the Arian immigration must have taken place, and at a certain period subsequent to that date the Veda were composed, though not necessarily contemporaneously reduced to writing. The first settlement was in the Panjáb, and the Arian immigrants came at once into hostile contact with indigenous tribes, who had other customs and Religious Conceptions.

The Veda are made up of hymns, upwards of one thousand. They are what we ought to have expected, yet which no one of later generations could have designedly composed. There is an antique simplicity of thought; the sentiments are childlike, the first sobbing and plaintive cry of a Human family to their Great Father, who made them, and to Nature and the Elements, the great Mother, who nourished them; and with the childhood of our race and Religion every true heart must sympathize. There is no attempt at cosmogonies and Universal Knowledge; there is no self-consciousness, and nothing is found, which will in any way support the gigantic abominations of Vaishnavism and Saivism. There is no mention of Ráma or Krishna. Vishnu is indeed mentioned by name, as the one, who takes three steps, symbolical of the rising, midday, and setting sun, or by another interpretation, light on earth as fire, light in the atmosphere as lightning, light in heaven as the sun; and Siva is supposed to be identical with Rúdra, mentioned in some of the hymns. There is no allusion to

the great Hindu Triad, or to transmigration of souls, or to Castes, or to the pantheistic philosophy of the wise, or the gross polytheism of the ignorant. There is no mention of temples, or of a monopolising Brahmanical Priesthood, and no allusion to the lingam. The sun is worshipped, but there is no mention of the planets; the moon is noticed, but the constellations never. The blessings asked for are temporal; the Worship was domestic, addressed to unreal presences, not represented by visible types, and therefore not Idolatry. The physical forces of Nature were worshipped, which appeared as possibly rival, certainly irresistible, deities. Those, that struck the mind most, were fire, rain, wind, and the sun; and thus Agni, Indra or Váyu, and Súrya, constituted the earlier Vedic Triad. With them were associated the dawn, the storm-gods, the earth, the waters, the rivers, the sky, the seasons, the moon, and the manes of ancestors. Sacrifices were offered both by warriors and Priests, as food to the deities; hymns were sung, and handed down orally, and a ritual was established.

The growth of Religion is necessarily as continuous as the growth of Language. The soul of man appears to possess as its congenital attributes an intuition of a great, just, and wise God; a sense of Human dependence, as evidenced by want, sickness, and death; a rough but true distinction of good and evil; a hope of a better life, though a very carnal and material one. Two causes were at work to assist the debasement of the simple Vedic faith and cult: first was the artifice of the Brahmanical Priesthood, who sought to secure and increase their power; and second, the involuntary local streak of non-Arian Religion. Thus gradually anthropomorphism came into existence, and demonolatry. It is possible, that the Priests believed in the unity of the Godhead, and that these separate fanciful creations merely represented different phases of the Divine Nature, the different attributes and spheres of operation of the Creator; but the vulgar mind could not comprehend this, and thus Pantheism sprang into existence, from a too gross conception and a too material practice.

At whatever period the conception of an "Avatára" or "God in the flesh" was first arrived at, it marks a wonderful progress in Religious development. There must be some deep truth underlying the strange intellectual phenomenon, that God should descend from Heaven and assume the form of a creature for the purpose of saving the World. The Brahmanical system records nine such manifestations, the earlier ones being animals, or partly so; the later heroes, thus again marking progress. The tortoise was succeeded by the fish, the bear by the man-lion; then followed the dwarf, who made the three great steps; Parásu Ráma and Ráma Chandra, Krishna and Buddha: all were manifestations of Vishnu, and are therefore the creations of a period, when the worship of that deity had become paramount. With regard to the earlier Avatára, we

can do nothing but speculate; but in the story of Parásu Ráma, we recognize the struggle and the victory of the Priest over the Warrior class; and in Ráma Chandra, we recognize a real person, who has undergone a double transformation, first into a legendary hero, and centuries afterwards into a powerful god. Our feet seem here to touch ground; we have arrived at something, which resembles History; Legend interwoven with Religion, but with a large substratum of possible fact. The grand epic poem, the Ramáyana, gives the narrative of the life of this great hero. Unquestionably it has a reality with the people of India, both National and Religious. In it we find the germs of the Religious Conception of Bhakti or Faith, the reliance of the worshipper on the tutelar Divinity for protection, the origin of the ordinary social salutation of the people, a component part of a large portion of their names, and finally the motive of their greatest National Festival. In the Aurora of all Religions, the theatre, which at a later period is so far separated from all connection with the Worship of the Divinity, is intimately associated with, and is part and parcel of, the idea of devotion. Thus annually in every city, and in every cluster of villages, this popular legend is enacted by living actors in the eyes of a sympathetic, devout, and exulting people. Temples and shrines are scattered over the land. The art and zeal of the statuary, the poet, the painter, and the priest, have vied with each other to extend the Worship of Ráma and Sita, and through them of the great member of the second Triad, Vishnu.

Measuring by the gauge of Religious development, there must have been a considerable interval betwixt the promulgation and acceptance of the dogma of the Avatára of Vishnu as Ráma and the Avatára of the same deity as Krishna. Both were of the Warrior class; both were earthly potentates; to both were ascribed miraculous powers and martial prowess: but one was the type of virtue and modesty, the other of licentiousness and shameless immoralities. The hand of the Priest appears more clearly in the latter Legend; and the conception of Faith, or Bhakti, is largely expanded, and with it comes love, love spiritual as well as earthly. If penance be the leading feature of Saivism, and duty of Ráma, love, an ocean of love, is the element, in which Krishna reigns. He is the god present in many places at once, the object of the love of thousands, the satisfier of that love, while each thinks that that love is special and peculiar. No one can read the Gíta Govinda, the Indian Song of Songs, and the Bhagavad Gíta, the grandest effort of unassisted Human Intellect, without feeling, that he is entering into a new order of ideas, and has advanced in the diapason of the Human Intellect far beyond the Vedic and the Heroic periods. The documents, from which we are informed of this personage, are the great heroic poem, the Mahábhárata, the

Bhagávata Purána, the Gíta Govinda of Jayadéva, and many other works going over the same ground. The portions of the great poem, which relate to Krishna, are manifest interpolations of a much later date.

We have been compelled to describe at the same time the Conceptions of Ráma and Krishna, as heroes and as gods, but we must remark, that there was a lapse of ten centuries at least betwixt the two Conceptions, and in that interval appeared on the stage a man, greater than them, the greatest of mortals, that ever trod the earth. He was known to his contemporaries and successors by the names of Sakya, Siddhártha, Gáutama, Tathágata, and Buddha. He was of the Warrior class, and the son of a King in Trans-Gangetic India. His date is fixed by general consent at about B.C. 622. No man has left a deeper footprint on the sands of time. His followers and the believers in his doctrines count by millions, far beyond the number of Christians or Mahometans, and are spread over the whole of Farther Asia, including Ceylon, Barma, Tibet, Siam, Cambodia, Cochin China, China, Mongolia, Manchuria, and Japan, though totally expelled from the country, which gave him birth, after a domination of several centuries. Buddha invented, or at least first openly practised, universal propagandism by argument, destroying Caste, setting aside the priesthood, ignoring the Veda and all the Sacred Books, abolishing sacrifice, dethroning the Gods from Heaven, appealing to the highest ideal of Morality, holding out as an incentive the absorption into the deity. He was, in fact, the apostle of nihilism and atheism; for behind the preceptor there is nothing, and beyond death there is nothing but extinction. A literature so voluminous has been handed down in Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, Burmese, Peguan, Siamese, Cambodian, Annamese, Shan, Javanese, Chinese, and Mongolian, that another generation must pass away, ere an adequate conception can be formed of its contents.

Akin to Buddhism is Jainism, with a literature of proportions equally colossal and as imperfectly known; and the brain reels under the burden of unravelling all, that has become entangled, and comprehending all the cobwebs, that the subtle intellects of generations of men have spun! The Jaina appear to have had their career of supremacy in Southern India, but they have dwindled away to an inconsiderable sect; they admit Caste, and, if they abandon their Heresy, can be admitted back into full privileges, from which they are only partially excluded.

How it came to pass, that this passionless, hopeless form of atheistic Morality should have touched the heartstrings of one-fifth of the Human race, is a great mystery. It is as if the Bible consisted of the single Book of Ecclesiastes: "Vanity, vanity," said the Preacher, "all is vanity." And yet the World is a beautiful World, and the faculties of man are capable of goodness

and greatness and virtue, and the Immortality of the Soul seems to be an inherent idea of mankind. Religion, as a great Author has written, cannot be without hope. To Worship a being, who did not speak to us, love us, recognize us, is not Religion: it might be a duty, might be a merit, but man's instinctive notion of Religion is the soul's response to a God, who has taken notice of the Soul; it is a loving intercourse or a mere name. At any rate, whatever opinion we may form of this strange system, which has taken such very deep root in the affections of men, there can be no doubt, that Buddha stands out as the greatest hero of Humanity, and that the more mankind is made acquainted with this exalted type of what the Human race can unaided attain to, the better it will be.

We now come to the wonderful fact, that Buddhism was totally expelled from the land, which gave it birth, to the genius of which it apparently was not adapted. The questions may fairly be raised: Was Buddhism expelled? when was it expelled? It is more probable, that strict Buddhism relaxed in India, and that Brahmanism modified itself by the wonderful assimilation of contact. Buddha was himself promoted to the position of an Avatára of Vishnu. In the seventh century the Chinese traveller found the two cults side by side, as they are now, in the island of Bali. Traces of assimilation of cult and adaptation of temples and idol-forms are found in many places. At length it ceased to be the State-Religion; then the popular feeling set against it; Sankaráchárya rose to preach the Worship of Siva, and the new Conceptions. The irreconcilables fled to Nepál; the Worship died out. We have no distinct record of what happened, but the deserted monasteries and temples of Ajanta show no signs of wanton destruction. The cult, or rather persuasion, totally disappeared in the seventh century of the Christian era, and there is hardly one indigenous Buddhist in India.

One strange doctrine, which does not date back to the Vedic period, but which was the intellectual outcome of a later age, lived through the Buddhist into the neo-Brahmanical system. We allude to that of the Transmigration of Souls. It is more hopeful than the doctrine of Fate, which ruled the earlier World. Under the influence of this doctrine, a man who is poor, afflicted, and unfortunate, is not so, because cruel hard Fate has so decided, and because he has no remedy, past, present, or future. On the contrary, he feels, that his present state is the result of his moral delinquencies in a past life, for which he is atoning, and though he cannot change the present, he is master of the future, and by a good life he can secure being born again in a better state. All the philosophic schools agree in this; no one was hardy enough even to question the doctrine. The Buddhist, who denied every other of the proto-Brahmanical doctrines, admitted this; and yet it is not a self-evident problem of the Human mind, and no European

Intellect, however debased, could be induced at the present Epoch to accept it. It is, however, the Faith of one-fifth of mankind. Accepting this doctrine, the schools of Indian Philosophy proceed to inquire in their own way, how this painful wandering of the Soul from body to body can be terminated, and Mokhsa or liberation be attained. Not to exist is, then, the highest reward. It was, in fact, an attempt to solve the hard puzzle: Why in this world the wicked are so exceedingly prosperous, and the righteous so mysteriously oppressed? how came it to pass, unless it had reference to causes, which arose in a previous existence, and led to consequences, which will develop themselves in a future? This is the riddle, which the Book of Job tried to solve; and after all, the Author evades the question: he fails to see, that nobleness and goodness have nothing whatever to do with what men have, not even with happiness, which thousands of good men have never possessed. The immenseness of the intellectual contrast between the followers of the Mahometan and Brahmanical systems can only be grasped, when the Semitic Conception of the Immortality of the Soul is placed side by side with that of transmigration, with eventual absorption or nihilism.

We come now to the development of the second Triad: Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the supporter, and Siva the destroyer. There is an artificial look about this arrangement, and it is clearly a theoretic compromise. Brahma goes for nothing; he has but one or two temples, and scarcely a worshipper. The Brahmanical Religion in its post-Buddhist stage is a congeries of parts derived from several very discordant systems. Fashion and taste have their play. Some prefer Siva; some Vishnu; a third part import a female element.

In this manner was developed a wife for each of the second Triad: Saráswati, or the goddess of eloquence, for Brahma; Lakhsmi or Sri, the goddess of fortune, for Vishnu; and for Siva, the multiform and awful consort, known as Deví, Kálí, Gaurí, Umá, Durgá, Párvati, Bhawáni, entailing a depth of degradation, at the brink of which we pause.

Siva-Worship is alluded to by Megasthenes, and must, therefore, date back to a period anterior to Buddhism, though unknown to the Veda. The Brahmans may have opposed it, but the popular current was too strong. We know as a fact, that at the time of Mahmúd of Gházni, there existed twelve celebrated lingam-shrines, one of which was Somnáth, which was destroyed by that iconoclast. The lingam or phallus, with its usual accompaniment, is now the universal and sole emblem of Siva-Worship. But there is an uncertainty, whether the connection of the two always existed. Some have asserted, that the cult was of non-Arian origin; but to this it is replied, that no trace of it is found in any existing non-Arian people, and that there is no proof of such a derivation.

There is nothing indecent, meant or understood, in this symbol ; no rites of a lascivious or degrading character are necessarily connected with the stone Idol. In fact, it was part of Nature-Worship. The worshippers of Siva, though found all over India, predominate in the South, where the cult was re-established by Sankaráchárya on the expulsion of the Buddhists about the eighth or ninth century A.D. The Worship was, as above stated, ancient ; but just as the Hero-Worship of Ráma and Krishna developed into Vaishnavism, even so the revival of the Worship of the lingam developed into Saivism. The Worship of the Tulsi-plant and Sálagrám-stone occupied a prominent position with the Vaishnavites. The two Worships of rival, independent, supreme, and omnipotent deities were not necessarily mutually antagonistic, though they became so in the heat of ignorant partisanship.

The female principle, or Saktí, was a still further and grosser development, especially with regard to Durgá, the reputed wife of Siva, and set forth in the Tantra, of which we have no perfect knowledge, except that there is much that is degraded and obscene. The progress of degradation has become rapid. The study of the Veda had become quite neglected ; a repetition of meaningless words was the extent of their study ; all-sufficient faith in the popular divinity took the place of Knowledge, Ritual, and Morality. If we wonder at the constant change of Dogma and practice, we must reflect, that it would have been more wonderful, if, contrary to the order of Human affairs, it had stood still. The pantheism of the proto-Brahmanical period was degraded into polytheism in the neo-Brahmanical period.

The Christian and the Fire-worshipper and the Jew either never attempted, or were never able to introduce, a foreign Religious element into India either by domination or persuasion, but a bright light suddenly sprang up from Arabia, and illumined the whole of Western Asia and North Africa as far as the Pillars of Hercules. The doctrine promulgated was so simple, that it could be understood at once, never forgotten, and never gainsaid, so consonant to the unassisted reason of man, that it seemed an axiom, and so comprehensive, that it took in all races and ranks of Mankind. "There is no God but one God." Simple as was the conception, no Indian and no Iranian had arrived at it. There were no longer to be temples, or altars, or sacrifices, or anthropomorphic conceptions, but a God, incapable of sin and defilement, merciful, pitying, King of the day of judgment, one that hears prayers, and will forgive so long as the sun rises from the East ; a God not peculiar to any Nation or Language, but God of all, alone, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent. Much of this was borrowed from the Jews and Christians, but had never been so enforced, had never been so extensively and enduringly promulgated in such gleaming phraseology.

There had passed twelve hundred years since the birth of Buddha.

Mahomet was born in historical times, and laid no claims to powers of working miracles or to divinity. The promulgation of his doctrines, 622 A.D., is one of the greatest landmarks in history. Human sacrifices, Idolatry, abominable Customs, Savage rites, Cannibalism, sank before the approach of Islam. About 1000 A.D. Mahometanism reached India, accompanied by the sword, and its History is well known. The sword has long been sheathed, but the Religion has extended peacefully over the non-Arian races on the skirts of India.

We come now to the time of the Purána. They are unmistakably modern works, compiled for a sectarian object, full of ignorance and conceit; but we find in them extracts and references to older documents, as they exist as far back as the Christian era, and this gives them a value, independent of the fact of their having supplanted the Veda in the affections of the people. The sects are either Vaishnavite or Saivite. The followers of Rámanúja and Mádhava, who lived in the Twelfth or Thirteenth century, constitute the great Vaishnavite sect. They have two subdivisions, which are worthy of notice, as illustrating the marvellous coincidences of the efforts of the Human Intellect. These two branches of the same sect reproduce the controversy betwixt the Calvinists and Arminians. The latter insists on the concomitancy of the Human will for securing Salvation; the former maintains the irresistibility of Divine Grace. Characteristically of India, the one adopts what is called the Monkey-argument; for the young monkey holds on to, and grasps its mother, to be conveyed to safety, and represents the hold of the soul to God. The other uses the Cat-argument, which is expressive of the hold of God on the soul; for the kitten is helpless, until the mother-cat seizes it and secures it from danger.

After Rámanúja, who lived in South India, came Rámanand, who settled at Banáras. Both these were devoted to Vishnu in the person of Ráma. Chaitanýa founded a sect in Bangál devoted to Vishnu in the person of Krishna; but the Vállabhachárya or Maháraj sect, devoted to Krishna in his boyish form, is worthy of a special notice. The Spiritual preceptors of this sect have had the audacity to assert, that they were themselves incarnations of the youthful Krishna, and burned with like passions and desires towards their votaries. Under the blind control of Faith this has led to the grossest immorality, which has been fully exposed in a trial at Bombay, and the sound principle brought home to the people, that what is morally wrong can never be theologically right. Faith with works was the early cry, but Faith without works, or in spite of works, was the later cry, and degenerated into rank lawlessness.

Among the Saivite sects the most remarkable is that of the Lingaites, as illustrating the wonderful elasticity of the Indian

Religious Community. This sect was founded in the Twelfth century by Bāsava, a native of the Dakhan. They reject Caste and Brahmanical authority, and all Idolatry, except the Worship of the lingam, a model of which they carry about on the arm and tied to the neck. No Brahman officiates in such temples; they deny the transmigration of the soul, do not burn their dead, and allow the remarriage of women. They call themselves Jangam, and are abhorred by both Saivite and Vaishnavite. They dwell either in Convents or wander about as beggars.

A still more remarkable sect in the North of India is that of the Sikhs of the Panjáb. Indian reformers have ever been springing up, using the vernacular Language of the people, and conveying prophetic messages in opposition to the Brahmanical priesthood. Their messages have generally been vague and unsubstantial, speculative rather than practical, making a deep but temporary impression upon the people. Some of them have, however, touched the sensitive chord of their countrymen, and led to the foundation of a new civil Polity. Of these Kabir and Nának stand forth as examples. Kabír was one of the twelve disciples of Rámanand, the Vaishnavite reformer, who in the Fifteenth century A.D., with unprecedented boldness, assailed the whole system of idolatrous Worship, ridiculed Brahmans and the Veda, and, addressing himself to Mahometans also, with equal severity attacked the Korán. He left a sect behind him called the Kabír-Panthi, who never obtained any great importance, though they have entirely withdrawn in the essential point of Worship from the Brahmanical communion; and a voluminous literature in different dialects of the modern Arian vernaculars, which made a great impression on the popular mind. He lived and died near Banáras, the centre of Brahmanism, and his liberal doctrines never had fair play. Far other was the fate of his successor, Nának, who drank deep of his doctrine, and quoted freely his sayings. He may have attempted a fusion of the two great Religions, but he certainly did in no way succeed. He may have wished to abolish Caste, but he has failed. He appealed to the people in the vernacular, and his doctrines have come down to us in the Adi Granth, which has lately been translated into English, and which by no means must be placed on a level with the Vedic or Buddhist Books, and is far more modern than the Korán or the Purána. He and his sect would probably have disappeared, had not the unwise persecution of the Mahometans lashed his followers into madness, who, under his spiritual successor in the tenth degree, Govind Singh, founded a new Religious and civil Polity, the temporal glory of which has now passed away, and the angles of the sect are rubbing off under the peaceful influence of an accommodating and absorbing Brahmanism.

No one, who has lived among the people, can have failed to remark the conventual establishments scattered about the country. We

find the small grant of land from the State, the shrine, the home of the abbot and his Spiritual disciples, the hall for the reception of strangers, and some scanty Educational and Medical appliances. Of these the Bairági are the most respectable. Their way of life is simple. Early in the morning they repeat by the river-side at sunrise the famous Gayatri, "Let us meditate on the sacred light of that divine sun, that it may illuminate our minds." This one link reaches over four thousand years, and connects them with their Vedic forefathers. Then comes the worship of the shrine, and the daily prayers, as degraded as Dogma and Ritual can make them.

In the South of India the Brahmanical Religion did not extend to the lower classes more than in name. The pilgrimages to the local shrines of the Deví tell an unmistakable tale. In South India the worship of Kálí, the wife or female energy of Siva, is but an assimilation of a local Deví; and in the great temple of Mádura, side by side with Siva, is seated a local goddess, adopted from the non-Arians by the astute Brahmans. In every village there is a Deví, the remnant of their old cult. Besides this is the spirit-worship, which is essentially the same as the ghost-worship of the Western coast. The demon-dancer whirls round in frenzy, and, when under full control of the spirit, is worshipped as a present deity by the bystanders, and consulted with regard to their wants. The Brahmanical Religion is spread like a thin veneer over all, but the old affections of the lower classes survive. Notoriously in Northern India the lowest classes, who have no place assigned to them in the Brahmanical system, have their own deities, and, indeed, are incorrectly called Hindu in the Census. The great bulk of the residents of the Himálaya valleys are Brahmanical only in name; they are still Nature-worshippers. Every remarkable peak, or lake, or forest has its deity, to which sacrifices of goats are made; temples abound, the keepers of which are not always Brahmans.

And outside the Brahmanical fold are the millions of non-Arian Pagans in Central India and on the slopes of the Himálaya. For three thousand years they have fought a lifelong battle against the Arian immigrants, who have driven them from their ancient possessions, and have incorporated so many in the lower strata of their Religious system. Temples, priests, or literature they have none; but from them we may imagine what the inhabitants of India were before the Arian immigration. No doubt their days are numbered.

As the Jaina Religion is an admixture of Buddhist and Brahmanical doctrines, and as the Sikh Religion has the credit of being an attempt to blend Mahometanism and Brahmanism, so in these last days we have a new development, and an admixture of Christianity and Brahmanism, which presents itself under the name of Brahmoism. Ram Mohan Rai tried to make a revival in the Nineteenth century of the ethics and ritual of the Veda. But the

modern Brahmoists pillage freely the divine truths of the New Testament, and deny the divinity of its Author. They have cast off their old Hindu mythology, and without becoming Christians have accepted whatever is best in Christian Morality, and Theistic doctrine. This is one of the latest of the Religious movements in India.

It may be asserted with confidence that through the long annals of Vedic, proto-Brahmanical, Buddhist, and neo-Brahmanical periods of the Religion of India, independence of inquiry, extreme latitudinarianism, philosophic atheism, and unbounded Tolerance, have been the rule and practice. We cannot but remark the constant attempt to get rid of the trammels of Caste; whether the reformers are Buddhist, or Lingaite, or Sikh, the first social reform is to get rid of this artificial inequality, and to eat and drink together. In the shrine of Jagarnáth, one of the great seats of the worship of Vishnu, no Caste exists; for the time and place it is suspended. These facts are important subjects of reflection. Moreover, the lower and more degraded the Caste, the stricter appear to be the Caste rules, and all breaches can be atoned by money payments. The sectarian and the Guru have always played the part of prophet in antagonism to the hereditary priesthood; and the modern conception of Bhakti, or Faith in the Spiritual adviser and in the special divinity, has accentuated this formidable liberality of sentiments, and this has been the case under most unfavourable circumstances. And now that Education and entire freedom of thought and Religion have become the inheritance of the people, and the veiled shrine of the Veda has been exposed to view, we cannot but anticipate further expansion. We await in wonder the effect of Education, the Press, and Locomotion. Neither Brahmanism, nor Buddhism, nor Mahometanism, nor the non-Arian cults, have ever before been exposed to the scorching glare of a dominant, hostile, and critical Civilization until now. There can be but one issue of such a struggle for life. Brahmoism is but the advanced guard, the first column of dust, which heralds the coming storm.

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THOUGHTS UPON OUR POSITION AS REGARDS THE HINDU.

IN our proud and insular notions we are too apt to look down with contempt on the Hindu Nation as our inferiors, not only in Occidental Civilization, but in natural intellectual capacity, and to brand, as savages, a people who were learned in the Arts, and in a highly advanced state of civilization of the Oriental type, at a time when Julius Caesar was crossing the Straits of Dover, to find our ancestors clothed in the skins of beasts, and the slaves of a degraded priesthood and ritual. In considering their shortcomings, we must not weigh them by the standard of the Nineteenth century in Europe. We must remember what rapid advances we have ourselves made in the last centuries. Let us retrace our steps up the stream of Time, and compare the Natives of Hindustan with the Britons, who first came in contact with them in the reign of Elizabeth; when the floors of the rich in England were still strewn with rushes, and glass was comparatively unknown; when Printing was in its infancy, and the spread of learning was checked by the absence of the material; when Bishops and Princes rode through cities on jackasses, or were carried in litters on the shoulders of men; when the barber's pole still marked the residence of the surgeon, when Lord Chancellors could take bribes, and the Sovereign herself receive white satin petticoats from her subjects; when he was considered a travelled man, who had visited Paris, and a learned man who could read the Vulgate and write without many misspellings, and a wise man who could interpret the stars, and a just man who sentenced an old woman to death as a witch, and an unbeliever and a dangerous man, who dared to think for himself, and who denied the divine rights of Priests and Kings. The Anglo-Saxon race has made such prodigious strides onwards, that we forget that the strictures, which we heedlessly and lightly pass upon the present generation of Hindus, will apply with much greater force to our own ancestors. We have, indeed, only in these last days reached to that level of Tolerance in matters of Religious belief, which the Hindu, if unmolested himself, has ever professed and practised towards others, being entirely free from the lust of Propagandism, which has been the curse of the younger world.

The consideration of Religion from any point of view is an awful subject, one which ought not lightly to be entered upon, nor superficially discussed. Not one in a million chooses his own Religion,

or even his own distinguishing streak of a recognized persuasion ; it is literally sucked in with his mother's milk, and the impression made upon his infant mind, still too weak to distinguish false from true, is made so deeply and durably, that nothing but a moral and intellectual convulsion or deluge can so shake or efface it as to give the judgment free play to choose again. These impressions are mixed up with the holiest ties of the family, and entwined with the golden thread of the affections. If we could catch the children of a Nation alone, and remove them from the contact and influence of the elder generation, we might convert India in a quarter of a century. The profession of no faith can be thrown into the teeth of a believer as a scorn or a reproach, for he is as his Maker, and the circumstances, with which his Maker surrounded him in infancy, left him. Nor is it a wonder, that an ancient people should cling to the ritual of their ancestors, sanctioned by the observance of generations, and intimately connected with their household Customs and their very existence.

We may be thankful ourselves for having been the recipients or imbibers in infancy, of a faith, of which we need not be ashamed in manhood, and to rest in which after the vagaries, the doubts, the intellectual longings of youth are past and gratified, we may turn back rejoicing ; but we must not lightly tread on a Religion, which existed before the great plan of Redemption was worked out ; before the mystery of mysteries had been made clear to the understanding of the most unlearned, the precepts of which are contemporaneous with the earliest of the Hebrew Books, and the professors and hearty believers of which exceed in number and in devotion the professors and believers of our own purer, and we hope truer, faith. The reasons which still hold back such millions of souls from contemplating and believing what we confidently believe to be the only means of Salvation, is one of those still unrevealed mysteries, which God only knows ; but we may humbly trust, that a benevolent Providence, which created, has not excluded so vast a multitude of his creatures from all hope and all possibility of pardon.

Nor should we despise that form of Religion, which inculcates on its professors the strict observance of outward forms, and connects itself with the purifying of the persons, and the abstinence from things ceremoniously unclean, when we recollect, that such has been the feature of all the elder Religions of the World, and that it is the characteristic of that one, which has formed the basis of our own. If the washing of pots and vessels, if the keeping of new moons and festivals, if the purifying of the body and separation of tribes, were subjects not below the legislative consideration of the Lawgiver of Mount Sinai for the instruction of the Hebrews, we may spare the smile so ready to be raised by the contemplation of the minute observances of the devout Hindu. The sanction of ages and generations

of such duration, that our National annals are but as a span long in comparison, have given sanctity to these observances, and the inward spirit, which they once preserved, is gone, and the devotion is transformed from a spiritual communication with the Deity to an outward but strict adherence to empty regulations and ceremonial. In this failing, however, the Hindu does not stand alone, and it ill behoves the members of a Church, which still clings partially to the trammels imposed at a distance of three centuries, to speak contemptuously of those, who tread in the footsteps trod faithfully for forty. Religions and rituals may differ, but the hateful forms of ignorance, superstition, and bigotry, are the same all over the World. It cannot escape the notice of those, who think seriously on the subject, how much the Religion of a Nation receives colour from the temperament of the people, their comparative state of advancement in knowledge and Civilization, and even the physical features of the country. How different is the form of Christianity as professed by the different Nations of Europe, America, Asia, and Africa. The cold temperament of Northern Europe, the innate feeling of personal independence, render a form of Worship intolerable to us, which is sincerely embraced and preferred by the half-Pagan Neapolitan, whose ancestors were the most idolatrous of Pagans, and who are themselves the most grovelling of Christians. The writer of these lines has witnessed in the Shrine of the Virgin at Einsiedeln in Switzerland, in the Church of St. Januarius at Naples, in the parish churches of the Maronites at Lebanon, or of the Greeks all over the Levant, an amount of depraved superstition and debasing Fetichism, as could not be surpassed in any Hindu temple, and compared to which the self-respect and dignity of the Mahometan in his place of Worship stand out in singular contrast. Again, these shackles of Superstition, which were kissed in devotion by our haughty ancestors, were rejected and thrown away with disdain, when the spread of learning enlarged the boundaries of Human intellect, and gave a free scope to thought and speculation. The tendency of each age is to consider their own views on the subject as final, and their conclusions as exhaustive, and to try to shut the door in the face of those, who come after them on the field of inquiry. But the coming age and rising generation can afford to laugh at such precautions, for, by the law of Progress, each age, each Nation, will insensibly adapt its forms and remould its Dogmas in the manner most suited to its present wants. Is there any preacher of the day who would venture to read from the pulpit a sermon written in the first year of the century? We may fairly conclude, that the advancement and degradation of the Religious views of a people will follow their progress or their falling back in general Civilization; and as we can trace in the Sacred Books of the Hindu signs of a much higher and more elevated character than are now possessed by the

professors of that Religion, we may be right in our judgment, that their Religion has deteriorated with the fall of the Nation, and may presume that their manifest advance in Civilization at the present day will not be confined to Progress in things secular, but in God's own time: for, as is the case in all countries, where ignorance and Superstition have maintained a long and fatal ascendancy, there exists in India another Religion of the people apart from that recorded in their Sacred Books. There are other deities besides those, which would be enumerated in their official Pantheon; there is a Worship more deeply connected with the feeling and prejudices of the people, and generally of a date antecedent to the introduction of what may be called the National Religion. It was no idle, and no peculiar, fancy of the Greeks, which peopled the mountain-top, the lonely stream, the shady groves, and the natural features of the landscape, with respective divinities, which gave to each spot of sanctity its own Tradition, and to each hillside its presiding deity. The existence of the Dryades, the Naiades, and Oreades, is not confined to the fertile and warm conceptions of the imaginative Thessalians, nor does their existence in this country hinge on the maintenance of the National Religion.

The operations of Nature are grand and overwhelming in this country, both in their absence and their presence. Weak man, unassisted by Inspiration, cannot, by feeling for, find; and cannot, when found, rest on the Wisdom, the Love, and the Spirit of the first great Cause; but fearing the loss of the harvest, which entails Famine, or the death of children by diseases left to run their own course, or the destruction of life and homestead by lightning, by the sudden swelling of mighty streams, or the sudden inroads of unknown herds of beasts or men, the miserable child of clay strives to conciliate in time a Power, the evidence of which he knows too well, but the nature of which he knows not at all.

Missionaries might make more progress, if they knew more of mankind, of the Religious History of the World, of the great tendencies of the Human race, and thought less of their particular shibboleth, which they feel bound to maintain, and the narrow siding-groove, into which they have been shunted. Fresh from some school of one-eyed theologians, they dash their heads against adamant Truth, refuse to accept facts, which stand out clearly developed; and then complain because the petty and irregular ebb and flow of their puny billows (albeit containing pure and health-giving waters) fail to shake the foundation of the ancient headland of Hinduism, which has stood out against the storms of the Iconoclast, and the waves of the Propagandist since the days of Moses.

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THE INDIAN REFORMER.

(Written for the people of India, and translated into several of the Vernacular Languages of India.)

THE life of a person, who by his actions and precepts has influenced the ideas, and consciences, of a large number of his fellow-creatures, both during his lifetime and for centuries after his death, can never be devoid of interest. When that influence has not been owing to wealth, rank, or power, but simply to his own merits, that Man must be called truly Great; and when we find that his motives were unselfish, that after a long life devoted to the instruction of others in the paths of Virtue, and Moral Purity, he died poor, and delegated his office, not to his children, but to one of his disciples, whom he considered most virtuous, *that* Man must be considered truly Good, as well as truly Great.

Such was Baba Nának, the first Teacher and founder of the Sikh tenets. However much we may differ with him in many of his doctrines, we cannot but admit, that he was one of those, to whom the Almighty has vouchsafed special blessings; for during a long life of seventy years, he laboured unceasingly at one object, viz., to reform the lives and Religion of his countrymen, to break through the tyranny of Priestcraft, Ritual, and Caste. He taught, that purity of thought, word, and deed, abstinence from Lust, Anger, and Avarice, were better than feeding Brahmans, or making offerings at Temples. He tried to amalgamate the Hindu and Mahometan Religions, and convince all, that they were really brothers, descended from one Father. He lived long enough to see the seed, which he had sown, bring forth fruit: that in after age the plant has been choked by the thorns of corruptions, is owing to the imperfection of all things Human: that he made the noble attempt, that he set the example in his own life, and partially succeeded, is his greatest praise.

There are some, who have tried to impose upon the ignorant by asserting, that Nának was an incarnation of the Deity, and that he worked miracles. Those may believe this, who like, but they must remember, that he lived only three hundred and fifty years ago, at a period, when the facts of History are well ascertained, and in a country, ruled over by people of another Religion: had Nának had the power of flying through the air, walking over the

sea, raising the dead to life, these facts would not have escaped mention, especially as he was not unknown to the great Emperor Báber. The same assertions are made in favour of every person, who in any country is renowned for sanctity, or virtue, and are believed by none, but the most credulous. In the same narrative we find stories most ridiculous, and untrue, with regard to the Earth, the Stars, and other facts of positive Knowledge, which furnish a good test of the degree of credibility of the writer. Those who like, may believe everything; I have selected those facts, which are worthy of the belief of all.

In that Province of British India, which from the circumstance of its being traversed by five rivers, is called the Panjáb, in the District of Lahór, in the tract betwixt the Rávi and Chináb, called the Rechna Doab, near the banks of the Degh Nála, there was a village named Talwandi, the property, as it is still, of a tribe of Mahometan Rajpúts, who had emigrated from the sandy regions between the Jamna and Satlaj, known as Bhattiána. The time of our narrative is the year 1469 of the Christian era. This part of India was then governed by the dynasty of Ludi Pathans, whose name still lives in Ludiána on the Satlaj. Four hundred years had elapsed since the first Mahometan had invaded India, and their power was firmly seated in Northern India: the great Timúr the Lame had sacked Delhi, and his great-grandson Báber, who was destined to be the founder of a line of Emperors, was still a child in the countries beyond the Oxus.

The country round Talwandi was wild, badly cultivated, and covered with brushwood. It is at the edge of the great jungle-waste or Bár, which occupies the space betwixt the Rávi and Chináb, containing many million acres of uncultivated land. Two Religions appeared to meet here also, for the industrious, and settled Jat, who were Hindu, here came into contact with the idle and migratory Bhatti, who had adopted the Religion of Mahomet. In those days persecution on account of Religion was very common, and many changed their faith from base motives; bitter feelings existed between the Mahometan and Hindu there, as elsewhere. No roads traversed this savage Region; it was then, as it is now, in *a corner*, and when many years afterwards, this neighbourhood passed into the hands of independent Sikh Chiefs, they assumed the name of Nukya from this circumstance.

The Brahmans had for many centuries past re-established their Religion, and system of Castes, throughout India; had expelled the followers of Buddha from the country, and tried to convince the ignorant people, that there was no other Nation in the World but the Hindu, and no other Religion than that of Vishnu and Siva; but unluckily for them, the arrival of Mahometans in vast numbers and great strength, from the countries West of the Indus, destroyed this idea; and moreover the Mahometans were always

desirous of making converts, and succeeded in so doing by force, persuasion, and the offer of worldly advantages. But the new converts rarely abandoned their Hindu customs, or comprehended fully the simple tenets of Mahomet. Among them the system of Caste was partially introduced; the Saiyid was considered as powerful as a Brahman; a Pir and Sháhíd were as much venerated as a Jógi and Fakír; pilgrimages to tombs and shrines were held to be meritorious. The true meaning of the Korán and Veda was unknown to the multitude; wild stories of miracles, and supernatural beings, were believed, and if anyone asked, where truth was to be found, or what was God, no answer could be given either by Hindu or Mahometan. Many abandoned the duties of life in the hopes of obtaining purity by escaping from what they could not but admit to be deception; and in different parts of India different sects had been formed under Rámanand, Gorakhnáth, Kabír, and the ascetic orders of Bairági, Gosáin, and Jógi had come into existence.

It was at this period, and at the place above mentioned, that a son was born to one Kalu, a Khatri of the Bedi tribe, a poor but respectable man, who occupied the post of Village-Accountant. The father and mother of Kalu were named Siva Rám, and Bunási; and he had one brother named Lálu, and his wife came from near the village of Kanakachwa, half-way betwixt Lahór and Firozpúr; her sister was the mother of Ram Taman, a person of great celebrity at Kasúr. Kalu had one daughter, who was named Nánaki, and who was married to Jai Rám, a corn-dealer at Sultanpúr, in the Doab. Kalu named his son Nának; and when he afterwards became famous, he was called by Mahometans Nának Shah, and by the Hindu, Guru Nának, Bába Nának, and Nának Nirankár.

Many wonderful stories are told about his birth, infancy, and childhood; we do not believe all, but, as his followers believe them, we give some. The Nurse, who assisted at the birth, stated, that she heard at the moment of his entering the World, sounds as of a crowd welcoming with joy the arrival of a great man; the spot is shown and a temple built over it, called Nánakána; close by, is another place, where he used to play with other boys, called Balkarira, on the banks of a tank. Nának acquired a knowledge of Persian, and accounts, in a very short time; but he was disinclined to any worldly pursuit, and one day, while in charge of cattle, he fell asleep, and by his carelessness the crops were destroyed, but, when complaint was made, the injury was miraculously restored. He was one day found sleeping exposed to the rays of the Sun, but a snake had spread its hood over his head to shade him. The place is called Kiara Sahib, and a handsome building has lately been erected there. Kalu then tried to employ him in mercantile pursuits, and sent him on a journey

with Bála, a Jat of the Sindhu tribe, and gave him forty Rupees to trade with. On his road he met a party of Fakírs, and entered into conversation with them, being surprised to find, that they had neither home, clothes, nor food. He learned from their mouths the vanity and uselessness of these things, and the danger of living in cities, and being engaged in worldly matters. As they refused his offer of money, and asked for food only, he went to the neighbouring village, and invested all his money in flour, and fed the whole party. He returned home, and was found by his father concealed under a tree. He told him what had happened, and justified himself by stating, that his father had directed him to do a good business, and he had done so by laying up treasures in Heaven, the fruit of works of charity. His father was very angry, and was proceeding to beat and ill-use him, but Rai Bholár Bhatti, the Mahometan landowner, interfered. He had been struck by the wonderful stories current in the village with regard to Nának; and by the purity of his character, and the nobility of this last action: he paid Kalu the money, and forbade him ever to ill-use or constrain his son. The place, where Nának fed the Fakírs, is called Khara Souda or Real Profit, and the tree, where he lay concealed, is still shown; its branches sweep down to the ground on every side, and is known as Mal Sahib.

As he would not settle down to any trade, to the great sorrow of his father, though his mother always took his part, Kalu sent him to visit his sister Nánaki at Sultanpúr, on the Bein Nadi, in the Jalandhar Doab. This was a city of some note, situated on the great Imperial road from Lahór to Delhi, as can still be traced by the Kos Minar, and the Serai. At that time the Governor of the Province, Daulat Khán Lođi, a relation of the Emperor of Delhi, resided there. Jai Rám, the brother-in-law of Nának, had sufficient interest with this Nawáb to get him appointed to the charge of the supplies of the household. Nának received a large advance, but he gave away so much to Fakírs, that he was accused to the Nawáb of having behaved dishonestly. When, however, accounts were taken, a large balance was miraculously found in his favour.

At this time Nának was married to the daughter of Moula, whose name was Solakhni. By her he had two sons, Sri Chánd and Lakshmi Dás. From the latter descend the Bedi tribe, which pretends to the sanctity, though they do not adopt the virtues, of their great ancestors. The former founded the sect of the Udási, who dwell in numerous convents all over the Panjáb. He gave no authority to his descendants to practise the wicked custom of killing their daughters. Indeed, it is contrary to the mild and benevolent principles which he taught. He appears to have anticipated, that his descendants would make a bad use of the circumstance of his being their ancestor, for he was unwilling to marry, and had no

wish to have children. In none of his travels did he take them with him, and he expressly excluded them from the succession to the position of spiritual teacher, which he had attained, and chose one of his disciples, as more worthy of that important office.

Soon after the birth of his children he ceased to care for worldly affairs: his mind was more and more occupied with a sense of the Vanity of Wealth, Rank, and Power, and even of Life. He went once to bathe in the Bein Nadi, and stayed three whole days in the water. The tree is still shown where he used to sit, and is known as Baba-ki Bír, and the place where he bathed is called Sant Ghát. Even the shop, where he used to trade, is called Háth Sahib, and weights are shown stated to be those which he had used in trade. He now abandoned his home, and took up his abode in the jungles. His friends tried in vain to dissuade him; many went out to talk him over, and among others, his father-in-law Moula, who was naturally very much annoyed at seeing his daughter and her children deserted without any provision. Nawáb Daulat Khán was persuaded to send his commands to him to return, but in vain. Nának replied, that he was the servant of God alone, and knew no earthly master. It may be remarked, that all his replies are given by the narrator in the form of short pithy verses.

The tendency of all his remarks had been, that there was one God, one true faith, and that the divisions of Religion and Castes were but the work of man. This led the Nawáb to persuade him one day to accompany him to the Mosque at the hour of prayer. When all the Mahometans knelt down to pray, Nának alone stood up. When the Nawáb remonstrated, he said: "O Nawáb, you were not praying; your thoughts were occupied in the purchase of a horse at Kandahár." The Nawáb, who was an honest, truth-loving man, confessed, that his thoughts had wandered. The Kázi was much enraged, and asked Nának, why he did not pray with him? He replied: "You, O Kázi, were not praying; you were thinking of your daughter's illness, and wondering, whether your colt had fallen into a well." The Kázi's countenance fell, and he was obliged to confess, that the Guru had truly read his thoughts. There is deep wisdom in these remarks; for a formal repetition of words in a Language not understood, cannot be considered to be praying, and the thoughts are too apt to wander, when they ought to be fixed upon God.

Nának now finally abandoned the World, and adopted the life of a Fakír. His wife and children were sent to his father-in-law. He took leave of his sister Nánaki, who remained always warmly attached to him, and started on his travels from village to village and from country to country. His companions were Bála, who had accompanied him from the earliest days, and is thence called Bhai Bála, and Mardhána, a Mahometan musician, who voluntarily joined him, and who used to play to his master on his harp, while

he was abstracted in thought and prayer. Bhai Mardhána is described as a strange companion, who was always hungry, and getting into scrapes, from which Nának had to extricate him. When he played on the harp it was always in the praise of the Creator.

“ Tu hi Naráyan karkirtár : Nának banda tera.”

(“ Thou art Naráyan, who made all things : Nának is thy slave.”)

Nának used to be whole days wrapped in meditation, with closed eyes, and thoughts fixed on God, and unconscious of what was going on ; while Mardhána suffered from much exposure, hunger, thirst, and a desire to return to his family.

One day he went to Aminabád, then as now an important city in the Rechna Doab, in the District of Gujeránwala. He put up in the house of Lalu Thakán, whom he knew to be virtuous and honest ; and refused to eat the food of Wazir Malik Bhagu, because he was an oppressor of the poor, and had collected his wealth, as an unjust Ruler of the people. Here is a wise lesson for all readers of this story, for indeed there is no blessing in wealth wrung from the poor by oppression ; the name of Nurshirván still lives on account of his Justice after the lapse of many centuries. The place, where Nának slept at Aminabád, is still venerated under the name of Rori Sahib, from the circumstance of the Guru having spread gravel on the spot. While he was residing here, the great invasion of India took place under Báber, the founder of the Dynasty of the Emperors of Delhi, which has only lately passed away. Aminabád was taken by storm and plundered, and the Guru and his companions were compelled to carry burdens ; he submitted, and was carried to the Emperor's tents, accompanied by Mardhána playing on the Rabáb. The Emperor was struck by his appearance and still more by his words, and held a long conversation with him, and ordered his release. The Guru is said to have told the Emperor, that his descendants to the seventh generation would sit on the throne of Delhi, which prophecy came true. It is also narrated, that, while the Guru was talking with the Emperor, the servants brought bhang, an intoxicating drug, in which the latter too freely indulged. Báber offered some to the Guru, who declined, stating, that he had a supply, which never failed him, and of which the effects were never exhausted. Upon being asked to explain, he replied, that he alluded to the name of God, the consideration of which occupied all his faculties. At other times he made similar remarks, that he had no thought for food, that the name of God was his only food ; and when urged by his relations to return home to Talwandi, he replied, that he had no parents, brethren, or family, that God was all in all to him.

Among other places in the Panjáb that he visited was Hasan Abdal, where they show the impression of a hand in marble, which the inhabitants are good enough to call Panja Sahib, as the hand of Nának. How it came there, what good it does there, is not explained. The Guru also visited Sialkót, and the tree, under which he sat, is still shown as Bába ki Pir. He also visited Pak Patan and Chuhar Khana in the district of Gujeránwála, at the last of which places is a building in his honour. Once or twice he returned to his native place to visit his parents, who soon afterwards died, and his kind friend and protector, Rai Bholar. Although he lived to the age of seventy years, his uncle Lalu outlived him. After his return from his travels he settled down on the banks of the Rávi in the District of Gurdaspúr. He built a Dharamsála there, and called the place Kirtarpúr. There he gathered his family and his disciples around him, and there eventually he died.

With regard to his travels it is difficult to speak with precision; that he visited all the chief cities and places of pilgrimage of Hindustan, is probable: mention of them all is made in the traditions, and wonderful stories connected with some. He appears generally to have entered into discussions of a hostile nature with every Brahman and Pujári, pointing out the uselessness of works and rituals, if there were no purity of mind or faith. At Hardwár, on the Ganges, he told the people to beware of the Pandits, who would infallibly lead them to perdition, and that, until the mind of man became pure, all *púja pát*, or sacrifice, was vain. One day, as the Brahmans stood looking to the East, and pouring out water as a funeral offering to their ancestors, Nának stood up, and did the same, looking to the West. When asked the reason of his so doing, he said that he was watering his fields at Kirtarpúr, which lie to the West. They scornfully remarked, that his water could never reach so many hundred miles. "How, then," he replied, "do you expect, that your water can reach your ancestors in the other world?" He accused another Brahman of thinking of a woman, while he was apparently muttering his devotions.

With regard to his travels beyond the limits of Hindustan, nothing certain is known, as he left no account. Bhai Mardhána died before him, and all that is known was collected from the mouth of Bhai Bála, an ignorant Jat, who undertook to record many years afterwards all what he had seen. The people, who drew up the narrative, were ignorant of Geography, and of the distances of one city from the other. All that they could do was to enter at random the names of all the places, of which they had ever heard from travellers, or books. We thus meet with the names of Lanka, the Dwipa of the Purána, Sind, Kábul, Kharam; and we find that the Guru availed himself of the easy mode of transport of flying through the air, or wishing himself at any place, or directing the place to come to him. This entirely prevents us from following

him, and describing what happened to him at each place on his travels. We can only conclude that he travelled, as Fakírs do now, putting up at night in roadside hermitages, and at times in the large convents and preaching and conversing with all ranks of men. He came back, as poor as he went; for he had no thought or care for wealth and luxury. The period of his travels, being less than three hundred and fifty years ago, and the state of the countries adjacent to India, chiefly inhabited by Mahometans and Buddhists, being well known, we may at once reject, as erroneous, all the wild stories about Magicians, Monsters, and dangers of a supernatural kind, which are said to have met him.

Two places of great note were no doubt visited by him, namely Mecca and Medína, in Arabia. In those days, as now, there was a constant flow of pilgrims from India to Arabia, and the communication was easy. Nának was described as having assumed the garb of a Mahometan Fakír, and with him was Mardhána, an undoubted believer in Mahomet. At Mecca he entered into discussions with the Mahometans in charge of the Kaaba; and when he was reproved for sleeping with his feet turned towards that building, which seemed disrespectful, he inquired, in which direction he could turn his feet, where the same disrespect would not be offered, for God was everywhere. Many strangers, convinced by his words, asked what they should do to be saved. His answer was, "Worship God."

He died in the year of the Christian era 1539, at the advanced age of seventy years. He selected Lehna, a Khatri of the Tihan Gotra, to be his spiritual successor, and named him Angad, which is fancifully derived from the word Ang Khud, as if the Guru considered him to be his own body. He considered his own sons unworthy of the succession, because they were undutiful; and when expostulated with on the subject by their mother, he tried their obedience in the following way. A cat had flung a half-dead mouse at his feet: the Guru ordered his sons to remove it; they drew back and refused. Lehna without a moment's hesitation obeyed the order. Nának blessed him and said, that he was the real son, who obeyed his father. Another miraculous story is told to the same effect. One day they had found a dead body in the adjoining jungle. Nának said to his followers: "Whoever is my disciple, let him eat of that dead body." They all drew back in horror, but Lehna at once stooped down to obey the order, and behold! the body was gone, and a plate of excellent food was in its place. The real truth is, that Nának in his wisdom foresaw the tendency of all hereditary appointments to become abuses; his object was, not to found a family, who under a false pretence to sanctity, might lord it over their country, while they practised abominable crimes. He wished to provide for a succession of wise and good teachers of the doctrines, which he had himself

taught. His intentions have not been carried out, and his sect of the Hindu Religion may soon cease to exist. He had never abandoned the Hindu, nor adopted the Mahometan, Religion; but his disciples were of both faiths, and, when he died, a discussion arose as to the mode, in which his body was to be disposed of: the Hindus desired to burn, and the Mahometans to bury it. They were commencing to fight, when happening to look under the sheet they found, that the body was gone, having no doubt been removed by some of his disciples. The sheet was cut in half, and one portion was burned with the usual ceremony, and the other buried with the usual prayers. Both the tomb and the cenotaph have since been swept away by the waters of the Rávi; but the memory of the good man lives in the hearts of many thousands of his countrymen; and it is much to be regretted, that they have forgotten his precepts, and do not attend to his words.

Angad succeeded him, and lived and died at Khudúr near Táran Táran, of the Amritsar District. He elected as his successor his pupil Amar Dás of the Khatri Caste, who lived at Goindwal on the Beas, at the point where the Imperial road from Delhi to Lahór crosses that stream. This is marked by a Kos Minár on the high bank. To Amar Dás succeeded his son-in-law Ram Dás, of the Sodhi tribe of the Khatri Caste, in whose family the office of Guru became hereditary, till it finally ended in the person of Guru Govind Singh, who converted the peaceful Sikhs into warlike Singhs, and established a state of things, deadly hostile, instead of being conciliating, towards the Mahometans. The descendants of Nának are known as the Bedi, and when the Sikhs became powerful, this family became rich and arrogant: living in luxury on lands bestowed by the Government, and the collections made from the Sikhs. This last item used to be very considerable, and members of the family travel long distances to collect their fees. They reside chiefly at Dera Bába Nának, on the Rávi, near the spot, where their great ancestor died, and have in later years taken very much to trade.

Lives of Bába Nának, called Janam Sákhí, are very common, but they are so full of fable, and invention, displaying such intense ignorance, that they are more calculated to deceive than instruct. The whole life of the Guru has been depicted in a series of pictures, which are often found on the walls of shrines. Every act of his life, true or fabulous, is there narrated. He himself is generally represented as a white-haired, venerable old man, with Bhai Bála fanning him, and Bhai Mardhána playing on the Rabáb. From these pictures, and oral tradition, all the details of his life are well known to the people, but this is the first attempt to compose a narrative, from which all the marvellous has been excluded, and which Hindu, Mahometan, and Christian can credit.

His sayings, and his precepts, were collected by his successors,

and written in the volume, called by the Sikhs the “Ādi Granth,” or first volume, to distinguish it from the Second Granth, composed one hundred years later by Guru Govind Singh. This book is written in an archaic dialect and difficult to understand now, and in that variation of the Indian Character, which is common in the Panjáb, but which having been used for these sacred books is called the Gurmúkhi, the words having been uttered by the Guru: these sacred books have been translated into English, that the followers of Nának may see, how much they have deviated from the example and precepts of their great Teacher.

Amritsar, 1859.

VI.

“VEDIC INDIA.” (By MADAME RAGOZIN.)

THIS volume of 450 pages is one of a most interesting series, to which the authoress has already contributed three volumes. It was proposed to treat in one volume of Vedic India and Post-Vedic, or Brahmani, India, but the mass of material has compelled the subject to be divided: the second portion will follow. The Veda is the sole Authority: there is no other contemporary literature. The Science of this subject has been entirely created within the last half-century; but it has been studied by numerous and most competent European Scholars, and the object of the author has been to boil down their accumulated Knowledge and theories into a substance of a reasonable size, and present it to the reader.

But the circle of the readers of this volume must of necessity be a small one. A knowledge of Indian literature, Indian Religious Conceptions, and India generally, is a *sine quâ non*. So grand a subject is compressed into a few hundred pages, that it is not possible in a few lines to give more than the faintest conception of the story.

The old theory of an Arian race, including the Graeco-Latin, Teuton, Kelt, and Slav, as well as the Iranian, may well be laid aside. There is undoubtedly an Arian, or Indo-European, Linguistic Family, which includes all. But Language is only one, and not the most important, type of a race, and it is quite possible for the same Language to be used by different races; but of the unity of the Indian and Iranian races there can be no doubt. The authoress has in a previous Volume described the Iranian, and she now proceeds to analyze the Indian Religious Conception of the earliest period.

And she performs her task well. The Veda have been always, and are still, held to be the direct verbal revelations from God : of their genuineness, and remote antiquity, there can be no doubt. For the first time in their History they have been carefully translated into several European Languages by different, and independent, Scholars. There are no theological scruples involved in their study : they are remote both in their Dogma and practice from the existing Religious Dogma and practice of the Hindu Nation. Whatever the author states is collected from the mass of ancient writings now made available. There is no room for fraud or deception here : different students may take different views of the meaning of passages, and of the induction to be thence made ; but this is a matter of scholarship, not of prejudice, or partiality, or interested traditional interpretation.

For many centuries the contents of these volumes were handed down to successive generations orally. At length the time came, at some uncertain period before the Christian era, when they were conveyed to alphabetic writings on perishable materials, subject to all the incidents of errors of copyist. The oldest Sanskrit Manuscript is not older than the Norman conquest of England.

To the student of the Religious Conceptions of the Human race the study of this and similar volumes is of intense interest, if approached in a calm and intelligent and unprejudiced frame of mind. These ancient documents are not to be scoffed at as the device of Satan in the usual dialect of the ignorant Missionary, or as the ravings of fools ; they speak for themselves, and reveal the piety, the intelligence, poetical genius, and the logical powers of that ancient race, which found its way into the Panjáb in North India, at some remote and incalculable period long anterior to the time of Abraham. Two great facts may be gathered :

1. It is generally believed, that the Deity created the Human race : the Veda tell us another story, that the Human race evolved the conception of the Deity from their own observation of the features of Nature ; Váruna represented the expanse of Heaven, Agni the Sun, Lightning, and Fire ; Indra the Controller of the Atmospheric Elements, and so on.

2. It is generally believed, that the Deity was immortal, while all that belonged to man passed away : we learn that the Deity and groups of Deities have their days and pass away ; the conceptions of a Nation, committed to writing, are practically immortal.

The Pall Mall Gazette, 1895.

A DICTIONARY OF ISLAM.

(By the Rev. T. H. HUGHES. 1885.)

If the reader expects to find in this review a blind and wholesale abuse of Mahomet and his doctrines, and an uncritical disregard of the great fact, that 175 Millions at this moment adhere to this persuasion, he is mistaken. The subject is a very solemn one, and should be treated with solemnity. The writer has lived a quarter of a century in intimate acquaintance with Mahometans. The servants, who cooked his dinner, and waited at his table; the coachman, who drove his carriage; the horsemen, who were his companions in his rides; many of the clerks and officials, who engrossed his orders and transacted his business; the judges of first instance, who presided in the Civil Courts; the Collectors of the State-Revenue; and the Superintendents of the police-stations, were, in a very large number, followers of Islam, intermixed with an equal number of Hindu; and yet they were upright, trustworthy, and esteemed, full of affectionate interest, and entirely devoid of fanaticism. The Mahometan nobleman, or prince, is a born gentleman, stately in his bearing, courteous in his expressions, and yet dignified and reserved.

The great leading error, disfigurement, and misfortune of a Mahometan is simply this, *that he is not a Christian*. He has no idols to get rid of; no abominable Customs, such as widow-burning, female infanticide, Human sacrifices, or cannibalism, to be trodden down; his Laws, his ceremonies, his Customs, are reduced to writing, and in these latter days are printed. He is not ashamed of his past History, for his Creed has filled a large page in the World's Chronicles, overrunning large portions of Asia, Europe, and Africa. If the political influence of that Creed is now on the wane, the propagandist power is by no means diminished. We must consider the phenomena of its existence with judicial calmness. It cannot be supposed, that such a mighty factor in the world's History came into play without the special sanction of the Almighty. The promulgation of the doctrines of Mahomet is one of the greatest landmarks in History. Human sacrifices, idolatry, and sorcery fell before the approach of Islam; for there is found in its texts an expression of an everlasting Truth, a rude shadow of the great spiritual fact, and beginning of all facts, "the infinite nature of Duty"; that man's actions never die, or end at all; that man in his little life reaches up to heaven

or down to hell, and in his brief span holds an eternity fearfully and wonderfully shrouded from his sight and conception. The doctrine promulgated was so simple, that it could be understood at once, never forgotten, and never disproved; so consonant to reason, unassisted by Revelation, that it seemed an axiom; so comprehensive that it reached every Human state, and embraced all the kindreds and races of mankind. "There is no God but one God." Simple as was the Conception, none of the earlier Religions, fashioned by Human intellect, had arrived at it. There were no longer to be temples, altars, or sacrifices, or anthropomorphic conceptions, but a God incapable of sin and defilement, merciful, pitying; King of the day of judgment; one that heareth prayers, and will forgive, so long as the sun rises from the East: a God not peculiar to any Nation or Language, not the God of the hill-country, or the plain-country, of the Hebrew, the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Hittite, the Moabite, the Greek, or the Roman, but the God of all, alone, omniscient, omnipresent, and omnipotent.

Much, if not all, of this grand conception had been borrowed from the Jews and the Christians, but it had been purged from the follies and degradations, with which it had been overlain in the Sixth century after Christ, and it had never been so distinctly enforced, nor so extensively, and enduringly promulgated, in such gleaming phraseology. It was, indeed, an indignant protest against the degradation, to which the Syrian, the Nestorian, the Greek, and the Koptic, Churches had fallen in their insane discussions about Homousion and Homoiousion, and the awful mysteries of the Trinity, and the Divine Person of our Saviour. Until these latter days, when the germs of pure and healthy Christian belief are planted in every part of the World, where soil can be found ready to receive them, it had been given to no propagandist Religion to find such immediate and vast expansion. It not only trod out the decaying and corrupted Christianities, but it passed beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire, the Euphrates, into Regions, to which the Christian Religion had never reached, and extinguished for ever the ancient ritual of the Fire-worshipper, and pushed on beyond the Indus, to hold its own against the great Brahmanical legends of India. The Arab merchant carried it backward and forward, and still to this day carries it, over the deserts of Africa, giving it to black races as the first germs of Civilization; the Malay pirate carried it to the cannibals and head-hunters of the Indian Archipelago, telling them of the natural equality of man before God, the abolition of priestcraft, and the certainty of a day of Judgment, and everlasting happiness or torment. These doctrines may have lost their youthful vitality, but not their Truth. Over vast Regions they have propagated themselves, and are still propagating, by the force of their own superiority, for there is nothing in the simple formula to stagger reason, or make large demands on intelligence

and faith. A Neo-Mahometan does not undergo a Conversion in the sense of the Christian Protestant Church, but merely a social transformation.

But much of the Paganism, which it tried to supersede, clung to its skirts; being but a Human Conception, it had not the power to sound the depths of the Human heart. And the heathen, when he accepts Islam, is not a changed man, a converted man, born again, but the same man with a new formula, and a new Creed; and a new law of commission and omission, but the same unrenewed heart. Then it was essentially an Oriental Conception; it was crystallized into a civil and criminal Code, which may have suited the Arab or the Oriental neighbours of the Arab, but was not susceptible of expansion to meet other wants, and other intellectual and social environments, of which its Human framer in his limited Knowledge had no conception. Herein is the Divine marvel of the Christian Conception, fashioned, indeed, in an Oriental model, but capable of being adapted to every possible circumstance and state of Culture of the Human race. Thus it has happened, that Slavery and Polygamy are, rightly or wrongly, deemed to be part and parcel of the Mahometan faith, though among the sixty millions of Mahometans in India Slavery is absolutely extinct, and Polygamy on the wane. Thus also Customs such as circumcision, abstention from certain foods, formal prayer in a Language totally unintelligible to the worshipper, prolonged fastings, and lengthy pilgrimages, have survived into an age, which has outgrown such ceremonious observances, which laughs at so large a husk round so small a kernel of doctrine, not likely to survive under the scorching heat of public opinion, and the unsympathetic contact of a Nineteenth-century Occidental civilization.

Still the very existence of Mahometanism unreformed seems incompatible with Occidental ideas. I read in the pages of the *Times* that the Sultan of Turkey presented the Grand Wazír with £1,000 to defray the expenses of the ceremony of circumcision of his children, as a mark of Imperial favour. I wonder, whether any other Sovereign in Europe, or any Prime Minister of a European State, can read this without a smile. The *Times* records also, that the Ex-Khedive Ismail was honoured at the ceremony of the Selamlík with an invitation to take part in prayer with His Majesty, a marked favour and attention on the part of his Sovereign. General Gordon of Khartúm repaired a Mahometan Mosque, and had a great ceremonial on the reopening: in a letter to his sister, published by Dr. Birkbeck Hill, he remarks: "This was a great *coup*: to me it appears, that the Mahometan worships God as well as I do, and is acceptable, if sincere, as any Christian." Further on I read, that he paid for the expenses attending the circumcision of a boy: it is not stated what the boy was: I trust that he was a Negro and not a Kopt. Such anecdotes as these produce an

unpleasant sensation, and engender a doubt, whether Mahometanism is really a Religion, and not a mere Political Cultus. While I am writing, my eye falls upon the pages of the *Times*, which reports that when the first train ran from Belgrade to Salonica, at the Turkish frontiers, where the trains were changed, some Mahometans were in attendance, who slaughtered three sheep as a sacrifice. This foolish rite having been accomplished, the passengers got into the Turkish train and steamed off. Nothing can justify this. The Mahometan Religion was promulgated at a period in the History of the World, when the ancient practice of the sacrifice of animals had become obsolete: in all probability the forefathers of these Mahometan sacrificers had been Greek Christians, as there is little Arab or Turkish blood in Europe. I have lived a quarter of a century in happy intimacy with Hindu and Mahometan, but no such anachronous absurdity would have happened in British India. I am in full sympathy with men of other race, Language, Religion, and state of Culture, but I cannot but condemn the acts recorded above.

It would be a bad time for the Christian Missionaries, if any large section of a Mahometan Nation were to wake up to the fact, that men's minds grow wider with the progress of the suns, and were to add Monogamy to their existing Dogma, though by no means universal practice, of total abstinence from all spirituous liquors; were to substitute a careful study in the vernacular of the really grand and beautiful portions of the Korán for the vain repetition of incomprehensible Arabic formulae; were to add purity of morals to their existing purity of Dogma, and to live the lives of decent Asiatics, adding a hatred of Slavery to their present hatred of Idolatry and worship of images, whether by Pagan or Roman Catholic. If to this they add a careful study of the Old and New Testaments, which are in fact and in theory as sacred to them as to us, though they are totally ignorant of them, and still failed to be converted, and, setting their faces like flint against Christian interpretations of the Bible, were themselves to send out Missionaries of a Reformed Islam, they would indeed become a factor in the Mission-field of a most formidable import. We may congratulate ourselves, that they are as we find them. Many a Hindu is better than the Religion, which he nominally professes, and his Religion is incompatible with Education and Civilization. But every Mahometan is far worse than the Religion, which he nominally professes; he never really understands it, for it is never taught in its integrity. If uneducated, he knows nothing beyond the Dogma, the rite of circumcision, the daily prayers, and the annual fastings; if he be educated, he is either a debauchee, breaking the very Laws of the faith which he professes, or he is notorious for his fierce prejudices, his intolerant notions, his entire deficiency of philosophical and historical acumen, and is despicable

as an antagonist. The Mahometans in Turkey or Persia will talk wildly about the impossibility of a follower of Islam submitting to any Law but that of the Korán and its accompanying traditions; but we in India know that sixty millions live very happily under Anglo-Indian Codes of Law without a particle of Mahometan Law, except what relates to marriage and inheritance, and that a very large section of converted Hindu, or Neo-Mahometans, reject even that fragment, and prefer to retain the Hindu Laws in these particulars.

Comparing the Hindu and Mahometan peasantry, the Hindu Pandit and Mahometan Moulavi, the Hindu Rájá and Mahometan Nawáb, with each other, I do not think, that the latter have truer notions of the Godhead, or purer notions of morality, than the former. If modern Hinduism has degenerated, so also has modern Mahometanism.

The Book before us is one of great importance; the very best Authorities admit, that it is an accurate representation of Mahometan doctrine and practice, and a most complete one. It errs on the side of exceeding rather than falling short of the requirements of the case, and there is a want of relative proportion of the length of some of the notices to the importance of the thing noticed; and the book would have been handier, if it had been of less bulk, and more available to students in being cheaper. Still, it is a noble and important work, but it is the work of an able and experienced Protestant Missionary, whose knowledge of living Mahometans, as distinguished from knowledge acquired from books, is confined to the Afghans of Pesháwar, thorough ruffians, and totally uneducated. The vision of a Missionary, in itself of necessity narrow, by the requirements of his holy calling, is, in this case, further contracted by the limited contact with the professors of the Religion, which he describes.

He states in his Preface that his "intention is to give, in a tabulated form, a concise account of the doctrines, rites, ceremonies, and customs, together with the technical and theological terms, of the Mahometan Religion." I must admit that his task has been fully accomplished, and that no Missionary would be justified in entering upon the Mahometan field of labour, who has not studied this volume. It cannot be too thoroughly understood, that the epoch for the Missionary, pious yet ignorant, self-consecrated but untrained, is past. The brave savage does not inquire into the strength of his antagonist, but the skilful general takes no forward step, until he has obtained every possible information of the enemy's strength, resources, and tactics. It is fair to state, that the author's statements are remarkably sober, fair, and impartial.

His method of treating the subject appears to be very judicious. A dictionary is not pleasant for continuous reading, and is by its alphabetical necessity disjointed; yet for any *pro re natá* reference,

commend me to a dictionary. We all know what time is lost hunting through tables of contents, or running the eye down an unscientific index. Having selected his topics, the author usually begins his notice by a quotation from the Korán, supplementing it by quotations from the traditions and esteemed Mahometan commentators; to this he has added quotations from European scholars. Now this is very conscientious and exhaustive treatment. A kind of doubt must, however, seize the mind of the reader, whether the author is acquainted with the Arabic Language beyond spelling out the Korán, and whether he is acquainted with any of the European Languages; for the subject of Mahometanism has been elaborately discussed by French, German, and other Continental Scholars, none of whom he quotes.

This opens out another question. Mahometanism extends from the Western Provinces of China, right through the Continent of Asia, as far north as Kazán on the Volga, to the Mediterranean and Black Sea, over some portion of Europe, over a considerable portion of Africa, as far as the Straits of Gibraltar westwards, and southwards as far as Zanzibár on the East Coast, and the Basin of the Niger on the West. The author's personal knowledge of the practice of Mahometans is restricted to a small Province in Afghanistan across the Indus, and to the people of the Panjáb. The area is enormous, but the circumstances are extraordinarily different of portions of these Religionists. There are Millions under the rule of Great Britain, France, Holland, and Russia, strong Christian Governments, which know how to make themselves obeyed. There are Millions under the rule of the Sultan of Turkey, the Khedive of Egypt, the Shah of Persia, Mahometan Sovereigns, yet still exercising a reality of substantial rule. There are Millions under barbarous systems of government, such as the Chinese Local Governors in Chinese Tartary and the Province of Sechuen, the Amír of Afghanistan, the Amír of Khiva and Bokhára, the Sultan of Morocco, the Sultan of Zanzibár, and the Imam of Muscat; and there are Millions without any semblance of Government at all, such as the inhabitants of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, the nomads of Arabia, and of the great African Sudán, which extends from the Nile to the Niger, and beyond to the Atlantic. There is great diversity in their practice and their tenets. The Indian and African would naturally be deemed very bad Mahometans from the contact of the corruption of their Pagan neighbours; the Egyptians are notoriously bad Mahometans, the Malays are only skin-deep converts.

The author, in his Preface, hopes that the book will be useful (1) to the Government Official called to administer justice to a Mahometan people; (2) to the Christian Missionary engaged in a controversy with Mahometan scholars; (3) to the student of Comparative Religions; (4) to all who care to know the leading

principles of thought of 175 Millions of the Human family, who have adopted the tenets of Mahomet.

To the fourth class a consecutive treatise would have been more agreeable. It is difficult to conceive anyone, who had not some direct duty to, or relation with, Mahometans deliberately reading a Dictionary such as this. The third class would certainly consult the original documents, which are readily and amply available. The second and the first class will furnish the readers of this book. There are Chinese Missionaries at this moment in Turkey, Egypt, Algiers, Morocco, at Zanzibár, and on the Niger, in Persia, Afghanistan, and India; and they will have to use caution in reading this book, or they may be misled. Much of it is applicable to Mahometanism in its early period, but totally inapplicable now. Some of the precepts of the Korán are about of as much practical value as the Book of Leviticus. The convert accepts circumcision, repeats the Fatihah, abjures swine-flesh, and indulges in polygamy up to four, and that is pretty well all that he knows of his new faith. Even the Moulavi themselves are found to be grossly and ridiculously ignorant. The Missionary, who has mastered the Korán, either in its original or a translation, and who studies Mr. Hughes' Book, will be as much above the level of the knowledge of the people among whom he dwells, as one of the Old Testament Revision Company would be among the nominal Christians of towns in England.

There remains the first class, the Government Official. This can apply only to the Official in British India. The wildest enthusiast can hardly imagine a Mahometan Kadi, or Wali, or Kaimmakám, or the petty local tyrants of Morocco, Persia, and Afghanistan, or the Sheikhs of the independent nomads, or the French *préfet* or *judge*, or the Russian military commandant, studying Mr. Hughes' Book. But the Official in British India is just the very person, to whom the Book would be useless; at least, such is the opinion of one, who was judge and magistrate over Mahometans for more than twenty years. The Code of Positive Criminal Law and Procedure, and the Code of Civil Procedure, have made a clean sweep of Mahometan Laws, and, as already stated, with the exception of the two reserved subjects of marriage and inheritance, civil decisions follow the precedents either of English or Roman Law. When I consider the topics of Slavery, eunuchs, evidence, oaths, and land, they are only of antiquarian interest, as the Mahometans of India have no special Law, or position, on these subjects. Nor would the article as to the position of women in Arabia have any possible bearings on the circumstances of women in India, which are so totally different.

Two long articles have been introduced into the Book from the pens of two distinct authors, which it would have been better to have omitted, as they have added to the bulk of a work, with which

they have nothing in common. One is an essay on Arabic writing, by Dr. Steingass, an interesting subject no doubt, but not in the least connected with the Mahometan tenets and customs. As a fact it existed in Arabia before the time of Mahomet, and is by rules of strict induction derived from the old Phœnician Alphabet, of which the earliest monument is found in the Moabite Stone. This character is used by all the literary classes of Hindu in Northern India, and by the Christians in Syria and Egypt. It is by no means a sacred Alphabet, nor is it one restricted to Religious uses. Still more unnecessary was the introduction of a long Article on Sikhism, by Mr. Pincott. The Sikhs are only Hindu sectarians, and it might as well be said, that a Baptist was not a Christian as that a Sikh was not a Hindu. It has no practical value at all, and has not even the merit of being a correct representation of existing facts. The Sikhs hated the Mahometans with a deadly hate, and, while they were in power in the Panjáb, desecrated their sacred buildings, confiscated their Religious grants, and oppressed them in every possible way. Whatever fusion Nának may have dreamed of, disappeared, when Guru Govind commenced his career of vengeance upon his Mahometan oppressors, whose dominion in India he helped to annihilate.

The Articles upon Jesus, the Jews, Jerusalem, the Korán, Tradition, Mahomet, and Islam, are of permanent value. So also are the notices of Scripture personages, such as Moses, Joseph, and others, from the Mahometan point of view. The account of the great festivals, the Id-ul-Azhá, Id-ul-Fitr, and the Muharram, is satisfactory. There is nothing in the Korán to connect the first-named festival with Ishmael, but it is held by Mahometans to have been instituted in commemoration of Abraham's willingness to offer up his son as a sacrifice, and the son thus offered was Ishmael, *not Isaac*. The writer of this paper once ventured to remark to an excellent and worthy native judge, that Abraham was ready to offer up Isaac, *not Ishmael*. With a kind and pitying smile he corrected me, remarking, that a Mahometan only could know the truth of what Abraham, *who was himself a Mahometan*, did. An entire absence of historical and geographical Knowledge is an important factor in an inflexible faith in a Religion.

No one, who has travelled in India and Turkey, can have failed to remark how totally different the mosques of the two countries are. The mosque of Sultan Sulimán at Constantinople has no resemblance whatever to the Jama Masjid of Delhi, and still less to the famous mosque of Cordova in Spain. Mr. Hughes, in his article on Masjid, "the place of prostration in prayer," points out the necessary feature of a mosque, the Mihráb, which indicates the direction of Mekka, and therefore the direction pointed in Cordova is precisely the reverse of the one pointed at Delhi, and the Mimbah, or pulpit, from which the Khutbah, or Friday oration, is recited.

In the Court there are conveniences for water for purposes of ceremonial ablution. The Imam leads the devotions, the Muezzin calls to prayers from the lofty gallery of a Minaret; there is a great dignity and solemnity and lifting up of heart in the whole ceremony. The writer of this notice has stood by the side of the Muezzin in an oasis of the great Sahára, and in the centre of crowded cities such as Constantinople, Damascus, Cairo, Banáras, and Delhi, as he sounded out over the houses far below, above the city's din, the cry that "God is great, and that there is no God but one God. Come to salvation." The long rows of kneeling figures in the interior is an imposing sight. The worshippers are terribly in earnest, and the object of their Worship is the Supreme Creator of the Universe, and the prayers, which are uttered in Arabic, though utterly unintelligible to the person praying, convey the noblest form of adoration clothed in the most majestic and sonorous phraseology.

Two more articles deserve notice, as they touch upon the relation of the Religion of the Mahometans to the Civil Governor. From the Mimbah in the Masjid the Khutbah, or Friday oration, is delivered. Tradition hands down, that Mahomet used frequently to deliver a Khutbah, fresh and new, and not the studied and formal oration, which has now become the practice. It is the old story. In the beginning there were men gifted with the power of speech, and they spoke the living thoughts, that coined themselves into golden words, as they rose from the heart to the lips. A generation followed, less spiritual and less vivid, who read their own written sermons. To them succeeded a generation still more lazy and stolid, who read the stereotyped words of others, but not necessarily the same formula. Mr. Hughes gives two or three selected Khutbah, and if only the hearers could understand them, they would be profitable for instruction and reproof; but it is doubtful, whether they are intelligible in countries, where Arabic is still the vernacular in a somewhat modernized dialect and pronunciation, and are totally useless in other countries. Besides, the great sin of ritual accompanies them, in that they are chanted in non-natural and singsong tones, and the best Khátib was he, who whined and intoned the best. Mahomet himself, with an astuteness, which marks that superior intellect, which he no doubt possessed, has left on record that "the length of a man's prayer and the shortness of his sermons are the signs of a man's common-sense."

According to the best traditions, the name of the reigning Khalífah ought to be recited in the Khutbah, and this gives an interest to the Article on that word. As the Pope of Rome and the Lama of Tibet, so also the Khalífah claims to be vicegerent of God by spiritual succession; but the question arises, "Who is the Khalífah?" The lineal descendants of Mahomet and the line of the Koreish were soon exhausted, and the fact, that in Mahometan countries the name of the Sultán, or Amír, or Shah, is

substituted for the Khalífah, has a deep significance. In British India the expression "Ruler of the Age" has been substituted by loyal Mahometans. The claims put forth by the Sultán of Turkey to the spiritual headship of Islam beyond his own dominions, is shadowy in the extreme, and may be puffed away. The Sultán is by the male line a Turk from the Regions north of the Oxus; by the female line he is a Circassian of the Regions of the Caucasus. His ancestor, Bájazet, was defeated at the battle of Angóra, and carried captive in an iron cage by Timúr the Lame, the ancestor of the great dynasty of the Great Mogul of Delhi, which came to an end only in the year 1857 in the furnace of the Indian Mutinies. The mighty monarchs, who ruled over India, would have laughed at the idea of any Imam in a Masjid in their kingdoms praying for anybody but themselves. Mr. Hughes sets out the absurdity of the claim of the Sultán of Turkey very clearly and very accurately. The assumption of the title by anyone not of the Arab Koreish tribe is undoubtedly illegal and heretical, and is a mere gasconade of the irrepressible Turk.

One incidental advantage of the publication of such books as this, and the valuable works of Sir W. Muir, and the German and French authors, is, that the attention of the champions of the Christian faith should be called to the phenomena presented by this Religious Conception. It is not judicious to paint Mahometans with colours that are not true. They are by precept, though not by universal practice, total abstainers, and so far on a higher platform than the average Christian. Polygamy is the exception. The present Sultán of Turkey and the Khedive of Egypt present an example of monogamy in high places. Slavery was the disgrace of Christians in the time of many of us still alive, and it will die out in Mahometan countries before the present generation has passed away. Toleration of other Religions was ever the rule of Islam, whatever may be said to the contrary, as is evidenced by the existence of the fallen Churches in Western Asia, and North Africa, and by the great Hindu Religion in India. The present century will possibly see the extinction of the last Mahometan independent kingdom; at any rate, their claws have been cut; and they supply good subjects, and excellent public servants, and respectable members of society in India. The important point is, that just as Paganism, Nature-Worship, the Brahmanical Religion, and the Buddhist, must and do fade away under the scorching light of Education and contact with other Nations, Islam, on the contrary, becomes stronger and more refined. It has nothing to fear in its essentials from Science; it never claimed Miracles; it appeals to a Book, the most wonderful literary Monograph, that the world ever saw, and the everlasting Truths, which, intermixed with much irrelevant and incoherent matter, that Book contains. As the Christian writers drew freely upon the contents of the Jewish books, so Mahomet was audacious

enough to pervert both Christian and Jewish Books to his own purposes, giving a new colour and interpretation to the composite amalgam. A "Comforter" was promised (John, xiv, 16) under the term *παρακλήτος*. The Mahometan would read *παρακλύτος*, which being interpreted is "Mahomet," "the one that is praised." The names of Abraham, the Friend of God; Moses, the Word of God; Jesus, the Spirit of God, are coupled with terms of deep respect with the name of Mahomet, the Prophet of God. In Isaiah, xxi, 7, the Prophet sees in his vision "a troop of asses and of camels." The Mahometan interprets this as a prediction of Jesus, who came riding on an ass, and Mahomet on a camel. The name of our Lord is never uttered or written without expressions of respect. Once purged of the dross of ignorance and spiritual deadness, and set free from the defilement of Paganism, which clings to the skirt of its clothing, refined by such men as the Wahábi revivalists, who, as Mr. Hughes justly says in his Article on that subject, are the Protestants of Islam, it will stand out as the Religion of a pure and elevated Monotheism, with a code of the strictest Morality, not ignoring but overshadowing the tenets and Books of the Jews and the Christians; and in the next generation men of the stamp of Saiyid Ahmad of Aligarh, will be sent out as Missionaries of Islam. It is well, therefore, that Christians should understand with what a Power they may have to cope in the Twentieth century, one more dangerous than Agnosticism, Atheism, and Indifferentism, because it simulates the Truth, and is severely Propagandist.

The good Mahometan so many times a day prostrates himself, and coldly and proudly bandies words with his Creator, with a perfect belief in a Future State. He feels no sense of his own sinfulness, or any need of a mediator, because, as far as he understands the Law of his Prophet, he has fulfilled it. He has abstained from liquor and swine's flesh; he has not violated the sanctity of his neighbour's family; he has repeated the prescribed prayers and kept the prescribed fasts; he has cursed the infidels and idolaters, and is satisfied. In India he is on excellent terms with the Hindu idolater, and in Turkey on equally good terms with the Jews and the Christian idolaters, for he justly considers that the Worship of images and pictures in the Roman and Greek Churches is, in fact, the *εἰδωλολατρεία*, which is forbidden by the Torah, and the Anjil, and the Korán; by Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet. It might be thought by sincere Christians, that such a bending or broken staff of faith and hope would fail him miserably at the last moment of his life, but it is not so. He goes to his death with an assurance of Paradise, whether that death is peaceful or violent, for he is quite sure of his inheritance, having taken his Prophet at his word. Innumerable instances have occurred of this grand and dignified submission to fate. The disgraced Pasha accepts the bowstring without a murmur; the mutinous soldier proudly looks his last

unquailing look, as he stands under the gallows; the Kadi, detected by his Sovereign in the practice of the very vices, which he was commissioned to prevent in others, and condemned to death, made no palliation, and asked for no mercy, but told the bystanders to throw open the shutters and tell him from what quarter of the Heaven the sun was rising, and bowing his head to the sabre, he said: "The Prophet has said that so long as the sun rises from the East, so long God will have mercy on His creatures." It is the same in ordinary private life. The writer of this notice one day missed in his audience-chamber a much-respected Mahometan Official, wise and gentle, well-informed and faithful. At evening his son came, and reported the death of his father; and described simply how, when he felt his end near (and it came suddenly), he asked to have a copy of the Korán placed in his hands, and then, covering his head with a sheet, he calmly awaited the coming of the angel of death, Azrail. Now, if all Mahometans were of this type, their Conversion would be impossible. Under any circumstances, the progress must be slow, and so it has proved. Whole islands of degraded Nature-worshippers may be gathered in, while one Mahometan is being converted. The study of the Sacred Books of the Book-Religions of the World, which are now revealed to us, may convince us how serious the task is, that lies before us, but none the less is it our Duty to grapple with it. Poor weak men must sow the seed; it is the Lord alone that gives the increase. We accept His great Commission. We believe in His promise that accompanied it.

Record, 1885.

“ISLAM IN AFRICA.” (By JOSEPH THOMSON.)

MR. JOSEPH THOMSON, the African traveller, wrote an Article in a Monthly Periodical, in 1886, on Mahometanism in Africa. The gist of it is, that to Islam is to be attributed the transformation of savage tribes into semi-civilized Nations, and that there is something terribly wrong in our method of teaching Christianity in Africa. According to him a good Mahometan is better than a skin-deep Christian, and Mahometanism is good enough for the Negro brain to assimilate. He is so well known as a brave, gentle, and sympathetic leader of explorations into Equatorial Africa, although a very young man, that we regret, that he should have erected such a wide theory on such narrow premises, and expressed an opinion on one of the gravest subjects of Human interest with such little experience. About the evils of the Liquor-Traffic, and the importation into Africa of firearms, and gunpowder, which cling to the skirts of Christianity, we can express as deep a condemnation as he does; but we must remind him, that such things are no more essential parts of the Christian Faith than Polygamy and Slavery are of the Mahometan Dogma. It is true, that the Mahometan doctrines of the Unity of the Godhead, the certainty of the Day of Judgment, the Equality of all men before God, and the great law of Duty, are Truths, which the Mahometan Religion presents to the Pagan world in their simplest form; but these Truths were avowedly borrowed by Mahomet from the Bible. And on the other hand, if Mr. Thomson in his last journey up the Niger had fallen into the company of Bishop Samuel Crowther, Archdeacon Crowther, Archdeacon Johnson of Lukója, or the Rev. James Johnson, Pastor of a Native Church in Lagos, all pure Negroes, he would have learned from their lips, that Repentance, Faith, Justification by the merits of a Saviour, Sanctification by the Holy Spirit, leading to the birth of a “new man” and a consistent walk in life, are truths quite as blessed, quite as simple, quite as intelligible, to the meanest intellect, with the additional advantage of transforming the whole nature of the believer, as evidenced by the character and life of the four Negro clergymen, whose names we have quoted.

Mr. Thomson dilates with all the zest of a new discoverer on the phenomena of Oriental life, so familiar to all, who have spent their lives in India: the call of the Muezzin to prayer from the minaret, and the stereotyped prostrations, repetitions, and ablutions

of the Faithful delight him: he even alludes with praise to the Mahometan Schools for teaching the Korán, and notices with satisfaction, that some students from the Region, which he visited, had found their way to that great Entrepôt of Ignorance, the Mosque of El-Azhar at Cairo, which the writer of these lines has lately visited. He does not mention, that these calls to prayer, these prayers, and that Sacred Book, are in a Language totally unintelligible to the people, and even the leaders of the Congregation who intoned them, and that these Schools positively teach nothing worth knowing, because the teachers know nothing. This is no idle assertion, as the nature of the teaching in the Mahometan Schools of India amidst a proud, wealthy, and powerful population has been tested, and compared to them the Fulah States of Central Africa, visited by Mr. Thomson, are mere savages. The Vernacular of these tribes Hausa, Surhai, Fulah, are beautiful forms of speech; but all prayer, praise, and instruction are restricted to Arabic, as totally unknown to the Negro worshipper as Latin to the English Sunday-Scholar. We need scarcely add, that the Christian prayer, praise, and instruction, are in the Vernacular known to the men, women, and children of the tribe, who are able to hear the story of the wonderful work of God, and the great Plan of Salvation, each in his own vulgar tongue, in a form and manner calculated to arouse the Conscience, or as they call it “Heart-voice,” which has slumbered so long, and which under Mahometan teaching is never awakened, for it is not part of the Mahometan Conception to convince a man of Sin, and lead him to repentance.

Mr. Thomson’s experience of men and countries is very limited. Had he visited India, Ceylon, China, and Japan, he would have been aware, how little any Religion at all, even Christianity, has to do with Human Culture. The History of the Greek and Roman races, before the Christian era, taught to him at School, should have taught him this. The sight of the grand cities, the noble monuments, the mighty empires, built up by Idolators, and maintained in splendour for centuries, would have enlightened him, and he would have learned another lesson, that the great monotheistic Mahometan Dogma, palpably injured, relaxed, and even destroyed this Civilization, and that Christianity has often done the same. Had he conducted his first expeditions among the Nations of Oceania, who sit in the lowest steps of Human Culture, and then found his way to Eastern Central Africa, South of the Equator, the great Bantú race, amidst whom he travelled so happily and successfully, he would have remarked the gradual rise and improvement in the strata of barbarous, miscalled savage, races, arising from causes independent of any supernatural Conceptions, which we call “Religion.” When in his last expedition he penetrated into Western Central Africa, North of the Equator, he found himself unexpectedly in the midst of the great Negro race in its finest

type and development, dwelling in towns and villages, cultivating the soil, grouped into powerful States, able to protect themselves from the Slave-dealer, and the Liquor-Traffic, ruled over by Chiefs of a race superior to their own, the Fulah, with a veneer of Mahometan Culture and Dogma. Mr. Thomson too hastily attributes this prosperity, and advancement, to Mahometanism. If ever he had visited Rájputána, or South India, or China, or Japan, he would witness a much higher development of Culture without the possible insinuation of Mahometan influence. The Negro race is susceptible of the highest Culture, if it only has the chance of developing it. It had that chance in the Oriental phase in the Kingdoms of Sokóto and Gando, which Mr. Thomson visited. It is still having it in the Occidental phase in Sierra Leone, Lagos, and other portions of the West Coast of Africa. It never had a chance in the Egyptian Sudán, although that unhappy Region had plenty of opportunities of acquiring Mahometan Dogma, and Egyptian Culture, from the Pasha and his rabble troops, from the Arab nomads of the great desert, grand specimens of humanity, from the Mahdi and his holy Dervishes, and that pink of Mahometan Chivalry, the Slave-dealer, who will pray five times a day, keep all the fasts, be a model Mahometan, and yet sack villages, ravish women, kill infants, and carry helpless Negroes into captivity, and sell them as slaves.

The Christian Religion properly taught has a power to reach and change the heart. The Mahometan Dogma rests on the surface, and shows itself by the mode of tying the turban, trimming the moustache or whisker, the ordinary salutations of Society, the particular things not to be eaten, the mode of killing animals for food, the Language and form of prayer, the modes of genuflexion, and nothing more. He that is filthy is still filthy; he that is licentious is still licentious; he that is not held back by his own sense of Human pity from committing murder, or violent crime, will not be held back by the tenets of Islam. The heart is not changed, nor pretended to be changed. A pagan by becoming a Mahometan recedes from rather than approaches the possibility of being a Christian. I freely recognize that the Dogma of Mahometanism has been in many countries a factor for the abolition of abominable customs, because, Mahometanism is the outcome of the Culture of mankind in a Civilized country in the Sixth century of the Christian era, and operated upon races far behind the great Arian and Semitic Families, who were the advance-guard of Civilization. I freely admit that, when contrasted with the Conceptions of such backward races, it represents a great advance of the Religious Conception. The word "Islam" itself is a grand and beautiful idea. But there I draw my line. In its hatred for idolatry the Mahometan Religion deserves our gratitude, and respect, as a protest against the lamentable errors of the fallen Christian Churches of Western Asia, Northern Africa, the Greek,

and the Roman. I can go no further, and but for the respect, which I bear for Mr. Thomson's character, as a blameless leader of African expeditions, I should scarcely have troubled myself to reply to statements so palpably wrong. His Errors must be imputed to the novelty of the phenomena presented to his notice, and to his imperfect study of the people, as he was innocent of any Language but his own ; not to any perverse desire to dishonour the Religion, which he professes, or to give occasion to the enemy to blaspheme.

Record, December 24, 1886.

IX.

ISLAM IN INDIA.

I HAD twenty-five years' experience of the Mahometans of Northern India, being in their midst, employing them as my servants, public and private, transacting public business with them, and enjoying their society, as well as valuing their friendship. I have since travelled in Turkey, Trans-Caucasia, Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, observing the Mahometan population with a critical eye, and I am at a loss to know, why they have been described by some in such black colours. My acquaintance with the inhabitants of the entire littoral of the Mediterranean Sea enables me to state, that the lower classes of the South and North Coasts, as regards the Religious Conception, and Religious practice, are very much at a par: the one prostrates himself in a Mosque, and repeats unintelligible words to the great Creator in Arabic; the other prostrates himself before a hideous picture of the Virgin Mary, or a local Saint, and repeats unintelligible words in Latin or Greek. Their sobriety and chastity are very much at a par. The ignorance of the ordinary Oriental Christian, the Spaniard, Italian, and Greek, may be equalled, but scarcely surpassed, by the Mahometans of Egypt, Syria, and Algeria.

At any rate, our duty is clear to carry the Gospel in the very best way, that opportunity offers, to every Nation under the sun, and to leave the result to God. It is a matter of Duty, not of Choice. Woe unto us if we preach not the Gospel!

Record, 1888.

RELIQUES OF MAHOMET IN INDIA.

PEOPLE are hardly aware, that in the Fort of Lahór they can, whenever they like, gaze pensively on the *paijámah* of Mahomet, bow to a hair of the Prophet, and actually touch a tooth (a rotten one) of one of the companions of his Hegíra. Such is the case. Under the lock and key of the Authorities are these, and many other treasures, such as a turban, and a pair of shoes of Mahomet, a walking-stick of one of his friends, a carpet on which he kneeled. The pious Mahometan looks and bows to these reliques with great devotion, and calls them "Ziárut Sharíf." How did they gain an entrance into the fortress of Lahór? Why are they so guarded by European soldiers? Are they the palladium of the State? Are they, like the tooth of Buddha in Ceylon, the heirloom of the Sovereign? Our late Viceroy, Lord Canning, certainly went to visit them, and therefore their existence is known to the Head of the Government. We gather, that these reliques were brought to India by Timour the Tartar; they changed hands with each ruling Power, and at length were in the possession of the Mahometans of Ram Nagar on the Chenáb. Ranjit Singh seized them: he, although a Hindu Sikh, pretended the greatest veneration for them, and refused one lakh of Rupees offered by the Náwab of Baháwalpúr for one of the Shoes of the Prophet. He used to keep them in the Fort of Mokerian in the Hoshyarpúr District. On one occasion the fort caught fire, but the flames could not touch the "Ziárut Sharíf." Maharája Shir Singh brought them to Lahór, and the rich and blessed inheritance passed to the British Government.

As antiquities they are highly interesting. We doubt, if anyone can readily name an article made of wool, or textile fabric, of an age exceeding twelve hundred years. Setting aside their Religious character, they really are interesting intrinsically, and ought to be sent to England, or sold by auction. We imagine if the Náwab of Baháwalpúr were to repeat the offer of a lakh of Rupees for one of Huzrat's shoes, it would not be unfavourably entertained. Will the Mahometans of Lahór take the whole lot, and lay down enough money to build a School, Hospital, and Town-Hall?

Lahór Chronicle, 1860.

“ALCESTIS” AT BRADFIELD COLLEGE.

THE fourth and final representation of the play of “Alcestis,” by Euripides, took place on Saturday in the open theatre, fashioned after the Grecian model, within the precincts of Bradfield College. It was a most satisfactory performance; the parts of Alcestis and of Admētus were adequately represented, and the other *dramatis personae*, as well as the Chorus of Elders, sufficiently discharged their duty. Those, who heard the Greek dirge of grief uttered by the boy Eumelus over the body of his dead mother, will not easily forget it. This is the third year, in which Greek Dramas have been represented in this open theatre, and Antigóné, Agamemnon, and Alcestis, introduced in their Greek dress to English audiences, amounting to 800 at the least. Euripides has lately been presented by Dr. Verrall, of Cambridge, in a new light, as a Rationalist: a new light, indeed, to the general reader, but not so to those, who have studied the progress of Religious thought in the five centuries preceding the great Anno Domini. This play was presented to the Athenian public in 438 B.C. Socrates, who was born in 469, was, no doubt, one of the listeners in the Theatre of Bacchus during its performance, and the plays of Euripides formed part of the literature of the Schools of Athens. The Olympian Gods were preparing to leave Greece under the pressure of Reason and advancing intelligence. Euripides was one of the agents in this intellectual transformation, this dissolvent of Polytheism. Dr. Verrall’s theory is, that Alcestis did not die, and that there was no occasion for a resurrection, as under the excitement of her feelings, and the agony of parting with her husband, her children, and her household, she fell into a state of unconsciousness, and appeared to be dead. Preparations had already been made for her funeral, which really was conducted with most indecent haste, then and there, and her body was left in the family tomb. When Hercules started to have a wrestle with the angel of death, and bring her back, he found her in the tomb returned to consciousness, and he walked back with her to her dwelling-house, and restored her to her husband. All this story is worked out in the Drama in the space of two and a half hours, during the whole of which time some of the actors were on the stage. Ten or twelve hours may have been the period actually occupied. From the point of view of this theory, the position of Apollo, one of the Dii Majores, of the Angel of Death, who appears

in person, and of Hercules, the great deified hero, becomes strangely ridiculous, and no weapon is so supremely potent to sweep away old legends, the survivals of a different epoch of Culture, as ridicule and carefully worked-out inuendo. That Hercules should be described as falling upon the Angel of Death, while he was devouring the funereal offerings, binding him fast, and compelling him to give back Alcestis, body and soul, seems to exceed in absurdity any wild comedy-joke of Aristophanes. The end was not very far off, when such scenes could be enacted at a quasi-religious theatrical performance.

Pall Mall Gazette, 1885.

XII.

"IPHIGENIA IN AULIS."

AT page 601 of my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, I narrate the story of the Greek Drama by Euripides of "Iphigenia in Tauris," as it was acted by the Undergraduates of the University of Cambridge in my presence in December, 1894. It so happens, that in June, 1897, I have been privileged to witness the acting of the Sister-Play, "Iphigenia in Aulis," by a volunteer company of amateurs in one of the lecture-rooms of University College, London. The great distinction between the two performances was, that at Cambridge, under the influence of the spirit of *Μισογυνεία* (which has been so painfully evidenced this year by the lower strata of the Undergraduates), the female parts were acted, and indeed acted well, by young men; in London the parts of Iphigenia, and Clytemnestra, and the Chorus of Women, were excellently performed by women. There is really something grotesque in the statement in the local papers, that the same stately youth, who represented most nobly the goddess Athéné at Tauris, appeared, after an interval of a few days, as Lydia Languish in the well-known Comedy, and the youth, who played Iphigenia with great feeling, appeared as Sir Peter Teazle.

Now at Cambridge in 1869 there was no lack of good Greek actresses in the reservoirs of Newnham and Girton Colleges, as they had lately played the "Ion" of Euripides.

The performance at the University College took place on three separate days, and was most satisfactory. An acting version of the Drama, accompanied by a metrical translation, had been published, and rather more than one-third of the text had been omitted. The difficulties of costume and pronunciation were rather avoided than

surmounted. The arrangement of the stage was elementary. I do not venture to enter on the subject of the Music adapted to the Strophes of the Chorus. I had special personal delight in the performance, as my daughter, and granddaughter, both acted parts in this great Drama. The centre of interest lies first with Agamemnon in the deep conflict of his feelings as a Ruler of Men, and a Parent; secondly with his injured wife Clytemnestra, deceived, and bereaved of her child; and lastly and chiefly with that daughter, whose name these two plays of Euripides have rendered immortal: the leader of the Chorus played an interesting and moving part: the whole effect was scholarly and delightful. There was no attempt to modernize: the audience is taken back, not to the time of Iphigenia, but to the fifth century before the Christian era, and is asked to feel and sympathize with the Athenian *δῆμος* seated in the Theatre of Bacchus under the Parthenon at Athens, where, in the presence of Socrates, and Plato, and possibly Herodotus, and many statesmen and warriors known to fame, the great Drama was performed.

So heartily do I sympathize with the movement of reproducing on the modern stage these ancient dramas, hitherto relegated to the Class Room and the Study, that I am constrained to make a few remarks on

1. The particular history of this Drama.
2. The Religious environment, which surrounded the great Legend described in the Drama.

1. We must recollect, that Euripides was a Rationalist, as shown in the Essay of Dr. Verrall: he placed his actors on the stage in the guise of his own age: the music of his words, and the echo of his thoughts, were tuned to please the ears of an Athenian populace, about to enter on the Socratic Epoch. The “Iphigenia in Tauris” was certainly of a date anterior to the “Iphigenia in Aulis,” and yet the historical dates of the events described were more than ten years later. Moreover, this Drama was one of those brought forward by the younger Euripides after his father’s death, 406 B.C., and, being left incomplete by the great master, had to be arranged by others for stage-purposes. He was nearly 74 years of age, when he wrote his last line. The time of the actions described in the drama was that of the Trojan War, at whatever period that may have been: the scene was Aulis in Boeotia, a port on the Straits of Eurípus, where the Grecian fleet had been detained by contrary winds.

There were lying priests at that time, as at every known Epoch of the foolish Human race, even up to the end of the Nineteenth century, who persuaded the ignorant soldiers, and the fanatical

chiefs, that a Human sacrifice was required to induce the goddess Artemis, one of the minor Grecian Deities, to send a favourable wind, and that that sacrifice must be Iphigenia, the daughter of the Commander-in-chief, Agamemnon, King of Argos. The unhappy father was induced to write to his wife, Clytemnestra, a deceitful letter to persuade her to bring her daughter from Argos to Aulis under the pretence of her marriage with Achilles. Later on, in a fit of repentance, he despatched a letter by a faithful messenger to countermand this message, telling the messenger of the purport of his letter for fear of its being lost on the road. Menelaus intercepted the messenger, and took by force the letter from him, which led to an altercation with his brother Agamemnon, in the middle of which the arrival of Clytemnestra, his daughter Iphigenia, and his little son Orestes, was announced. The despair of the father melts the heart of his cruel brother Menelaus, but too late, as the Grecian Army had determined on the sacrifice. The meeting of husband, and wife, and daughter takes place, and Agamemnon, fairly overcome, left the stage; presently Achilles enters, and to his astonishment is hailed by Clytemnestra as her son-in-law: he courteously, but distinctly, denies the honour, and, while the two are unable to understand each other, the old retainer comes in, and discloses to them both, that the marriage is only a pretence, and that Iphigenia is to be sacrificed. Achilles shows real nobility of character, and promises to stand by the infuriated mother, who hurries behind the scene and informs her daughter of her fate. The unhappy father meets his wife and daughter on the stage, and a scene takes place which Professor Mahaffy describes as the finest passage in all Greek Tragedy. “Clytemnestra attacks Agamemnon in a bitter and powerful speech, which is meant to contrast strongly with that of Iphigenia, who simply pleads for life at the hands of her father, expresses her despair at the approach of death, and appeals to her infant-brother to join in her tears.” The father bursts away, and we hear no more of him. Those, who know the subsequent miserable history of this family, cannot forget, that the wife Clytemnestra slew her husband Agamemnon after his return from Troy, and that her little son Orestes, grown to manhood, slew his own mother, and himself narrowly escaped death at the hands of his sister Iphigenia. So blind to the future are weak mortals: this, no doubt, was part of the great Tragedian’s power over the hearts of his audiences.

To return to the immediate story. After Agamemnon’s flight Achilles appears on the scene with his warriors, and expresses his readiness to defend Iphigenia, who had been summoned to marry him, against her father, and against the Greek Army. The great warrior exhibited all the qualities of a true and brave gentleman. But a great change has been wrought in the feelings of the young girl. The Sublime Duty of Self-Sacrifice for the welfare of others;

that divine conception, Altruism, as opposed to Egoism, which the great Gaútama Buddha had preached in India a century earlier to the date of this Drama, had been revealed to her inner consciousness: she announced, that her death was for the public weal, and that her clinging to life would only entail misery on her countrymen: she therefore devotes herself to the Deity, and resignedly braves the fate, from which she had lately shrunk in terror. She takes leave of her mother, and her little brother, and we lose sight of her in the procession of herself, and the Chorus, and her enthusiastic hymn, as she leaves them to be sacrificed, concludes the genuine part of the Drama, and the representation of it at the University College.

No doubt the favourite device of an *Ἄγγελος*, or Messenger, to describe what took place off the stage, was intended by Euripides, but he did not live to complete the work: it has been added by another hand: there is reason to believe, that the audience was informed, that Artemis had substituted a stag for the maiden, and taken her to be Priestess of her temple at Tauris in the Crimea. Whatever view is taken of this, it was but a poor consolation to the bereaved mother, who never saw her child again, and took her vengeance on her husband on his return home with an additional wife, Cassandra, ten years later.

Let our attention be now turned to the Religious environment of the Epoch, in which this drama was composed. The very notion of Human Sacrifice had passed away from the conception and practice of the Greek Nation, just as from an English audience the notion of burning dissentients from the State-Religion in an *auto da fé*, or drowning a so-called witch, has passed away. Our thoughts go back to the Jewish legend of the proposed Sacrifice of Isaac by his father, and the substitution of a ram, and the slaughter of his daughter by Jephthah. Later on we read of Manasseh, King of Judah, passing his own son through the fire, and of the same form of sacrifice being practised by heathen chieftains. The great Latin Poet Lucretius, a few centuries later, holds up the conduct of Agamemnon to everlasting scorn, and writes his scathing line ·

“ *Tantum Religio possit suadere malorum.*”

It is clear that in the time of Euripides, and about the same date as the return of the Hebrews from Babylon, the Greek Theogony was approaching its last gasp. Euripides in his quiet way raises in the mind of his audience the question, what kind of Divinity can the chaste Artemis, or Diana, be, who can tolerate the frightful enormity of a father killing his own innocent and adult daughter, in order to conciliate the goddess to send a favourable wind for the fleet? Can a god persuade man to commit a crime? Is not Morality a *sine quâ non* of any real relation of the Soul to God?

Then in another way Euripides seems to scoff at the Divine Power. In a previous Act occur the following lines, which Clytemnestra utters to Achilles ·

“ The gods will sure one day
“ Repay with blessings all your generous aid,
“ If gods there are : if none, what use this toil ? ”

It is notorious, that Achilles passed away in early life, and knew no prosperity : so the gods did not repay him, and the speaker clearly is not sure whether any god existed at all ; at any rate, her maternal love received no reward.

We find ourselves at the parting of the ways : the Graeco-Roman Conception of the Deity was breaking up under the influence of the intellectual progress of Mankind : the same process is now at work in British India. Old things pass away : they were, no doubt, good for their time, otherwise they would not have been permitted to exist. On what did follow then in Europe, or what is to follow now in India, this is not the place to discuss.

London, June, 1897.

B. JUDAISM.

XIII.

THE DUTY OF THE CHRISTIAN TO THE JEW.

THE Commission of Evangelization given on Mount Olivet ends with the words "beginning at Jerusalem." The Apostle to the Gentiles emphasizes this command: "Salvation to everyone that believeth: to the Jew first"; and in the same Epistle he utters certain words as from his heart: "Hath then God cast away his people? God forbid!" The lot of the Gentiles therefore seems tied up with that of the Jews; of them Christ came in the flesh, to them were committed the Oracles of God. They have been the subject of fond delusions, entertained by themselves, that they were not only the chosen people of the great Ruler of the World, but the *only* people, for whose welfare He cared, and for whom the Messiah was to come; and fond delusions have been entertained by pious Christian souls, that Palestine was one of the great kingdoms of the ancient World, when in fact it would not make up two good-sized districts in the vast Empire of British India; that Solomon and David were powerful Sovereigns, when in fact their position was only that of a petty Rája, dependent on the great Empires on each side of them. There are in our midst at this moment many Jews so rich, that they could buy up Solomon in all his glory, and many Jews so learned, that the vaunted wisdom of Solomon is as nothing compared to theirs. A third delusion has been, that the actual material restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land was near at hand, forgetting that the existing number of the Jewish race, speaking some forty different Languages, dwelling in far-distant countries, adopting totally different customs, far exceeded that of the little Nation, which for a few centuries occupied Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea at the time of its zenith. A short time ago I stood upon Mount Gerizim, and saw at the same moment the Hills of Moab to the South, the snowy peak of Hermon to the North, the deep valley of the Jordan to the East, with the country beyond and the sparkling waters of the Mediterranean to the West; the whole country was spread below me, the greater part being profitless waste and barren hills. The Jews have left nothing worth recording on the tablets of History in arts,

or arms, or literature; while for the excavator and archaeologist and palaeographer, nothing but one inscription at Siloam has survived the wreck of time, if indeed anything ever existed worthy of survival. But through the Jews has come, by a succession of copies of copies to the present generation, something worth more than the whole ancient World put together, the Hebrew Books of the Old Testament; and the earliest promulgators of the new faith, and the writers of the New Testament, with the possible exception of Luke, came of the Hebrew stock; we are indebted to the Hebrew race for that knowledge, which is our most precious inheritance from the Past, our hope of Salvation in the Future.

Herein lies our *obligation* to God's chosen people. But there is another and more cogent reason, that the Christian Nations of Europe owe a long debt of reparation for the abominable cruelties of our forefathers. Has any race, even the poor Negro, for the space of centuries, been used so shamefully in every part of Europe? and for what cause? The priests and the mob of the little town of Jerusalem, on a certain day long ago, put to death the Saviour of mankind in the fulfilment of prophecy; on the Cross they were forgiven by the great Sufferer on the plea, that they knew not what they did; but how were the residents of Judaea and Galilee, the great *Διασπορά* of Egypt, North Africa, Babylonia, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome, to blame for the sudden and foolish wickedness of a small portion of their countrymen?

But "if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles; how much more their fulness?" "How much more shall these, which be the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive-tree?" It appears, as if the primeval purposes of God were not fulfilled, until His own people were gathered in to the new dispensation. Mr. Simeon, some years ago, at a meeting of the London Jews Society, was very bold, and said that the Conversion of the Jews was the most important object in the World, much more than that of the eight hundred Millions of Gentiles; that no scheme of Missions was complete unless a Mission to the Jews were placed in the foremost rank. I myself did not always think so; for half my Missionary life I thought lightly of this duty. "They have Moses and the Prophets: let them hear them." Benevolence was then the leading motive-cause of my interest in non-Christian races; but in my second tour through the fields and villages of Palestine, after an interval of thirty years, my eyes were opened to a sense of *obedience to the Lord's Command*, and a feeling of *Holy Duty*. In my long rides day by day from Jerusalem to Bethel, from Bethel to Shechem, from Shechem to Nazareth, from Nazareth to Tiberias, I thought of God's dealing with Israel for thirteen centuries. He had led them on to victory, and divided the land among them; He let them be chastened when they sinned, let them be oppressed and taken

captive, and yet still, after a time, He had turned and had pity on them. A thousand years in His sight are but as a day. Can we not feel for the Jews, as we should for a brother shut out of his inheritance? Has the Lord forgotten to be gracious? Is His mercy clean gone for ever? Is there no balm in Gilead, and no beauty in Jerusalem? Shall we shut the door of repentance on the Jews, and not give them the opportunity of entering into the Kingdom, which we give to the whole World? Shall we in our short-sightedness limit the illimitable mercy of the Lord? We think ourselves fully rewarded for waste of lives and treasure, if we gather into the fold one African tribe, one island of the Southern Seas, simply on the ground of our common humanity. Shall we not do our best, our very best, for the lost sheep of the House of Israel on the common ground of the divinity of our Religion, and in obedience to the parting Command of the Risen Saviour? We do not expect any literal fulfilment of the high-flown poetic expressions of the Prophets, who, in the fulness of their spiritual vision, and their total ignorance of Geography and History, made use of expressions, which have led fond enthusiasts to dream of a literal fulfilment; and as none has come in the long process of centuries, enthusiasm for Israel has waxed cold, and under the vague ideas of a Millennium, the practical duty of carrying to them the Gospel-Message has been pushed aside.

In many churches during the whole year the thoughts of Christian congregations are never drawn to the Jews, or, if a sermon be preached, it is in a general kind of way, as for a tribe in Africa or South America. On the other hand, a mighty change is taking place among the Hebrews: a portion cleave only to a mere meaningless ritual; another portion is on the down-grade to mere Theism, forgetful of the Great Hope, unmindful of the Precious Promises. A large portion cares not for any form of Religion at all, but is entirely occupied with the things of this World. They ask, reproachfully, why the great Brahminical Religion, which came into existence long before the time of Moses, still holds its own, with temples, priests, and ritual, over hundreds of millions, while the Holy Hebrew Nation has ceased to be a geographical expression. Though even to this day to the Hebrew, when Moses is read, the veil is on his heart, the Gentile cannot urge, that there is any veil over *his* heart; he knows *his* Duty, if he can only find grace to do it. Our Lord's words are clear: "Go rather to the lost sheep of the House of Israel." The same divine voice which uttered, "Ask of me and I will give you the heathen for your inheritance," spake also by the Prophet: "I will be the God of all the families of Israel, and they shall be my people. Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love; therefore with loving-kindness have I drawn thee." It is not a question of the territorial occupation of Jerusalem, but of the spiritual Conversion

of the Jews, wherever they may be. And it is well written in the Book of Maccabees: "God did not choose the people for the place's sake, but he chose the place for the people's sake." There is no one place as the centre of the Religion of Christ, which belongs to the whole World.

The Temple is indeed gone, but we read in the Revelation, that in the New Jerusalem no temple was seen, for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb were the Temple of it. The priesthood is indeed interrupted, and the tribal divisions are forgotten, but there is a High Priest, and the people are called by His name. Touched with contrition for the cruelty of our forefathers, who made the name of Christian odious to the poor suffering Hebrew, each follower of Christ should strive in love to show the way to the New Jerusalem; he should feel, that the bliss of Heaven would be to him incomplete if, up to the time of his departure, *through his slackness* in obedience to the Divine Voice, the great Scheme of Salvation, which commenced in the Wilderness, and is still slowly but surely working out, has not been completed; if his elder brother, the Hebrew, his schoolmaster to lead him to Christ, is absent on the day, when the Lord makes up His jewels.

Religious Review of Reviews, 1892.

XIV.

SPEECH IN EXETER HALL, LONDON.

ANNUAL MEETING OF LONDON JEWS SOCIETY, 1885.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY and my dear Friends, I consider it a great honour to be allowed to second this Resolution. It has come unexpectedly upon me, as I am a stranger to this Society, and I take shame to myself for having been so, but I must explain how it has arisen. For forty years I have taken an interest in Missionary operations, and love Missionaries of all denominations. I learned my lesson in principle from that great man Daniel Wilson, the Bishop of Calcutta, and I learned it in practice from my master, Lord Lawrence. But my attention has naturally been called to my own people, among whom I lived for twenty-five years, the Hindu; and when on my return to England, I found that many cared for the Indian, and none for the African, my heart went out to the African. Seeing how narrow our Missionary resources were, and how much work had to be done, it seemed to me, that I should devote all my

powers to the Heathen, and I then deliberately proposed to my own Society, the Church Missionary Society, to pause awhile as regards the mission to the Mahometans, and to gather in the rich harvest of the savage and uncivilized Nations, who were stretching out their hands to God. If I were opposed to the Missions to the Mahometans with their false Prophet and their Human, though magnificent, Korán, how much more was I opposed to wasting time on the Jews with their true Prophet and divine Book? This was, therefore, the principle, on which I acted, and when we had a conference at Mildmay, and I was asked to take part in it, and admit this Society, I opposed it, because I said, "The Lord has given us the Heathen for an inheritance; the Jews have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them." But my mind has changed since then. Reflection and experience have taught me to think differently, and I will tell you the reason in detail, as perhaps many people's minds may run in the same line. The first three reasons are common to us all. The first reason is, that Christ died for all without any reserve. Secondly, the Commission, that we have for Missions, includes every Nation in the World, commencing at Jerusalem. It does not exclude the Jews. And, thirdly, the example of the first Missionary, the apostle Paul. But there were three reasons peculiar to myself which have led me up to this conviction, and I will tell you them. Six years ago, Dr. Delitz published his wonderful translation of the New Testament in the Hebrew, and in that short period it has passed through six editions, and another translation is now being prepared by another great scholar to be published, and there is a third translation for the use of your own Society. Those Books are bought, and they are bought to be read. They are not Books likely to be attractive to the general public, but if they are read they must do their work, as the Jews only will read the Book. That was my first reason. The second reason has arisen from the state of the Jewish people in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. In Western Europe we know them as an accomplished people, richer than ourselves, and first in talent and art and science everywhere. But if you could but see the Jew in Eastern Europe or Central Asia, you would see at once what a different kind of person he appears from what he is in Eastern Europe and in Central Asia. I was once travelling with some Israelites, as they call themselves, from Paris, and when we got among the Jews in Russia, they looked with pain upon their fellow-Religionists. In Odessa and South Russia it is the same, and although one's blood boils when one thinks of the persecution in Russia and Germany of the Jews, one cannot be surprised, when one finds Englishmen living in Odessa, and even members of the Bible Society, joining against them. There I saw the lowest of the low. Thence I crossed over the Black Sea to Tiflis, in Southern Russia, and I said to a friend, "How about the Jews here?" The

answer was, "There are no Jews here"; and I was about to ask another question, when my friend said: "You need not ask any more questions about the Jews, for the Armenians do all the bad and degrading work here. We have no occasion for the Jews." You see, therefore, how much there is to be done, and that it is the Jew that requires the Gospel. Another reason has been suggested by my late tour in Palestine. It is my privilege and joy to have been twice round the Holy Land in the course of the third of a century. In my long rides through Palestine from place to place two considerations rose upon my mind. The first was, how small this country of Palestine is. From the top of Mount Gerizim you can see the whole of the land: Mount Hermon in the North, the mountains of Moab in the South, the hills of Gilead in the East, and the Mediterranean in the West: it all lies before you, and it is a poor and miserable land. Looking at it from the point of view of an Indian administrator, who knows what countries are, I should give away such a Province to the Russians without compunction by treaty or arbitration, or to the Amir of Afghanistan, or to the Maharaja of Kashmír, in exchange for a camel. It is not worth retaining for commerce or agriculture. And the Hebrews themselves? What is their History apart from their divine connection? They had neither the valour nor the greatness of the Romans, nor the wisdom of the Greeks. They have left no monuments behind them like the Egyptians and Assyrians, and greatness finds no place in Israel. Why, then, do we love the Holy Land? Why do we go on a pilgrimage to it, and why does the name of the Jews stir in our hearts a lively feeling towards them? Because to them were confided the Oracles of God, and because of the line of the Jews came the Saviour of mankind. This was the first consideration. The second was still more solemn. I read in the Pentateuch, and Joshua and Judges, how God guided the steps of Israel, led them on to victory, and divided the land among them, as it were, under His special superintendence. He let them be chastised when they sinned, and let them be oppressed and taken captive, and yet still after a time He turned and had pity upon them. "A thousand years in His sight are but as one day." Can we not feel for the Jews? Has the Lord ceased to be gracious? Is His mercy clean gone for ever? Will He never turn back to His people again? Is there still no balm in Gilead, and no beauty in Jerusalem? Shall we shut the door of repentance on the Jews, and not give them the opportunity of entering in, which we give to all the Nations of the World? Shall we in our short-sightedness limit the illimitable mercy of the Lord? It is our duty, therefore, to bring the Gospel to these people, to call them in, and not to say that they will never believe, because they hitherto have not believed. We compass the earth and sea in our Missionary enterprise, we utilize all the arts and sciences in carrying out our Missions; we

send noble men and women to live in inhospitable climates and die there; and we at home in England devote our time and talents and substance in carrying out this Missionary enterprise; and we think ourselves fully rewarded, if we gather into Christ's fold one African tribe, or one island in the Southern Sea, simply on the ground of the common Humanity of our nature. Shall we not do something for the lost sheep of the house of Israel on the ground of the common Divinity of our Religion? These are the sentiments, which have brought me to the conviction that, not neglecting the Heathen, it is our duty as Christian men to do something for the Jews. Therefore I honour and speak up for this Society, upon the principle which I have now described. Whilst on a visit to Jerusalem thirty-three years ago, I found good Dr. Macgowan and Mr. Nicolayson, and Bishop Gobat, and his dear wife, and Mr. Reichardt. The four first now sleep in the graveyard of Jerusalem; their work is done. On the last visit I found Mr. Kelk and Mr. Friedländer. I visited them in their homes, and saw their work, and their schools; I saw Dr. Chaplin, the centre of usefulness in his hospital. I visited Miss Barlee in her house in Jerusalem; a very different house to that which she occupied in London. Still, she has good work before her, and she is one, who will do that good work. Your Mission, Friends, is flourishing at Jerusalem. I also saw your work at Damascus, under Mr. Sherman. Three years ago, I visited your Mission at Tunis. Mr. Reichardt had not arrived when I was there, but I found the schoolmaster, Mr. Perpetua, in his school. A good work is being practically and systematically carried on, but more money is required. Exertions must be made to extend its operations, and in seconding this Resolution I heartily commend it to your support and your sympathy.

The Record, 1886.

XV.

THE REMNANT OF ISRAEL: HOW IS IT TO BE BROUGHT TO CHRIST?

THIS is the great problem of the Epoch, and the solution seems far off. The two great impediments are (1) the abominable treatment, which the Hebrew race received at the hands of all Christian Nations down to the end of the last century, and in Russia up to the present moment; (2) the extraordinary hallucinations of the Hebrews as to their importance in the centuries preceding the Christian era. As a statistical and historical fact they never rose

even in their best days above the position of a petty kingdom, such as that of Nepál or Burma, entirely dependent on the great Monarchies on each side of them. Even Jewish Christians cannot divest themselves of the idea, that they were of much greater importance in the History of the world than Greeks, Latins, Persians, Indians, and Chinese. Missionary operations are very difficult and very unsuccessful. Sometimes a Parochial system is recommended and considered a *sine quâ non*, sometimes a separate agency, but in both cases admission to some recognized existing Church in Great Britain is deemed indispensable.

It may fairly be argued why they should not have a separate Church of their own. Messrs. Baron and Schönberger now desire to found a Hebrew-Christian Association, not in antagonism to, but outside, all Gentile Churches. They have a building in White-chapel, and invite the Hebrews to visit them, and join in discussion on the merits of the Hebrew and Christian Religions, based on the Old Testament admitted by both. They have been at work for a few years, and publish a quarterly Periodical called the "Scattered Nation," which explains their intentions. It is notorious, that a Hebrew, named Rabbinowitch, started something of the same kind in South Russia, and another Hebrew, named Lichtestein, is on the same task in Hungary at Buda-Pest. Their idea seems to be to get rid of the Talmud, and accept Jesus as the Messiah, and the New Testament, but to have nothing to do with any Gentile Church. Of course those, who fondly believe that Episcopacy is a Divine Institution, and that the European Churches, in spite of all the accumulations of mediaeval bad customs, are the only models of a Church to the Jewish, Mahometan, and Pagan World, will protest. Let them do so. The Kingdom of Heaven is not bound by Human Institutions.

The real difficulty is in another quarter. The Hebrew community has long ceased to be a Nation: it has neither country, nor Language, nor social customs, in common. The Hebrew Language died at Babylon more than 2,000 years ago, and the race was never united again, for many remained at Babylon, and later on took place the great Diasporà among the Gentiles. It is a mere myth to suppose, that the Hebrew race speak the old Language, called Hebrew, from their cradles: it is to them the Language of their Sacred Books, their Liturgy, and their Ritual. In addition to the Language of the country, in which they sojourn, they make use of degraded Jargons. They are reckoned at seven, or according to others twelve, Millions, but scattered over an enormous area, chiefly dwelling in towns, although of late some portions have taken to agriculture: they are split up into numerous sects, and differ greatly from each other, ranging from a semi-Pagan Ritualist, worshipping in an unknown tongue, and longing to get back to the sacrifice of animals, to a Unitarian of the simplest, most refined,

and holiest type, placing Jehovah before their eyes as the one object of their Love and of their Desire. No attempt is made by any one of them to spread this knowledge to the Gentiles. Their's is an absolutely stagnant Religious Conception, an anachronism, an effete survival. As to the idea of restitution of a population of eight Millions to a Province, which could not support them, it is a mere dream out of the sphere of practical politics.

The Rock, 1896.

XVI.

JUDAISM AND SACERDOTALISM.

IN the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for January, 1893, a periodical of great importance, appears a remarkable article by a Mr. Simon, on the Authority of Dogma in Judaism. The Jewish Synagogues are constituted under a certain Act of Parliament, 1870, and the Chief Rabbi of the United Congregations of the British Empire lately inhibited a Jewish Minister for the two reasons :

- (1) He refused to offer prayer for the restitution of the sacrificial rite.
- (2) His published utterances contain matter deemed to be at variance with traditional Judaism.

Mr. Simon's strictures apply to the first reason: he remarks, that belief in the restoration of sacrifices has never been held in the present generation as an essential Article of the Jewish Creed. It has no place in the Thirteen Articles in the orthodox Prayer-Book.

The rite of Sacrifice is one, which is characteristic of an age, which has passed away, and which cannot be lived over again. The ancient rite of shedding the blood of beasts was shared with all the heathen world, and was nothing but a means to an end, and essentially of a temporary character. The Human mind must advance in the course of centuries, and is incapable of reverting in the long order of progress: if it be argued, that a peculiar Law or system is stationary, such as sacrifices and mutilation of the Human body, as a quasi-service of God, the reply is that Human character and Human ideas of right and wrong, "*quod decet aut non decet*," are not stationary, nor is it possible to arrest the growth, and change, and extinction of an ideal in the long march of countless generations. Possibly, Paul the Apostle may have hesitated before he

abolished sacrifice and circumcision, but the feeling of his Gentile converts compelled him to advance: a social and Religious practice cannot re-establish itself after being obsolete for nearly two thousand years.

Prayer has taken the place of sacrifice. Even if it were possible, that the fond fancy of some that the Hebrew race, the descendants of Abraham, the two tribes of Judah and the ten tribes of Israel, were restored to Canaan, and the number is twelve in the Revelation, it is not conceivable, that their return would take place without the aid of Science, and the ordinary features of modern social environment. There might be again erected a gorgeous Temple, but it would be illuminated by electric light. Railways, Telegraphs, and Printing-Presses, would accompany the returning children of Abraham: there would be libraries, schools, Synagogues, and social culture, dinner-parties, and dances, but there would be no butcher's work of killing calves and goats.

Mr. Simon remarks, that the same line of argument applies equally to Sacerdotalism in the Christian Church. Religion can never mean Stagnation, but Development. The attempt to limit the progress of modern Religious thought by the dicta of Fathers in North Africa in the third and fourth centuries is futile: to choke it by the practices of the Middle Ages, seems analogous to offering prayers for the restitution of sacrifice.

Record, 1893.

XVII.

THE NEW JUDAISM.

IN the pages of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for January, 1897, is a remarkable paper by Mr. Oswald John Simon, a well-known Hebrew. The question before us is put in few words. "Slowly and surely the conviction has grown upon me, that here in England, and in our own generation, it is possible and reasonable to make some beginning in the active propagation of the Faith of Israel beyond the confines of the Jewish race." Mr. Simon had already ventilated the subject of the Mission of Judaism in the October number of the *Fortnightly Review*. The Editors of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* collected the opinions of various persons upon this suggestion, and invited Mr. Simon to preface these opinions with a brief summary of the motive, and proposed practice.

His considerations are that :

(1) "The apprehension of the Deity and of Human responsibility is such as is appropriate and adaptable to Gentiles, as well as the Jews, because they are eventually of Human, and therefore universal, character."

(2) "It is clear, that numbers of educated English are in need, and in quest, of a Religion, which is at once Monotheistic and historical."

We thankfully note the fact, that the narrow-minded Hebrews at length, 1900 A.D., admit, that the World was not entirely made for their sole benefit. We admit with deep sorrow, that owing to the Pagan and Jewish tendencies of the High Church Ritualist, and the Sensationalism of a section of the Evangelicals, the doctrines of Jesus of Nazareth are disappearing from our midst : they have taken away the Lord, and we know not where they have placed him : the late Mr. Spurgeon admitted that. Unitarianism has steadily grown, and something more deadly, Theism, and the doctrines of Christianity, as formulated by the great Councils, must soon be placed on the anvil to be reconsidered.

It is proposed, that individual Jews, whose attachment to the Synagogue is beyond suspicion, should hold services in the English Language on Sundays, and deliver discourses, that should present to the outer World the ancient Faith of Israel. Mr. Simon thinks, that it would be a distinct gain to Civilization, and to the development of the "Religious idea," that there should be betwixt Jew and Gentile a *channel of direct Religious fellowship*, for Christians have been hitherto unfamiliar with the Spiritual life of Judaism. No Hebrew rite, or custom, should be introduced : it is to be distinctly understood, that the desire is to fill a gap in the Religious World, and not to assail any Religious organization, whether Unitarian or Trinitarian : the object of the movement is, to create a definite alliance between the Theism of the Jew and the Theism of the Gentile. These are the views of Oswald John Simon : Jesus of Nazareth has no place in such a Drama.

I. Dr. Adler, the Chief Rabbi, in his opinion, disputes the fact, that through all the ages since Abraham the Hebrew Religious Conception has never been outwardly, or inwardly, Missionary : there has been, indeed, a willingness to receive proselytes, who came prompted by sincere conviction, but that reception was accompanied by personal amputation of a part of the Human body, more degrading than the cutting of the tail and ear of a brute beast, by old-world obsolete Ritualism, and by the lower position assigned to those, who were not of the seed of Abraham after the flesh : whether many Hebrews are of the seed of Abraham is doubtful. Dr. Adler thinks, that Mr. Simon's scheme would be surrounded by grave perils : he thinks, that there is quite enough work to be done

to keep the luxurious and wealthy Jews from apostacy, the poor and dejected Jews from Paganism, and the younger generation from ignorance of the principles and practice of Judaism.

II. Miss Sylvie d'Avigdor remarks, that this proposition is the result of Education, Toleration, and free intercourse of the Hebrew with the Gentile: it is folly to enforce obsolete Law: a wider Judaism would keep Hebrews in the field, and bring back wanderers, and with them Gentile Proselytes, all believing in the love of one God, love of Justice, Mercy, and Truth.

III. The Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter admits, that the object is desirable, but doubts whether Judaism can supply the want, and admits ignorance of the (so-called by Mr. Simon) Spiritual life of Judaism.

IV. Mrs. Julia Cohen doubts, and thinks, that the true Mission of Judaism ought to be to preach to the Hebrews themselves, who never think of their *raison d'être* (why they exist) in this World.

V. Mr. Frederick Conybeare thinks, that the Christians rather than the Hebrews require Missions to convert them, for Christianity, save among Protestants, is indistinguishable from old Idolatry: but he hopes, that Mr. Simon's dream may some day be realized.

VI. The late Professor James Drummond remarks that, if the intention be to dwell on the great *Moral* and *Religious* principles of that Monotheism, which Hebrews and Christians have received from a remote Past, we may hope that the power of an actual Faith, speaking to the World with a voice long silent, will find many a waiting heart, and bring it back to the reality of God.

VII. Mr. Abrahams (Editor of *Jewish Quarterly Review*) heartily concurs with Mr. Simon as to the (1) importance, (2) practability, of a Jewish Mission at the *present* moment. It is not sufficient to *live* a *good* life, but we must preach a good life: there must be Jewish precept as well as Jewish practice. He, however, begs Mr. Simon to proceed tentatively, as according to him (Mr. Abrahams) the Hebrews have not as yet formulated any Religion of the Future, and rely too much on the results of old outworn introspection: that as a fact, if the Religious consciousness of all honest men were analyzed, it would be found to contain almost identical elements. Of course, he being a Hebrew thinks the resultant principles of all these common elements could be more easily and finally expressed in terms of a purified Judaism, than in terms of any other purified Religion. He admits, that it will be seen that God's Spirit inspired men in all ages, but most of all the Hebrew Prophets (his "doxy"),

and is still strong to save. He thinks that the Judaism, which Mr. Simon desires to preach, will be found to fulfil the need of many, who are at the present time dissatisfied with current forms of Religion.

VIII. Mr. Claude Montefiore follows: if it be assumed, that Unitarianism is too Christian, and Theism too polemical and of too uncertain an existence, a Universalist Branch of Judaism would be constant, permanent, and vital. A Mission of this kind would do honour to Judaism, and good. Judaism would become a living power: at present, when Hebrews talk of their Mission and duty to Mankind, it is, as if a man boasted of a fine jewel, and wrapped it up, so that no one could see it. Still, he doubts of any realization *now*, because the men for the work do not exist, nor is it clear what the attitude of the new Judaism is to several important questions:

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| (1) Towards the Pentateuch and the Law | } Higher Criticism. |
| (2) Towards the Miracles of the Old Test. | |
| (3) To the personality and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth. | |
| (4) Towards the New Testament as a whole. | |

Mr. Simon seems not to have thought out these all-important questions, nor has Literal Judaism made up its mind; but they must be answered before the new departure is made, as upon the character of the answer depends the success of the movement. More Knowledge, and more clearness of attitude, are required.

IX. The Rev. S. Friedeburg thinks, that the proposal is only the logical outcome of Hebrew convictions, but it is not *as yet* possible. There are practical objections: (1) Half-hearted Hebrews would take refuge in this new Association. (2) We should commit the same error as the Christian Missionary Societies to the Jews, who waste their money on the Jews Missions, instead of attending to the wants of poor degraded Christians: so the Hebrews require all the attention possible. (3) The movement might awaken ill-will towards the Hebrews among Christians, and rouse intolerance: the time for the movement is not yet.

X. Colonel Albert Goldsmid asserts, that at one time Jewish proselytes were numerous: the long probation of suffering of the Hebrew race stopped it: Jewish and Pagan conceptions of Divinity have long striven against each other to get the upper hand in Christianity. An intellectual revolt against doctrinal Christianity has arisen, and the time has come to open the gates to all, who desire to be proselytes; but active Missionary work is to be deprecated. The question is, Is the time ripe for Mr. Simon's scheme? is the *man* forthcoming?

XI. The Rev. Morris Joseph has warm approval for the général idea: he repeats objections, which have been already made, and argues against them.

XII. Mr. H. S. Lewis approves the principle of the measure, and asserts, that the Prophets regarded Judaism as a Missionary Religion; but the particular scheme of Mr. Simon is open to criticism. He declares, that sooner or later we shall have to determine what elements of Judaism, doctrinal, ethical, and ceremonial, are alone essential for us and others, and then press for their acceptance by the Gentile World. Reasoning will not accomplish this; Time will do the task for us: the survival will be of the fittest. Ceremonial rites which have outlived their time, must die.

XIII. Lady (Katie) Magnus considers Mr. Simon's ideals mistaken, and impossible.

XIV. Professor Marks is opposed to a Propaganda like the London Jews Society.

XV. Dr. James Martineau remarks that, if Judaism as presented in the records of its origin, its Code, and History till the Temple fell, were identical with the Judaism of Messrs. Simon and Montefiore, he would concede to them a Mission with fervent hope; but they have emerged into a Religion of Spiritual insight, and moral experience, quite beyond the range of the Law, or the Prophets. Conscience must be appealed to rather than the outward dictation of Law to reach the springs of Holy Truth and loving self-surrender.

XVI. The Rev. L. Sumner does not think, that all the World will ever become Jews in actual name: the fundamental Truths of Judaism may prevail, but we shall but do our duty by fulfilling our immediate obligations.

XVII. The Rev. S. Singer considers it to be a very grave matter indeed. It is necessary to state distinctly, that Judaism, while it contains some of the elements of Unitarianism, contains much besides and beyond. Mr. Simon is compelled to ignore this in his desire to commend the *inner spiritual life* of his Religion to Gentiles. In order to infuse Judaism he dilutes it. It is doubtful, whether any Gentiles will be attracted by an etherealized Judaism, denationalized festivals, Sunday-services, Jewish liturgies modified to suit Gentiles, and the suppression of every characteristic Jewish rite and custom.

We are to make a theological revolution in rosewater: we are to convince Gentiles, that the Jewish Religion is better, without

letting them know, that the Gentile Religion is worse. How is Monotheism in the Jewish service to be reconciled with the Christian Trinity? If Judaism is to be preached to the World, let it be preached openly and fully.

Then comes the question: is a Universal Religion at the present state of Human Thought desirable in itself? And am I morally constrained to make the Religion, in which I believe, the basis of a Universal Religion? Is it not rather the case, that especially in matters touching Spiritual Life, men are so constituted as to be unable to see things always eye to eye, and that difference of Religious Conceptions are of God's own implanting. Has not Nationality also something to do with it? We let Nations develop on their respective lines in peace: why not do the same with regard to Religion? Does the gain, produced by the Missionary Spirit, outweigh the attendant loss of charity?

Our Mission is to convert nominal into real Jews, to preserve for Judaism every son and daughter of the Faith: to give to the World from time to time, clear, sound, and enlightened exhibitions of the great principles of our Faith: to respect and live at peace with all sincere followers of other Religions, to unite with all in works of Humanity, to bear our testimony to the Fatherhood of God, and Brotherhood of Man, in spite of the endless differences in the intellectual and spiritual features of the Human race: "Many folds, one flock."

XVIII. Miss Anna Swanwick expresses herself as follows: The exposition of the fundamental Truths of Judaism may be a valuable contribution to the Religious influences of the Epoch. Certain great principles harmonize with the convictions of Unitarians, viz., Monotheism, Trust in God, Realization of the Invisible, Immanence of God in the Human Soul, without Mediation: but the two movements should be kept distinct.

XIX. The Rev. Charles Voysey remarks, that he discussed this same subject a quarter of a century ago with the late Dr. Benisch. He is in favour of the Synagogues being open for further Worship on Sundays; both liturgy and service must be in English; and the Ministers must be Hebrew members of the Synagogue. The advantages would be, to teach the paramount obligation to know, trust, and love God, and those Spiritual Conceptions of God, which are the special inheritance of the Hebrew, but which are not held in purity by Christians. This teaching would attract men, who have become alienated from Christian Creeds: it will be a blessing to the Hebrews themselves, who have hitherto lost sight of the Divine purposes, for which they have been marvellously preserved: it will rouse worldly Hebrews to the fact of the intense value of

their Religion. They must preach the God of Israel and of the Universe, and not make the common mistake of raising a mortal fallible man into an object of unique admiration; they must not preach more about Jesus of Nazareth than about God.

XX. Mr. Lucien Wolf sees nothing to attract him in Mr. Simon's proposal, nor is it practical: it does not propose to make Jews, but unattached proselytes. Neo-Judaism must either be propagated in its entirety, or not at all: it would, like Unitarianism and Theism, lack the inspiration of a great historic sanction: it would waste energy, which is wanted at home.

XXI. Mr. Zangwill is the last on the list. He is of opinion, that the corrosive action of modern criticism has irretrievably sapped the ancient conception of Jesus of Nazareth, but he does not approve of Mr. Simon's scheme or arguments. The Mission of Judaism, according to him, must be on specifically Jewish lines, or none at all. Now the Hebrews at this moment are in a transition-stage, and are disagreed as to what are specifically Jewish lines: therefore it would be better to wait, so as to be quite sure as to what we wish to teach.

Mr. Simon returns to the subject in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* of April: he has the twenty-one opinions before him, and finds as much value in the objections of some, as in the acquiescence of others; for everyone approached the subject in a spirit, which seems to realize, that *the time for discussing it has come*. Even those who oppose him, admit, that the Faith of Israel was the property of the whole World, not only of the Hebrew race.

One of the main objections is, that Judaism must be propagated in its entirety, or not at all. What is the meaning of *entirety*? It includes, of course, all the Ritual, and the old-world practice of mutilating the male body, as a sign of Spiritual adoption. Mr. Simon suggests the remedy, that the Hebrews must disentangle themselves from the cobwebs of Ritual, in which centuries of National isolation have submerged them: the Hebrew must be led to distinguish between the Faith of Israel, the Spiritual Conception, and the outer shell, the Ritual, the inheritance of ignorant centuries. And there is no hope of a Judaic Mission winning souls, until the Missionary feels, that his Faith is independent of the iron cage of Ritual, which surrounds it.

Mr. Simon argues, that the abandonment of such customs, even of circumcision, will not imperil the Spiritual Conception of Judaism. Was not sacrifice a primary and essential feature of Judaism? but since the destruction of the second Temple it has ceased, and the Faith has not suffered thereby. He then lays down a great and eternal Truth, that to identify in an inseparable manner

the great Spiritual needs of the Human race with any special rite, particularly a rite belonging to a different state of Human Culture, and Human Knowledge, is a great philosophical blunder, and involves the gravest misapprehension of Spiritual Truths. We thank Mr. Simon for these sentiments, but they show clearly, that he is no longer a Hebrew, but a Theist. He charges those, who use such arguments, as he now opposes, with pleading, not for the Faith, but the crust of the Faith.

Mr. Simon then replies to the Rev. S. Singer, and Mr. Lucien Wolf, and boldly states, that those elements of the Divine Faith of Israel, which have already penetrated the hearts of men beyond the limits of the Hebrew race, and taken their place among Christian doctrines, should be instantly and gladly recognized, as the outcome of the Revelation, which the people of Israel have inherited. He then passes into the great subject of the personality and utterances of Jesus of Nazareth. No word of disrespect passes his lips, and he claims him as one of his own Nation. His fundamental objection is, that God the Father is only approached by Christians *through an intermediary*; but he lays stress on the great fact, that God in His inscrutable Wisdom has elected, or permitted, one man to influence a great portion of the Human race since the time of the Emperor Augustus on the subject of the relation of the Soul to God, and that man was unquestionably a Hebrew, and his Apostles, and his Chroniclers, with one exception, were Hebrews also. In the opinion of Mr. Simon, the Neo-Judaism of the first century of the Christian era made a compromise with Hellenism, and was therefore rejected by the Jew. The ideal Jesus is, in his opinion, "a type and representative of a fulness of Faith, and a purity of Worship, which stands out as a brilliant example of the Life with God": but he does not grapple with the distinct dilemma, in which the late Canon Liddon places the doubter in the Divinity of Jesus Christ; it is not the question of "*Aut Deus aut Homo*," but "*Aut Deus aut Malus Homo*," for Truth is of the very essence of Religious Teaching, and the founder of Christianity distinctly asserts "that He and His Father were one," which must be either true or false; and, if false, all confidence ceases in the Teacher.

Mr. Simon tells us that, in the Hebrew Army, there are three Camps: (1) The Orthodox, who swallow the whole Ritual; the stupid conservative of every association of the Human race, whether he is a stiff old Brahmin at Banáras, or a Hebrew of a London Synagogue, or the Priest of an English Parish. (2) The Reformed, who have an eye to the Spiritual. (3) Men, who are neither renegades nor agnostics, but intellectually estranged from Orthodox Judaism, and yet unassociated with any Reform movement within the Jewish fold: they are critics towards every school of thought, which is presented to them, and yet stand outside those schools. This clearly indicates, that there is a shaking of dead

bones, and a spirit moving in their midst. He also makes the startling assertion, that there are earnest orthodox Hebrews, who would rather that members of their fold should exist as nominal Hebrews, with no Religious observance at all, than that their souls should be drawn to God by any means, which deviated in the slightest degree from the orthodox position. We know the features of this case, as it occurs constantly in the Church of England: any amount of indifference is tolerated rather than the dissatisfied members become nonconformist. But these phenomena indicate the sure beginning of the end.

The wholesale abuse of Non-Christian Religions, which have a record of centuries, and a following of millions, is the poor resource of an ignorant, and stupid, bigot. To assert that all, who differ from a particular shibboleth, are wicked, abominable, and children of Satan, is to evidence a dense ignorance of the History of the World, ancient and modern, and a want of appreciation of the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness, of that God, who created the World and its inhabitants, and hates nothing that He has made. We should humbly try to find evidence of Truth and Goodness in all Creeds, which have influenced the lives and actions of millions of our fellow-creatures through all the ages, and which influence them still. We can only see darkly, and in part, but we know, that the Lord Omnipotent ruleth the World, and in His Wisdom such things are permitted to be.

We offer a hearty welcome to Mr. Simon's proposal. But the sincere enlightened Hebrew should reflect on the nebula of exaggerated and undue sentimental importance, which, both in the Hebrew and Gentile mind, surrounds the History of his race, for it cannot be called a Nation, having for 1,800 years had no country, which it could under any pretence call its own. How small a space in the History of the World does his race occupy, but for the appearance for three years of one great Figure! The Ten Tribes disappeared absolutely 700 B.C. The same fate awaited the surviving two tribes, but for the great event, from which the Christian era is counted.

Does the world owe anything whatever in Science, Art, Invention, Architecture, Astronomy, Sculpture, Painting, Manufacture, or culture of the soil, to the Hebrew race? Was not the petty kingdom of Judaea a mere shuttlecock between the great Powers dwelling on the Nile and the Euphrates? When we weigh the comparative importance of the country and its king, and the value of their Revenues, in the same balance with the Chieftains of India, do we not feel how small a place the libidinous shepherd chief, who founded the kingdom of Israel, and his equally unscrupulous and immoral successor, would hold among the ancient hereditary Rájas and Náwabs of British India, if assembled in Durbar. Fresh from the administration of the newly-conquered

Province of the Panjáb, and the division into districts of that vast and rich territory full of warlike inhabitants, who had fought nobly against us, I visited Palestine in 1851, with the eye of an Indian administrator; and, when I surveyed the whole country from the top of Mount Gerizim, and considered its physical features on the Map, and its estimated population, and Revenues, it seemed to me roughly, that it would divide into two manageable Districts of the Panjáb scale, but poor and profitless. Egypt had always been a fat country, and it is a fat country still. The Hebrews, who occupied the country in the centuries preceding Anno Domini, had always been oppressed by the Philistines, the Syrians of Damascus, the Egyptians, Assyrians, the Greeks, and the Romans. The place of Palestine would have been, in modern History, such as Syria, Tripolitána, or Mónaco, but for that Light, which sprang up to lighten the Gentiles, born of a Hebrew mother, speaking the Language of his race at that period. A cabal of the Priests and dwellers at Jerusalem succeeded in compassing His death, just as in preceding centuries a vote of the Athenian Demos accomplished the death of Socrates. The lurid light from the Cross illuminated for ever the History of the race, which had rejected and slain its own prophet just as their forefathers had treated former prophets, and in a few years they were swept off the Map of the World by the Romans, never to be restored, as far as Human eye can foresee, for the ten millions of existing Hebrews, in different stages of Culture, speaking different Languages, could never find a National Settlement in a narrow Province, only fit for a population of two millions. We are bound to reflect what a negligable quantity in the History of the world the Hebrew race would have been, but for the appearance in the reign of the Emperor Augustus of Jesus of Nazareth, and His Words, which gave new life and evolution to the antiquated Hebrew Law. Mr. Simon closes his argument by distinguishing the position of his Hebrew race from that of the Theist, or the Christian. I quote his words (p. 427).

“ The message, which Judaism has to convey differs from all other forms of Theism, less on the *theological* aspect of what it has to tell than its purely *spiritual* and *Religious* side. The Hebrew race has a long personal tale, which has been told from father to son through more than a hundred generations, who have lived, suffered, and died, but have never lost the faith: that faith has realized for them the most personal, intimate, and tender, relation to God, which it is possible to conceive.”

This, according to his views, places it on a higher pedestal than modern Theism, the creature of this or the last century, with no long History. He goes on :

“ It was a love so transcendent, so imperishable, that it cannot be measured by the story of any other faith, just because it was

“ independent throughout of that, which outside the Jewish Family
 “ is still believed to be indispensable to it, namely ‘Mediation.’
 “ God is close to each individual Soul separately and distinctly,
 “ without Mediation of any kind whatever, for every Human being
 “ is His very own child.”

This argument excludes the Christian, and here the issue rests on :

- (1) The truth of the Record of the Evangelists.
- (2) On the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth.

Now there was a time, when the Hebrew race might have preached this great doctrine of “God is Love,” and of a high personal Morality, with great advantage to the Nations of Asia, North Africa, and West Europe, and it is clear, that the Hebrew Prophets regarded this as a duty of their countrymen. But the early Hebrews spoke of a God of Israel, admitting a possibility of the existence of a god of Moab, of Ammon, and elsewhere : in fact, were Monolatrists rather than Monotheists, and knew not the God of the whole Human race : later on they looked upon all the races of Mankind, except their own miserable selves, as ceremoniously unclean. Moreover, only on one occasion do their own Annals record a Mission of a Hebrew Prophet to a Gentile people, in the person of Jonah.

It looks, as if they had not made use of their opportunity lent to them : they had not discharged the duty laid upon them either in the centuries preceding or following the Anno Domini, and had forfeited in consequence the blessing which accompanies the attempt to save the Souls of others.

The door is now shut : there has been an evolution of Divine Knowledge, and others have entered into the inheritance : their present effort may profit themselves, and bring a reflex blessing to their own dead ritualists ; but it is difficult to conceive the possibility of a Gentile falling into the fold of Neo-Judaism, as it is proposed to be presented.

Mr. Simon seems to claim for his Hebrew race the monopoly of the idea of Monotheism among the early Nations of the World. He seems to take no cognizance of the equally ancient, and still existing, Religion of the Zoroastrian Ormuzd, and the Hindu “Ekam adwityam,” “The one God and no second.” The Hebrew shared the rite of sacrifice of Animals, as a Religious duty, with all the Heathen races. We read of the Poet Horace sacrificing a goat to the Fountain of Bandusia, and Virgil, the Poet, sacrificing to the honour of Emperor Augustus : the Hindu occasionally sacrifices to this day. It was a cruel custom, and no doubt the priests fed themselves and their families in that way ; yet in Hebrew Synagogues in London, prayers are offered for the restitution of their old-world rite, in spite of Psalm li, 17, and repeated utterances of the Prophets.

The rite of circumcision the Hebrew still shares with the lowest races of uncultured Africans, and the naked statues in Egypt of the early dynasties give distinct evidence of its having been practised by the Egyptians: it is an abominable custom, only to be classed with caste-marks, teeth-extraction, castration, and other degradations of the Human body which was made in God's own image, and entirely devoid of all Spiritual significance. Perhaps a certain degree of internal reform, and levelling up to the standard of the Epoch, are necessary before the Hebrew of London can enter the arena as a Missionary to men and women of the Nineteenth century on the platform of European Culture.

C. ROMISH CHURCH.

XVIII.

INDUCEMENT TO TAKE IN RELIGIOUS JOURNALS.

It is delightful to read of an inducement to subscribe to Religious periodicals, including a Religious Weekly like the *Record*.

In the really excellent Roman Catholic Illustrated *Catholic Missions* for February, 1889, at p. 159, I read:

“ We are enabled to promise a monthly Mass for the exclusive benefit of our subscribers, the sole condition being the payment of the year’s subscription. We also collect Masses and prayers for the same object, and offers of such spiritual alms will be most gratefully received by the Editor.”

Cardinal Lavigerie baits his hook with a more delicate bait. He has lately repaired the ruined Chapel of St. Ann at Jerusalem, comprising a cave, where he maintains that the Virgin Mary was born. All who contribute 100 francs, or £4, will have their names inscribed on marble slabs, so that, “ when the Virgin lowers her eyes from Heaven to look at the place, which is so dear to her, they will fall upon the names of the communities and persons who are most devoted to her, and who will be under her special protection.”

This is delicate flattery, and an artful way to get in money, and I saw some ordinary French names inscribed; but the art is not new, and Homer anticipated the Cardinal, for in the “*Odyssey*,” Book iii, v. 438, he tells us how Nestor poured wine on the horns of the sacrificial bull in honour of Minerva.

“ ἴν’ ἄγαλμα θεὰ κεχάροιτο ἰδοῦσα.”

After all, the Roman Catholic methods of Worship are only Paganism readjusted to new objects of Worship.

Record, February, 1889.

ROME AND THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

It is often denied, that the Roman Catholic Church, in order to get over the difficulty of worshipping images, omits from its Tables of the Law the Second Commandment, and makes up the number of ten by subdividing the Tenth. It is interesting to find in the *Times* a clear proof of this fact in the ordinary speech of Irish Romanists, and I enclose the extract. Anyone who is familiar with Roman Catholic Chapels abroad must have often seen, as at the Cathedral at Malta, the statue of Moses with the two Tables in his hands, and the Tenth Commandment expressed as follows :

IX. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.

X. Nor his wife, etc., etc.

“ There were some evicted farms in the district, and he would ask the people to keep an eye upon those, who would try to covet their neighbour's goods. Lord Salisbury said, not so long ago, that the Irish party and the Irish people were breaking the Eighth Commandment, ‘Thou shalt not steal.’ (Laughter.) Mr. S. Ryan.—That is your Eighth Commandment, Doctor! It is our Seventh. Dr. Tanner.—I am only giving you the words of Lord Salisbury, when he heard that we were breaking the Commandment, ‘Thou shalt not steal.’ ”

Record, January, 1889.

XX.

LETTER TO EDITOR OF *MISSIONS CATHOLIQUES*,
LYONS.

64, *St. George's Square, Londres.*

15 *Août, 1882.*

CHER ET TRÈS RÉVÉREND MONSIEUR,

Il y a longtemps, que je m'occupe et m'intéresse à la lecture de votre bon hebdomadaire les *Missions Catholiques*, et je suis profondément touché de la libéralité de vos croyants, de la grandeur de vos récits, et du dévoûment des apôtres de l'Eglise Romaine.

Je désire vous amener à une sainte rivalité par rapport aux contributions Anglaises au service des Missions. C'est dans le mois de Mai, que nous tenons nos réunions chaque année, et que nous publions nos rapports annuels.

L'Angleterre donne non seulement de l'argent, qui ne compte pour rien aux yeux de Dieu, mais elle donne des âmes dévouées, des intelligences supérieures, et imprime une vigueur pratique, à la grande œuvre.

Elle croit que le bon Dieu n'a pas donné à la race Anglo-Saxonne une extension si prodigieuse sur la terre, seulement pour le commerce, la colonisation, ou la gloire mondaine, mais pour qu'elle soit l'ambassadrice spéciale de Dieu aux Païens et aux Mahométans.

Permettez moi, avec toute humilité, de corriger une espèce de malentendu, qui quelquefois me frappe dans les intéressants rapports des apôtres Français.

I. Les gouvernements Anglais et Américains ne se mêlent jamais de l'œuvre de la propagation de la Foi, et vous pouvez être sûr, que ni gouverneur de province, ni ambassadeur, ni consul, n'a la permission de lever la main, ou d'ouvrir la bouche, pour, ou contre, une dénomination chrétienne, quelle qu'elle soit.

Il existe dans le système gouvernemental des deux puissances Anglo-Saxonnes en Europe et dans l'Amérique du Nord, un principe, c'est que la liberté religieuse consiste non seulement à donner un libre cours aux prédicateurs de toute religion dans chaque pays, mais à s'abstenir, comme Gallio dans le temps de l'Apôtre Saint Paul, de se mêler aux affaires des Missionnaires, soit par force, par intrigue, ou par influence morale ou physique. "*Magna est veritas et praevalabit,*" mais le temps, la manière, et l'occasion, viennent de Dieu.

II. Dans les Provinces sujettes à la Couronne de la Reine et dans les colonies du peuple Anglais, il existe une impartialité absolue devant la loi, et une tolérance complète devant Dieu et devant les hommes.

J'ai occupé dans les Indes Orientales, pendant vingt-cinq ans, un poste élevé, et je suis à même d'affirmer l'exactitude de mes paroles, et les *Missions Catholiques* donnent quelquefois, comme par hasard, des preuves éclatantes de la simple et mâle loyauté des serviteurs de l'État.

Bien que protestants de cœur, nous nous rappelons, que notre raison d'être n'existe que dans une tolérance bienveillante et sympathique aux Missionnaires de l'Église de Rome.

Quoique toutes les Congrégations Anglicanes soient nationales, et que dans toutes nos opérations nous ayons un isolement insulaire, qui quelquefois est extravagant, nos efforts à évangéliser la terre n'ont aucun rapport avec notre position politique. Les Missionnaires français dans leurs rapports parlent toujours de la France, de l'influence Française et de ses droits; on dirait que l'Église de Rome est l'héritage direct de la France, ce qui n'est pas, car l'Église de Rome est universelle.

Dans les comptes-rendus Anglais, vous ne trouvez pas de telles expressions, parce que nous savons que le Royaume de Jésus n'est pas de ce monde et que nous espérons qu'après la chute de l'Angleterre, l'Eglise Chrétienne restera debout, dans les endroits où nous l'avons placée, comme un témoignage de ce que dans une époque de matérialisme et d'infidélité, le cœur de l'Angleterre fut fixé sur la religion. Nous croyons dans l'avenir, ce sera notre plus grande gloire d'avoir répandu la vérité chrétienne par toute la terre, et d'avoir introduit une copie de la Sainte E'criture dans le dialecte connu de chaque nation civilisée et de chaque tribu barbare.

Je veux aussi, Cher Monsieur, vous rappeler qu'à cette époque un certain tribut de respect est dû au Pouvoir Anglais, qui seul en Europe, offre à tous une hospitalité bienveillante, une protection illimitée, une liberté entière d'actions et de paroles, liberté que nul autre des grands Pouvoirs Européens ne veut concéder et que la France même, bien que républicaine, a refusée à ses propres enfants.

Agréez, je vous prie, Cher Monsieur, avec tous mes respects, l'expression de mon sincère dévouement.

*À Monsieur Le Redacteur des Missions Catholiques,
Lyons, France.*

XXI.

THE ROMISH BISHOP OF U GANDA.

THE new Romish Bishop of U-Ganda called on me last week, and we had a conversation of several hours. His name is Hanlon, a native of Manchester, brought up at Cardinal Vaughan's Missionary College at Mill Hill, sent out as a Missionary to Ladakh in North India, where he resided four years. He is an artist and an able writer; thirty-three years of age, and an Englishman in sympathies. I took him to a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society to hear the paper on Chitrál: his residence at Ladakh rendered the subject familiar to him: he was invited to speak, but was not well enough to do so.

He has just returned from Rome, where he was consecrated; he had an interview with the Pope, and showed me the Latin letter of the De Propagandâ Fide College, fixing the limits of the different Dioceses of the Region. There are to be three. The Southern comprises the territory within the sphere of German

Influence; the Staff will be entirely French. The second Diocese will be entirely French, with its headquarters at Rubága, and reaching westward as far as U-Nyoro. The third Diocese will be entirely English, with its headquarters at Mengo. It is to be called the Vicariat of the Upper Nile, and the Bishop is called the Bishop of Teos.

The Bishop thoroughly understands the principles, under which Missions are conducted by all Churches, and Denominations, in British India: (1) entire independence of the State in spiritual matters; (2) entire abstention on the part of the Missionary from Political matters. This is what the French Fathers never could, and never will, understand. It is always "La France" first, and "La Foi Chrétienne" in the second place. Bishop Hanlon has no occasion to be a Chauvinist; he is an Englishman in an English Sphere of Influence. Two things must be remarked: (1) There is no separate Region set apart for Protestant Missions; they must take their chance, as in British India, and will make their way peaceably, keeping clear of politics. (2) There is an absolute necessity for an English resident Protestant Bishop, with his headquarters at some convenient spot on Victoria Nyanza.

Four Missionaries accompany the Bishop, all Englishmen trained at Mill Hill College.

Record, April, 1895.

XXII.

A WARNING SPECTACLE.

IN these days of Ritualistic observance it is as well to reflect upon what it leads to. I enclose an account, which appeared in the *Times* of last week, of a ceremonial in the Island of Timos, on Lady Day of this year, in honour of the Annunciation. How true it is, that all Ritual is but the form of heathen Worship in disguise! The description of the procession might apply to some of the Hindu ceremonials in British India:

“ The Church, while sumptuous after a fashion, has no architectural pretensions or particular style, although its commanding position at the summit of the town looks down on the roadstead and single street, of which the place is mainly composed, and off on the neighbouring islands, Syra, Myconos, Delos, and Rhenea, and when the air is very clear, Paros. It is, no doubt, the successor of an ancient shrine, for Strabo tells us, that Tinos was the seat of a temple of Poseidon, to which

“ the people came from round about in great numbers; and as
 “ the earlier name of the town was St. Nicholas, which is the
 “ Christian equivalent of Poseidon, the temple of the former
 “ becoming the church of the latter, we need have no question, that
 “ in the modern ‘ panegyris ’ we have a survival of the ancient feast
 “ of the place. The great feature of the ceremonies of the day, the
 “ procession, is also an heirloom of the antique Ritual, in which the
 “ carrying of the images of the gods from one shrine to another
 “ was important, and of which the well-known case of the carrying
 “ of the statue of Athéné from the Acropolis of Athens to Eleusis,
 “ and that home-bringing which so disturbed the Persians in
 “ their occupation of the former, will occur to every classical reader.
 “ This custom still survives in the mountains of Italy, or did within
 “ my personal recollection, and I have seen the sacred statue carried
 “ from one town to the next one, and after a certain stay brought
 “ back, just as Athéné was brought from Eleusis, after the pre-
 “ scribed repose. As the Orthodox Church does not admit statues
 “ of the Saints, their place is taken by the icons or Byzantine
 “ pictures.

“ The Church of Tinos stands on a high platform, to which
 “ access is given by a broad and stately triple flight of marble steps,
 “ on which the people lay the sick to be healed by the passage over
 “ them of the miraculous icon. In advance of the staircase is
 “ a sort of triumphal arch, triple like the staircase, and this is
 “ surmounted by a broad terrace running the entire breadth of the
 “ convent. On this we took our places, and mine was directly
 “ above the central stairway, down which the procession was to
 “ come. It was to move at 10 a.m., but half an hour before the
 “ steps were partly occupied by the recipients of faith-cure:
 “ little children, anaemic girls, and decrepit old folks, with some
 “ whose malady could hardly have been more than fancy, for they
 “ seemed as robust and rosy as any of the assembly.

“ On one step lay, under the strong compulsion of three relatives,
 “ and with her hands tied behind her back, a handsome woman of
 “ the peasant class, apparently mad, madness being one of the
 “ maladies, over which the icon of Tinos is supposed to have
 “ especial power. She was one of the earliest brought, and her
 “ struggles to escape were pitiful, for they had laid her on the
 “ bare stone, with the fierce sun beating full in her face, and held
 “ her down by main force until the icon passed. Mothers sat,
 “ each holding her separate step and nursing her baby until the
 “ icon should come, and from the foot of the stairway down
 “ through the arch under us the line extended beyond our range
 “ of vision.

“ The procession, headed by priests and acolytes, gorgeous in
 “ gold and embroidery, came out into the sunshine, and carefully
 “ made its way over the prostrate sick, who, occupying every

“ alternate step, made the descent a delicate operation, if no one of
“ the struggling children were to be stepped on. I have heard
“ since my return, of a deaf, dumb, and blind child, which was able
“ to hear, speak, and see, after the ceremony; but the report was
“ to be expected, if not the cure. The treatment is also ancient.
“ At the Epidaurian sanctuary of Aesculapius during the late
“ excavations there was a tablet found with an inscription, re-
“ cording the cure of a woman who had gone four years pregnant,
“ and who was, after visiting the sanctuary, delivered of a child,
“ who immediately went to thank the god for his birth. The
“ inscription is authentic, if not the miracle. The instructed pious
“ Ritualist would shrink with horror from the idea of his outward
“ forms being compared to such extravagances, but History tells us,
“ how the ignorant, vulgar herd, are the same at every epoch, in
“ every country, in every nominal form of belief. In this terrible
“ parody of the Christian Religion the people were firm believers;
“ the priests were consenting, if not believers; for both priests and
“ people the Bible was written in vain.”

D. PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

XXIII.

WOMEN AS PLATFORM SPEAKERS.

Will you allow me to reply to the letter of the "Perplexed Layman" in your issue of July 5?

Our Lord tells us, that "at the beginning He made them male and female." Paul tells us that "there is neither male nor female, for we are all one in Jesus Christ." What reason can be brought forward to justify the admission on the platform of any incapable man, who pushes himself forward, and to refuse the enlightened, sanctified, aid of women, who make up half, or rather more than half, of the population of the globe?

There are individuals, of both sexes, to whom the special Grace is given of doing work in every part of the World worth describing, and describing that work in words worthy of record, some of which the hearers never can forget. Among the gems of the Old and New Testaments, can any passages be found, which surpass in purity of diction and nobility of sentiment the Song of Deborah, the Prayer of Hannah, and the *Magnificat* of the Virgin Mary?

In the translation of Ps. lxxviii, 11, in the Authorized Version, we seem to detect the hand of another "Perplexed Layman," who took liberty with the text. "The Lord gave the word: great was the company of those that published it." Hebrew students, who understand the gender of nouns, are aware that the proper rendering of the last clause is, "The 'women' proclaiming the glad news are a great host" ("Speaker's Commentary").

The words of Paul are deserving of the greatest respect, but his experience of the women of Corinth, who were a byword, and of the women of the Roman Empire in the period of its debasement from the high standard of the Graeco-Roman races, gave him no chance of forming a conception of the power, purity, eloquence, and developed gifts of the women of Northern Europe and North America in the nineteenth century, or he would hardly have suggested, that a woman who desired to learn anything should consult her husband at home (I Cor. xiv, 35), for there are

a great many women, who never had a husband, or who have lost their husband, and a great many, whose husbands are totally incapable of teaching anybody anything.

We must also recollect, that Satan has already availed himself of female help on his platforms, to draw away souls from God. Be it far from us to restrain lawful, though regrettable, use of female talents; but if the poison be allowed, are we to limit the use of the antidote?

All our talents, and the talents of every one of us according to our gifts, are to be consecrated to the service of our Master. I never listen to the voice of a woman on a platform (I mention no names) without being thankful, that I have lived beyond the epoch of prosy old clergy treating us to a portion of one of their old sermons, and to the fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel, ii, 28-9, quoted by Peter on the day of Pentecost: "Your sons and *your daughters* shall prophesy . . . and upon *the handmaids* in those days will I pour out My Spirit."

Record, 1895.

XXIV.

MARRIAGE OF BISHOPS.

I HAVE long been an advocate of enforcing Rules of celibacy up to the age of 34 upon young Missionaries, by which time they will have acquired about ten years' experience in the field; but only as a matter of expediency, for nothing would induce me to agree to *vows* of celibacy for a period, or for life. The appeal lately made by the Archbishop of York to the practice of the early centuries, as our rule of absolute guidance on the matter of the hour of the Holy Communion, led me to refer to the authorities of that period as to the practice of the Church generally on the subject of Matrimony. In Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, 1875, vol. i, p. 325, I found as follows:—

"It is easy to point to the examples of married Apostles, Bishops, and Presbyters, who had wives, and to whom children were born after ordination, and these prove, that Marriage was not incompatible by the Church's Law with ministerial duties. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to point to one instance, in which the marriage is contracted *after ordination*."

Marriage was permitted to the Clergy, but as such "they were not allowed to marry." You will perceive that, if we go back to the practices of the early centuries (and it is absurd to pick and

choose, to reject some and adopt others), I am placed on the horns of a dilemma, as regards young Missionaries. I wish to delay marriage until a suitable age, and not to forbid it. The practice of the Church of Rome is well known: absolute celibacy to every Church Official, and to every Missionary, lay or ordained. The practice of the Greek Orthodox Church is to insist on the parochial Clergy being married, but, when they lose their wives, they retire into a convent; and all Bishops are widowers, and must remain so. The idea of a consecrated widower Bishop standing by the side of a bride, dressed in the paraphernalia of the Nineteenth century, while he himself is in apron and gaiters, is one, that offends against all ideas of Apostolic order, the practice of early centuries, the period of mediaeval darkness, or the light of Reformation freedom. And yet there are those on the Bench of Bishops, who can strain at the gnat of Evening-Communion, and swallow the camel of Episcopal Matrimony.

Rock, 1893.

XXV.

FAITH-HEALING.

It is right that the public should know the facts with regard to the three Missionaries from Kansas, in America, who lately died at Sierra Leone, in consequence of refusing all medical treatment, and trusting to faith-healing. In *Regions Beyond* for October, 1890, Mr. Gratton Guinness denounced this sad sacrifice of precious lives. I now read in the *Missionary Review of the World* for November, p. 868, that Lord Knutsford, Secretary of State for the Colonies, transmitted to the Editors of that Review a copy of a report of the Colonial Surgeon of Free Town, with a covering letter from the Governor, Sir J. G. Hay, giving full details. The facts are simply, that a Mission to the Sudán, or the Regions to the East of Sierra Leone, beyond the King Mountains, was projected by some noble-hearted, enthusiastic, Christians in the Kansas State of the United States. They arrived at Sierra Leone. Dr. Ross, the Colonial Surgeon, was informed that, on July 9, two deaths had occurred in the Mission-Home; no medical-man had been called in, no medicine had been taken, as the whole party were staunch believers in the faith-healing doctrines. Dr. Ross remonstrated with Mr. Helmich, another member of the party, but could elicit no promise to depart in future from the course adopted. On the next day another Missionary, Mrs. Kingman, was found in the last stage of

neglected fever, which had assumed a malignant type, having been ill nine days. She died that day. Mr. Kingman and Mr. Tries were also ill, and the latter was removed to the hospital, while the former was induced to take medicine, on the ground, that his action endangered the whole community. In fact, Dr. Ross was obliged, for the public safety, to place all the Missionaries in strict quarantine. These poor infatuated Missionaries proposed to march East by the compass into the interior; they lived as natives, cooked, worked, and collected fuel for themselves, and the result of such exposure to fresh arrivals in the tropics was fever of a malignant and infectious character. The Editors of the *Missionary Review* denounced such foolish and wicked fanaticism, remarking, "that it was little less than wanton suicide, and that to persist in such conduct would ruin, not only this Mission, but inflict a lasting damage on all Missionary enterprise, and compel people to wash their hands clean of all abetting such supreme folly and practical madness. The Editors have not the slightest sympathy with such disregard of all proper precautions, not to say defiance of all sanitary and social laws." The Kansas managers of the enterprise disclaim all responsibility, and state that "the Missionaries had no such view, when they left the Far West, but on their way a certain well-known advocate of faith-healing had got hold of them, and infused into them his views of the subject."

I trust, that you will admit these lines into your columns, and join in denouncing the criminal conduct of the advocates of faith-healing above alluded to, and warn all crazy Christians, of the stamp of these poor victims, that it is the bounden duty of every Christian to take care of his poor body in every reasonable way, and employ all the resources of art and science in the case of illness, leaving the issue to our heavenly Father; that it is sheer wickedness to look upon disease or suffering as punishment for sins, since whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and many of the saints of God have suffered the longest on sick beds.

Rock, 1890.

THE UNJUSTIFIABLE USE OF THE DIVINE NAME.

LAST week, at Waterford, Mr. Redmond, the Roman Catholic Home Ruler, in the last words of his speech of triumph, introduced the Divine Name six times :

- (1) Duty to your God.
- (2) and (3) God bless you (twice).
- (4) God bless this old City.
- (5) May God watch over you.
- (6) May God save Ireland.

It was probably a farewell thrust at the notorious Atheist, who opposed him, Mr. Davitt, backed by the Pope, the Roman Catholic Bishops, and Priests of Rome, with wonderful inconsistency.

The same day produced a letter from Mr. Bramwell Booth, of the Salvation Army, consisting of thirty-seven lines, and introducing the Divine Name seven times :

- (1) Signs of Divine blessing.
- (2) To God be all glory.
- (3) I desire to glorify God.
- (4) The presence of God's Spirit.
- (5) The potency of Divine Truth.
- (6) Marks of God's eminent blessing.
- (7) Joy at their Lord's bidding.

The Mahometan makes constant appeal to the Deity in conversation and correspondence. The Christian justly calls this practice a breach of the Third Commandment, but is it more so in the case of a Mahometan than in a Christian mouth, and a Christian official document? The misuse of the Divine Name by the French in the most ordinary conversation is notorious. A French Lady can hardly open her lips without a "Mon Dieu." The English people were centuries ago so famous for this habit, that Froissart, the Chronicler, in his description of the battle of Agincourt, attributes the victory to the sudden appearance of Three

Thousand English "Goddams." This word long puzzled Philologists, but the derivation is now admitted, and the practice continued of blasphemous condemnation of the least thing, person or animal, that offends the speaker.

The subject would not be worth alluding to were there not evident signs of the literary habit growing in Evangelical Reports and Publications. Take, for instance, the Report of the Church Missionary Society for 1888-9. The Divine Name occurs 329 times in 239 pages, and in some pages as often as eight or nine times. It is coupled with different verbs and substantives, such as (1) wrought, (2) praise, (3) blessing, (4) approved, (5) claimed of, (6) sealed by, (7) owned by, (8) chosen by, (9) willed, (10) means, (11) wants, (12) time, (13) side, (14) presence, (15) command, (16) knows, (17) comforts, (18) permits, (19) overrules. In an S.P.G. Report the name rarely occurs, and only where necessary. In Salisbury Square it is a "stock-phrase."

Now, from a literary point of view, this indicates, that the compilers had a weak style of gushing composition, and made use of what schoolboys call "tags": but let us consider the subject from a higher point of view.

The Hebrew went too far in declining to pronounce or write the sacred Name of Jehovah. Some of the Agnostic and Atheist writers in this country write the Divine Name with a little 'g.' What is required is a chastened reserve: our old friend Horatius Flaccus gives us a good rule:

"Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus."

It seems strange, that the Divine interference is always quoted in cases of apparent success, but not in cases, which occur so often, of untimely death, blasting of cherished hopes, wreck of favourite plans; and yet all Christians admit, that not a sparrow falls without His Sovereign Will.

Shall we not, then, return thanks to Him, pray for His Guidance, trust in His Providence? Most certainly: we should have His Holy Name on our hearts, not on our sleeve, nor on the nibs of our pen. Sometimes the very absence of His Name reminds us of His presence everywhere. In the famous triumph of the Emperor Tiberius, when the busts of all the great Romans of past times were carried in procession, and their names pronounced with reverence, what thought is recorded by the contemporary historian to have been uppermost in the hearts of the Romans? The thought of Brutus, *because his bust had been omitted.*

Record, 1892.

ON THE USE OF CERTAIN TERMS.

SOME of us have to take part in the simultaneous Meetings of the C.M.S. in the North of England. I write to ask explanation as to the meaning of certain terms, which, though a Member of the C.M.S. for forty-eight years, and an all-round reader of Missionary Reports, in English, French, German, and Italian, I do not understand.

What is the meaning of “unholy” offerings to Missions?

In a Lagos newspaper I read, that the C.M.S. Missionaries refused the subscriptions of some captains of ships on the Niger, because the men were deemed ungodly. I fear that such a Rule in Great Britain would greatly reduce our funds: for how can a man call himself “holy” before God, and yet he would not like to have his cheque returned to him crossed “unholy” by the Lay-Secretary. No doubt a few years ago the Society refused to accept a legacy from a benefactress, because it was reputed to be *praemium pudoris*. A Roman Catholic would have gladly accepted such a legacy, as an evidence of the repentance of the deceased.

What is the meaning of “owned by God”?

In a late brief address by a Missionary, who went out to his field in March, 1890, and left it for private affairs in August of the same year, he stated twice over, that his work had been “owned by God.” Does our Heavenly Father always own the work of His poor servants by granting success? The beautiful hymn of Newton comes to my recollection, the first line of which is, “I asked the Lord, if I might grow,” and the moral of which is in the last four lines.

“ ‘ Lord! what is this?’ I trembling cried:
 “ ‘ Wilt Thou pursue Thy worm to death?’
 “ ‘ This is the way,’ the Lord replied,
 “ ‘ I answer prayer for Grace and Faith.’ ”

My experience of Missions for nearly half a century leads me to the conclusion, that Divine Grace works like a stream, that flows underground, and that many of our best agents die without seeing any fruit of their labours, and some have confessed, that their labours were blessed by the Lord in being doomed to want success, as they

were not on the right track. Are not some deaths to the advantage of the work? Are there not at this moment Bishops and Missionaries, whose transfer to a higher sphere, would remove difficulties, and benefit the Cause?

What is the meaning of "claimed of God"?

A medical Missionary used this expression. I quote the circumstances of his case:

"One very interesting incident occurred at our home. A Heathen, who had begun to attend Christian services, had a child very sick from severe affection of the lungs, pleuro-pneumonia. His Heathen neighbours had begun to jeer at him, saying: 'If this God, whom you are beginning to worship, is a strong God, why cannot he heal your child for you?' The man was in great distress, and asked the Doctor and other Missionaries to visit the child, which they did, and found him in a very bad state. They were led to pray to God with complete confidence for the recovery during the week, and afterwards to thank God for having heard the prayer. The father seemed much encouraged, when they left him."

Was not this a proceeding worthy of the Epoch of Ahab, King of Israel, rather than of Victoria, Queen of Great Britain? Was it not a dangerous challenge thus claiming the life of the child from an All-wise Ruler of the World? Did the young medical-man of less than thirty summers place himself on a level with Elijah on Mount Carmel? Suppose that the child had died. As Mr. Gratton Guinness well puts it: "If we had the right after praying in Faith to expect invariable healings, it is clear that Christians would be practically immortal." Another Medical Missionary of thirty years' experience put it to me in conversation: "Old parents would never die, as their loving children would always stand in the gap with prayer to arrest the Destroying Angel."

Now, if such phrases are mere stock-phrases, miserable cant, the weak utterances of unfaithful men, who cannot leave their affairs in the hands of their Creator, they should not be used; if they are used in sober seriousness, the Committee should either forbid their appearance in their Periodicals, or let us know that they accept and affirm them.

Rock, 1891.

PREFACE TO PART II OF
 “NOTES ON MISSIONARY SUBJECTS.”

IN putting forth these Essays, I feel the responsibility: the Christian Statesman and Administrator of a non-Christian country takes a wider, and more sympathetic, view of Human affairs, than the Missionary. He fears God none the less, because he respects the rights and feelings of a non-Christian population more. He is more tolerant of bad customs, and moral weaknesses, but quite as severe upon crimes. He does not like to hear the population of British India or China described as the Kingdom of Satan: of course it means nothing, and such phrases are only the conventional tags of a Missionary Periodical, required to suit the taste of a particular class of not very highly educated readers and subscribers at home. It is wrong, however, to use such phrases, because Christ looked down from the Cross upon the poor Heathen, and died for them also, although for eighteen hundred long years no Prophet or Evangelist has ever come to tell them of His exceeding Precious Promises. That was not their fault, but ours. *We* had the Gospel, but failed in our duty to convey it to the Regions Beyond.

The lessons taught me by my Master, John Lord Lawrence, that Christian men should do Christian things in a Christian way, has been confirmed by a careful survey of the state of all the races in Asia, Africa, and Oceania, as portrayed in the Reports of Missionaries, Travellers, and Officials. I cannot fail to mark the extreme goodness of the Human race, when there is a chance given for that goodness to develop itself; and I recognize as incontestable, that the heart of man turns to God, as the sunflower turns to the Sun, if but one ray of His ineffable light reach it. I compare the proclivities, the frightful crimes, the filthy sins, of the inhabitants of one country with another, when left outside the Gospel-influences. My heart sinks within me, when I read of Human flesh sold in the shambles in towns within the circuit of the Missionary; of a man poisoning his own mother on suspicion of witchcraft; of a chief with his harem filled with his own daughters; and the opium-pipe, of which so much is said, seems as nothing in the scale of Morality, when contrasted with such things.

Civilization brings with it a number of concomitant evils. The individual character of the Non-Christian must be fortified to resist them: it is the legitimate work of the Missionary to work a change in Man's heart, and he loses the proper conception of his office, when he brings railing accusations against Governments, and speaks evil of dignities. Such a line of policy only injures a good cause, alienates friends, and makes the enemy to scoff at his ridiculous unwisdom, and unreasonable arguments. Paul must have had much to vex his soul, but he knew nothing but Christ and Him Crucified, and asked for no Human assistance. He took it to the Lord in prayer.

With my conclusions about Polygamy and Slavery, there is room for a difference of opinion: they are the result of long, wide, and deep reflection. With my Essay upon Islam all, who have personal knowledge of Mahometans, will agree. On the subject of Caste, and the Cultivation of the Poppy, I can hope for little sympathy from the present generation of Missionaries. A radical misconception with regard to the latter has obtained a deep root, based upon the exaggerated platform-abuse, and an imperfect comprehension of a very difficult problem. I think that the next generation will judge more calmly. At any rate, there is not the remotest chance of the Government of India making any change in its policy. As to Caste, the Missionary, if he be opposed to it, should set the example of allowing his daughter to marry the Native Pastor, and admitting all classes of Natives to his table for their meals. Until he does this, the Caste of the White Man will remain but an additional item in the long Catalogue of Indian Castes. As regards the Liquor-Traffic, I am at one with the Missionaries in recognizing the evil, but differ, no doubt, in the method of counteracting it. I seek what is possible: those, who have never been charged with the conduct of Human affairs, dream of what Statesmen know to be impossible. Many will no doubt agree with my remarks about Education, and those, who do not, will perhaps better understand the problems after they have reflected upon them. The occupation of British India by Russia, and the expulsion of the British, would teach the Missionary certain hard lessons, upon which he would do well to make timely reflection. King Log may have his faults, but what of King Stork? Some of the younger members of our Societies may live to see every Missionary turned out of China, and India no longer British. Loud will then be their complaints of Intolerance.

“*O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona nôrint!*”

I read with astonishment the following words, uttered on June 20, 1888, in Exeter Hall, by an ordained American Missionary, and applauded by an assembly of British and American Missionaries: “For what has been done in India, the British deserved, *far more*

“*than the Turks for their atrocities in Bulgaria, to be turned out “bag and baggage.”* The Resolution, thus supported, was put to the Meeting by the Chairman, the late Sir Arthur Blackwood, a highly-paid official of the British State, and cousin, bearing the same name, of the then Viceroy of India, under whose orders the alleged atrocities were committed. After this, we can scarcely wonder at the policy of Austria, Russia, and France, as regards Protestant Missionaries, of total exclusion! I deplore it, but cease to be surprised. Germany will soon follow the example.

July 1, 1888.

B.

PREFACE TO PART IV OF
 “NOTES ON MISSIONARY SUBJECTS.”

I CANNOT imagine, that my Addresses will stand comparison with the learned compositions of men, familiar with the art of addressing assemblies. My life has been one of action, not of preaching, more in the saddle than in the pulpit: a layman's utterances perhaps have more freshness, eccentric variety, and daring novelty: at any rate, they come from the heart, and are not in return for payment of salary.

They have been composed in the omnibus, the railway-train, the waking hours of the night; just as the ideas surged up in the brain, they have been jotted down in the notebook. Sometimes in a crowded room the idea has come, and has been noted down. I could not write a line, if a man stood over me with a stick, or if I were shut up in my study on Saturday afternoons to compose my Sunday-sermon. A word uttered in my hearing, a line in a newspaper, an expression in a book, have set a train of thought into motion, and copious extracts, the results of omnivorous reading, have supplied the subject and matter.

My reward has been, that some Addresses have been reprinted by Associations, so different as the S.P.G. and China-Inland: letters have come to me with thanks from inmates of High Church Training Colleges, and Baptist Missionaries on the Kongo: passages have been quoted in such different organs as the *Quarterly Review* and *Regions Beyond*, and by speakers on platforms of different denominations. Some Addresses have been translated into foreign Languages. Men have told me, that they have found them of use to them in Addresses, which they had to give: this by itself is a sufficient reward.

My method has been a simple one, to break from the conventional formula, sink the denomination, or stereotyped surroundings, and describe the grandeur of the object in view, the simplicity of the message, “Nothing but Christ”; the necessity laid upon us of this generation; the happiness of those, who have discovered this great secret of life; the misfortune of those, who neglect the opportunity, or find it out too late. These considerations come home specially to me, whose life has been miraculously spared during a long residence amidst the non-Christian world, who has escaped from the hand of the assassin, and come out of great battles without a wound, who has been safe from cholera, fever, and other diseases, when many fell around, and who, in fact, has never been seriously ill since the Queen came to the Throne in 1837. In the Spring of that year I narrowly escaped from an attack of fever. What can we render unto the Lord for His mercies, if we neglect this manifest service? Why were our lives spared, if not for this purpose? What reply shall we have to give to our Master for talents misapplied, or hidden in a napkin?

I have had some experience in the Field, and the Committee-Room. No ordained Missionary can exceed me in devotion to the object, and yet I look at each problem from the point of view of a Statesman, an Administrator of Oriental Provinces, and an out-and-out friend and champion of the Heathen, and Mahometan People. No plausible theory has any chance with me. No humbug and sensational talk are tolerated.

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

To any philosophic student of the internal history of the British nation, settled within these Islands, or migrated to the great American Republic and the British Colonies, there will appear a phenomenon not to be found in the Chronicles, past or present, of any other Nation: and that is the right claimed of assembling together without the leave or interference of the Ruler, and the consecration of that right to the Duty of Evangelizing the non-Christian World. The Society mentioned in the first line of this paper is the most notable instance of that phenomenon.

Its foundations were laid in 1800, by the same godly men who broke the chains of the negro-slave, and its proud title is, "for Africa and the East." This limitation absolutely excludes Europe from its field of operations, and the motive and conception, which underlie its constitution, imply, that there is a further limitation of its direct work to the non-Christian World, and not to any portion, however debased, of the Church of Christ. It was a new conception in the Church of England, and the details of its constitution mark a still further departure from old-fashioned ideas. Churchmen, not the Church in its corporate capacity, were the supporters and the managers. The Committee was essentially a lay-Committee, consisting of twenty-four laymen elected for the year, all clergymen who have for not less than one year subscribed half a guinea, and all laymen who for the same period have subscribed five guineas. The President must be a layman; the vice-president and honorary life-governors are both laymen and clericals. The principle underlying the constitution is democratic. There may be dangers in a Parliament, from which there is no appeal, and which sometimes exceeds one hundred in number, and varies in its *personelle* from month to month; yet there is the profound compensating advantage of life, widespread interest, and boundless enthusiasm.

The avowed object of the Association is to carry the pure and unadulterated Gospel by the hands of Missionaries, ordained and lay, male and female, of British blood, and of native blood; to found native Churches after the model of the Anglican Church; to distribute the Bible in the native Language; to set apart catechists, pastors, and evangelists, and gather together congregations, using their own Language, wearing their own dress, following their own customs, so long as they are not contrary to the Law of God, earning their own livelihood by lawful occupations, dwelling in villages, clustered round their modest place

of Worship, and living their new life humbly, peacefully, in the midst of their non-Christian brethren. A local Committee appointed by the parent Committee, administers the affairs of each Mission. In all things required by Law obedience is tendered to the Bishop. If he be a Missionary Bishop, with a stipend provided by the Committee, he takes his place (*ex officio*) as chairman of the local Committee; if he be a territorial Bishop, and it seems to the Committee to be expedient to ask him to be chairman of the local Committee, this plan is adopted; and out of eighteen dioceses in which the work lies, the Bishop is chairman in sixteen. The Home Committee retains the absolute control of the training, appointing, removing to other stations, or finally dismissing, its own agents, and allows no interference by Church or Bishop.

The Church Missionary Society, by one of its organic Laws, maintains a friendly intercourse with other Protestant Societies, of whatever Church or Nationality, working in the same or adjoining fields, and any intrusion into a neighbour's field is forbidden. The Native Churches are taught to be self-supporting; the time is always looked forward to, when the work of the Missionaries will be completed, but the work of the Native Church thus constituted will, by God's Grace, last to the end of the World. The Native Church is expected to build its own place of Worship, provide for its own pastor, and the education of its own children. No attempt is made to lift a community or a family above the position in life, in which God has placed them, because they are Christians; no man is tempted to be baptized by the hope of profit; converts are not gathered in, as in the early centuries of Christendom in Europe, by tribes, in obedience to their chieftain; baptism is, in all adult cases, the result of *individual* conversion of the soul, after due instruction, and the manifestation of a living faith. Thus has the work of this Association gone on under the manifest blessing of our Heavenly Father for ninety-two years, in the Equatorial Region of Africa, both east and west, in Japan, China, India, Ceylon, Persia, Palestine, and Egypt, in New Zealand, in Oceania, in Canada, and in North America. The Methods vary with the country and the epoch: the principles, the Evangelical principles, on which the Association was formed, have never been changed, and thus the great Missionary Society, founded to convert the Heathen and Mahometan World, has become a stronghold and rallying centre of Evangelical truth and practice. Other reflex blessings have come to the English and Irish Churches which support it, notably a lifting up of the hearts of men and women to carry out the parting Command of their risen Lord, and to show, that they are worthy of the Religious principles, which they profess, and the spirit of benevolence which accompanies it. A dead tree brings forth no fruit; the existence of a Missionary spirit is the test of a living Church. The Church Missionary Society has planted

seedplots full of life in many parts of the World; the dew of God's Grace has given vigour to the saplings, and now the Society, like a great tree, overshadows large portions of the World. The blessing is threefold: (1) to the Church which sends out the Mission, (2) to the Nation or tribe which receives it, (3) to the Missionary himself.

During the first week of May the annual festival of the Society is held. So overflowing is the attendance, that the largest Hall in Exeter Hall is this year supplemented by the largest Hall in St. James's Hall, each meeting being fully supplied with competent speakers, and, for the first time in the history of any society, both these Halls have been filled to overflowing. The enthusiasm on such occasions is marvellous, and indicates how deep in the hearts of the people lie the foundations of this unselfish and benevolent enterprise. In how many families in this great country is the subject of these annual meetings discussed, and with what glowing sympathy are the speeches read by those who are absent? It is, indeed, something, that makes the heart beat high, that during the past year, by men coming from the same centre, the same Gospel has been preached to each nation, in their own Language, on the steps of the great Ghats of the Ganges at Banáras, at the great festivals of the Sikhs at Amritsar, in India, on the hill of Fuh Chao in China, under the shadow of Mount Zion at Jerusalem, and of the great Pyramid in Egypt, in front of the Joss-house of the Cannibal Negroes on the Niger, on the shores of the great Equatorial Mountain-Lake of Victoria Nyanza, where men are already found ready to die for Christ, far away across the Atlantic in the camp of the Red Indians of Canada, and across the Pacific in the cabins of the Maori in New Zealand. It is encouraging to hear that advance in intellectual culture, in personal freedom, and in the essentials of a holy life, are among the certain tokens of the reception of the Divine Truth, and the presence of the Divine Blessing. There are Missionary Societies, which have but one Mission only, such as the Universities' Mission to East Equatorial Africa, and the Melanesian Mission to the South Sea Islands. Such Missions have their own peculiar merits, but my own opinion is, that the World will only be conquered to Christ by great battalions, and Societies, which have the wide experience of the aspirations of the heart of man in every part of the World, and every level of Human Culture.

The National glory and Duty of the British Nation are united in such enterprises. Great Britain did not receive the gift of such great power and prosperity, merely to manufacture cotton-goods, export alcoholic liquors, and slaughter unoffending savages, either in a petty war or a scientific Geographical exploration. Probably, after ages will consider the desire of the men of the Nineteenth century to convert the World as an aspiration not unworthy of a Nation in the hour of its material greatness. While, on the spiritual side, it may be observed, that those, who value our

Protestantism, may reflect with pride on how much has been done by the Church Missionary Society to arrest the progress of the Missionaries of the Church of Rome; those who place Church order above the Conversion of Souls, may well ponder on the many-sided story of the Society's annual Report, and ask themselves, whether a Soul saved is not of a higher value than a mediaeval rubric. Those, who think that the Church of England is in its decadence, and only fit for destruction, may reflect on what one Society of Churchmen, though confessedly the largest, has done, is doing, and will continue by God's Grace to do.

The above lines represent no fancy picture, no ideal of a young enthusiast, warmed by the perusal of accounts of work done in to him unknown Regions; by to him unknown agents; according to him unknown Methods; through the medium of to him unknown Languages. On the contrary, the writer this year completes the jubilee of his joyful membership of the Society. He knows many of the Regions, many of the Languages spoken, and a large army of the Missionaries, who have lived and died since 1842. He only leaves vacant his seat on the Committee this year, because age reminds him, that it is time to withdraw and leave the battle to younger men, acknowledging the reflex blessing to his own Soul of this lifelong service.

Religious Review of Reviews, 1890.

XXX.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY CENTENARY.

INTRODUCTION.

UNDERSTANDING, that there is an expressed willingness to consider, with an eye to Reform, the existing system at Home, and in the Field, I submit the following suggestions.

No reflections are cast upon the past. A very different system of administration is required for British India in 1900 than what was considered excellent in 1800, simply because the environment has by lapse of time altered. So it is with all Religious Associations, especially those, which deal with the races of mankind outside of Europe and North America. A new Epoch, a new social, intellectual, and spiritual, environment, require new Methods, and improved organization. There are now in every part of the Field

(1) nascent Native Churches in different stages of adolescence; (2) Congregations on different platforms of Culture, and social order; (3) trained Native Ministers, and Church-Officials; (4) a surrounding of hostile non-Christian populations; (5) an annually increasing jealousy of the domineering white stranger. Such an environment requires a different class of agents, and different principles of administration. In 1800 worthy Godfearing couples were sent out to make spiritual experiments on savage and barbarian races. We have got beyond that stage now.

I have had some experience both of the Committee-Room, and the Mission-Field, during the last half-century.

I. THE HOME-COMMITTEE.

A mighty change has taken place in the constituency of the Society since the Laws and Regulations were drafted: they have been more than once revised, but they require to be recast to suit the requirements of a gigantic and most difficult Enterprise.

The Committee must consist of two Orders:

- (1) Vice-Presidents, Life-Governors, and Life-Members.
- (2) Members elected annually by ballot of the Subscribers, assembled for the purpose, or represented by proxies.

The paid Secretaries are totally outside the Committee: they are the valued, trusted, and honoured, servants of the Association; but, following the example of all Secular Associations, and the S.P.G. and B.F.B.S., with the exception of the Chief Secretary, they have no right to debate, vote, or open their mouths, except to make statements, or when called upon by the Chairman. If the Chief Secretary be honorary, i.e., receives no salary, he is *ex officio* one of the Committee, with the same rights as any other Member. The Secretaries should be appointed for a term of ten years, and then vacate their post. The great hope for the C.M.S. at the present moment is, that all the Secretaries are new men, with one exception. It is not, that the late officials were inefficient, but that new blood is required in every corporate body to suit new requirements. In British India, with rare exceptions, no post of importance is held for more than five years: all attempts to force personal views and predilections on the Government are thus rendered futile. The same principle applies to Associations of volunteers for specific purposes. If in a bank, or house of business, one paid Official has been in office for a score or more of years, so much the worse for the house of business. Arrogance and Egotism have to be guarded against.

The Committee should consist of not more than sixty members, elected annually by ballot: a certain number (say ten) should

annually vacate their seats for paucity of attendance, or length of time on Committee, and of these half should be re-eligible. The qualification for Membership should be the fact, that the age of the individual be less than seventy years, and that an annual subscription of £1 1s. should have been paid for the last two years: half the number should be Laymen, and half Clergy: if the Society deem the presence of an individual of such importance, as to wish to retain him in spite of the above Rules, it must make him a Vice-President or Life-Governor.

The Correspondence - Committee should be got rid of. The General Committee of sixty should meet once a week on a convenient day; and their decision should be final, unless challenged for reconsideration, after notice given of one week, at the next week's Meeting. A quorum of twenty should be necessary to make a decision legal: notice of one week, publicly made at a Meeting, is necessary to enable the next Meeting to make a new money-grant entailing additional expenditure.

The Committee of sixty should be subdivided by consent of members into six Sub-Committees of ten members each, half Laymen and half Clergy as regards the three territorial Sub-Committees, and the General Purposes Sub-Committee; as regards the Sub-Committee for Selection of ordained Agents, entirely of Clergy; and as regards the Sub-Committee for Finance, entirely of Laymen. In the Committee the ordinary Rules of Public Debate should be maintained as in the House of Commons. In the Sub-Committees the subject should be discussed without the trammels of Rules under the control of the Chairman.

There shall be no restriction in the selection of the paid Secretaries as to their being Laymen or Clergymen. The Honorary Secretary must be a Clergyman.

In all Secular Associations there is a controlling power over disbursements: the duty of the Auditors is to anticipate the possibility of fraud; the duty of such controlling Authorities, as the Local Government Board and the Home Secretary of State, is to disallow votes made by their subordinates for purposes inconsistent with the understood principles of the Public Service. To provide for this, two Vice-Presidents of the Society of financial capacity, and strength of character, should be annually appointed Controllers. All new disbursements should be reported to them, and they should have power, as the Local Government Board has over Municipal expenditure, to call for explanation, suspend execution, or disallow the vote: to allow time for this, no vote should be carried out until the lapse of fifteen days. There is practically no control at present whatever to prevent improper allocations of the Society's funds on purposes not within the legitimate scope of the Enterprise. In past years many in my opinion most improper allocations of funds have been made. In

a very short period it will be understood what expenditure is legitimate, or the contrary. As I pass from the Committee-Rooms of Religious Associations to those of Secular Boards, I am struck by the consequence of members acting without fear of a Controller.

If there be occasion for other Sub-Committees, such as for Publications, etc., this can be done.

As it is desirable, that the business of the General Committee should be conducted in the presence of a body of intelligent sympathizers in the great Enterprise, all Subscribers of not less than £1 1s. annually shall be admitted to seats in the Committee-Room; but they are not at liberty to speak, vote, or make any outward expression of their opinions: if this rule be broken, the Chairman may order the room to be cleared.

In the conduct of the blessed work of Evangelizing the Heathen, there should be no distinction betwixt male and female Subscribing Members: both sexes should be admitted to witness the proceedings; both sexes should be eligible as members of the Committee, Sub-Committee, and to the post of Secretary. It must not be forgotten, that one-half of the non-Christian population of the World consists of females, and that the number of female agents of this Society equals, if not exceeds, that of the males. As Paul the Apostle puts it (Galatians, iii, 28): "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither Male nor Female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." And when can that union, that equality, that fellowship in service, be more fully evidenced than in spreading the Gospel of Christ? I feel a sense of humiliation, when as a Guardian of the Poor, a Member of a Hospital Committee, or a Board of Charity, I enjoy the co-operation of women, who labour much in the Lord, and find that this privilege of labour in the cause of Evangelization, and this opportunity of a blessed service, are denied to those, who are gifted with capacity, experience, and self-sacrificing readiness. Their money is taken, and their services in the Meetings of County Associations are made use of. The last Resolution, which I proposed in the C.M.S. Committee, in April, 1892, before I left it, was to admit women to their legitimate share of this most blessed Enterprise. The previous question was moved by a country-Clergyman, and carried. I have never entered, or wished to enter, the Committee-Room since.

The election of Chairmen for Committees and Sub-Committees should be annual: for the General Committee there should be a panel of Chairmen, at least four, two Laymen, two Clergymen; to take the Chair by rotation, so arranged, that the same person should not preside at two successive meetings. This is the practice of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. If any member fail to give satisfaction, he would not be re-elected: a ballot may always be demanded; ordinarily a show of hands will be sufficient. To remove a Chairman

against his will during the year is a very unwise step, and should only be effected by a joint letter from the President and two Vice-Presidents, requesting the Chairman for reasons given to resign. For one of the Secretaries to address a Chairman, and ask him to resign, is an unpardonable insult, and an assumption of power by a Secretary quite incredible in any body of men but a Missionary Committee. I have often been Chairman of Secular Official Meetings: if a Secretary had so addressed me, I should have declared *his* post vacant.

The notion, that the paid Secretaries are analogous to the Secretaries of State, and that in their collective action they form a Cabinet, should not be allowed for a moment: they are paid servants, each in charge of his own department. The Honorary Secretary would vacate his office on a vote of censure from the Committee, like any other Prime Minister: with the paid Secretaries there is the greater difficulty: in my time we compelled a paid Secretary to resign, and owing to his extreme penury we had to form a fund to support him and his family for several years; and Lord Chichester, our President at the time, told me, that there had been a similar difficulty with a Secretary some years before. The ten-year rule already alluded to represents a period, when any such difficulty must end by the vacating of office.

In this Epoch no Association can live, unless periodical reference be made to the constituency. I hear numerous complaints against affairs in Salisbury Square. Few murmurers speak out as boldly as I do: the root of the tree is a good and sound one; but periodical prunings are required of excrescences and bad customs, and on the other hand a periodical introduction of improved Methods and administrative machinery is part of the condition of the existence of all Human institutions. To effect this in a legitimate way, there should be an annual Meeting in Salisbury Square of the independent members of the Society, not for the purpose of self-laudation or glorification, but to ventilate grievances, real or alleged, to answer questions put, to make explanations, and to receive suggestions thrown out. The real anarchists are the dogged conservatives, who wish things to go on to suit themselves. No change in the Rules of the Society should be made, except in such Meetings, with notice of proposed changes given: the presence, in person or by proxy, of sixty Members, subscribing £1 1s., should be necessary to make such decisions valid.

Another requirement is, that there should be a periodical meeting of the leading members and one or two Secretaries, to discuss informally, and in entire confidence, new features of policy in the immediate future. Many thoughtful men are in doubt, when a new matter is thrust suddenly upon the Committee in a formal resolution to be disposed of at once: the discussion in an informal council would remedy this. As a rule Secretaries should never

move Resolutions: this should be the duty of a selected member of the particular Sub-Committee, to which the subject belongs: in grave matters, members, who receive copies of the Agenda, should send in written notice of their intention to oppose any particular measure.

I remember the great struggle, which was necessary to compel Secretaries to prepare an "Agenda." Members used to go into Committee, and dispose of just whatever the Secretary was pleased to take out of his bundle. I have helped to fight this battle in Secular Societies, and Religious, and no one would dare now to refuse to circulate an Agenda to Members a few days before the Meeting; but that is not enough: in some Secular Societies is circulated the Abstract of what is done at the previous meeting, and the first business is to listen to any objection, which Members may bring against the accuracy of this Abstract; and this formality disposed of, the Proceedings are taken as read, and the weary waste of time in reading minutes of last week's work is got rid of. I have in former years suggested this to the C.M.S., but it was declared to be impossible: in fact, it did not fit in with prejudices. There is a double advantage, for these Abstracts, bound together with an index at the end of the half-year, supply a most convenient means of reference to past Proceedings. I enclose with this Minute a copy of the Report of work done in a Committee of the Guardians of the Poor, as a sample of what is required.

The Editorial Secretaryship is a parasitical growth of the last twenty years, and is a danger to the Society. No Secular Association would tolerate such an institution. Neither the S.P.G., S.P.C.K., nor any other Church Society, have such an excrescence. The issue of published matter should rest entirely with the Hon. Chief Secretary, and a small Committee of selected Laymen and Clergymen, about six in number. It is a very serious matter issuing didactic essays, or severe attacks on outsiders, tirades against the Opium-Trade, Caste, Ancient Customs, etc., etc. There should be an under-Secretary to carry out the orders of this Committee, which should be a real controlling power, and such a staff as is required for compiling, and conducting through the Press. One portion of the *Intelligencer* should be open to papers generally approved by the Committee, bearing the signature of the writer, who alone should be responsible for his views and expressions; the other portion should be strictly official, and every line have passed under the review of the Publication-Committee. If it be intended to be read by the general public, the Annual Report should be half the size: lengthy quotations should be omitted, or transferred to the Appendix.

Stricter economy in this branch should be enforced; no Publications should be granted gratuitously to Members of Committee; all who want them, should pay for them; if they are made to pay,

remuneration might be given to contributors to the Periodicals. The pay of the clerks in Salisbury Square should be assimilated to that of other Secular Institutions. Mr. Beattie used to tell me, that the C.M.S. paid salaries in excess of Railway-Companies, and secular benevolent Institutions. I have no knowledge of such details; but a careful revision should be made of every item of expenditure. In the last financial Special Committee it was reported, that thirty thousand Pounds per annum were spent in Salisbury Square before a shilling got to the Mission-Field: this is a frightful scandal. The Association is eaten up by its own establishments. If attention be paid to the suggestion in Part III of giving enlarged powers to the Corresponding Committee in the Field, much useless writing and waste of time would be saved. The Missionaries are servants of the Association, not of the Committee, which is only the head-official of the Association; and the Missionaries are known to, and trusted by, many of the supporters of the Association, who know nothing of the majority of the members of the Committee.

The mode of selecting Vice-Presidents should be altered. I have often wondered how some of the Laymen got their names on the list. To succeed to a Peerage, or Baronetcy, to be made a knight for public services, or engineering work done, is not a qualification. How strange it would seem, if a member, not very efficient or regular in attendance, by chance of death succeeded to the Peerage of his family, and was made a Vice-President at once. Men, who have done solid work for the Society, or used their influence in the Houses of Parliament, or elsewhere, who are constant in attendance, calm and wise in Council, liberal in contribution, eloquent on the platform, and evidence a deep interest in the welfare of the great Enterprise, should be chosen; and the choice should rest with the whole Committee, not a mere coterie, the names being proposed and seconded, and put to the ballot, if anyone opposed them.

The same remarks apply to the Honorary Governors for life, and the Honorary (Lady) Members for life.

II. THE MISSIONARY.

The subject of selection and training of Missionaries is now under the consideration of a Committee of the United Boards of Missions, presided over by the Bishop of Durham, who has himself sent four sons to the Field. It is a matter beyond the power of a Layman to give any opinion on: it is clear, that there should be a selection, as many men are by their natures totally unfit to be Missionaries; and there should be training, for the untrained individual is often worse than useless. I, therefore, pass the subject by.

A Missionary, who cannot speak and preach in the Language of his Field should, after the lapse of two years, be got rid of:

either he is deficient in earnestness, or is incapable: under both circumstances he is useless. It is all nonsense talking of any Language being hard to acquire. It is not the fault of the Language, but of the Missionary, that he is a dumb dog.

Every Missionary is bound to give the first decade of his service unreservedly to the Lord's service, and not to entangle himself in domestic cares, i.e., he is to remain a celibate. After that period he will have a fair idea as to what kind of person is required as a partner, and he will be able to make a wise selection. This rule applies to both sexes, and to ordained or lay.

The establishments for the children of Missionaries should be broken up, or transferred to independent Benevolent Associations. It is not the work of a Missionary Society, and causes great scandal to attach to a Society, which spends thousands of Pounds in a concern not in the least calculated to advance Evangelization. Imagine the Government of British India, or a Municipal Board, undertaking to maintain and educate the children of its employés. If the stipend of the Missionary be not sufficient for him to maintain a family, it should be raised. No governesses should be sent out to educate a Missionary's children, and no daughters to join their parents at the expense of the Society. This practice is not only intolerable, but ludicrous: it is downright waste of funds collected under the influence of prayer for the Lord's work.

When occasion arises to welcome back home-returning Missionaries, or to bid farewell to outgoing Missionaries, there should be a separate assembly in a separate room, and great solemnity enforced. As it is now, the ceremony is only a small part of a long Agenda, and the Missionary is cautioned to be brief in what he has to say, as the Meeting is anxious to get on with its work. This is neither right nor kind. Out of the General Committee a certain number should be detached to receive the Missionaries, who should be allowed to say all that they wish, and who should answer questions put to them by sympathizing inquirers.

Arrangements should be made in Missionary Colleges to give a series of lectures by competent Clergy or Laymen, or returned Missionaries, on (1) the actual work in the field, (2) the spirit, in which that work should be done, (3) the necessity of entire self-Sacrifice. Some insight should be given into the (4) Philosophy of Missions, (5) the great story of Evangelization since the time of the Apostles, (6) the difficulties which surround the Enterprise, (7) the duty of kindness to the non-Christian population, not imputing blame to them, but pitying them, (8) the duty of the white man to be humble and self-restrained, even as our Lord and Master was in His earthly pilgrimage. Biographies of deceased Missionaries should be read at work-parties: failures should be pointed out as well as successes. Each young Missionary should be advised to have a blank book, in which he

should enter quotations, and references to books, and notes on doubtful points. Mission-work is a Science, and must be studied as such. The old haphazard choice of Agents, and slipshod way of transacting Missionary business, have passed away, or should pass away.

III. THE MISSION-FIELD.

The Society must bear in mind, that the last half-century has made a very great change in the position of

1. Some of the Mission-Fields.
2. The Native Churches, which have come into existence.

It is sheer folly to attempt with an imperfectly informed Committee to control the proceedings of experienced Missionary Corresponding Committees in the Field, and to crush the legitimate aspirations of the Native Churches.

1. The Corresponding Committees in the Field should, like the British Colonies, be divided into three categories.

(A) Independent power, under certain fixed financial rules, should be conceded to such Corresponding Committees as the one at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Allahabad, Amritsar, etc.: the men on the spot know much better what is required than the members of the Home-Committee and the Secretaries; some of both categories may have been in the Field, but their knowledge is not fresh. Periodical Reports should be sent home of the Proceedings of the Corresponding Committees, on which the Home-Committee may pass strictures for future guidance. The allocation of funds must never be exceeded: while, on the one hand, all funds collected from local sources are at the *absolute* disposal of the Corresponding Committee, care must be taken not to appropriate them to objects of annually recurring expenditure; for, if the local supply failed, the work would have to be abandoned, as the allocation of funds remitted from England must not be disturbed. The location of Missionaries should be left to the Corresponding Committee. Of course, if they abuse the constitutional powers conceded to them, the Home-Committee, which holds the purse, must win in the struggle, but there is no reason to anticipate, that tried Missionaries will transgress the Rules. All are working in the same blessed cause.

If this principle be carried out, the work of the Home-Committee will be greatly reduced, and the staff of clerks could be reduced.

(B) Enlarged powers, but not independent, may be conceded to certain promising Corresponding Committees, who have been a certain time at work, and where the Missionaries are specially qualified, or the circumstances very peculiar.

(C) No powers at all should be granted to the poor struggling Committees of a new and unsuccessful Mission: such there will always be.

2. The Native Church.

It cannot be expected, that a self-supporting Native Church should remain in subordination to an alien Lay-Committee, whose work is done, and well done, when the Church-Organization has come into existence. The Missionary Committee should transfer its Agents and Funds to Regions Beyond. *Native* Bishops, Clergy, and Officials should be appointed, and the flocks must support them. They did so in former centuries in all other Churches all over the World: and, if there is to be any vitality in Asiatic, African, and Oceanic Churches, the sooner that this principle is enforced, the better, and before painful struggles commence, for it is in the very essence of a Christian Church, worth calling by that name, to be independent and self-supporting. If there be a necessity for a transition-period of five or ten years, the assistance must be given in the form of a subvention, growing smaller every one or two years, paid to the treasury of the Native Church, not by way of stipend to any employé. Nothing will be so fatal to the vitality of the Church as to make it depend on the alms of outsiders. If they really value the Christian Faith, they will support their Minister, Teachers, and Poor Brethren: if they do not so, their Conversion is a mere fraud: the longer that the delay is in enforcing this Rule, the greater the injury done to the new Christianity.

The appointment of Bishops and arrangement of Dioceses are outside the duty of the Committee, and belong to the Heads of the Anglican Church: if the duty of the Bishop be purely diocesan, he should receive no salary from the Society; on the other hand, if the Bishop be sent for purely Missionary purposes to Regions Beyond, he should have a stipend like any other Missionary. It is the duty of a settled Native Church to take a share in the work of evangelizing their non-Christian neighbours.

IV. GENERAL REMARKS.

In the conduct of business the Society has not made full use of its reserve force of Councillors:

- (1) Vice-Presidents.
- (2) Life-Governors.
- (3) Life-Members.
- (3) Retired Missionaries residing near London, or willing to attend from a distance.

The three former have a right to attend the General Committee, and Sub-Committees, and vote; but when, on special subjects being discussed, the advice of any particular individual is required, they should be invited by the Chairman to attend for that purpose. The fourth class has no right to attend, but the opinion of some will be often of the greatest importance, and such should be invited to attend, when it is deemed advisable.

In every assembly there is generally one person, male or female, wise or ignorant, who speaks too often and too long. Such individuals should be repressed by the Chairman's bell, and a limit of time fixed for all speakers. Those, who have least to say worth hearing, generally occupy the longest time of the Meeting.

In a Secular Committee stand-up fights betwixt pugnacious members have to be tolerated, but in a Religious Committee the Chairman should appeal to one or other of the combatants to give way for the sake of the cause, which both have at heart.

In a great business like that of an Administrative Committee, there must be a great deal of purely formal work, with which the Committee need not be troubled: the Secretary of each Department should be authorized to do the needful, and record the fact in the Proceedings.

Sensational expressions, quotations from Holy Writ and the use of the Divine Names of the Trinity, have to be tolerated from those, who occupy the Pulpit or Platform, and have the bad taste to over-indulge in them; but a Committee represents the Human business-side of a Divine and Spiritual Enterprise, and conventional expressions of pietistic common form should be avoided. Gratitude for Blessings in the past, and Trust for Heavenly Guidance for the future, underlie the very existence of the Association, and such expressions, as I have alluded to, are out of place and out of harmony with the matter-of-fact character of the English people. The greatest brevity should be enforced in Resolutions, Reports, and Correspondence.

Those who attend Missionary Committees only, get the idea, that their particular work is the best and most holy; they forget that the pious administrators of great Asiatic Provinces, like James Thomason, John Lawrence, Robert Montgomery, Donald Macleod, and others, were also doing high service to the Human race, and yet in their speeches and reports they never indulged in sensational Language, or broke the Third Commandment: so also those, who in the great City of London minister to the wants of the poor, as Guardians, or manage the hospitals and great Charities, are serving their fellow-creatures quite as fully as the Missionary Society, and yet they are restrained in their Language, and do not indulge in self-laudation, or stock-quotations.

I must allude to another feature: I used to look round the

Committee, and count up the number of Brothers and Brothers-in-law, Fathers and Sons present, and those, who had Brothers and Sons in the Field, and these last did not hesitate to speak in support of their relatives. Such discussions are very painful, and quite intolerable in a Secular Committee; it would be impossible to carry on any Secular administration, if such things were allowed. I trust, that the rule may be adopted, that no member should speak, when the affairs of his own kith and kin are discussed. The Committee consist of upright, intelligent, and independent, members, and are certain to do justice, without respect of persons.

I have nothing more to add. Owing to circumstances I am like the buttress of a church, outside the building. I have known the Committee and the Society very much longer than most of its present members. I have discussed points of practice with many who are dead, and my first Subscription of 200 Rupees is dated in my account-book July 28, 1843, at the request of good Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta, and his Chaplain, afterwards Archdeacon Pratt, who taught me my first lesson in Evangelization. I am still an Honorary Life-Governor, for services rendered, and an Annual Life-Governor. I receive a copy of the Agenda, *subscribe annually* for copies of the Periodicals, and *actually read through* the Annual Report, making marginal notes. My hands are so full with the work of Religious and Secular Committees, eighteen in number, and a large amount of literary work, that I can give no personal service. I have done what I could, and, having arrived at the age of 75, I am, by the rules which I propose, disqualified for a seat on the Committee.

London, 1896.

XXXI.

RIO PONGAS MISSION, WEST AFRICA.

THE Diocese of the Bishop of Sierra Leone embraces the Region, in which the Rio Pongas Mission has for some time carried on its quiet labours, summoning the Christian Africans, settled in the Islands of the West Indies, to take a part in the Evangelization of Africa, the home of their fathers.

Those, who study the Philosophy of Missions, know that different Methods are suitable to different countries, and the great art of Evangelization is to adopt the right Method. The degree of Culture of the natives of the Region, the climate, the political relations of the ruling Powers, have all to be considered. The Rio Pongas Mission is heavily weighted: its headquarters are in a small group of islands belonging to the British Empire, called the Isles de Los; but the mainland is a French Colony, and no European Language is allowed to be taught in a school except French. No doubt the Native Languages are the proper medium of instruction in an African village, and the prominence, given to English teaching in many fields, is to be deplored. The climate is peculiarly unsuited to the European constitution. The funds, to a certain extent, are supplied by the Negro Churches in the West Indies, and Pastors are trained in Codrington College for this particular service. It cannot be said that as yet the movement has been successful, nor is the support given to this interesting experiment such as might be expected.

Rock, 1896.

 XXXII.

TWO CHARTERED MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

1. A SOCIETY for Propagation of the Gospel under Royal Charter, 1662 A.D., alias "New England Company," 1, Furnival's Inn, Holborn. Upon application to the Secretary I received a civil reply, noting that it was all the information, which he was at liberty to give. No Annual Report is published; the yearly accounts are circulated among the members of the Company only; the income is £4,000 per annum, derived entirely from endowments, and is expended in the following manner (it appears to be

catholic): A. Mohawk Institution: the Rev. R. Ashton, Superintendent, his wife, matron, and nine assistants (Church of England). B. Tuscarora, or Six Nations, Indian Reserve: the Rev. D. J. Caswell, Isaac Bearfoot (Indian), three lay native assistants (Church of England). C. Kuper Island: the Rev. R. J. Roberts and his wife (Church of England). D. Chemong Lake: Mr. A. E. Kennedy (Methodist).

This Society was founded in 1649 A.D. The printed History and Report show it to be, from its first title in 1649, "a Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." It further recites that "the Commons of England
 " in Parliament assembled had received certain intelligence, that
 " divers the heathen natives of New England had, through the
 " blessing of God upon the pious care and pains of some godly
 " English minister, who preached the Gospel to them in their own
 " Indian Language, not only of barbarous become civil, but many
 " of them, forsaking their accustomed charms and sorceries, and
 " other satanical delusions, did then call upon the name of the Lord;
 " and that the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst
 " these poor heathen could not be prosecuted with that expedition
 " and further success as was desired, unless fit instruments were
 " encouraged and maintained to pursue it." The godly minister alluded to was John Eliot. Through the influence of the Hon. Robert Boyle, a new Charter was given by Charles II in 1662. Upon the Declaration of Independence, the Corporation, in 1786, transferred the exercise of its trust to New Brunswick, and, later on, to Nova Scotia, in the Dominion of Canada. In 1884, a sketch of the origin and the recent history of the New England Company was published, under authority, by Spottiswoode, London, and a paper was read at a meeting of the Royal Historical Society, London, on the same subject, the same year. In the list of governors, treasurers, and members, I remark, in 1867, the good names of Sir Robert Fowler, John Gurney Hoare, and Alderman Lawrence, but since then no name occurs in any way connected with Missionary efforts. As no accounts are rendered, it is impossible to state, whether the money might not be applied more advantageously, whether too much is not kept back for office expenses at home. Every kind of hard thing is said, and it is impossible to reply to them, until the Governors publish, as they ought to do, an annual account, audited by professional auditors. We call upon them to do so.

2. Incorporated Society for advancing the Christian Faith in the British West Indies, and elsewhere within the dioceses of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands, and in the Mauritius (Church of England): income, £ 3,430; 3, Great Dean's Yard, Westminster. The Hon. Robert Boyle, by his will dated July, 1691, left the residue of his estate for the advancement or

propagation of the Christian Religion amongst infidels. The income was devoted to a college in Virginia, U.S., until the war; a Charter was then granted to a Society for the Conversion and Religious instruction and education of the negro slaves in the British West India Islands. In 1834, slavery was abolished; a new charter was given in 1836 under the name, and with the objects, given above. Grants are annually voted to the Bishops of the West Indian dioceses. The present Secretary is the Rev. Dr. Bailey, late Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, and the Bishop of London is President. One feature is worthy of notice; this Corporation pays £90 annually to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, above described (No. 1). A direct way to compel that Society to give an account of its stewardship would be, if the Christian Faith Society (No. 2) would withhold its payment, and ask how the amount would be spent. It is manifestly wrong, that public money should be privately disposed of, without the security of rendition of account and professional audit.

The Record, 1888.

XXXIII.

MISSIONARY FINANCE.

It has been represented to me, that the last paragraph in the article on "Missionary Finance," in the *Fortnightly Review* of December, 1888, requires an answer from me. It is a quotation from the last page but one of Part IV of my "Notes on Missionary Subjects," published this year.

I need hardly say, that I have been an ardent and thorough-going supporter of Christian Missions for more than forty years, since Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, taught me my first lesson; but I have also been a ruler of Oriental Nations, and am, to a certain extent, cognizant of the manners, Customs, and Languages, of all the uncivilized, or less civilized, races of the World. In the Preface to my First Part, page xiii, I state that "I am an out-and-out friend and champion of the Heathen and Mahometan people," against all comers, black or white, Religious or Secular. This makes me a stern critic of Missionary Methods, the conduct of individual Missionaries, and the policy of Missionary Associations.

My remarks apply to all Missionary Societies, European or American. Your columns can testify, that I have studied all: on my shelves are their Reports, in my desk are collected extracts, the result of a long course of reading, travel, and correspondence. My

object is to point out faithfully errors of Method or principle, and indicate the best course to be followed.

I have denounced the practice of some Missionaries having male and female slaves as servants in their family, and allowing office-holders of Native Churches to buy, sell, and hold slaves; on the other hand, I have pointed out, that the enfranchisement of Slaves should not be made a condition of baptism. I have denounced the baptism of Polygamists, but pointed out that, to ask a Polygamist to put away women lawfully married as a condition precedent of baptism, is a terrible sin towards those poor women. I have denounced the practice of some Societies sending out their Missionaries, with their wives and children, into tropical countries, without proper means of support, proper houses and appliances. On the other hand, I have counselled the great Societies to guard against the extravagance and luxuriousness of the age, and a worldly spirit in their Agents. I have denounced the imposition of vows, or practice of celibacy, on male and female Agents; on the other hand, I have pointed out the extreme unwisdom of allowing candidates for the Mission-Field to engage themselves in marriage while *in statu pupillari*, and many at the age of twenty-six, thus crowding the homes for children, and filling up the pension-list of widows, to the great injury of the resources of the Society, and the cause of Missions. I have gone over the whole subject of the Methods in force, and unsparingly pointed out the blots, and suggested what seemed to me the proper course.

When a writer like the Author of the article in the *Fortnightly*, who has no knowledge whatever of the subject, either in the field or the Committee-room, undertakes to attack one particular Society on the question of their administration and finance, and quotes me as an authority and witness against that Society, he errs against facts and common-sense, and convincingly shows, that he has not read, or has entirely misunderstood, the drift of my Notes.

My remarks are those of a careful critic, and an impartial student. My last Essay in Part IV is headed "Thoughts on the Methods of Evangelization." No one Society is alluded to, and my summing-up at p. 117 is, that there is no room for boasting on account of the terrible failures and blots, which I distinctly affirm as existing. I place the Conversion of Souls among the first and highest Duties of men; I assert that all Human Knowledge and intellectual talents are in vain and profitless, unless directly or indirectly they lead on to the Salvation of Souls; and I point out, that the best proof that the matter is from the Lord is found in the marvellous progress of the last half-century, in spite of the weakness, unworthiness, and want of faith of so many of the Mission agents in the field, and members of the Committee at home.

I read in your columns complaints against me from Missionaries in the field. The cap must have fitted, or the complaint would not

have been made. If I have sometimes mentioned the name of a Missionary, such as John Newton of the American Presbyterian Church, Bishop Steere of the Universities' Mission, John Williams of the L.M.S., Bishop Sargent of the C.M.S., Carey, Saker, Judson, of the Baptist Churches, and Bishop Patteson of Melanesia, it has been in terms of tender love and deep admiration. As a rule my remarks indicate neither individual, nor Society, nor denomination, nor country, for the American Missionaries are as well known to me as the British, and I have visited the German, French, and Swedish, Societies, in their different homes.

My book was not published for profit, and the large free distribution prevents even the expense of printing being recouped; but I have received my reward in letters from young and old, laymen and ordained men, British and foreigners, not agreeing in everything (for that were impossible), but telling me, that my labour had not been in vain, that I had those who sympathized with me, though personally unknown to me; and some young men have told me, that they have been helped in their decision by my words, and this alone is an exceeding great reward.

Some of the Essays have been reprinted in American Missionary Journals, in the Periodical of the China-Inland Mission, and as a separate pamphlet by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; some have been translated into German, have been reviewed and quoted in Periodicals, secular and Religious. One Society has taken fifty copies of the first Essay of Part I, but the whole ought to be taken together; the plums of praise must not be picked out, and be unduly dwelt on; the sharp condemnations, and notice of sad failures, must not be separated from the context. We have no reason to be surprised at such failures. What Paul says of the Church of Corinth in its first decade ought to prepare us. My last words were: "It cannot now be said, that we must travel onward, as if in a mist; and as nobody criticized, there was no error."

Record, London, 1888.

SYMPATHY AND CONFIDENCE OF NATIVE CHRISTIANS.

“How can foreign Missionaries secure in the highest degree the sympathy and affectionate confidence of their native brethren?”

It suddenly transpired, to the astonishment of the European laity, that there was a violent feeling of dissatisfaction existing between the Missionary and the body of their native converts. Hard words were exchanged on both sides. It was the old story: the Native was charged with ingratitude and mutiny, and the Anglo-Saxon with overbearing harshness and insolence. It was roundly asserted, that the Missionaries used abuse, and actually raised their hands against their native brethren. An attempt was made by the milk-and-water party to stop the course of the debate, and bring back the general rose-water character of such discussions, and conceal ugly facts, when Sir Herbert Edwardes sternly interposed, and implored the Missionary Conference to allow the debate to proceed, and, if they wished to devise a remedy, to allow the rankling wound to be laid bare. The real struggle was for loaves and fishes. Both Missionary and Native Convert are thoroughly in the wrong. The Native Convert makes tremendous sacrifices when he becomes a Christian. He emphatically gives up parents, wife, children, money, and social status, and sacrifices all to buy the Pearl of Great Price. He often does this early in life, and, during the first years of his inquiry and conversion he is sustained by the sense of the grandeur of the sacrifice, which God has accepted of him. All honour be to such, and they will have their reward, but not here; it will be repaid to them a thousandfold, but not in this earthly kingdom. However, human flesh is weak; the convert settles down, marries, forms a family, and unluckily not only becomes a Christian, but acquires European ideas and wants; he puts on an English long-cloth coat, English shoes; he starts a table and a chair; books, of course, he must have; in fact, he requires a larger income, and insensibly the World regains its power over him, and he wishes to get some return for this tremendous sacrifice in this World; he cannot wait for the kingdom of God. Cut away all romance and sentiment, this is the real point: he wants more “talab.” Everybody in India wants a fixed salary; the burden of the song of one, the loudest native complaint, was, “Give us a schedule of fixed salaries.” The consequence is, that he is always bothering the Missionary about his temporal affairs, asking for increased pay if he be employed on Mission-work, or

for recommendation to the European officers of Government to get him a situation, or he wants loans, and so on. And, as the converts increase, the means of the Missionary are exhausted: he cannot satisfy the wants of all, and hence his unpopularity.

The faults of the Missionary are twofold: first, they themselves live too comfortably, too easily in many cases; the females of their families dress too expensively, conform to the fashions, and mix in the society of secular Europeans of the station; they are addressed by petition, called "Bahádar": *Padrí Sahib Bahádar* in itself an absurdity. The native converts see this, and desire to share the good things of the Mission-compound: they would like the elegancies of life, the pretty garden, the well-furnished drawing-room, the convenient carriage, the pretty hat and feathers, the bookcase stored with handsome books; in fact, all the comforts and luxuries of European life in India. The Reverend Golack Nath, the great champion of the malcontents, boldly laid down the great philosophical truth, that Christianity and Civilization advance hand in hand, and that often the latter outstrips the former. Now this is a great misfortune, for Christianity was as true, when preached by fishermen in Galilee, as by benefited clergy in Europe; and, if the necessary consequence of Conversion is to sit on a chair and wear European shoes, we shall never see what we so ardently desire to see, a change come over the heart of the masses, and the Indian converts become Christian without altering their social status, their Civilization, and their temporal views. Any other theory of a Christian Church in India is mere moonshine. To suppose that the millions of India, whom we are trying to convert, are to accept, with pure and simple doctrines of Christ, the intolerable burden of European luxuries, Civilization, and habits, is an absurdity. Paul never attempted to make Jews of his Gentile converts. Why do we attempt to make "Sahibs" out of our Native Indian converts, and why put such foolish, worldly ideas into their heads? If we had good hard-working Missionaries in old coats and hats, and their wives in poke-bonnets, living as simply and devotedly as the climate will permit them, and keeping quite clear of the luxuries and elegancies of the secular European, they might say with force to their converts: "Do not think of such things! Be content with your humble station in this world; it was the station, in which God placed you. Do not parade the temporal sacrifices, which you have been privileged to make. Hereafter you will take the precedence of the Commissioner and the General, and the servants of Government, when Christ gathers in His Jewels."

The second great fault of the Missionaries is, that they collect their Native Christians in little houses near the Mission-compound; they make a kind of Native cantonment; each neophyte finds his whole outward life, as well as his inner life, renewed. Instead of

going on as usual, making shoes, weighing out grain, and following his honest trade or profession or business in the city or village, or starting one, he finds himself moved a mile from the contact of his countrymen, his ideas of a decent residence entirely changed, and himself and his wife planted in a kind of forcing garden in little glass hothouses, where his moral and Christian virtues are to expand, but his means of getting his livelihood diminish, for the Padrí Sahib gives him new ideas about books, and the Mem Sahib teaches his wife to read and do crochet-work; and the new Christian, instead of being strengthened for life's hard struggle, finds himself emasculated, unnerved, degraded to a mere pensioner, always thinking of his "talab." Dissatisfied with his prospects, he looks on the Missionary as his natural enemy: he was a Brahmin, in receipt of a good income; he now wants to be a Brahmin again in the new organization, with a good salary from the Mission. More than that, he desires rank and pre-eminence, and becomes hopelessly secularized, and loses his morals as a man, and his Spirituality as a Christian. We implore the Missionary to break up these Christian cantonments, or keep them for the inquirer, the orphan, and the stranger, and let the Native converts live in the city, and follow their own handicraft. There is no fear of persecution from the Heathen beyond reviling and sarcasm, and these must be borne patiently; it is good to have something to bear in the cause of Christ. We implore the Missionary to dissolve the unhallowed alliance of Christianity and European notions; it is really the old assertion of, "I am a Christian; I eat beef, and wear topí." The Natives of this country have their own type of Civilization, let Christianity be engrafted upon it; it is not the hat, or the shoes, or the coat, that makes the Christian. Why add to the natural impediments to conversion such fictitious obstacles? Why encourage converts to abandon their time-honoured practices, and mode of dressing. They are not savages from the Fiji Islands, or man-eaters from New Zealand. Most Natives are thorough gentlemen in manner and in their modes of address. If their talents enable them, independent of their new faith, to raise themselves, let them do so. Every Officer of Government will be delighted to help them, for every true Christian loves his brother, and especially those of the household of faith. If God has not endowed them with talents for things of this World, if their lot in this life is to be poor, mean, and undistinguished, let them not envy the rich, and the powerful, for the least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he.

Missionary Conference, Lahór, 1861.

Lahór Chronicle, 1861.

REPORT OF CONFERENCE OF MISSIONARIES,
LONDON, 1878.

OUR readers will recollect that it was determined, after an interval of nineteen years from the last Conference, held at Liverpool, to have another gathering of the labourers in the Evangelical field of Missions, to take, as it were, stock of their labours, and to communicate the result of their experience of the past, and take counsel for the future. The Conference accordingly took place, and was largely attended by English, American, German, and French, Missionaries of the different Protestant Churches.

Many persons were prevented from attending all, or any of, these meetings, but no sincere friend of Missions will fail to supply himself with a copy of the instructive Report, which has followed rapidly upon the conclusion of the proceedings, and which we consider to be in every point of view a satisfactory Report. The reader will find many subjects calmly discussed, and a great variety of opinions expressed by earnest and good men, who, agreeing in principle, differ in detail, and we could not wish it to be otherwise. Not only is the idiosyncrasy of man's nature susceptible of infinite varieties, which are widened by educational, national, and denominational circumstances, but the field of labour differs materially; and a picture is here unfolded of the whole World, and its Nations, tribes, Religions, and Languages, some in the languishing stages of an effete and exhausted Culture, and others in a state of unmitigated barbarism. Two considerations press themselves upon me: First, how much work remains to be done. Secondly, how good God has been to us in these last days in giving us the opportunity of serving Him. I will consider these two points separately. The good people of the last and preceding centuries knew little of the Great World outside Europe and the Anglo-Saxon Colonies of America. It is only within the last forty years, that we have become aware of the teeming populations, Mahometan, Hindu, Buddhist, and Pagan, who have never heard the sound of the Gospel, who have never had the opportunity of being saved, who have lain outside, as it were, of the great scheme of Salvation. Generation after generation have gone to their last home in absolute ignorance of the blessed Truths, which can make life valuable. And, just as the greater power of modern telescopes reveals to us new constellations, so the closer inspection of modern Travellers,

Colonists, and Explorers, reveals to us the existence of new Nations to whom the Message must be conveyed. How shall they hear, if they are not preached to?

If it had entered into the hearts of the men of the last century to undertake the great task, could they have done it? Certainly not. To us has the great privilege been reserved. Peace and war, Commerce and Religion, good motives and bad, the restlessness of the traveller, the fervour of the Evangelist, the crimes of the pirate and the slave-trader, have all combined, under the inscrutable providence of the Almighty, to throw open to this generation the uttermost parts of the World.

While we are writing, explorers are on their way into tracts not hitherto visited, the advance-guard of Missions and Commerce; for Missions sanctify Commerce, and Commerce popularizes Missions, and the two, hand in hand, will conquer the World.

This book tells us how European Churches have awakened to the grandeur of their Duties and privileges; they feel it written in their hearts, that a Church is dead, which has no Foreign Missions, and they vie with each other in this noble controversy, where each can admire the success of the other without envy or rivalry. And when the Christian mounts a tower in his mind, and looks out on the broad plains of Heathendom, how petty, how ridiculous, appear the "shibboleths," the "anise and cummin," of the different Churches of the Evangelical Alliance, and how encouraging are the reunions, as that of the Conference at Mildmay, where each man stepped forward, and, in the quarter of an hour, or ten minutes, or even five, which the inexorable bell allowed him, told his story of sanctified efforts, partial success, hopes made brighter by disappointments, failures accepted as righteous chastenings, deaths counted as martyrdoms, and making room for new confessors.

Lastly, this book is a reply to the doubter, the faint-hearted, the sceptic, the Gallio, who asks what has been done. The statesman may reflect, that a new factor has come into existence in the world's politics, which can no longer be overlooked. The low white, who oppresses aboriginal races, the Arab man-stealer and land-pirate, has learned that, wherever there is a footing for his baneful step, there is also ground to hold a man of God, a Missionary of one of the Societies of Protestant Europe, or the United States of North America, who, with a fearless trumpet-tone, will publish the iniquities committed in a distant land upon a people no longer friendless.

Record, 1878.

THE MISSIONARY SHIPS.

I FOLLOW the example, and make use of the labours, of our German Brethren in the *Mission Zeitschrift*, and chronicle the history of the successive Mission-ships. No small interest attaches to them, for they have carried the good tidings, the merchandise of great price, into many Regions, and their weapons, though not carnal, have won great victories. Moreover, they have been the homes of good and holy men, both British and native, who have devoted their lives, and not been afraid to die, for the great cause of the extension of their Master's Kingdom.

A poetess has anticipated me in the description of this charming subject. I give Mrs. Hemans' beautiful lines, suggested by the sailing of one of the earlier vessels:

- “ Oft shall the shadow of the palm-tree lie
 O'er glassy bay, wherein thy sails are furled,
 And its leaves whisper, as the winds sweep by,
 Tales of the older world.
- “ Oft shall the burning stars of southern skies
 On the mid-ocean see thee charmed in sleep,
 A lonely home for human thoughts, and ties,
 Between the heavens and deep.
- “ Blue seas, that roll on gorgeous coasts renowned,
 By night shall sparkle, where thy prow makes way ;
 Strange creatures of th' abyss, that none may sound,
 In thy broad wake shall play.
- “ From hills unknown, in mingled joy and fear,
 Free dusky tribes shall pour thy flag to mark ;
 Blessings go with thee on thy lone career !
 Hush, and farewell, thou bark !
- “ A long farewell ! Thou wilt not bring us back
 All, whom thou bearest far from home and hearth ;
 Many are thine, whose steps no more shall track
 Their own sweet native earth.”

Among the first, though after the Moravians, was the *Duff*, which, in 1796, was chartered by the London Missionary Society

to convey the Gospel to the mysterious Islands of the South Seas. The grandeur and novelty of the enterprise can scarcely now be appreciated. It is characteristic of that age, that the *Duff* was chartered to call at a South American Port to take up supplies of good wine for the use of the Missionaries: what would the present generation say to that? The *Duff* returned safely to England, but, on its second voyage, it was captured by the French cruisers, and the Missionaries were confined in a French prison, and the good ship disappeared. In 1821, the great Missionary hero, John Williams, purchased at Sydney a ship, which he named the *Endeavour*, with a view of Evangelizing and creating a legitimate Commerce in the Harvey Islands. He was ordered by the Home Committee to sell the ship. John Williams then undertook, though ignorant of shipbuilding, to build himself a ship, which he named the *Messenger of Peace*, which for many years did him good service. In 1838, on his return to England, by his own personal exertions he got together enough money to purchase a larger vessel, the *Camden*, on board which he safely returned to the field of his labour, and which he left only to be murdered and devoured at Eromanga, in the New Hebrides, in 1839. The *Camden*, till 1843, did good service in carrying the Gospel from Island to Island. In 1844, it was replaced by a larger and more convenient vessel, *John Williams I*, which sailed yearly backwards and forwards from England to the South Seas, until, in 1864, it was wrecked on Danger Island.

The new ship, *John Williams II*, suffered the same fate in 1867, at Savage Island. *John Williams III* then took its place, no longer to proceed to England, but destined to keep up the communication among the Islands, and supplied with auxiliary steam-power. It is notable, that the converted Islands subscribed largely to the expenses of these last two ships, and, moreover, the Mission-ship proved itself to be a necessity for carrying on the work of a Mission spread over scores of Islands scattered over a large area. On the side of the vessel is inscribed, in gold letters on a blue ground, "Peace on Earth and Good-will towards Men."

The London Missionary Society had another steamer in the Torres Straits, the *Ellengowan I*, the generous gift of Miss Baxter, for the service of the New Guinea Mission. In 1881, the same lady presented a two-masted steamer, *Ellengowan II*. The work of Evangelization would be impossible without the assistance and the additional help of smaller craft, given by kind friends for the same purpose.

When Marsden had prevailed upon the Church Missionary Society to send a Mission to New Zealand, in 1817, he purchased at his own expense a brig, the *Active*, to despatch the Missionaries, and he followed them himself. This ship was of great use, and made the Missionaries independent of the precarious and uncertain

accommodation afforded by merchant vessels and whalers. The necessity has long since passed away. At their Jubilee, in 1838, a subscription was collected by the Methodist Church to send out a vessel to the South Seas, and in 1839 the *Triton* accomplished the voyage. Since 1848, the good ship *The John Wesley I* has kept up the communication of the scattered Wesleyan Missions, assisted by smaller craft. In 1865 the *John Wesley I* was wrecked, and was replaced by a *John Wesley II* (this also suffered so much that it had to be sold) and two smaller vessels, the *Jubilee* and *John Hunt*, and with the aid of cutters all the needs of the Missionaries are supplied.

The American Mission Board of Boston, U.S., with its daughter the Hawaii Missionary Society, kept up its intercourse with its Mission in Mikronesia, in the Caroline, Marshall, and Gilbert Islands, by the aid of a smaller vessel, the *Caroline*, but this proving too small, was replaced in 1851 by *Morning Star I*, which, with the aid of smaller craft, did good service until 1867, when, being no longer seaworthy, it was sold, and replaced by *Morning Star II*, which was wrecked in 1869. Its successor, *Morning Star III*, was also wrecked in 1884. The school-children in America and Asia Minor contributed so large a sum, that *Morning Star IV* came into existence, a large three-masted vessel with steam auxiliary power, three times bigger than its predecessor, No. I, twice as big as No. II and III, a proof of the greatly increased work of the Mission.

When Bishop Selwyn, of New Zealand, first conceived the idea of evangelizing the New Hebrides in 1847, he purchased a small ship of twenty-two tons, the *Undine*, and in 1849 in this nutshell, the bold skipper-Bishop navigated the sea with a crew of four men, and brought lads from the Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia, to be educated in New Zealand. For his second trip he was supplied by the Church of Australia with a larger vessel of seventy tons, the *Border Maid*, and penetrated as far as the Solomon Islands. The returning lads were welcomed with joy, and the ship thus became a preacher of the Gospel. In 1856, a friend presented the Mission with a large schooner, *Southern Cross I*, which, in 1860, was wrecked. In 1863, Bishop Selwyn's successor, Bishop Patteson, was enabled by the help of friends to send out *Southern Cross II*, larger in size and with auxiliary steam-power. As this was barely sufficient for the widespread work of the Melanesian Mission, the gift of a small additional steamer by a lady was gladly welcomed.

The same necessities produced the same results for the United Presbyterian Missions of the Free Church of Scotland, Australia, and Canada in the New Hebrides. The little *Columba* was superseded in 1857 by the *John Knox*, which did not prove equal to the work, and gave way in 1864 to *Day Spring I*, a two-masted brigantine, but after having done an admirable work it was wrecked

in 1873. It was succeeded by *Day Spring II*, a three-masted vessel of 160 tons: after excellent service this is to be replaced by a large sailing-vessel, with a steam-launch for the discharge of the internal service of the mission-stations.

In Sumatra the Rhine Mission supplied itself in 1882 with a small steamer, the *Denninger*, to communicate with its stations in the Island of Nias.

The Hermansburg Missionary Society launched the first German Mission-ship, the *Kandáce*, in 1853, to take the Missionaries to the Mission-field in South Africa. In 1874 it was declared to be no longer seaworthy, and was got rid of; its place was not supplied, as it was found less expensive to send out Missionaries by the numerous commercial steamers.

The Norwegian Missionaries launched a Mission-ship, named *Elieser*, in 1865, a three-masted sailing-vessel, which conveyed their agents to the coast of Zulu-land and Madagascar. After twenty years' good and profitable service it gave way to a new sailing-vessel, named *Paulus*, and it appears to make money by trading, which seems objectionable.

The Swedish Missionary Association was not so fortunate with their ship *Ausgarius*, named after a Swedish Apostle. It was built in 1873, a sailing-vessel with auxiliary steam-power. It went to Masowah in the Red Sea, and made expeditions along the coast of South Africa: soon afterwards it was recalled to Gothenburg, and, after a very short service, sold in 1879, for it was obvious that the commercial steamers could convey Missionaries at much less cost.

On the River Zambési Livingstone first appeared with an iron steamer, the *Ma Robert*, called after his wife, which went to the bottom, and was succeeded by the *Pioneer*, made of wood, with paddle, and was sold soon afterwards, as the draught proved unsuitable to the navigation of the River Shiré. *Lady Nyasa I* succeeded, an iron screw, but which was sold at Bombay. In 1876, Cotterill appeared on the Nyasa with the steamer *Herga* on a commercial enterprise, and presented it to the Mission of the Scotch Free Church, in whose service it sank to the bottom. In 1875 Young appeared with the *Ilála*, named after the place where Livingstone died; it was the first steamer which circumnavigated Lake Nyasa, and now belongs to the African Commercial Lake Company, who in 1878 placed on the waters of the River Shiré *Lady Nyasa II*, a paddle-steamer. It was sunk by the hostile natives. The Company built at Greenwich a new steamer, the *James Sterenson*. The *Ilála* passed from the possession of the Free Church Mission into the hands of the Commercial Company, which is on friendly terms with the Mission.

In 1884 the Universities' Mission in East Africa placed the steamer *Charles Janson* on the Nyasa Lake, to be, as it were, the headquarters of that branch of the Mission.

In 1876 the Church Missionary Society sent out the *Highland Lassie* to run from Zanzibár to Mombása, on the East Coast of Africa, but it was not equal to the navigation at all seasons of the year. In 1883 the steamer *Henry Wright* supplied its place. At that time there was no line of commercial steamers running betwixt Mombása and Zanzibár; as there is such convenience now, it may be questioned whether a Mission-steamer is required. In 1875 the Church Missionary Society sent out to Zanzibár, and thence conveyed by a land journey, the little vessel *The Daisy* to the waters of the Victoria Nyanza, which it reached in 1877. It navigated the lake to Rubága, the capital of U-Ganda, in the North-West corner, but was wrecked in 1879. A sailing-boat was then constructed by the Missionaries on the lake, named the *Eleanor*, from the materials brought from England. It is a very serious matter indeed, placing a vessel upon an inland sea many hundred miles from the ocean, as the expense of portage is enormous, and the hostile tribes on the shore may at any moment capture or destroy the vessel. A new boat, adapted to machinery, is now being constructed on the lake.

The London Missionary Society sent a boat in many hundred portions from Zanzibár to Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika, in 1883, which was called the *Morning Star*. Soon afterwards, they sent a steamer, the *Good News*, built in London, which was conveyed to Kilimáni, on the East Coast of Africa, thence up the Zambési River; it was then conveyed on board the steamer *Ilála* across the whole length of Lake Nyasa, and thence by porters along the new road, constructed at the expense of James Stevenson, to the southern shore of the Lake Tanganyika, where it was put together and launched in 1884.

On the West Coast of Africa the Livingstone Kongo Mission, in 1881, launched their small steamer, the *Livingstone*, at Stanley Pool, on the Upper Kongo. It experienced great disasters, and, after the bursting of its boilers, was used as a sailing-boat. It was succeeded by a second boat, the *Moffat*, in 1882, and by a third, the *Henry Reed*, in 1883, which has accomplished a great deal of navigation of the Kongo waters, and is now transferred, with the whole Mission, to the North American Baptist Union. The English Baptist Missionary Society, in 1882, sent out the steel boat, *Plymouth*, to Stanley Pool. To this followed, in the same year, the steamer *Peace*, which has accomplished marvellous voyages of discovery; it was launched at Stanley Pool in 1884.

Bishop William Taylor, of the self-supporting American Mission to the Portuguese Colony of Angóla, in West Africa, collected enough money in America to send out a steamer to navigate the River Coan and Kongo, which he named *Annie Taylor*, after his wife.

The American Missionaries in the French Colony of the Gabún,

on West Africa, have a schooner, the *Albert Bushnell*, which serves the Mission on the Island of Corisco.

The Baptist Missionary Society, during its occupation of the Kamerún country, in West Africa, as a Mission-field in 1861, sent out a small schooner, the *Wanderer*, which sank. In 1871 they had a small steamer to keep up the communication between their stations; this was succeeded by another steamer. The Mission is now abandoned.

The United Presbyterian Missionary Society, on the Old Calabar River, has a small steamer to navigate the river, named the *David Williamson*, to communicate with the out-stations.

On the River Niger, in 1857, appeared, for the double purpose of commerce and evangelization, the ship *Day Spring*, under Bishop Crowther, which ascended the stream as far as Rabba. In 1878 the steamer *Henry Venn I* was placed by the Church Missionary Society on the Niger. It was worn out in the course of eight years. A second steamer of a different construction, *Henry Venn II*, was sent out in 1885, solely for the navigation of the Niger River, and not to navigate the sea from the mouth of the Niger to the Island of Lagos. The Mission is thus independent of the service of the African Company's commercial steamers. The steamer is furnished with steam-launches to navigate the creeks.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society has supplied its Missionary with a boat fitted with awning and curtains for the navigation of the River Ogan from the ocean to Abeokuta. It is named the *Alafia*, the Yáriba term for *Peace*.

The Basle Missionary Society on the Gold Coast in 1866 purchased the schooner *Palme* to carry its Missionaries to the African field. It was got rid of, as the commercial steamers supplied regular and better means of communication. A small river steamer has been supplied for the navigation of the River Volta.

The North German Missionary Society, on the Slave Coast, since 1857, made use of a ship, the *Dahómeý*, which is now engaged in commerce, though formerly belonging to the mission. The commercial steamers have removed the necessity of this or other ships.

The "United Brethren in Christ," a missionary society from Ohio, in the United States, have a small steamer, the *John Brown*, to serve the stations of their Mende Mission, in West Africa.

In the American Province of Alaska, the Moravians have a sailing-boat, the *Bethel Star*, to navigate the rivers of that desolate region.

Following the American coast southward, we find ourselves in the interesting mission settlement of the Shimshi Indians at Metlakatla, belonging to the Church Missionary Society. The head of the mission, Bishop Ridley, of New Caledonia, has a small two-masted steamer, the *Evangeline*, built in England. Still farther

south, but belonging to the same mission, is the steam-launch *Eiréné*, for the navigation of the Frazer River.

In the Diocese of Algoma, in Canada, which skirts the northern shore of Lake Superior, the Bishop has started a steamship, the *Evangeline*, which enables him to visit his numerous stations lying at great distance, and establish new ones.

In the famous Labrador Mission-field of the Moravian Mission, the Mission-ships have a longer and more romantic pedigree, extending over one hundred and eighteen years. In 1770 the *Jersey Packet* led the way, but was superseded by a larger vessel, the *Amity*. In 1777 followed the *Good Intent*, which was captured by a French vessel, and released by an English cruiser. In 1787 the *Amity*, which had done good service, was replaced by the *Harmony I*, a much larger vessel, which lasted until 1802. Like its predecessor, the *Resolution* had narrow escapes from capture by French cruisers, and worked on until 1808. Its successor, the *Hector*, after only two months, was replaced by the *Jemima*. This vessel ran many risks from the icebergs and the perils of the North Sea, but went backwards and forwards from Labrador to England until 1817. *Harmony II* was specially built for the work in 1818, and kept on until 1831, in which year *Harmony III* was launched, and had a wonderful career, until 1851, when she was replaced by *Harmony IV*, which was launched in 1861, and is still afloat. This vessel traverses the Atlantic; but, for keeping up the communication in the Mission-fields, we hear of Mission-boats, named *Meta*, *Union*, *Amity*, and the schooner *Cordelia*: this last was run down in the course of a voyage to Europe, in 1881, by a steamer in the Thames, and was replaced by the *Gleaner*, which is still afloat, and carries freight. In the inhospitable clime of Labrador, the Missionaries and their flocks depend upon the arrival of the Mission-ship for their provision and very subsistence. This places the service of these boats upon a distinct category from those of other Societies.

The following lines from a Moravian source indicate the spirit, with which the successive voyages of the *Harmony* are watched:

“ Thither, while to and fro she steers,
 “ Lord, guide our annual bark
 “ By night and day, through hopes and fears,
 “ While lonely as the Ark,
 “ Along her single track she braves
 “ Gulfs, whirlpools, icefields, winds, and waves,
 “ To waft glad tidings to the shore
 “ Of longing Labrador.

“ How welcome to the watcher’s eye,
“ From morn till evening fixed,
“ The first faint speck, that shows her nigh,
“ Where surge and sky are mixed !
“ Till looming large, and larger yet,
“ With bounding prow, and sails full set,
“ She speeds to anchor on the shore
“ Of joyful Labrador.”

In Newfoundland the Bishop since 1865 has had a Church-ship called the *Hawk*, but this is used for pastoral rather than Missionary purposes. The Bishop of Nassau for the same purpose in 1885 had a ship, the *Messenger of Peace*: there is another ship, the *Red Cross*, and a third ship was sent out in 1880, the *Baynes*, by the Baptist Missionary Society, but its occupation is pastoral.

On the Moskito Coast the Moravians have had for many years ships for their Mission-work. In 1858, *Messenger of Peace I* was launched, and lasted ten years, and was then replaced by *Messenger of Peace II*, which was lost in a storm in 1873. In 1875, the *Herald* was afloat. It is interesting to note, that a large portion of the cost of these ships was collected from the children in Germany, Great Britain, and the United States.

In their Mission-stations in Dutch Guiana the Moravians are compelled to use boats, among which the *Dove* is worthy of special mention.

Passing downwards to the region of the Lone Star Mission in Tierra del Fuego, we find in 1854 the *Allan Gardiner I*, which has made important geographical discoveries in the course of the prosecution of strictly Missionary work. It has had the mournful honour of being plundered by the natives, but escaped burning. In 1884 *Allan Gardiner II* replaced the old vessel, and was a steamer, but has since been converted into a sailing-vessel, which sufficiently answers the requirements of the Mission-field, and is much less expensive.

The Roman Catholic Missionaries are generally found among the steerage-passengers in the ordinary passenger steamer, after the manner of Paul in his famous voyage from Syria to Italy; he had no cabin-accommodation like the Protestant Missionary and his wife in modern times. Even the Negro Protestant Missionaries claim first-class accommodation, though travelling for their own pleasure. The Roman Catholic Missions appear to have a ship, the *Christopherus*, for the navigation of the River Amazon; on the lake of Abbitibi, in Upper Canada, they have a new boat. In Oceania the Mission to the Paumotu Island has a boat with the name of the *Vatican*. The Mission of Bagamóyo near Zanzibár has a boat, and on the Nile above Khartúm the Austrian Missionaries once had a *Morning Star*, but their Mission has ceased to exist, and the *Star* has disappeared.

A great many considerations arise from the review of this secular side of Mission-work.

Let us consider the objections :

1. The dangerous encouragement given to men of enterprise to become geographical explorers, and get a repute as such to the neglect of their proper spiritual work.

2. The temptation offered to overbearing secular men, like Henry Stanley, to seize Mission-steamers for the transport of troops, weapons of war, gunpowder, etc.

3. The temptation on the part of the Missionaries to use the steamers for the purpose of Commerce.

4. The temptation on the part of the Missionaries to make their ship the refuge of runaway slaves, or to oppose the slave-dealer in a way, that may lead to bloody reprisals.

5. The danger which the ship, laden with valuable stores, runs of being boarded, captured, or sunk, by armed bodies of Natives ; and the inexpediency of placing a Missionary under the necessity of taking away life to protect his own and that of his companions.

6. The great expense of purchasing, or building, of conveying it by sea or land to the Mission-field, of repairing, replacing, and maintaining it.

This last remark applies specially to steamers.

7. The danger of transgressing the Customs or Police-Regulations of a civilized country, and being suspected of being smugglers, or refugees of criminals, as in China.

The Mission-ship may appear in several forms •

1. The sea-going steamer, or auxiliary steamer, as in the South Seas.

2. The river-going steamer, as on the Niger.

3. The sailing sea-going vessel, as in the South American Mission.

4. The steam-launch, as on the Niger.

5. The European boat, adaptable to steam-engines, as in preparation for the Victoria Nyanza.

6. The European boat, with sails and oars, as the Wesleyan boat at Lagos.

7. The Native boat, as at Port Said, for the Bible Society's Agent.

It is clear, that a Missionary Society should think three times before buying a steamer, and weigh the advantages and disadvantages, the profit and loss ; it is not a simple problem, nor of universal application. In the South Seas the steam Mission-ships have been a universal blessing ; their course from Island to Island has been marked by a track of light on the waters. Without a Mission-ship of some kind, Mission-work in the Northern Sea

would be impossible. Independent of the risk from the dangers of the sea and fire, experience has shown, that a steamship has a very short career. The *Henry Venn I*, steamer on the Niger, lasted only eight years, owing to climate and local causes. But there is another contingency; after an expensive steamship has been placed on the water to connect certain places, commercial steamers may occupy the line, and the Mission-ship is no longer required. It is not expedient for a Mission-ship to make profit by a carrying trade, even of legitimate merchandise, exclusive of liquor and materials of war. This opens out a great many serious questions. Our safest course is to keep our Missionaries to the work of Evangelizing, Education, and healing, and try to relieve spiritual men as much as possible of secular work and cares. Perhaps on Lake Nyasa, the happiest solution has been found, where a commercial company has undertaken the duty of navigation on terms of strict amity, but entire independence of, the Missionaries.

Sunday at Home, 1888.

XXXVII.

OPINIONS COLLECTED BY A COMMISSION OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

I HAVE received from the Editor of *The Review of the Churches* proof-copy of a paper by Mr. Arnold White on the subject of the "Proposed Commission on Missions to be sent out to India by the University of Chicago." The paper is a very strong one. There is no doubt as to the opinion of the writer, an opinion founded on the results of travel and inquiry, the opinion of a man not hostile to Christianity, or the duty of Christians to evangelize the World, but doubtful as to the Methods employed, and the degree of success, which has attended those Methods.

The standpoint of Mr. White is clearly outside the orbit of the Missionary wheel; he speaks *ab extra*, as "the man in the street," by no means a hostile, or unintelligent, observer of a great movement, shall I say the *greatest movement* which the World has ever known? He takes up a watch, and marks the irregular time which it keeps, and the weakness of some of its works, but he makes no inquiry into the mainspring of the movement; indeed, it almost seems, as if it were to him an open question, whether it were expedient to continue the operation, which to his and many other human eyes is an entire failure. He has to learn the A B C of the Christian life, that it is a necessity to a Christian to advance

the spread of the Gospel. "Woe is to me," said Paul, "if I preach not the Gospel." To men of the World, it may be a stumbling-block, and to the non-Christian World it is foolishness; nevertheless it is the power of God unto Salvation to every one that believeth. If, therefore, the question be, whether we should continue, or close, the great business of Evangelization, I for one withdraw from further discussion. If the object be to discuss the Methods without prejudice to the continuance of the operations, I am ready, at the age of seventy-five, as I was at the age of twenty-three, when I learned from good Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, my first lesson, and made my first contribution to the Church Missionary Society.

The subject of Missions generally in every part of the World, and in British India in particular, conducted by every denomination of Christ's Church, has been very familiar to me for more than fifty years; my experience of the work is based upon my knowledge of the workers in the field, in the midst of whom I lived many years; on the practices of Missionary Committees; and the perusal of Missionary literature in five Languages of Europe, from the Annual Latin *Missiones Catholicae* of the Propaganda of Rome, dedicated *urbi et orbi*, to the tiny leaflet of some solitary idiotic enthusiast, replete with egotistic piety, the existence of the like of which has injured the great and blessed cause more than the attacks of the outsiders.

I am a severe critic *ab intra*. I write as one, who has had access behind the scenes of the playhouse, and knows all the chief actors at home, and a great many of them in the field, personally. They are men, *most decidedly men only*, though they are hailed on the platform in excited meetings as angels. I have learned to appraise a Missionary Report at its just value, for the simple reason, that for twenty-five years I was myself always writing Reports on the subjects of administration of Indian Provinces, and any deviation from the absolute truth, such as the euphemisms of a Missionary Report, "*Bona verba quaeso*," and the suppression of unpleasant truths, would have brought the cudgel of my great master, Lord Lawrence, down on my head; and it answers in the end to be "outspoken," even as Mr. Arnold White is outspoken, if the speaker has the facts at his fingers' ends to prove his assertions. An outsider should remember, that his contest with an astute secretary of a Missionary Society resembles that of a "Gladiator" armed with a sword, and a "Retiarius" armed with a net, in the Roman Amphitheatre, which generally ends in the defeat of the swordsman. The Editorial Secretary of the C.M.S. describes my criticisms of the shortcomings of his Society as "half-truths"; in reply, I suggest, that his view of the case is generally something less than a half-truth, or, in fact, a benevolent myth, such as in secular correspondence would not be taken seriously. Still, such

picturesque fancy Reports bring in grist to the mill, and move foolish souls to drop silver into the Missionary-box. A certain portion of the middle class of England like to be deceived: so let them be deceived.

I cannot see what possible good results could flow from a Mission to British India of American philanthropists from Chicago; they would be entirely unprepared for the conduct of such investigations, and unable to communicate with the native pastors, and catechists, and lay officers, of the Churches; they would have to accept what the English Missionary told them, and they can get thus much from the Annual Reports received from every station in London. It would be a dangerous work to get on such a topic as Baptism with a Baptist Missionary, or on the other Sacrament with a High Church Anglican, or a Papist Priest. I recollect thirty years ago the arrival of three Quakers from Philadelphia in Pennsylvania at Lahór for the purpose of addressing us; they were received kindly and hospitably of course, but left no impression behind them for good or evil, and could not have taken anything away of any value. I can picture in my mind the arrival of the Chicago Commission at some, to me, well-known Mission-station in Northern India, and the hopeless expression on their faces, as they looked round on a scene quite peculiar to India. To us, who lived among them, and spoke their Language as our own, all the system in force was intelligible forty years ago, and I formed a high opinion of that system, and recorded my impressions in contributions to periodicals; but in those days Missionaries made their service a life-service; they and their wives and children died, if the Lord so willed it, but they did not desert the service, or turn their backs on the plough, as so many do now.

We see furthest into the *future*, when we most carefully consider the facts of the *present*. The Mission-field of British India, and indeed of the whole World, is full of most unpleasant facts, which will startle those who live to the middle of the Twentieth century. We can scarcely realize in what form will appear the hydra-headed monster of the European Christian Church planted among Asiatics in a different plane of Culture, under influence of different social customs, and the heirs of an ancient Hindu Civilization and Literature and Religious Conceptions. I am not sure, that any interference from Europe or America could arrest the progress; there is neither uniformity in the mode of seeing God in the chapel, in the practice, or the dogma, in the Precious Promises held out in this life, or the hopes beyond the grave. The emissary of Rome puts up statues to the Virgin of Lourdes, and peoples the air with saints and spirits, and talks of miracles; the Evangelical Missionary preaches a millennium, and has sometimes been taken at his word, and large numbers sell all that they have, and go down to meet the coming Saviour; others talk

about faith-healing, and the sick being healed by prayer; the Salvation Army rivals the Hindu in the noise of his tomtoms and Bhajan-dancing through the bazaar, in which the English Christian soldier of Her Majesty gives object-lessons of drunkenness and profligacy; the State secular Colleges turn out annually thousands, whose intellects are swept thoroughly clean of any form of intellectual belief in the supernatural, and are too wise in their own conceits to let themselves be hoodwinked again by another Triad of deities, or another Mother and Divine Child. The Theosophist, the Unitarian, the Neo-Buddhist, or the Brahmo-Somáj and Aria-Somáj, are more to their taste.

More to the purpose for the present necessity would be a conference of Mission-experts of all denominations, men of large hearts, and eyes wide open to their environment, their limitations and possibilities, and the trend of human thought. Certain things alluded to by Mr. Arnold White should be condemned: (1) Any appeal to the arm of flesh under any circumstance; (2) the absence of all signs of self-sacrifice; (3) the blending of matrimony with evangelization; (4) the close-corporation-constitution of Committees, with powerful overbearing secretaries, and dummy members of the Committee to adopt their policy; (5) the prodigal waste of the alms of the Churches on paid officials, widows and children, who ought never to have come into existence; (6) the glowing and deceitful annual Reports and periodical Literature; (7) the suppression of everything that tells against a Mission: if a Missionary has been dismissed for gross immorality, like the unfortunate Mr. Stokes, lately killed on the Kongo, let it be stated; (8) the interference of Missionaries and the Committees with such matters as the opium-trade with China, the sale of liquors in India, the customs of early marriage and caste in India, the morals of the British soldier in his cantonments; (9) the hiring of the soldiers of a Chartered Company to maintain a Mission, as happened in Equatorial Africa a few years ago; (10) the sending out to the field untrained men and untrained women in shoals, who intend to spend a few years and then throw up what ought to be a life-service, and forget their first love.

No commission from Chicago in a tour through India of a limited duration of time would hit such blots. It is no wonder, that Missions are so unpopular among certain classes of good respectable people, who decline to admit a Report into their house, or give a shilling to the Mission-service. A change must come over men and Methods. I can imagine a time, though I pray that it may be long distant, when the Empress of India may be compelled, in order to preserve the peace of her Empire, to follow the example of the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and *allow no Missionaries within their borders*. A great portion of the troubles of China and Turkey have arisen from the appearance of this new element of

disorder; it may be well figuratively to turn the World upside down, but absolute monarchies like the Empire of India will scarcely stand the shock without dissolution.

Review of the Churches, 1895.

XXXVIII.

A STEP IN ADVANCE IN THE WORK OF GENUINE EVANGELIZATION.

A FEW years back the conviction forced itself upon some of the graduates of the two English Universities, that, being themselves by the bounty of Providence the heirs of a Christian Civilization, and being in possession by slight exertion of their own of that Divine Knowledge, which is better than all things in the World besides, they ought to do something for their fellow-creatures, and fellow-subjects, in the great Universities of British India, the heirs of a Civilization much older than that of Europe, but doomed to a purely secular education. Then came into existence the Missions of the Universities to Calcutta and Delhi, and their praise is in the mouth of all, who study the problem, the great problem, of the Philosophy of Missions.

But there was still a desire unrealized, a hope unfulfilled. "Male and female created He them." Up to the middle of the Nineteenth century, the male sex had usurped every good thing, every great thing, had fought the great battle of life without consulting their partners, and left the women in the tent in charge of the stuff.

About ten years ago the cry of "the female evangelist wanted to go from village to village in Northern India to hold converse with India's women in a low state of Culture" went forth, and was responded to. The white sisters from distant unknown countries, whom love for Souls had brought across the seas, were welcomed. The scheme was found feasible, and is annually expanding. The services of women in the school and the hospital are as valuable in British India as in Great Britain; but there was a *tertium quid*, which old men who dreamed dreamed of, and young women who saw visions, conceived in their minds, and it was this, that those young women, who had obtained knowledge in English Universities of things spiritual and things secular, and were free from home-duties, should go forth and found at their own charges, where possible, a Missionary settlement, encamping in the midst of their Indian

sisters, to whom as yet only the gift of secular knowledge, which by itself is profitless, had been conceded.

On Wednesday, June 10, this noble work was inaugurated in Portman Rooms, Baker Street, in the presence of a large gathering. I mention no names, as my object is not the glorification of individuals, especially of those, who are only putting on their armour to go out to the fight, but to impress upon your readers the intrinsic greatness and reality of this enterprise. The conception is a new one, and the practice will have to be developed on the spot. Each of the four young women, who have consecrated themselves to this particular service, stood up, and spoke out, I will not say like men, but, in their case, like angels; the very simplicity of their utterances was a proof of their earnestness: they had counted the cost, and understood what they had undertaken; freely they had received the blessed gift of a high and religious education, and they wished to impart a share of this gift to their Indian sisters, and no one but those, who were equipped like themselves, could do so.

The movement is on strictly Evangelical lines: the clergymen, three in number, who were on the platform, attest that fact. I mention, that those who can will support themselves in India at their own charges, yet a small fund, say £600, is required to pay the passage-money, provide the house-rent, and those expenses, which in this regrettably luxurious epoch cannot be avoided. We wish that our Missionaries could go forth, and maintain themselves as simply as Columba, and Augustine, and Boniface, and the British Sisters in the early centuries managed to do, but it is not possible, and subscriptions are solicited to this worthy enterprise. It may prove the germ of very great things, if the simplicity, with which it is started, be maintained. It is a message in the highest and holiest form from the women of Great Britain to the women of India.

I myself went full of doubts. I had in former years been deceived by empty show, wild schemes, and romantic dreams. Even in the hall, before the proceedings commenced, I drew the Chairman aside and asked him: "Is the object of this enterprise a mere glamour of European Civilization, or is it in very deed the Gospel of Christ?" The reply was that, if it were not in very deed the latter, he (the Chairman) would not have been there. I recommend it with all the weight of long experience, because I am of opinion, that it is the outcome of the simple desire of simple-hearted and earnest young women, the Tryphéna, Tryphósa, Sýntyché, and the beloved Persis, of this evil and luxurious generation, to do something to justify their existence, something for Him, who had done so much for them; to consecrate their heaven-given talents, and humanly acquired knowledge, to the benefit of others, their half-blind sisters in a country of spiritual darkness, women as good, and teachable, and worthy of love, as themselves, and yet by the

inscrutable will of the Ruler of the Universe, their noble race in its millions had been left for many dark centuries before the great Incarnation without prophet or evangelist being sent to them, and, sadder still, while Europe was lightened with a great Light, had been forgotten until the middle of the Nineteenth century after Christ. May Heaven's Light be the guide of these representatives of English womanhood, and Heaven's blessing sustain them in the hour of despondency and of possible death!

“Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these My sisters, ye have done it unto Me.”

Rock, 1896.

XXXIX.

MISSION TO PALESTINE AND CANON LIDDON.

I.

THE letter of Canon Liddon to the *Guardian* of December 15 has caused to many surprise and pain: surprise that a learned man should display such ignorance, regret that a Christian man should display such a want of Charity. I visited all the Mission-Stations of the London Jews and Church Missionary Societies last year, 1885 (not for the first time), and I may claim some knowledge of Mission-work in the Field, as well as in the Committee-room, and I came to the conviction, that the true Gospel, and the whole Gospel, was taught to the people in their own vulgar tongue; and, by attending at the Services in the Native Churches, their prayer-meetings and schools, and conversing with the Missionaries and Native Pastors, I felt that the work was real; and my experience in India of things spiritual, as well as things material, enables me to detect a humbug, and recognize a fact; such, also, was the opinion of many visitors, who had preceded me, and reported to the Home-Committees.

I regret, that the Greek Church should still be slumbering in its gross Errors of inherited Paganism, Ritual, Idolatry, Mariolatry, kissing of Pictures, still preaching unsound doctrine, still conducting services in a dead Language, the old Slavonic, unknown to themselves and the people. The contemplation of the practice of these Churches recalled to me the salient features of a Hindu Temple at Banáras, or a Sikh Temple at Amritsar. After all, personal Salvation must be to the people more important than the maintenance of a dead Historical Church. The Bible is accessible through the Missionary in the Vernacular; Canon Liddon will hardly object to that. If, under such conditions, the Church in

England had not reformed itself, all earnest Christians would have abandoned it, and sought Gospel-teaching elsewhere. Such is the miserable plight of the inhabitants of countries, where the Greek Church is in power. The Missionary does not seek out Greek converts, but he cannot repel them. The remedy lies with the Greek Church. It can scarcely be asserted, that at Jerusalem the Missionary should be restrained in preaching the Gospel, for fear of offending the mediaeval prejudices of the Heads of a Church, which refuses to reform. If the Christianity preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, were reduced to the level of the doctrine and practice of the Greek Church at Jerusalem, the Missionaries of a Reformed Church would be welcomed there also by true Christians.

Record, December 21, 1886.

II

The words of Canon Liddon have weight with many, and deserve respect from all. I appeal to your sense of Justice to admit a reply to a portion of his letter on the English Bishopric of Jerusalem in your last issue.

To those, who do not know me, I can only state, that I am a Member of the S.P.G., S.P.C.K., and C.M.S., attend their Meetings, and take part in their deliberations. I am always ready on the Platform, or in the Press, to speak up for the Missions of the Universities to East Africa, Calcutta, or Delhi, as well as those of the greater Societies. I have learned to look over the partition of separation, which divides a portion of the Church of England from the other, and, as a Churchman in the entire sense of the word, I can admire *ex animo* the work of Bishop Smythies, or Bishop Gobat, Bishop Caldwell, or Bishop Sargent.

Canon Liddon, judging from his words, has no knowledge of the London-Mission to the Jews, or the C.M.S.; I am on the Committees of both. He has allowed himself to use the following words :

“ Does it not occur to him, that he is expecting too much from
 “ the proselytizers? They are, no doubt, earnest and active men
 “ in their way; it is no part of their conception of the Church of
 “ Christ, that a Bishop is an indispensable feature of its con-
 “ stitution. In their eyes any preacher from that meagre extract
 “ from the New Testament, which they are accustomed to call the
 “ Gospel, is as sufficient for all spiritual purposes as any Bishop in
 “ the world.”

Again : “ The Missionaries in question are sent by Agencies in this country, which are patronized by English Bishops.”

The uncharitableness of these remarks is only equalled by their ignorance. I visited Palestine in 1852, and went over the Missions

with the late Bishop Gobat. Last year, 1885, I again visited that country, and inspected the Stations of the two Societies, from Jaffa to Damascus. I saw something, which I did not like, as, if I am not a Critic, I am nothing, and my power to criticize is based on a quarter of a century's experience in British India. I sat in the Native Churches, attended their prayer-meetings, visited their schools and training Colleges, talked to their native Pastors. I am not a single-Language man; I am at home amidst men of many forms of speech, including Hebrew and Arabic; with an experience acquired by forty years' patient study of Mission-work in the Field and Committee-room. I formed a different opinion from Canon Liddon.

The true Gospel, and the whole Gospel, and the pure and unadulterated Truths of the Bible, free from mediaeval accretions, varnish, and defilement, have been preached, and, as far as Human observation can judge, have been accepted, by the Churches in Palestine, which protest against Rome in its old shape, or its modern, half-disguised costume. Faith in these Truths is evidenced by new lives and holy deaths. Did Canon Liddon visit the Native flocks, and was he, from the transcendental platform, on which he stands, able to sympathize with the evidences of the dawning life, that is in Jesus, of uncultured and rough-looking Orientals, recalling to my memory my own dear Native Christians in India? It is reported, that Canon Liddon's supply of the *Religio loci* during his stay at Jerusalem limited itself to a solitary Celebration of the Holy Eucharist in one of the chapels, which surround the Holy Sepulchre.

To speak in terms of scorn of a great Society, of which the Primate is Vice-Patron, and ninety Bishops are Vice-Presidents, is scarcely becoming in a Church-Dignitary. Had a layman so written, I should have reproved him, and I am not silent, when a Canon of St. Paul's so writes. It is a singular Commentary to the remarks of Canon Liddon, that I read his letter in the *Guardian* during the intervals of a lengthy Committee this day, a part of which was occupied in discussing the possibility of providing Yáriba-land, in West Africa, with a Bishop, if possible a Negro Bishop, not because the duties of Ordination and Confirmation in a Church of only 7,000 souls were pressing, but because the Committee of the C.M.S., a Church of England Society, has always held that a Mission, or a Church, is not complete in its building up, unless the edifice is crowned by a Bishop; if any important observer will cast his eye on the worldwide Missions of the C.M.S., he will find, that the Scriptural Authority of an Episcopacy is everywhere recognized, and that obedience is tendered in all things warranted by the Law and practice of the Church of England.

THE AFRICAN AND INDIAN NATIVE CHURCHES.

I.

SIR,—Without in the least reflecting on the wisdom of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and on the merit of the lamented Bishop Hill, whose death you record in your issue of yesterday, I beg, as a sincere friend of Africa and the Africans for many years, to ask you to place before your readers the real question now at issue, not only in Africa, but in India.

Are the natives of those great countries to be kept for ever in Spiritual subordination to a lay Committee of pious people in London? The Churches of Africa and India are already in the fourth generation of Christians; they seek the dignity of becoming independent and self-supporting Churches, with their own Church organizations, under native Bishops, priests, and deacons. In the early ages of Christianity and in this country of England, such was the practice. After conversion the natives of each country desired, and were permitted, to manage their own affairs. Rome tried to rule Europe and failed. Why should Canterbury try to rule Africa and India, and the rest of the World, where Englishmen have happened to obtain material power?

If the new Churches are worthy of existence, they are able to manage their own affairs. In India, Natives are found to be worthy of the highest offices of the State, members of the great councils, Judges of the High Court, administrators of great provinces, but not one is found to be fit for the office of Bishop among his own native pastors and over the Churches of his own countrymen. In West Africa, to which Dr. Hill was proceeding, the Negro pastorates have been for many years presided over until his death by a Negro Bishop, who knew the Languages and customs of the people, and loved and was well beloved by them. There are several Negro pastors suited to occupy his post, but it does not quite suit the prejudices of a Committee sitting in Salisbury Square to give the much-desired independence. The Niger Pastorates are on the brink of rebellion, and the fear is, that they may join Non-conformist congregations. As long as Dr. Hill lived I was silent. God's hand has intervened. Let us be wise in time.

The Times, 1894.

II.

In British India, the highest posts under the Government are occupied, and well occupied, by educated and accomplished members of the great Indian Nation, which was civilized at a period, when the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons were still savages dressed in skins. In the United States of North America there are nine millions of Negro Freedmen, enjoying the full liberty of citizens of the great Republic, distinguished for their ability, eloquence, and self-reliance. On the West coast of Africa North of the Equator are colonies of Europeanized Africans, speaking English, dressing as English, intelligent, honourable merchants, Editors of local papers, authors, quite equal to the average Englishmen of their own sphere of life: conversing with them in the dark one would mistake them, by their accent and the character of their conversation, for Englishmen.

These men both in India and in West Africa have the inestimable advantage of constitutions suited to their respective climates. Some of them, indeed, on a visit to England have succumbed to the, to them, deadly climate of these Islands. Both in India and West Africa these men are acquainted with the Languages of the Tribes, among whom they dwell, and are in sympathy with their lawful ancestral customs: it is unnecessary to say that, all being educated, and some being Christians of three or four generations, they have no sympathy with the hideous practices of their fellow-countrymen in their state of barbarism. They are the advance-guard of that Native Indian and African Civilization, which it has been the happy fortune of Great Britain to bestow upon subject races. The people of India have preserved their old dress because, being heirs of an ancient Civilization, they had one more suitable to the climate. The people of Africa have adopted the European dress because, being previously totally uncivilized, they had no dress at all.

The object of the good people in Great Britain, who take an interest in Christian Missions, is to convert these Indians and Africans to Christianity. They are no doubt right, but this is not the place for such discussion. There is a material side to Christian Missions, and it is this: Whatever Great Britain does for inferior races (inferior by courtesy) the great object must be to make their work lasting, and such as will survive the disappearance of the British power, "which may any day fade like the Tyrian purple, or moulder like the Venetian palaces," to quote the happy expression of Lord Beaconsfield. Independence and self-government are of the essence of a lasting Civilization: for this purpose the Government of India has laid the foundation of municipal and provincial government, and placed men of the country in places of power and influence.

It is scarcely creditable, that after one century of Missions the good people of Missionary Committees have not laid the foundation of a single native independent Church in India or Africa. The busybodies of the Committee, who would resent intrusion of alien authority in their own concerns, cannot keep their hands off the affairs of the distant Churches. Not one single native Bishop can be pointed out in an English Episcopal Church; not one single independent Church organization in English Nonconformist Churches: there must be young Britons, who fall sick and die periodically, and only partially, if at all, acquainted with the Languages, and entirely careless of the customs and sympathies of the congregation, to rule over old, white-bearded pastors old enough to be their fathers. By a lucky chance a native Bishop was appointed to the Niger Basin thirty years ago, a man of blameless character, and quite fit to be a Bishop among his Negro Pastorates; he died full of years and honour three years ago. The anti-Negro feeling triumphed in the Committee, and the late Dr. Hill, who knew nothing of the Language, was sent out. His death was reported this month, within a few days of his landing in his diocese. Immediately another white Bishop is nominated, in his case a man of experience and knowledge of the Language; he may last two years, and then search will be made for another curate ready to start on a venture, "*aut episcopus, aut cadaver.*"

It need scarcely be said, that deep dissatisfaction is felt by the Native English-speaking Negroes, lay and ordained: the Negro Pastorates of the Niger are on the brink of secession. It will be the same in Southern India.

I quote from a volume written by me as far back as 1855, which has a bearing upon this question:

"Alexander the Great's kingdom was divided, and Law was given to all in Greek. We find from contemporary writers, that the same albocracy, so striking in British India, flourished famously under the Ptolemies, the Antiochi, and the Seleucidae. Place and power were given to the white-faced, and the dusky native had to bow. It might be a heavy Boeotian, a mercurial Athenian, a saddle-maker from Macedon, or a fisherman from an Ionian island; but he was a Greek, and, of course, a ruler of men, only to be approached as a superior."

Pall Mall Gazette, 1894.

THOUGHTS ON THE METHODS OF EVANGELIZATION.

“There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God, which worketh all in all.”—I *Cor.* xii, 4-6.

I AM led to reflect upon the phenomena, presented by a survey of the Missions of the World. It is so strange to find men convinced, that their own system is not only the right one, and the best (the best for them no doubt), *but the only one*, and yet there is an extraordinary, a startling, diversity of practice. In some Associations the Missionary is petted, spoilt, encouraged to early Matrimony, involving wanton expenditure of sacred funds; in others I find the Celibate Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods, with the germs of great evils of a contrary tendency. In other quarters I find the Missionary, wife, and little children, turned off in a strange country, in a tropical climate, to support themselves by labour, such as teaching Languages, keeping a store, digging yams and potatoes, or, as an American paper bluntly puts it, “Root, Hog, or die,” and they do die, and, when an additional baby is born, it is counted as an additional Missionary. Another strange variety is the Knight-errant, without even a knowledge of the Language, starting alone on a camel, or horse, to deliver God’s message through an interpreter, himself a heathen, and then passing on. The large Associations have large resources, collected at a heavy percentage by an elaborate organization: they spend money freely, and send out men freely, often unsanctified, and untested men, and sometimes gross failures. Sometimes Missionaries are tied to a shibboleth of dogma, and a confession of Church-Government; at other times there is an amalgam of dogma, and a free-hand of Church-Government. Some allow their agents fixed subsistence-allowances, and subsidiary provision for Rent, Locomotion, Disablement, and Children. Others make a boast, that they do not, that the Missionary must make his own private resources go as far as possible, and that he will get a fractional portion of the income of the Society, varying each year, and nothing of any kind to fall back upon.

The most depressing thought is that of the vast sums spent in Secretaries, Clerks, Warehouses, postage and parcels, Stationery,

Printing, Rent, first-class Steamer and Railway-fares, and the needlessly liberal way, in which such charges are incurred, *because a great Society pays for them*. My thoughts go back to the sums, collected at Corinth for the poor Saints at Jerusalem, and Paul, the poor prisoner of the Lord, conveying it in the open undecked vessel of that period. I remember his tender advice to have the collections made in advance, and fancy conjures up the image of the earthen pot, or wooden casket, filled with denarii and sestertia, bearing the image of one of the early Caesars, which was reverently consigned to him; and my heart sinks within me at the thought of the frightfully complicated organizations forced upon us by the Nineteenth century, the flogging of the Congregations to get at their money, and the men, like Judas, going about holding the bag. Happy are those, whose admitted poverty enables them to laugh at the bag, pushed under their nose, and happier still those, who have, at the beginning of each year, set apart the proper proportion of their Income, and been cheerful givers to the Lord, who bought them, and made their contribution in advance. My remarks may seem cynical, but they are offered in good faith, and with a certain amount of experience. Let us think out the subject.

I. The simplest expression of a Missionary is, that of a person of either sex, or accompanied by one or more fellow-labourers, who goes out at his, or her, own charge, subject to no external control, to preach the Gospel to a non-Christian population. Should funds be collected by friends, in aid, there are no accounts published. This is what some call a "Faith-Mission."

II. When several such individuals unite, and have all things in common, and bind themselves by certain Rules, they form a "Sisterhood" or "Brotherhood." Should accounts be kept, they are not published, as the concern is a private one.

III. The next stage is an organized Association of contributors to a Fund, controlled by a Committee, which is annually elected out of the body, and is empowered by the Rules of the Association to select Agents, send them out, support them while out, and recall them at pleasure. This is a "Missionary Society." In its fullest development, such a Committee trains Students, selects suitable Mission-fields, provides for sick and disabled Agents, and the children of all Agents, and is responsible to no one, but its constituents, duly assembled in General Meetings, to whom it renders accounts, and full reports of work done, and whose order it must obey on penalty of being superseded.

IV. When the Association comprises the whole body of Christians of a particular denomination, who have formed themselves into a corporation of a so-called "Church," Missionary-work is then said to be conducted by the Church. This is only possible, when there is a fixed confession of Faith, without diverging shades of

theological opinion within the Church. In the case of a National Church, like the Church of England, it is impossible.

V. Missionary Societies have satellites, independent in organization, but formed solely to co-operate. Such Societies are called Home-Aids, or Foreign-Aids, according to the work which they undertake: "Special-Aids," if they are satellites to one Society only, or "General Aids," if they are satellites to several Societies. Some of these Aid-Societies have exceptionally a double position, as satellites to other Societies, and doing independent foreign work of their own. These Societies do the Woman's Work, Medical Work, Training Work, Miscellaneous Work, and Publishing Work, of other Societies, and are of exceedingly great importance.

VI. Associations, which admit of all Protestant Denominations, are called Catholic or Undenominational.

I will now make a few remarks on the first three developments:

I. The "Faith Mission" is sometimes irreverently called the "Vagabond Mission," or the "Free Lance." It is one of those enterprises, of which no thoughtful man can approve, but which no Godfearing man will oppose, lest haply he should be found fighting against God. God's Wisdom, and man's unwisdom, rule the World. We dare not check the noble flame: we would wish to guide it. The consecration of life and talents and fortune in early youth; the laying of oneself down upon the Altar, and crying out, "Lord, make use of Thy poor creature, as Thou thinkest best": such things as these cannot be despised. There is something in them of the ancient Roman, purified by Christian Love. Many go abroad in their youth and strength to hunt in Abyssinia, to collect shells in the Indian Archipelago, or to develop new Commerce in Africa. Why not do so to get at the poor derelict of the Human race? If life be not spared, then to be with Christ is far better. If life be spared, what a gloomy retrospect in old age to have done nothing for one's fellow-creatures! nothing for Christ, who had done so much for you.

My own final judgment is, that the fight can only be carried on with great battalions, and that it is folly for a small weak Society, or a single individual, without permanent resources, to start an enterprise, which will not be lasting. A Missionary Association must have behind it a Church, with scores of Congregations to supply the sinews of war; a Committee, which never dies; a purse as unlimited, and bottomless, as the Lord's own Treasure-house. Plants feeble in nature die without culture. All individuals, and small Associations, should affiliate themselves to strong and robust Societies.

I give some extracts to exhibit this new departure: "We believe that, if we do the work, which God has called us to, He will move the heart of His children to supply the money. If God

“ sends out workers, he will also send supplies. There is no limit
 “ to the measure, in which God can work on Christian hearts to
 “ move His children to give for those, who have gone forth to seek
 “ the Kingdom of God. We need 8,000 Dollars to keep our
 “ accounts balanced, and we ask all to pray, that these things may
 “ be added to us. Has any Pastor forgotten to take the collection ?”
 —*March, 1888.*

And again: “ God never intended His ~~M~~erchants to be hirelings
 “ at all; or men with *fixed assured salaries*, as secular Servants, and
 “ Commercial employés. The Christian world has begotten a
 “ Missionary system, unknown to the Lord, and His Apostles. We
 “ look in vain in the New Testament for any authority for what
 “ we see on every side.”—1887.

“ India has fifty unsalaried Faith-Missionaries. I can count over
 “ two hundred in the World, whom God feeds, as he does the birds,
 “ and they have all things and abound. We are praying for the
 “ means to build a suitable home for three thousand Rupees. God
 “ is with our Mission.”

And again: “ I have been without money since Saturday, but
 “ truly the Lord never has failed, nor will fail. It is good to be
 “ without funds, as it is quite a luxury to stand still, and see the
 “ Salvation of the Lord. I feel less anxiety in having no money
 “ than in looking forward with but little.”—1887.

Another report says: “ Nothing in the locker.” A third notifies,
 that they have left off eating meat, and are content with vegetables.
 Again: “ A brother in Christ sent word, that he wished me to
 “ come, and see him. I went. He informed me, that God had
 “ impressed him, that he should send out a Missionary. As I was
 “ consecrated to India, he was satisfied, that God would have him
 “ send *me*. Accordingly he put the money to cover all expenses
 “ to India in my hands. It now became a matter of conscience
 “ between me and God. I felt, that God would have me go to
 “ India, inasmuch as he had provided the necessary funds unsolicited.
 “ I praise God that I am here. I mean by His Grace to do His will.
 “ He sanctifies me through and through. Glory to God !” —1887.

Again: “ I am glad you feel as I do about paid Home-Agents.
 “ I believe, that God wants a larger number of His children to
 “ have a part in the work, and in this way each *can do his part*
 “ *without pay.*”

And again: “ I have now finished the second year of *self-*
 “ *support*; it seems to me, that the support of my work comes
 “ under the head of Faith in God, and His dear children.”

N.B. The writer, a woman-Missionary in Africa, enumerates
 every kind of present received by her: dollars, barrels, clothes,
 corned meat, etc., etc. She adds: “ The dear Heavenly Father
 “ has many good children, and their number is rapidly increasing:
 “ they are planning for the conquest of the World to Him, whom
 “ we adore.”

And again, from Liberia, West Africa: "I want ten acres of land in the city. I believe that I shall get it. The King tells me, that he will build me a house to live in, and give me a farm to make a living from, and a boy (*a slave*) to wait upon me. I am going to take out six or seven Missionaries from America. I will need money, of course, to pay their way, and give them a start, and then I believe the work will be self-supporting."

Bishop William Taylor's name, both in South India and West Africa, is so connected with this elastic word Self-support, that it is but just to quote his very words: "Jesus forbade His disciples to take purse, or scribe, or extra coat: the labourer is worthy of his meat: those who preach the Gospel, shall live by the Gospel. And they lacked nothing. The Master's Method is literally practicable and adequate now: the dividing-line betwixt a Missionary Charity, and adequate, and reproductive indigenous support for God's Ambassador is, (1) To depend entirely on native resources for the support of all our ministers, school-teachers, and their families; (2) to welcome the co-operation of God's stewards in Christian countries for providing money for our Transit and Building Fund."—1886.

These are brave words. One of the Missionaries, who had had three years of the work, called on me in London: he would not say a word against the man, or the system, *but he had given it up*, and he handed to me a large bundle of American newspapers. I read there of constant appeals for money: large piles of dollars made up, and great liberality of supporters at home. When I took in the whole matter, I perceived, that the only difference was, that there was no Parent-Committee, and no organization; but, with that exception, this so-called Self-supporting Mission was supported by money, and goods of all kind, sent from America.

Another feature of an agricultural enterprise is thus recorded: "The Government allowed the Missionaries to take land for a plantation, employ the natives, and teach and preach to their own employés. Agriculture was thus undertaken, not for the purpose of supporting the Mission, but to be able to evangelize: no profit anticipated."—1885. A dangerous experiment.

It is clear that the "Faith-Mission" has arisen as a protest against the extravagance, want of consecration, and worldliness of the salaried agents of the great Societies, who have usurped somewhat the position of an Endowed Church Establishment.

II. The Brotherhood and Sisterhood have developed themselves as protests against the really culpable conduct of Committees in permitting and encouraging Matrimony of their agents in their tender years. Men with absolutely no resources, educated at the expense of the Society, actually enter into an engagement to marry while *in statu pupillari*, and press their claims to marry, perhaps at

the age of 25, at a time when their contemporaries the Soldier, Sailor, Lawyer, Medical-man, or Office Clerk, never dreamed of such a thing. It has become a great source of opprobrium, and has weighed down Societies with the burden of supporting widows and children, who ought never to have existed, and has consigned many poor young girls to African and Indian graves. I have for years protested against it, but in vain. Be it remembered, that the moral lapses, which have occurred to dishonour Missionary Chronicles, have arisen from widowers and married men, and *never from celibates*. The proposed new Order in the Church of Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods is now pressed for at Home and Abroad, and is actually in practice, and there is much to be said in its favour. Sir Bartle Frere, a close observer, has recorded his opinion ("Indian Missions," p. 83) strongly against this departure.

"Celibacy enters largely into the machinery of all creeds: it springs from the weak, not the strong, side of poor common humanity; it is held in high honour and esteem by the vulgar; in mediaeval legends it is accompanied by tales of hair-shirts, dirt, and discomfort: but it fails everywhere, because it is at variance with the laws of Human Nature. The Hindu Brahmans have been the most successful of all Sacerdotal Bodies, and they tried Celibacy, and gave it up. The Jewish Priesthood never attempted it. Not a single man in the Old Testament practised it; if Paul practised it, he did not recommend it. Among the Hindu Marriage is part of the Programme of Human Life, and, if the people are to be acted upon, this must be taken into account. Celibacy, *laid down as a rule*, is akin to asceticism, and partakes of the censure allotted to self-inflicted suffering, or pretended proud freedom from Human infirmity."

The conclusion seems to be, that for the young Missionary (say below thirty-three) it is most proper to remain single; but not beyond that age. Married Missionaries are essentially necessary for the complete symmetry of a Mission-Station, and the Wife is as important a factor as the Husband: she is the Mother of the Mission.

III. I now pass to the third category, the regularly organized Missionary Society. I am met at once by the necessity of a sub-division:

A. The new and economical system.

B. The old, and in my opinion extravagant system.

A. Of the new system I will quote as far as follows the very words of the leader:

The Universities' Mission to East Africa.

"The Bishop is quite unable to offer any inducement in the way

“ of salary, or periodical holidays, or ultimate pension, or temporal
 “ advantage of any kind : it is necessary, that those, who join the
 “ Mission, should do so with the sole desire to live for, and willing-
 “ ness to die in, their work, because it is Christ’s. He offers to
 “ those, who may need the help, Board, Lodging, and necessaries,
 “ during their stay in Africa.”

In the life of Bishop Steere I read : “ At the present time not
 “ one of the Members of the Bishop’s staff in Africa is receiving
 “ any stipend beyond the moderate allowance of £²⁰ per annum,
 “ for clothes, etc. ; all other necessaries are provided from the
 “ common fund of the Mission. Thus, rich and poor live and work
 “ together on equal terms.”

All the Missionaries are Celibates : women-workers are not
 admitted below the age of thirty. This Mission belongs to the
 High Church party, and is doing admirable work.

The China Inland Mission is in the Antipodes as regards Church
 Government and Doctrine. Hudson Taylor thus formulates his
 principles : “ Some have gone out at their own expense : the rest
 “ have gone out under a clear understanding, that the Mission does
 “ not guarantee any income whatever, and knowing that, as the
 “ Mission does not go into debt, it can only minister to those con-
 “ nected with it as far as the funds allow : in other words, they
 “ have gone out in dependence upon God for their temporal
 “ supplies.”

Again : “ The China Inland Mission accepts suitable candidates,
 “ whether possessed of private means, or not ; those who need it
 “ are assisted in their outfits, have their passage-money provided
 “ them, and have funds remitted to them from time to time, as the
 “ supplies come in. God, in a very special way, is the Treasurer
 “ of the Missionary, and *to Him they look, not to the Mission.*
 “ Hitherto He has supplied, and henceforth He will do the same.”
 —1888.

The North African Mission, and the East London Institute, are
 conducted on similar principles. The latter makes the following
 appeal, 1888 : “ This state of things would make us anxious, but
 “ that we gratefully and trustfully remember the long years during
 “ which our large households, though like the birds without store-
 “ house or barn, have been fed day by day, and had every need
 “ supplied.”

Again I read : “ The Mission Board of the Free Methodists shows
 “ much interest in Foreign Missions, and the Church is increasing
 “ its contributions, but the Board *guarantees no salary to anyone,*
 “ only a portion to the different Missions, which the Church con-
 “ tributes ; so that each Missionary is independent, using what
 “ comes as the Providence of God, and planning for self-support as
 “ soon as possible.”

The Universities’ Mission to Calcutta puts the matter very

bluntly: "A Hindu asked me the other day how we lived, if we had no salaries. I told him, chiefly by begging. So from a professional beggar no apology is needed."—1888.

With regard to all these Missions, I must remark, that thirty years have not passed over their heads. In due course they will have aged men and women, whom they cannot allow to starve, they will have orphan children and widows, cast upon them; they cannot live *from hand to mouth*, without running the risk of great disaster, and tremendous suffering to innocent people.

B. I call the old system extravagant, and I mean what I say. The Annual Reports of the great Societies speak for themselves. There is no insinuation of carelessness, or absence of a proper system of accounts, or any possible malversation. There is a continuous audit by professional auditors from the outside, and a Committee of inquiry would have very little to discover, as all is above-board, and unpaid lay Committees are very much in earnest, and have great experience of Human affairs, and are terribly outspoken; but everything is done in much too expensive a style, just like a Government-Office, which has the purse of the British taxpayers behind it. Anything more ridiculous than paying first-class passages for Negro Missionaries, the sons of redeemed Slaves, and men with extremely humble connections, cannot be imagined. In my travels, I have often found the Italian, or Spanish, or French, Roman Catholic Priest, stretched out on the deck, as a second or third-class passenger, but the *Protestant Negro must go first-class*: this is a fair sample. The expenses with regard to the wives and children of the Missionaries are enormous: the country clergyman with a large family must feel surprise, and a certain amount of envy. The luxuriousness and indulgence of the Nineteenth century have caused this, and I am bound to say, that signs of the same evil are not wanting in all secular establishments, where the funds are provided by the State, or the County, or the Parish, and *not by the person himself*. What is required is not the Faith-Mission, or the Brotherhood, or the Common Fund, or the Haphazard, or the "Root, Hog, or die" systems, which I have described, but a stern, economic, and fearless administration of our sacred funds, reminding the Missionaries, that the Committee will not tolerate luxuries, or indulgences, or pride, or waste, *and expects self-sacrifice, and self-consecration, and self-control on their part*. This would set free large sums for the entertainment of additional Agents. In the present state of English feeling it is throwing words away: perhaps a new generation of a sterner type will succeed us.

I am glad to chronicle symptoms of this feeling in the Field. Instances occur, where the Missionary has, in the presence of the Parent-Committee, offered to share his subsistence allowance with

another, assuring us, that his expenses fell short of his supply: invitations have come home to send out men on sixty Rupees per mensem, or £70 per annum; all Missionaries should contribute as much as they can from their private means to their own support, and draw as little as possible on the sacred funds.

Still more discouraging is the lavish expenditure on Clerks, and offices. Anyone, who thinks, that a Missionary Society can work by an automatic process, without Secretaries, or, in other words, an Executive, might believe, that a cart would move along the road without wheels; but there ought to be found men in Great Britain of independent circumstances, and good training, whose health would not permit them to venture on the foreign Field, and yet who could do the work of Secretary gratuitously, and *men of that stamp are found*, and more should be looked for. Just as the Missionary receives no salary, properly so called, but only enough to sustain his physical wants, and enable him to apply his intellectual and spiritual gifts to the Lord's work, so there should be found at home in this rich country, men ready to consecrate their time and talents for the glory of God, without seeking profit, without necessity of maintenance. In some Societies there is a very cheap administration, owing to the amount of voluntary Service supplied: all the Committeemen's work is voluntary and gratuitous, but the Executive should be supplied by Volunteers also. The only remedy is to rule, that every shilling collected for Mission-purposes should go to *Missionary-work out of the country, without any deduction*. A separate Fund should be raised from the Friends of the Mission, for the office-expenses, or rather to supplement what cannot be supplied by voluntary labour. The time may be near at hand, when contributors of money to convert the Heathen will label their contributions: "Not a sixpence of mine to go to maintain " a Children's Home, or the outfit of the wife of a Missionary " under ten years' service, or the first-class passage of a Negro " Missionary, or an office Clerk."

The laxness of expenditure in the Parent-Committee leads to laxness of expenditure in the Field. The foolish attempt is made to elevate the Asiatic, African, or South Sea Islander to a platform, socially above his Heathen relations, *because he is a Christian*. We have no Apostolic sanction for this, and it is a deadly mistake. The Religion of Christ has no relation whatever to the social Culture, or Civilization, of the convert. In the early Missions of Christianity there was comparatively little difference in respect of Culture and Civilization, betwixt the preacher of the Gospel, and those, to whom he preached. They ate and drank the same food, and were clothed in a similar manner. Paul worked among men not inferior to himself, and he moved among them, as an equal. In the Middle Ages and the time of Columba of Iona, as

regards all things, that represented Civilization, there was little difference betwixt the Missionary and his convert. But the modern Missionary has to work among races undoubtedly inferior, and lower in Culture. This is owing to the enormous advance of European Culture, and it often proves a great snare to the Missionary, and generates pride, arrogance, and self-assertion. He is led on to another snare, the attempt to introduce a higher social Civilization among his converts. This may come in its own time, and probably will come, but Conversion should be his sole object, and he should be cautious not to introduce new and expensive habits and wants.

Then, again, it may be an unpleasant truth, but the conviction forces itself upon me, that the life of the modern Missionary is very easygoing compared with what it was fifty years ago. Take the life of Bishop Gobat, and see what he suffered in Abyssinia, privation, want, long delays in unhealthy places, tedious voyages, hope deferred, absence of success. What were the perils, and sufferings, of Selwyn, Patteson, Williams, Allen Gardiner? They had Faith, and Love, and Patience, and were real Apostles. One Missionary of that period mentions, that his boxes arrived after having been despatched more than two years. On being opened, everything was as rotten as tinder. Two or three packets of letters were in the middle of one box, but, when touched, they crumbled to dust. "It was most trying," said the Missionary. "It was the only time, that he saw his wife give way to sorrow and tears." In this luxurious age we find the Missionary quite out of temper, if he does not get his post regularly; complaining bitterly, if his things are not sent out to him as he likes; and occasionally the attributes of the humble, converted, consecrated, Christian man are sadly wanting.

When the Missionary himself exhibits the principles of Self-consecration, and Self-sacrifice, he can enforce those characteristics on his flock; but not otherwise. For the welfare of the Native Church, and for the spread of the Gospel by the agency of Native Evangelists to the Regions Beyond, it is most desirable to maintain the greatest simplicity of life, and the great Grace of gratuitous ministration, the consecration of body and soul, with a mere provision for the humblest human wants. I rejoice to see the steady opposition to the entertainment of *paid* Native Agents in China; or, in other words, providing with a salary a crowd of hungry converts, well deserving the name of "Rice Christians."

The injurious effects of the Paid-Agent system on the mass of the Chinese population outside of the Church are perhaps still greater. The *a priori* judgment of the Chinaman, as to the motive of one of his countrymen in propagating a foreign Religion, is, that he is hired or bribed to do it. When he learns, that the native

preacher is in fact paid by foreigners, he is confirmed in his judgment. What the motive is, which actuates the *foreign Missionary*, a motive so strong, that he is willing to waste life and money in what seems a fruitless enterprise, he is left to imagine. The most common explanation is, that it is a covert scheme for buying adherents with a view to political movements inimical to the State. Of course it is supposed, that no loyal native will have anything to do with such a movement. If the Chinaman be told, that this enterprise is prompted by disinterested motives, and intended for the good of his people, he is incredulous. The result is, that many well-disposed Chinamen of the better classes, who might be brought under Christian influences, are repelled, and those, who actually find their way into the Church, are composed largely of two opposite classes: those whose honest convictions are so strong, that they outweigh and overcome all obstacles; and unworthy persons, to whom that feature in Mission-work which we are controverting is its chief attraction.

This same argument applies to the same facts elsewhere. In a former Address I described, how the Polynesian Evangelists received a little clothing, and laboured with their own hands. The principles of most Societies point to the policy of raising up an establishment of Native Pastors, upon a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending system. The more these are enforced, the better.

I cannot leave this subject without allusion to the accepted machinery for raising Funds, and the scientific organization, spread over Great Britain and Ireland, making the whole transaction very secular, very formal, very businesslike, and very unlike Spirituality. The Ministry of the Churches is to blame. The *duty* of conveying the Gospel to Regions Beyond should be preached systematically week by week from the Pulpit, and enforced from the Platform periodically, by accurate information of the progress of the Work. Every member of the Church should be supplied with Missionary Publications; they need the food, supplied by the Committee, quite as much as the Committee needs their subscriptions. A spiritual stimulus, and uplifting of flagging hearts, are wanted. Men will never care about matters, of which they know nothing: they cannot know, unless they are informed. It gives Life and Love to a Church to know, and desire to know, how the Lord's work progresses among the Heathen: if the workers are in trouble, it melts the heart in sympathy; if in triumph, it rouses a Spirit of thankfulness: both circumstances are remembered in private and family prayer. We read with long-drawn breath the fortunes of the Queen's soldiers, because we are good citizens: why not have similar feelings for the Lord's soldiers, if we are good Christians? Missions to the Heathen are a component part of the Whole Duty of Man, and should not be treated as a fancy, a fad, a something extraneous from the necessities of a good life. How much more

interesting would be a stirring picture of Missionary Progress, than the conventional drone, which has reduced the power of the Pulpit so low? When the great Societies spend respectively £ 8,000 and £ 10,000 per annum on Deputations, there should be some result. Now one-half of the Annual Income comes in without reference to Preacher, or Deputation. Established friends of the Society send their contribution as a matter of Duty: of the remaining moiety, one-half would come in on receipt of a reminder by post: it is for the remaining half moiety, or quarter of the whole, that the whole struggle and expenditure takes place, and the percentage should be thrown upon that quarter only.

Many of the Deputations unite the arguments of the Gospel with the manner of the Water-Rate Collector: it is the daughter of the horse-leech, that we seem to be listening to, "Give, give!" Instead of giving the information, expounding the motives, interesting the hearers with the magnificent story, and leaving the Duty of collecting to the Local Committee, ridiculous comparisons are made betwixt the vast sum spent in Liquors, Tobacco, Milliners' Bills, Foreign Wars, and the cost of living, and the small amount contributed to Missionary objects. Such arguments are more calculated to offend than to conciliate. What shall be said of the frightful statistical tables, showing the preponderant number of Heathen, and the paucity of Christian? tall stately columns represent the non-Christian World, and a mere ninepin the Christian. The danger is, lest the sceptic should turn the argument round and say: "Here we are in the Nineteenth century of the Christian era, and not only have we gained no ground, but we have lost, for the Mahometan Religion is seven hundred years later in date, and so much more successful, and the population of India increases annually by three Millions, which exceeds the number of Christians in the Country, the work of three centuries."

Then stupid calculations are made of the amount of people's income and their subscriptions, holding them up to a kind of obloquy. What becomes of the right hand not knowing what the left has given, when the Deputation wants accurate information of what each man does, and explains to a man with a large family of sons and daughters, how much he ought to pay to the Missionary Society? And of what profit is the late onslaught on the so-called "Titled Classes"? It is nothing new. Such will it be for ever. (I Cor. i, 26.)

Quiet, undemonstrative Christians are vexed by the perpetual calls on them: they give the miserable shilling to get rid of the trouble: the people, who go about with cards, are a nuisance; it is a bad phase of Religious life: all, who are in earnest, set apart a portion of their income; no blessing can accompany money given without any heart, just to get out of the door of the Church, or assembly-room, respectably. It turns to dross in the Treasury of the Society, and, having no enduring blessing in it, it is got rid

of in the pay of an extra Clerk, in the Railway-fares of the Deputation, or the first-class passage of a Negro. It might just as well have been left in the purses of the contributors, as far as having the remotest influence on Evangelization. The list of subscribers given in such detail in the Report, doubling its bulk, is a reproach to the Christian Churches, and to the Christian character of the donors. What can they want to see their names in print for? It is like the trumpet sounded before the hypocrite, when he gave his alms, condemned by our Lord.

The exposure of the idols of the poor Heathen to be laughed at, of curios brought from foreign countries, of children dressed up, as natives of the East, of blind old men brought on the platform to interest; such things are thoroughly wrong, and a secular lecture on foreign cities, nations, and customs, is a serious mistake. The object of Deputation-addresses is to warm up the feelings of supporters, educate a Missionary spirit, correct mistaken impressions as to policy, inform those interested of progress, evidence sympathy with the fallen races, and to do what Paul and Barnabas did eighteen centuries ago: Rehearse all, that God had done, and how he had opened the door of faith to the Gentiles.

No subject can be more pregnant, more susceptible of varied treatment, with wider scope, furnishing room for every kind of eloquence, and full of such romantic Poetry. What Epic Poem of ancient or modern days could be more full of moving scenes, and varying fortunes, if the speaker were only worthy of the subject! A spiritual tone should dominate. If a smile be raised, it should be one of sympathy and love towards the Missionary, and the poor Heathen people. There should be no ill-timed jokes, or depreciatory remarks, or condemnation of great Governments, denunciation of a great Commerce, or sneers at rival denominations, or cries for Jingo-expeditions and Annexations. The heart should indeed go forth towards the poor Heathen. Their rude conceptions of a Power greater than themselves show, that God has not left Himself without a witness in their hearts. They recognize an environment of supernatural agencies, because something tells them, that God is very near them. They see Him in their blessings, and their troubles, and they try to propitiate Him. In some things they are better than we are.

Above all things it is desirable to keep the actual Pounds, Shillings, and Pence in the background. What can be more depressing, or opposed to spirituality, than the cries from the Platform, as at a late gathering in Cumberland: "Another Ten Pound Note; another Five Pound," and so on. And where is boasting? It is excluded. From the East, and the West, and the South, come up tidings of terrible failures, and fearful blots. If the enemy knew our shortcomings, as well as our friends, where should we be? I am afraid to express my own feelings. I substitute those of another: "It is not easy to exaggerate the grandeur of the

“ opportunity, or the perils of unfaithfulness. To-day we must do the
 “ work ; to-morrow will be too late. Let us realize this very great
 “ opportunity, and so go forward. God grant, that these things
 “ may be brought home to us to-day, and that we may go forth
 “ from this hall as from the presence of the Lord Himself, touched
 “ with the flame of the Holy Spirit ; not boasting of what we have
 “ done ; not in the spirit of the Ephesians of old, crying aloud,
 “ ‘ Great is the Church Missionary Society ! ’ not boasting of our
 “ crowded platforms, our large meetings, our bountiful subscriptions ;
 “ but impressed more and more with the thought, that very much
 “ land yet remaineth to be possesseth, that the fields are everywhere
 “ white unto the harvest, and praying that God will quicken our
 “ halting steps, will accept our offerings, and arise, and do great
 “ things by our humble means to the glory of His holy name.”

I implore the Young Preacher of the Anniversary-sermons not to dilate upon Visions, for we well know, that he has seen none, or work out wild analogies with Queen Esther or Joseph, or other Scripture character, which have no possible relation to the subject, mere verbiage : “ *vox et praeterea nihil* ” : let him rather tell the congregation the *new, new story*, how Science has revealed new Regions of the World, and brought us in contact with Nations, and tribes, and Languages, of which our forefathers knew nothing : how the Holy Spirit has been poured out in exceeding abundance on this generation, bidding us, enabling us, and sustaining us, in our wondrous desire to carry the glorious Gospel to every Nation under the sun : let him tell with glistening eyes, how the war goes on, for with his eyes, he must have read the narratives that have come in from the East, and West, the North, and South ; with his hands he may have touched some of these messengers of good tidings, and spoken with them face to face : let the story be graven with an iron pen and lead in the rocks for ever ! Let him remember, that by the gleaming words that he utters, he either conciliates new allies to the cause, or by his unfaithful treatment of the subject disheartens true friends. It indeed requires tongues of Fire to treat the subject in its glorious completeness : the present generation has only prepared the way ; the next generation will have something worthy to record, though our eyes may never see it.

I have said my say. This may be my last contribution to Missionary Literature. If I have written what is not true, let this paper be consigned to the fire. If there be a scintilla of truth, think over it. It cannot now be said, that we must travel onward, as if in a mist, and that, as nobody criticized, there was no error.

Eastbourne, 1888. “ Notes on Missionary Subjects.”

P.S. In 1894 in my separate volume, “ Missionary Methods,” at the close of the Missionary Conference of the Anglican Communion, I went a second time fully into this subject.

EMPLOYMENT OF WEST INDIAN CHRISTIANS IN MISSION-WORK IN WEST AFRICA.

THE *Record* remarks in a late issue (1897): “ Bishop Ingham has
“ also drawn attention to *his* scheme for evangelizing West Africa,
“ by means of Missionaries drawn from the West Indies. It is
“ a noble idea, and has within it the promise of success; but the
“ practical difficulties in the way are neither few nor slight, though
“ not insuperable.”

Bishop Ingham's Diocese embraces the Regions, in which the Rio Pongas Mission has for some time carried on its quiet labours; but the idea of summoning Christian Africans, born and bred for several generations in the West Indies, to take a part in the Evangelization of West Africa, is not the particular scheme of the Bishop in any sense of the word, though he has been a judicious and sympathizing friend of the movement.

Those, who study the Philosophy of Missions, know, that different Methods are suitable to different countries, or to the same country at different epochs of its Culture, and the great art of the Evangelizer is to adopt the right Method. The degree of Culture of the Natives of each Region, the climate, the political position of the Ruling Power, are all factors to be considered. The Rio Pongas Mission is heavily weighted: its headquarters are in a small Island belonging to the British Empire, Les Isles de Los; but the mainland is a French Colony, and no European Language is allowed to be used in schools except the French. No doubt the Native Languages are the proper medium of Instruction in an African Village, and the prominence given to the English Teaching, in Mission-Schools in many fields, is to be deplored. The climate is peculiarly unhealthy. The funds are to a certain extent supplied by the Negro Churches in the Islands of the West Indies, and the Missionary is trained in Codrington College, in Jamaica, for this particular service.

It cannot be said, that as yet the experiment has been successful, nor is the support given to the interesting movement adequate. The loss of the co-operation of Bishop Ingham, himself born in the West Indies, is to be deplored.

My thoughts naturally go over this problem from a philosophical point of view. The questions are:

I. Is it wise to send Natives of a Heathen or Mahometan country to be educated in Great Britain, with the view of their returning to their field armed with the Culture of a different race?

II. Are the descendants of an Asiatic or African race, who have been born and brought up in a Christian European environment, have forgotten the Language, Religion, and social customs of their ancestors, even the name of the Region, from which they were deported across the Sea as Slaves, of any use in advancing the Evangelization and social Culture of their unknown cousins in their old Vaterland?

In reply to the first question, experience has told us, that the creation of a hybrid class does not answer: new wine cannot be placed with impunity in old bottles: let the neo-Christian, or neo-cultured Asiatic, or African, be kept clear from the contamination of the low white in Great Britain.

On the other hand, the training of the young Asiatic or African in training Colleges in central stations of their own country has in it the seeds of usefulness. The young man is not denationalized, but, preserving his own nationality intact, he has the advantage of a European Education presented to him by teachers selected for the purpose. He may possibly develop into a prig, but not into an impostor. If he wishes to join in the work of Evangelization of his countrymen, his services will be welcome, doubly welcome, because he is specially qualified, but he will not be remunerated at European rates, or treated in any other way than as a specially qualified Native of the country. We have occasionally in London visits from a semi-Anglicized Persian or Turk, who wishes to become a British subject, and then go back to Persia under the aegis of the British Consul to conduct a Mission in defiance of the Mahometan Authorities. I do not justify these Authorities in opposing by force Christian Evangelization, but it is as much the nature of their intolerant faith, when in power, as it is of the Roman Catholic Church, when in power; all I argue is, that it is not right in a Protestant Mission to secure the services of a Mahometan convert, make him an Englishman in Culture, and a subject of the Sovereign of Great Britain in status, and then send him back to defy the Authorities of his own country. Paul did not gain much advantage by pleading that he was a Roman citizen.

The next question is more complicated: it refers exclusively to the African race forcibly exported across the Atlantic, and domiciled on the vast Continent of North America, and the tiny islands of the West Indies. In the former new locality they have developed into Christian Millions, in the latter into Christian thousands, partaking in both cases, to a certain extent, of the Culture of the white environment.

It seems at first sight a brilliant idea, that these sons of Africa by descent should carry back the light of the Gospel to the home of their ancestors. They are supposed to be acclimatized for Africa: but are they? They are presumed still to have a race feeling with the half-naked Native of the West Coast of Africa: have they?

It is forgotten, that the ravages of the Slave-dealer in West Africa extended from the Gabún River far South of the Equator to the Senegal River far North of the Equator. The Slaves recaptured during transit were brought to Sierra Leone, and we have the fact certified, that they differed in race, Language, colour, and custom : more than one hundred Languages spoken by these released Slaves were brought to Book by the Missionary, Dr. Koelle : Slave gangs had been swept together from the whole of the interior of South Africa even to within touch of the East Coast. So much for the few thousands, who were recaptured and brought back to one or two spots on their Native Continent : they still remained African, though to many their Native Language became a thing of the past, and they were unchanged in social habits. But to the tens of thousands, who were settled, for several generations, in the American Continent, or the Islands, all recollection of the Africa, of the portion of Africa, from which they had been captured, of the Languages, of the customs, of the race-qualities, died out in the second and third generations, and the colour of the skin remained as the only distinction from the low white, or the middle-class white, or in special cases from the cultured white.

This is no imaginary statement : I had the opportunity this year of meeting two coloured agents, and the wife of one of them, educated in the West Indies, and sent out to labour in the Rio Pongas Mission, on the West Coast of Africa. I called upon them, and nice young people they were : I have lived too long in India to have any prejudice about colour of skin : of the three, the wife made the most impression upon me, as she appeared to be a very sensible person, and a good fellow-labourer, and I had never seen anything like her in India. But from the young men I could extract little : they knew not from what part of Africa their ancestors had come, whether they were Negro or Bantu ; they knew nothing of any language but English, which they spoke well. No doubt their training was good : they might possibly stand the climate better than the Englishman, but we know too well, that the Negro out of his own climatic environments is a delicate creature. At any rate, I could see no such special qualification as would render these recruits from the West Indies better instruments than the native of the West Coast trained in the Missionary College, speaking some one of the African Languages, or his own mother tongue, and the English as his vehicle of cultured thought.

I thought of the Native Pastors, whom I had known in India, worthy men, emphatically not great men, but up to the time of the day with regard to everything with regard to the country and the people. Should I have cared to have had a man of undoubted Indian blood, but born of parents settled for several generations in China, in my secular office ? There passed before my recollection the form of four indigenous West Africans of the Yáriba race, the

two Crowthers, father and son, and James Johnston, and Henry Johnston, powerful preachers, eloquent speakers. I am compelled to admit in spite of my love of my Indian people, that the Negro of West Africa takes the polish of European Culture more entirely than the Indian: if I had been sitting in the dark with any one of the above-named African Pastors, I should not have known from the tone of their voice, the nature of their diction, and the line of their arguments, that they were not English Clergymen; and their letters which lie before me on my table, convey the same impression. I receive letters from Indian friends in their native Language and characters, and sometimes in English, and the letters, though well expressed, accurate, sweet, and pleasant, never could be mistaken for the composition of an Englishman.

On the whole, I am of opinion, that the Missions had better employ either pure Natives, or pure English: the half-blood I never can recommend, and I am satisfied that the ancestral race-connection of exiles of several generations will not profit much.

March, 1897.

XLIII.

SUGGESTIONS SUBMITTED TO THE BISHOPS OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION ASSEMBLED AT THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE, JULY, 1897.

THE undersigned received his first instruction on the subject of Missions to the non-Christian world from his revered friend, Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, in 1843: since then, it has been his favourite subject in the field, in the Committee-room, and the study, in the four great Languages of Europe, and, as regards the Missions of the Church of Rome, in the Latin Language. His inquiries have included the Missions of all the European, and American, Churches, in every part of the world. He entirely subscribes to a remark, made by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Benson, that the Philosophy of Missions should be studied, as well as the actual work in the field. In his Volume, "The Gospel Message," 1896, he had arrived independently at the same conviction: the great Spiritual Movement of the Nineteenth century is, indeed, a great, the greatest of, Philosophies.

Now the procedure of Evangelization of non-Christian tribes is simple enough, until the time comes, that not only Native congregations, but a Native Church, consisting of so many congregations

and pastors, comes into existence. The Protestant Missionary Churches, and Societies, have just completed their first century, and several Native Churches exist in the third or fourth generation of baptized Christians: the pastors, and Church-officers, are often in the decline of life: the work of the Missionary Society is done, and well done: the duty of the Mother-Church at home, which has founded these Churches, has commenced.

I. My first point is, that the Mother-Church should at this stage intervene to set this adolescent Christianity free from the control of the Lay-Association in a distant land, such as the S.P.G. and C.M.S., which has done its work nobly and well, and guarantee to this new member of Christ's Universal Church its independence, and place it on the same footing, as regards the Mother-Church, as the other Churches are in the Colonies. This of course implies, that the new Church should be self-supporting, and cease to draw any pecuniary assistance in any way from the Lay-Society, which would thus be able to turn its attention to new fields, and Regions hitherto unevangelized. On the other hand, the Native Church would rise to the dignity of providing for the maintenance of its own Clergy, Ecclesiastical Buildings, and Schools.

II. It follows, as a matter of course, that the Bishop of such a Diocese should be a Native, well acquainted with the Language, customs, and worldly, as well as social, position of his flock. This appears to me to be of the very essence of a spiritual organism. Let me limit the subject to British India, and the West Coast of Africa, North of the Equator. Why should Canterbury assume to itself an authority, which England denies to Rome, of selecting and sending an English Bishop in his youth to rule over the Native pastors in their middle life, or old age, to mismanage affairs in ignorance, to be a dumb dog in the pulpit, and to fall sick, and retire, or die, on account of the climate? The educated Natives of India are quite equal in ability and honesty to men of the same class in Great Britain. Whence in India do we get our Native Judges, our Revenue officials, the Native officers of our Army, our Native Councillors, our Native representatives of Commerce? The English Bishop is drawn from the same classes, which occupy similar posts in England. Who dares say that British India cannot supply its own Bishops?

In Western Africa we have already tried the experiment successfully, and in some respects the educated Negro appears to me, who knows both intimately, to be superior to my own dear people in British India; but in fact both are equal, if not superior, to men of the same class in Great Britain for that particular purpose.

It is to the narrow-minded views of Lay Missionary Committees, and the egotistic character of the British of the Nineteenth

century, that we are indebted for the delusion, that a third- or fourth-rate Englishman, picked out by chance by the Secretary to a Missionary Society, is preferred to the Native Asiatic or African. But History has supplied us with examples to the contrary in the Abyssinian and Coptic Churches in North Africa, the Syriac, Nestorian, Georgian, Assyrian, and Armenian, Churches in Asia: they were not, indeed, very spiritual, but they were independent, and by the Grace of God kept their candlestick lighted during the terrible periods of Mahometan Supremacy. The Church of Rome, on the other hand, in South America and West Africa during the Eighteenth century kept in their Missions the Pastorate of the Native flocks to the white man only, and, when the day of trouble came, the Missions were swept out of existence. Such may be the fate of our Native Churches in India. We build too low, if we do not build for eternity. The Ecclesiastical organization of a new Church in the great Christian *Διασπορά* among the heathen, should not be shaped in rigid conformity to any particular model, which is the growth of European centuries, but to the varying necessities of each Region of labour, the special characteristics of each people, and the promises of each Harvest-field. An intelligent study of the absolute Divine Truth of the Christian Revelation would be encouraged by the free development of a Human Life, which is not compelled to form itself blindly on Western models.

The one object of the godly men, who in the first year of the Nineteenth century promoted the great spiritual Movement, destined to shake the World, was to bring into existence at as early a date as possible independent Churches, supporting their own Church-Establishments, and ruled by their own Native Bishops, but belonging, as dear children *in partibus infidelium*, to the Anglican Communion. The taunt may be justified, that at the close of the century in the widespread dominions of the English-speaking peoples, European, as well as American, owing to the egotistic Albocracy, or narrowness of vision, of Lay Missionary Societies, there is not a single Native independent Church. The leaders of the secular side of Human affairs, wiser in their generation, have in that interval founded constitutional Colonies, or practically independent, States. Within a century after the date of the Apostle Paul, there were independent Churches under Native Bishops: had there existed Lay Missionary Committees at that time at Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, or Rome, Hebrew chief shepherds would have been forced upon each congregation, as it grew into adolescence, ignorant of their Languages, customs, and social life.

I humbly maintain, that it is the duty of the assembled Bishops to intervene, and to lift the Native Churches out of the orbit of the Missionary Societies, which are excellent for the purpose of

building up new congregations, but have not the Grace or Knowledge to rule over fully organized Churches: that is the special duty of our Fathers in the Lord.

III. THE EXPEDIENCY OF A CONCORDAT WITH OUR NON-EPISCOPAL PROTESTANT BRETHREN.

The wild, multiform, haphazard, Methods of Evangelization now practised are to be deplored, but cannot be arrested. A score at least of Missionary Societies of different Denominations are at work in British India, and the result in future generations will be deplorable. We are thankful, that there is no possibility of the interference of the Arm of the Flesh. The policy of the Mission of Rome is avowed: the Protestant converts in their eyes are in a more dangerous spiritual position than the Heathen, and they deem it their duty to attack them, and by force or guile to entrap souls. But such is not the avowed principle, or the practice, of any Protestant Denomination, and there is room for a Concordat, as among holy brethren, not to attempt the proselytizing of members of another Protestant Church, and not to entice away, or accept, teachers or pastors, who have left another flock. It is distressing to read that, when the pastor of one Church declined to marry a member of his flock to his deceased wife's sister, the pastor of a neighbouring Church of a different denomination had complied with the man's wishes. This should not be.

IV. THE DANGER OF OCCIDENTALISM OF EASTERN CHURCHES.

An exaggerated Occidental organization is a positive danger in Oriental Communion. It is the same Christ that is preached; the same Gospel, which is circulated in every Language; and that Christ and that Gospel were essentially presented to the World in an Oriental mould. Had the Gospel spread Eastward instead of Westward in the early centuries, it would have come in its Oriental form, free from the accretions of Greek Philosophy, and Latin Paganism, though no doubt exposed to the contamination of the doctrines of Zoroaster, the Hindu Sages, and Confucius. Why should we insist upon transplanting Anglican forms into a totally different intellectual and social environment? Those forms, good for the West, are not of the essence of the great Truths, round which they have grown. A Bishop of an Eastern Diocese, in my presence, at a monthly meeting of a great Missionary Society in its own assembly-room, stated his views: that his Eastern Church had no occasion for the Book of Common Prayer, or the Articles of

Religion, of the Established Church of England. He laid down that the only common property of his nascent Christianity in the extreme Orient, and our Ancient Church of thirteen centuries in the extreme Occident, was limited to:

1. The Scriptures.
2. The Nicene Creed.
3. The two Sacraments.
4. Episcopacy.

This declaration took my breath away at the time, but I have slowly and deliberately, from my knowledge of Oriental Nations, come to the same conclusion. The leaders of the secular side of Human affairs have long ago found out this great secret, and have not attempted to force English Law, English customs having the force of Law, or English prejudices, or English precedents, on the great administrative machine of British India. They have not lost sight of the great principles, which underlie the conduct of Human affairs by Christian men, Justice, Equity, Toleration, and Civil Rights, but they have introduced them amidst an Oriental people in an Oriental form. I plead for the same liberty in the externals of matters spiritual.

CONCLUSION.

These remarks are made with profound respect by one, who being a few months senior in years to His Grace, the Primate of All England, is probably somewhat older than the great majority of the assembled Bishops. Perhaps the writer in practical Knowledge, and experience of Oriental Nations, may have also the advantage over many. At a very early age, when his contemporaries were still studying at the University, he was placed in sole charge of a newly conquered District in North India, with a population of half a million. Being alone in their midst, he learned to love his people, to know their sorrows, appreciate their good qualities, pity their weaknesses, and win their affections, though they were Hindu and Mahometan, and in the technical phraseology of the Editors of Missionary Journals, "children of Satan." Yet in their simple patriarchal lives, and the practice of domestic virtues and honest industry, they would compare to advantage with many of those, who walk the streets of so-called Christian London. He knew their Languages, their Religious Beliefs, their Sacred Books, their ancestral customs, which last-mentioned, when not contrary to the Sixth Commandment, he respected. He also associated with Reverend Missionaries from Great Britain and the United States, of different Protestant Denominations. Year by year he grew into the conviction, that the Evangelization of these great noble Arian races,

and of the inhabitants of the other Regions, which had been revealed to our generation, was the one paramount duty of Christian Nations, if they had any pretence to be called Christian in reality as well as name, and had any real belief in the parting commands of our Lord. It appeared to him a wondrous mystery, that these great Oriental Nations, great in Arms, Science, and Art, who have left behind them so vast a literature, and erected such mighty edifices, whose Inscriptions, carved on the Rock, and full of piety and Holiness, date back to a period anterior to the Christian era, were never admitted to the privilege of even hearing of the existence of the Jewish and Christian dispensations, as no Prophet or Evangelist during the long dreary centuries ever came near to them. How much more is the duty of Protestant Nations made manifest in this century to atone for the wrongful negligence of our ancestors: but the grace of worldly wisdom is required to control hot-headed enthusiasm, and zeal without knowledge, so painfully evidenced in some Missionary operations.

We must take a Philosophic and Statesmanlike view of the situation: there never has been in the History of Mankind such an Epoch as the present. From the East and the West, from the North and the South, we hear the voices of our fellow-creatures, who are waking up from the deep sleep of Ignorance and Isolation, and calling to us, "Come over and help us." We are, unconsciously to many of us, creating a great Spiritual Power, which will outlive the greatness of the British Nation. Some sense of the historic continuity of the Life, the never-ending Life, of Christ's Church on Earth must be felt. No Christian Church is worthy of Life, or capable of maintaining Life, without spiritual independence. Let us not by want of sympathy at this conjuncture drive the Native Church out of our Communion into Nonconformity, or Rome, or one of the new Religious Conceptions of the age, such as Theosophy, Mormonism, Comtism, and the Brahmo-Somáj, fashioned to catch poor wandering Souls, out of whom the evil spirit of Paganism has been cast, only to fall into a worse state than before.

In Christ's Universal Church there must be Unity, but not necessarily Uniformity: it is not a fact, that the white man is of necessity more spiritual, more capable of spiritual achievements, more Christlike, than the man of colour. The same Grace and Strength, which accompanied the spread of the Gospel over the Roman Empire, will accompany it in its World-embracing duty; only there must be no Arm of the Flesh, no Intolerant Kings, no heartless and cruel Priesthood, as in the Middle Ages. It will not be the British Nation, that accomplishes the great work, but God, who condescends to select the British Nation, and entrust it with the duty.

I learned in my youth the duty, and the sound policy, and the Christian wisdom, of treating subject, and so-called inferior, races

with sympathy: it is this, which has given to the Secular Authorities of British India their great success in the art of ruling men. Let the great Anglican Communion act in the same spirit towards the weaker Churches, and not place on them a burden, which they would object to bear themselves.

“*Οὐκ ἔστι προσωπολήπτης ὁ Θεός*” (Acts, x, 34).

London, June, 1897.

XLIV.

SCRIPTURE READINGS FOR WINTER MONTHS.

It occurred to me last Autumn to vary my daily reading of Scripture morning and evening, which has been one of the joys and interests of my life, by taking a succession of Books of the Old and New Testament in certain different Translations in Languages, with which I am familiar. I enclose my scheme.

It is a great thing to get out of the non-natural expressions of the Authorized English Version, and to take in the sentiment expressed in the Vernacular of the time: there is something not to be despised in the desire felt by so many to have the Scriptures free from Chapters, Verses, marginal References, Chapter headings, and antiquated expressions, so that it may be read just like any Volume of Sermons, Histories, Essays, Poems, Biographies, or Romances.

I. I began with the Book of Lamentations in the Hebrew on October 1, 1896, and was so delighted with it, that I went on to Ecclesiastes, and thence to the Proverbs. The thought rose before me, that our Lord Himself might probably have read these very words: He spoke, no doubt, in Aramaic, as his quotation from the Targum of Psalm XXII on the Cross proves; but he possibly understood the Hebrew, when he read it at Nazareth. The fact of the inferiority of the Hebrew Language, which died in the Captivity, in the Fifth century B.C., as a vehicle of ideas, and the strained form of antithetical sentences, forced itself on me: it was not a Language, that deserved prolonged life; we see what the Jargons of the scattered Hebrew are in these days; we know what magnificent Vernaculars Arabic and Syriac are; Hebrew might be classed with our old Anglo-Saxon, and Ulfilas' Gothic.

II. On November 24, 1896, I passed into Job in my own dear Urdu in the Roman Character. As I read Chapter by Chapter, I felt what a dangerous Book this was to be read in portions by the people of India, and *not as a whole*. Even as a whole the argument is difficult, and the absence of all proper allusion to Rewards and Punishments after Death destroys the moral power. And the idea suggested of our Heavenly Father allowing one of His good, faithful servants to be tormented by Satan is as distressing, as the idea of a man getting in his old age three beautiful daughters, to comfort him for the wholesale destruction of the children of his manhood: would any of us, in our old age, like to be told, as a consolation, that the children of our old age were more beautiful than those of our youth and middle life, when the idea of being a Father was first realized?

III. On December 13, 1896, I passed into the Revelation in the Latin Edition of Castellio: would the people of India get any benefit from such a Book? I am entirely opposed to Translations in dead Languages: no one would possibly read this except educated persons for their special edification, *not* instruction, as they must have had a Vernacular Translation well known to them previously.

IV. On December 23, 1896, I found myself enjoying thoroughly the Gospel of Luke in the sweet Persian of Dr. Bruce. Here I felt that the listeners and readers would understand and profit by every word of this simple, accurate, and intelligible, version. I seemed to be more at home in it than in English; the Oriental Language threw a charm over the Oriental story: here, at least, was material for daily readings under the humblest roof, in the most uncultured family, and daily advantage, because it was not only good, very good, but intelligible. There was no mediaeval mist here: every word was recognized by me as used in daily conversation. Finished January 17, 1897.

V. On January 18, 1897, I commenced Exodus in the Septuagint Greek. It seemed indeed like entering a new World. Where was the great *lingua franca* of India, the Urdu, where was the beautiful modern Language of the Persian, when these sentences were composed, these stately combinations of words, with an elaborate, yet practical, machinery of Grammatical Inflections, so clear, so explicit, so accurate, whether for Prose or Poetry; the form of Human Speech, to which Homer, and the Athenian Dramatists, and the great Historians, and great Philosophers of Greece, had condescended to entrust their thoughts, which breathed, and their words, which burned, and which can never die. It was in this Language, familiarly known to me, and so accurately, that I could write in it either in prose or verse, before I had heard even the names of

Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, or Urdu, that Plato conducted his immortal symposia, which left their impression deep and ineffaceable on the Christian Religion. The Chapters in Greek seem to glide off like water, with a notable freedom from that unctuousness and overlaid archaic phraseology, which so much deform both the English versions. Why cannot a spade be called a spade, and a bad action be condemned as such? It was undoubtedly the form of the Language used in the Alexandrine Schools, and by Philo down to the time of the martyred Hypatia (no crime committed by non-Christians seems more shocking than that murder by Christian Priests); no doubt by good old Origen, Apollos, and the Early Christian Church. More than this, Paul certainly used the Septuagint freely; the Eunuch of Kandáke read this Greek Translation, and Philip, whose name was Greek, explained to him the purport of the passage quoted. Josephus the historian instructed himself from this version. The Early Christian Church was for several centuries mainly Greek; the Hebrew Scriptures had been all but lost sight of by the Christian Church; the *Vetus Itala* Latin version had not yet got into use, except in North Africa: but the day of Greek was passing away from the West of Europe; it is a notable fact, that Augustine of Hippo did not know Greek: Jerome's Vulgate took the place of the Septuagint in the Churches of Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Germany.

I return to a notice with regard to Exodus: I read with delight as far as Cap. xxxiv. Of course the fundamental assumption has to be made, that Moses could write in a Language, and form of writing, which the Hebrews from the house of bondage, little better than serfs and brickmakers, could understand. He was learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians. At any rate, his instructions, if not written, were oral, as was the case in all Nations in a low state of Culture. But the last six chapters of Exodus were painful to read, and I was glad to get to the end of them. Their flavour was that of a much later period in the History of Mankind, and of a Nation dwelling in settled habitations, abounding in wealth, with abundance of the precious metals, and Artificers available. I finished Exodus in the Septuagint on February 5, 1897, and in the afternoon of the same day I commenced (VI) the Gospel of John in Sanskrit.

There was a reason for the choice of the Language, and of the particular Book: I remember well in 1842 sitting in the Hall of Trinity College, Cambridge, on the day of the election of the Duke of Northumberland to be Chancellor, next to Henry Hallam, the Author of the *Middle Ages*, whose son was my friend at Eton, and he knew, that I was studying Oriental Languages at the East India College at Haileybury, and he asked me about the nature of Sanskrit. He had heard, that Sanskrit had an apparatus of Conjugations and Declensions very much resembling Greek, and it seemed

to him incredible. I could assure him, that it was the case, and told him, that the discovery of Sanskrit Literature had revealed the origin of the Grammatical forms of the great Arian or Indo-European Family of Languages, of which Sanskrit was the elder Sister, and Greek and Latin among the younger members of the Family. Bopp's Epoch-making Essay, "Vergleichende Grammatik," was only partially known then, and the Introduction to the "Public-School Latin Grammar" (Longmans, 1869), with these famous words, which I now quote, had not been written: "It sounds paradoxical, but is true beyond dispute, that the Latin Primer, and the vast change in the National method of elementary classical teaching, which the publication of that Primer establishes, is due to the conquest of India by British arms. The discovery of the ancient Indian Language, dead though it was, convinced the Grammarians of the West, that their own work was woefully imperfect. Comparative Grammar then for the first time obtained a basis wide enough to be built upon with confidence" (p. 10). I rejoiced to pass at once from the Greek of the Exodus, contemporary with the pupils of Aristotle, into the living Sanskrit of the Nineteenth century, for in 1852, when dwelling at Banáras, I used to go down with Professors Ballantyne and FitzEdward Hall to the Banáras College, and enjoy the pleasure of conversation with the learned Pandits in the colloquial Sanskrit of Schoolmen, for the Language had been dead for centuries, and here I heard the remarkable statement, that it was impossible to translate into elegant Sanskrit the stilted phrases of Macaulay and Dr. Johnson.

I chose the Gospel of John, because I felt the resemblance of the turn of argument used by Krishna in his conversations with Arjuna in the Bhágavad Gita, and that of several of the arguments in this Gospel, and I was delighted with Chapters iii, iv, and v, and the easy flow of the translation of Carey and Yates made as far back as 1815. It goes without saying, that there is great room for improvement, as our knowledge of this wonderful form of speech has greatly increased during the last seventy years, but nothing struck me more than the utter uselessness of this Translation for the work of Conversion. Hindu Scholars may like to dip into it as conveying eternal Truths in a familiar learned Language, just as we now delight to read and meditate on similar great Truths in the works of Plato or Cicero. I was familiar half a century back with Sanskrit in the stately slokes of the Mahá Bhárata, the Ramáyana, and the Meghadúta, as well as in the magnificent Indravajra lines of the Raghuvansa. I was aware, that in the Dramas the performers spoke in prose, but I was never so thoroughly aware, how simple and clear Sanskrit prose could be, if the writer laid aside the desire to spin out tall sentences, or elaborate complicated phrases. The conversation of our Lord with the Pharisees is rendered so simply, that a very moderate amount of knowledge is

required, while to get through a four-lined sloke of the Poet Kalidása, such as the Meghadúta, is an intellectual struggle, even with an accurate grammatical knowledge, as the Rules of Sandhi, or Grammatical Euphony, alter the appearance, and glue together a whole string of words: the oyster-shell has to be forced open before the oyster can be got at. In this Translation of John all such literary tricks are conspicuously absent.

If anyone wished to acquire a slight knowledge of Sanskrit, let him read the Chapter containing the account of the raising of Lazarus; there he will find the Language in its simple beauty, and a subject worthy of the grandest surrounding of Human words. We all know that the Indian Poets tried to make their Slokes Linguistic Puzzles: the first lines had to be dissected into portions before any attempt could be made to get at the meaning; then there were figures of speech, conventional modes of expression, poetic phrases. Horace, Virgil, and Milton would read like mere prose compared to the "linked sweetness long drawn out" of a compact Sanskrit Sloke, where the words were packed in like bricks in a wall, and the whole covered with beautiful plants. I have often thought of taking a few lines of the "Paradise Lost," and packing them into a Meghadúta quartette. Sometimes the opening Sloke of the above-named noble Poem comes back to me after the lapse of years, and I find myself chanting the sonorous lines, which echo through the corridors of time with a faultless rhythmical vibration: the great Homeric Hexameters read tamely by the side of the melodious homophones, with which the Sanskrit Poet runs riot.

Of course, if such a Language be learned by one, who is a sound Latin and Greek Scholar, with Grammar on the tip of his tongue at the age of 19 or 20, it is learned for ever. To me fresh from the Eton Sixth Form, and the Annual Trials for the Newcastle and Balliol Scholarships, there was no difficulty in rendering such a passage as Virgil Aen. VI, v. 719-751, or Shakespeare's "Henry V," Act IV, Scene 3, "What's he, that wishes for more men from England?" or Byron's "Dying Gladiator," into Latin Hexameters, or Greek Iambics, or Sanskrit Slokes: the Languages seemed to melt in the hour of boyish enthusiasm into each other. To tackle the subject at a later period of life with a brain laden with heaped-up *spolia*, might be a more serious matter.

VII. I found eleven chapters of John in Sanskrit sufficient for my purpose; so, having completed the story of the Raising of Lazarus, I closed this, I fear, useless Translation, on February 24, 1897, on which day I completed my seventy-sixth year, and passed with a bound to Luther's German Translation of the Galatians and Ephesians. I felt the contrast of a dead, very dead, Language, and one with a great deal of life, but still ponderous, and unmusical,

with an intolerable Grammatical apparatus of Genders and Numbers, and Cases, and Word-formations, and a literary trick of cutting off Prepositions and putting them at the end of a sentence, and fastening words together like an ancient Sanskrit "dwanda." I remember, when I was learning Sanskrit about fifty-seven years ago, in 1840, I was asked by an Eton Master to what Language it was most like, and I replied "German," and I think so still: there is an absence in both of dear Matthew Arnold's "sweetness and light," which illuminate Greek, Latin, and Italian.

I read the Galatians and Ephesians with great delight: free from the conventional formula of English words. Paul's boldness in knocking on the head once for all on his own authority the Law of Moses comes out very strong, and we thank him across the gulf of centuries for our freedom from old-world customs, and being placed in full enjoyment of Liberty in, and with, and through, Christ. We require a second Paul at the present Epoch to get rid of the bondage of Mediaeval Churchism, and bring the World back to the Gospel taught in Galilee free from European contaminations, and Pagan admixtures, and Judaic survivals.

VIII. On the 3rd of March I passed into the Gospel of Mark in Arabic, translated by my lamented friend Vandyke of Beirút in Syria. This was indeed a treat: a great living, conquering, Language, which in the time of Mahomet, 622 A.D., was chosen to be the vehicle of the Korán in words, and sentences, of unsurpassable beauty, and sonorous rhythm. This is not a patois, like English, or even German, which has grown into a great Vernacular and literary form of communication; but the methodical nature of its structure, its clear and lucid mode of expression, its unequalled antiquity as a living form of speech, give it a place of its own: it might have died like Latin and Sanskrit, giving birth to a numerous family of magnificent children; it might have been childless, and have lived on in a degraded and truncated form like the modern Greek, so-called Romaic: but it has a different fate: it has infused some of its elements into the Persian, Turki, Urdu, and Malay; and it is still spoken by millions and in purity.

It approaches the Hebrew closely both in structure and word-store, but after the manner in which a developed giant approaches a stunted dwarf. The Hebrew was never developed into the same fulness, and is now dead, and replaced by the Mongrel Jargon Yiddish. It was dead even as far back as the Return from the Babylonish Captivity, and was entirely gone at the Christian era, as is evidenced by the only Semitic words, uttered by our Lord, which have been recorded, and the quotation on the Cross of the first verse of the twenty-second Psalm.

There is something most fascinating in this Translation. I remember sitting with Dr. Ely Smith, the American Presbyterian

Missionary, in his house at Beirút, in 1852; he was then occupied in a portion of this great work; in my second visit to Palestine, in 1885, I met dear Vandyke, who had carried it on to its close. It is remarkable, that the Church of Rome has made and published an excellent Translation of the Bible in this Language; the word-store used, and the grammatical structure, closely resemble the same features in the Hebrew of Isaiah's time, and the Aramaic of our Lord's time, and the Translation was made by very great Scholars in the land, where the great originals had been written: this cannot be said of any other Bible-Translation. Jerome, indeed, came to Palestine to make his Translation of the Vulgate; but there is no such linguistic affinity betwixt the Arian Latin and the Semitic Hebrew.

It does not fall to the good luck of many, for it is mere good luck, to enjoy the privilege of reading the same passage in Sanskrit and Arabic. Thousands handle Greek or Latin for reading or writing, but they resemble each other in all essentials of Grammar, and a good deal in word-store. The Sanskrit and Arabic are essentially different, and the difference of written Character and the direction in which the writing flows, add to the great contrariety. Arabic has, indeed, no descendants, but has unmistakably infused its vigour into Arian Languages like Persian and Urdu, and Non-Arian Languages like Turki. I am very thankful that I took up Arabic in 1841-2, as an extra at the East India College; and, by good fortune, I was detained one month, in the Spring of 1843, in Cairo, by the non-arrival of the Calcutta-steamer. I engaged an Arabic Teacher to come daily, and we read through the Korán in its original; and no Book exceeds it in linguistic beauty.

I finished the Gospel of Mark in Arabic with regret on the 21st of March, and passed at once *per saltum* into the sweet sisterhood of French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, children of a common stock, flowers of the same beautiful Latin tree; for, after all, Latin was my first love, and I can still write Latin Prose or Poetry, with the same facility, with which, as an Eton Boy in 1837, I wrote a Poem congratulating Princess Victoria of Kent on her coming of age.

IX. French. The Gospels, by Henri Laserre, are the creation of the last decade, as they were published in 1887. I purchased a copy at the time, and have now read with delight the Gospel of Matthew. No cramping conditions of Chapters and Verses; no conventional phraseology, which repels the reader at every page of the authorized English Version: but the sober, elegant, and attractive style and words, of a modern French Story.

The narrative flows on unchecked: the conversations are intelligible, as if we heard the Lord speaking: Theological notes are

relegated to the appendix: Philological explanatory notes, few in number, are at the foot of the page: the Book is published with the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Paris, and the approbation of the Pope is conveyed in a letter in the Preface. This is a marvellous advance all down the line. The Bible is no longer inaccessible to devout inquirers in their own Language, their own simple form of diction. If the cast-iron Ecclesiastic still persists in reading an ill-chosen selection of the Scriptures from the Latin Vulgate, and chanting and mumbling Latin Prayers in the Churches, he is very much on a level with the Sikh Priest at Amritsar, the Hindu Brahmin at Banáras, the Mahometan Mosques in Turkey, and the chanting musical intoned Services of English Cathedrals. I have listened to them all, had the advantage, not enjoyed by the unlettered majority, of knowing what was read, and wondered what profit simple Souls derived from it except the idea of *opus operatum*.

X. On the 1st of April, 1897, I passed into the sister-Language of Italian, and commenced the Acts of the Apostles. It is a Language of wonderful beauty, and I had been familiar with it as a written and spoken Language from my youth. The story of the Acts of the Apostles flows along in limpid and beauteous phrases, and I really felt quite sorry, when I finished the book on the 8th of April, 1897, and the next day passed into Spanish, a sister-Language, but with marked differentiation. I often think of that witty description of the four great Languages of Western Europe. French is the Language of Courts and Diplomacy; Italian is the Language for a man to make love to the object of his admiration; Spanish is the Language, in which man can best address the Divinity; and English is the most suitable for a man to address his dog. Still, all four are beautiful Languages, admirably adapted to be vehicles of Soul-stirring thoughts.

XI. On the 9th of April I commenced the First Epistle to the Corinthians in the beautiful Castelláno or Spanish, and the Protestant Version of Valéra. The expressions were stately and sonorous: the well-known phonetic distinction between the Italian and Spanish was apparent on the surface: one dental letter took the place of the other, and *vita* became *vida*, *tota* became *toda*, and so on. I had read "Don Quixote," in its Spanish original, and beautiful modern romances in this Language: the heart does not go out to it as it does to Italian, French, Urdu, and Persian, the very sounds of which are pleasant to the ear. On the 18th of April, 1897, Easter Day, I finished my Spanish version: the rendering of the Chapter (XV) on the Resurrection is very grand. Paul would have been pleased to hear his Greek expressions so well represented in a great modern Language. I had intended to have passed into

Portuguese, but a remark made by a friend, that there existed between the Hindi and the Bangáli, two sister-Languages of the Indic Branch, of the Arian Linguistic Family, the same Phonetic differentiations as are so evident in the Italian and Spanish, two sister-Languages of the Graeco-Roman Branch of the same Family, determined me to return to my dear Indian Library, and read a portion of Scripture in the Hindi and Bangáli Languages, both of which Languages I had studied in 1843, in Calcutta, in the College of Fort William, with Native Teachers.

XII. So on April 19, I commenced the Volume of the Minor Prophets in Hindi with Hosea: the Nágari written Character was delightful to read. I read ten Chapters: it is not an encouraging Book to read: the Language is very coarse, and I cannot imagine that a native convert could read this book to his family with any profit. From the Linguistic point of view it is interesting. The date is not questioned, as the author asserts, that it was written in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah about 780-725 B.C., subsequent to the recognized date of the Moabite Stone; so it is admitted, that this Book was actually written in the Characters of the Phoenician Alphabet at the date attributed to it. It becomes a *terminus a quo*, and is an important dividing-line in the great argument with regard to the date, when the earlier Books of the Old Testament were committed to Phoenician alphabetical writing. Proofs may be forthcoming hereafter, that the Books attributed to David and Solomon were committed to Phoenician alphabetical writing at a date anterior to Hosea; but, until those proofs appear, judgment must be suspended: there is the great fact, that no Inscription has been found in Judaea earlier than the time of Hezekiah. The two Tables of Stone disappeared at the time of the Captivity. There were no stones in the Temple of Solomon with Inscriptions, according to the custom of the Egyptian and Assyrian contemporary Monarchs; had the Phoenician Alphabet existed in the time of Solomon, the workmen of Hiram, King of Tyre, would have been skilled in carving it. No Inscriptions are recorded as having been made on the walls of the Temple.

XIII. On April 25, I passed into Bangáli, and commenced the story of Joseph, Cap. xxxix, to the end of Genesis. I cannot say that I found any differentiation of words belonging to the two sister-Languages, analogous to the marked dental differentiation of the Italian and Spanish. I do not say, that it does not exist, but only that I did not notice it, although on the look-out for it. No doubt this is a Vernacular of first-rate importance, and, inclusive of its Dialects, is spoken by Sixty Millions, an improving race of men coming under the influence of Education, Civilization, contact with other Nations, with a great number of Mahometans, and extensive

spontaneous additions of non-Arian Hill-tribes dwelling on the outskirts. This may be one of the Ruling Languages of the East. I cannot say, that it is euphonious to hear, or pleasant to read; but it is clear in its word-store, and simple in its construction, and the story of Joseph in Egypt appears to advantage. I fear that the people of India, at the present moment, would think poorly of their English Rulers, if they acted like Joseph, and robbed the poor landed proprietors of their ancestral acres, converting them into serfs, or yearly tenants: the very contrary has been the British Policy. Nor would the people of India have thought favourably of the English Governor of a Province, if he had, at the time of Famine, imported his own starving relations of a different race and Language, and located them in the fattest and choicest Regions. Joseph may have been thought a wise and benevolent alien ruler in those days and by his own people: his name is never mentioned in Egyptian Chronicles.

XIV. I finished Genesis, May 12, 1897, and passed into Portuguese with the book of Ruth, and had finished my task by May 15. This book is a mere Hebrew Midrash, a pious story. The conduct neither of Ruth, nor of Boaz, is free from blame, or misconception, and scarcely profitable to be read to agricultural audiences. Ruth's idea of Divine things must have been very hazy, or non-existent, as she was ready, not only to change her home, so as to be of use to her alien mother-in-law, but to change her God, without argument or inquiry; had a Hebrew maid acted in this way, loud would have been the condemnation. The Portuguese Language has no attraction to me; it seems a miserable patois. I took down from my bookcase my copy of Camoens, and read some of the stanzas of the noble Poem, where the Language appears to its best advantage, but it did not alter my opinion.

On May 15, 1897, I closed my reading; it had lasted continuously from October 1, 1896, seven months and a half, and had embraced fourteen Languages; there were six more on my list, but they must stand over until the Autumn, on the chance of my being alive and able to take them up: their names are (1) Panjábi, (2) Roumán, (3) Yiddish, (4) Dutch, (5) Russian, and (6) the New Testament in Hebrew.

As the result of years of study of the Scriptures in many Languages, and reflecting on the degree of Culture and spiritual knowledge of the persons, into whose hands these Books are placed for the first time, in old age, or middle life, or school age, I have arrived at the strong conviction, that the bondage of Chapters and Verses, and headings of Chapters, should be got rid of, and that the Divine Library should be published after the manner of any Book of Antiquity or modern times, say Herodotus' Travels, Plato's Dialogues,

Cicero's Essays, Augustine's Meditations, Thomas à Kempis' "Imitation of Christ," and Bacon's Essays. This applies (1) to the manner and outward form; (2) to the Chronological order of the Books of the Divine Library; (3) to the style of Translation and the Vernacular of the particular Nation, for whom an Edition had to be prepared. The Book is exceedingly precious to the Soul: it should be placed before the eyes in the best Translation: all archaic words, all old-fashioned expressions, should be eliminated: we want to know the meaning of the words in the dead Language, in which they have come down; we do not want to know what Augustine of Hippo, or the "Judicious" Hooker, thought, but the ideas clothed in words, which Paul of Tarsus had placed before him: that is how we deal with the works of the Athenian Tragedians, Philosophers, Poets, and Historians, and the great army of Latin Authors. As it is, a Library, the dates of which are spread over one thousand years, is treated as a Book of one date, and there is a conventional Middle-Age halo thrown over the whole, from which we get free, when we read the Hebrew, the Greek Septuagint, and some of the great Translations: the Vulgate itself is not free from these taints: good old Jerome with all his merits was still to the last a Romish Priest.

Then follows the importance of selection of portions for the young, those of imperfect Culture, those grossly ignorant: let anyone who reads this reflect whether he ever has once, or more than once, read every word of the Old and New Testament in the same spirit, that he has read Shakespeare and Milton's immortal Works. I am one of those, who note down in pencil the date of the perusal of each Chapter in my interleaved Bible in English, but this will not include the numerous readings in other Languages: I feel overwhelmed with the thought of the poor uncultured Christian, say of India or China, trying to spell through the pages, Chapters, and Verses of even the Gospels themselves: how much he must feel the want of that help, which Philip gave to the Eunuch of Kandáke, who no doubt was an educated man of that period.

Let everyone, before forming a judgment on the comparative, and in my opinion inestimable, value of the Hebrew Scriptures, ask himself, whether he has ever had the opportunity of inspecting the Sacred Books of other Religions of the Elder World, and the Greek and Latin Philosophers, and noted how far those Books mark the advance of the Human race in Divine Knowledge, which the Hebrew shared, and marvellously developed, but did not originate, as the feelings after God of the Egyptians and Babylonians which are recorded in Papyri or Stelae date centuries before Abraham. God at sundry times and in divers manners manifested Himself to His poor children, and hated nothing that He had made, though the Hebrew chose to believe, that He hated the Egyptians, and only cared for them: His presence can be marked in all the ages, all climes, all Nations, all Languages:

we can see the Penumbra of Christ everywhere, until in fulness of time He came.

How few can honestly say, that they have read the whole Bible right through regularly on a system, referring, if necessary to a Commentator, or the Hebrew and Greek originals, so as to grasp the place of each Book in the collection of Books with dates spread over one thousand years; marking each day the date of the reading for the first or repeated times? How many have blank-leaved Bibles, to insert notes, queries, doubts, as they read on? How many can refer to the original or other version so as to be sure, that the translator has caught the real meaning of the writer? How many have tried to think out the details of the mode, in which these ancient writings have been got together, been preserved, been copied, been tampered with? How entirely our treasure is in earthen vessels, and the Divine Truth at the mercy of Human Elements!

We have not, alas! the very words, which left our Lord's lips. He spoke Aramaic: the record is in Greek. Paul and Luke could write Greek from their youth up; but we may fairly ask, how the humble publican on the Lake of Tiberias, and the rude fishermen, could write in that Gentile Language and Script: we have the very words of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, penned by themselves, or one of their followers.

Some will frankly admit, that they have neither time nor taste for Bible-study, yet it is difficult to conceive how a full intelligent belief can be attained without it. The selection of readings for Sunday are so singularly inappropriate, such as the slaughter of Sisera, the ass of Balaam, the call for young women to share the bed of King David, the whole story of Bathsheba, the throwing Jezebel out of the window of her Palace, and the stories of hewing and slaughter, and the plagues of Egypt. Are they calculated to instruct the mind of native converts in India and Africa? I remember travelling on board a steamer with a passenger, who had been advised to read and learn by heart two verses from the Scriptures at random daily, and repeat them at his leisure: during his walk on the deck one day he was overheard to say, "The wicked shall be turned into Hell, and all those who forget God." On another day we caught the words: "Jesus went into the Mount of Olives." No spiritual advantage can be imagined from either quotation: there are small volumes, which comprise nothing but the words of Jesus, but even they cannot be taken at hazard. It has been justly remarked with regard to the Psalms, that the ejaculations of the speaker, who describes himself as humble and poor (Hebrew *anu*), are not profitable in a country, which is a Realm of Law: the wicked man does not go on vexing the poor and needy, and the poor and needy are not always so worthy of the special love of the Lord. Then there are passages in the Psalms such as Psalm cxxxvii, 9, which no Christian likes to repeat, and listens with sorrow to the

words, as they leave the mouths of little children, and devout but stupid worshippers.

The saddest feature is the general idea of Christians, inherited from the Hebrews in their ignorant days, that they, and they alone, are the object of the tenderest care of the Creator, who made the whole World, ruled the whole World, and kept the times and modes of Conversion in his own hands. The Father of all ruled in every clime, and every age, and hated nothing that He had made, and willest not that any should perish.

Charles Dickens, in "Little Dorrit," cap. iii, gives an instance of the unchristian turn of mind of the reputed good Christian of the English Middle Classes. The son after long absence had come over to his home to see his widowed mother, who had been at variance from the earliest years of her son with his dead father. She met her son, her only child, coldly, "put on her spectacles and read "certain passages aloud, sternly, fiercely, wrathfully, praying that "her enemies (she made them by her tone and manner expressly "her's) might be put to the edge of the sword, consumed by fire, "smitten by plague and leprosy; that their bones might be crushed "to dust, and that they themselves might be utterly exterminated. "She shut the book, and remained some time with her face shaded "by her hand: then she was ready for bed."

It has been well said, that there is too large a survival of hateful egotistical Judaism in the prayers and Bible-reading of many respectable Christians.

I should so liked to have read a portion of the Scriptures in other representative Languages; but time is against me, and I am too old at 76 to break fresh ice, and for the last thirty years of my life, since I left India in 1867, I have lived an unceasing round of Committee, and Literary, labour, only interrupted by long annual tours into every corner of Europe, the West of Asia as far as the Caspian Sea, and the North of Africa, as far as the Desert of the Sahára. I wished that I had had time to tackle the Kree of North America, the Quichúa in South America, and the Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. I should have liked then to have crossed the Atlantic into Africa, and disposed of the Hausa on the West Coast, the Swahíli on the East, and the Zulu in the South. Thence I should have migrated into Oceania, and dealt with the Samoa of the Polynesian Group, the Fiji of the Melanesian, and the Ponapé of the Mikronesian Group. I should not have cared to study the Wenli, the great written Language of China, only good for oculation, like the numbers of Arithmetic, but should have liked to know more of the Vernacular of Japan, and the Manchu. Six months of study of each might have done what I wished: as it is, I am obliged to look at them in my carefully classified Lists, read an account of them in some Book, perhaps witten by some single-Language author with all the narrowness of a one-Language man,

and an ignorance of the deep secrets of the great Linguistic gift, or power of utterance of articulated sounds, made by the Creator to the Human race alone amidst the Animal Creation.

In the Twentieth century men will have better opportunities : we have only been feeling our way in the Nineteenth century, and sweeping away débris of ignorance, fallacies, and gross stupidity. To have the same Gospel of Mark on our table in nearly two hundred Languages, in Translations made to be read in Schools, Chapels, and private houses, all the gift of the long reign of Queen Victoria, makes it feasible to read Foreign Translations, if the desire to read, and the intellect to understand, are not wanting.

SCHEME OF BIBLE-READING, OCTOBER, 1896, TO MAY, 1897.

No.	LANGUAGE.	NAME OF BOOKS.	DATES.
1	Hebrew .	Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs	{ Oct. 1, 1896, to Nov. 23, 1896.
2	Urdu .	Job	{ Nov. 24, 1896, to Dec. 12, 1896.
3	Latin .	Revelation	{ Dec. 13, 1896, to Dec. 22, 1896.
4	Persian .	Luke	{ Dec. 23, 1896, to Jan. 17, 1897.
5	Greek .	Exodus	{ Jan. 18, 1897, to Feb. 5, 1897.
6	Sanskrit .	John's Gospel, i-xi .	{ Feb. 5, 1897, to Feb. 24, 1897.

No.	LANGUAGE.	NAME OF BOOKS.	DATES.
7	German . .	Galatians, Ephesians .	{ Feb. 24, 1897, to March 2, 1897.
8	Arabic . .	Mark	{ March 3, 1897, to March 21, 1897.
9	French . .	Matthew	{ March 22, 1897, to March 31, 1897.
10	Italian . .	Acts of the Apostles .	{ April 1, 1897, to April 8, 1897.
11	Spanish . .	I Corinthians	{ April 9, 1897, to April 18, 1897.
12	Hindi . .	Hosea, i-x	{ April 19, 1897. to April 24, 1897.
13	Bangáli . .	Genesis, xxxix-L . . .	{ April 25, 1897, to May 12, 1897.
14	Portuguese	Ruth	{ May 13, 1897, to May 15, 1897.

REMARKS ON THE NECESSITY OF COMPILING A NEW EDITION OF BAGSTER'S "BIBLE IN EVERY LAND."

THE Translation of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures into all the Languages of the Round World has advanced to the dignity of a Science, and must be treated as such. The Students of a Science require their specimens, their catalogues, and their Cyclopaedia. I have myself watched the progress for fifty years, and it is marvellous: no Human composition has in past time been so honoured by being rendered in so many totally different vehicles of thought, and expressed in such entirely distinct forms of written Character. It is dangerous to predict anything with regard to the Future, but as all the great and conquering Languages of the World, with their respective populations ranging from 80 to 150 Millions, have been occupied, and as one at least of every variety of Family of Speech has been made use of, it is difficult to say, that the Future will exceed the Present in splendour, and variety, though possibly it may do so in completeness, and accuracy of Translation, for the work of Revision never ceases.

Taking two thousand as the possible number of varieties of forms of Speech, whether known as Languages, Dialects, or Patois, mutually unintelligible, we can only claim samples of three hundred and forty-three as in circulation: but the great Languages of the World are provided for, and small weak forms of speech will disappear before the conquering advance of such Languages as English, and it is well that it should be so, so long as no oppression is used.

Autumnal leaves fall from the trees and die, when they have discharged their duty. Languages fall like leaves of the forest. There seems no reason, why Latin should have died leaving a large family, while Greek maintained a childless existence, but the fact is obvious, that one did die, and the other still lives on the lips of men, and in the columns of Newspapers.

I have done my best to catalogue the Languages of India, Further and Nearer, and the Archipelago; of Africa, and of Oceania: the materials of America were ready, but a few years ago the study of the Religions of the World, Ancient and Modern, drew me away from my Linguistic studies. I have striven to

catalogue the Translations of the Scriptures Alphabetically, Geographically, and Linguistically, bringing their nomenclature and orthography down to one fixed scientific system; and I have arranged for quinquennial Reports of additions, so as to bring our Knowledge so far always up to date, and to leave no door open to doubt, whether a form of speech was a Language, or a Dialect, or a miserable Patois. There are doubtless errors, which time will disclose, but a system has been started, and room left for the copious additions of future years, and the periodical publication of Catalogues corrected up to date.

But there is something beyond, which remains to be done: what is it? I must explain.

“The Bible of Every Land,” published by Messrs. Samuel Bagster & Sons, 15, Paternoster Row, appeared in a second and enlarged Edition in 1860, a handy quarto of 480 pages, with the Motto,

“*Ὅλλαι μὲν θνήτοις γλῶσσαι, μιὰ δ' ἀθανατοῖσι*” :

“*Multae terricolis linguae, coelestibus una*” :

which I venture to translate,

“*Many the tongues of poor mortals, but one the tongue of the Angels.*”

The “*grande et venerabile nomen*” of Tregelles is associated with this epoch-making and monumental work. I am more indebted to it than I can describe. “This Book,” to quote the words of the Preface, “investigated the circumstances, under which the Holy Library of Volumes (the composition of which spread over a period of one thousand years) has been translated into the principal Languages of every land, and the agencies, by which copies in these Languages have been multiplied and dispersed among the Nations, Tribes, and Kindreds, of the Earth.”

This Book represents the Linguistic knowledge of forty years ago, or rather that phase of Linguistic knowledge, possessed by Ecclesiastics, or Dilettanti Scholars. I wish to speak with reverence and love of the compilers, for I have profited greatly from the perusal of their publication, but I decidedly think, that the amazing progress all down the line has rendered the preparation of a new and revised Edition absolutely necessary, as a compilation of this kind is a *sine quâ non*, and must be renewed at the interval of every thirty years, or a generation of men.

I addressed myself to Messrs. Bagster, suggesting that a new Edition should be prepared of their excellent Book: it will be a costly operation, and will occupy much time: I think that Maps might be omitted, Tables of Alphabets, and specimens of Translations, as those details are supplied in other publications, and that the scheme be restricted to the following:

I. The work to be confined to living Languages, actually made use of for Gospel-Teaching.

II. No Language to be noticed, which is not represented by at least a Translation of one Book of the Scriptures, actually printed, and in circulation.

III. The classification to be made on strictly scientific principles, and the order of subjects to follow the classification.

IV. The nomenclature and orthography to be scientific and uniform, not the mere chance expression of an ignorant Missionary Translator.

V. All discussions about the Lower Criticism of Text, or the Higher Criticism of Dates and Authors, to be sternly laid aside.

VI. The work of the Translation to be described from the first effort to the last revision, giving place, date, and names without *any expressions of praise or blame*: each Edition to be separately described.

VII. Brevity to be kept steadily in view: no unnecessary expressions, or repetitions: a table of abbreviations to be adhered to.

I should have been so pleased to have lived long enough to see the work started, as I might have been of use in corrections, suggestions, indications of sources of Knowledge, etc. Two scholarly men should be employed on this work, as one would help and correct the other. They should have no other employment: this is not a job to be disposed of in spare hours, stolen from some other employment, but by the entire devotion of time, diligence, and intelligence for one, two, or more years.

There will be great advantage to future translators and revisers, to know the process by which, and the circumstances under which, their predecessors made their Translations, and their comparative fitness for the work; perhaps there is no greater evidence of accurate scholarship, and intimate knowledge, than the rendering of a dead Language, like the old Hebrew, into a Language not previously reduced to writing, and unsupplied with Dictionaries and Grammar: it is clear that, during the next century, a great deal of revision will be necessary: the “one-man” translator will be held up to pity, or perhaps gentle ridicule. Then, again, the great Publishing Societies, as time goes on, must have authoritative and trustworthy information as to the character of Editions, both as regards translation, and correct editing, and proof-correcting; at present all is uncertain. The Translations made in foreign countries will have to be noticed, and described, as well as those made by English-speaking Missionaries.

The work, as contemplated by me, is something more than interleaving a volume of the existing Edition of 1860, and filling in new material; the old volume must be broken up, and its pages redistributed in a new order, and pasted on large sheets of white

paper: as the pages have matter on both sides, two copies of the work must be broken up, so that every page may appear in its place. Then will come the task of filling in new large white paper sheets with the new material. Every Language must have a separate sheet, so as to secure room for adding new material as time goes on: this is an essential feature, for the convenience of those, who come after us in the next century.

The omission of Maps, tables of alphabets, specimen sheets of printed matter, discussions about disputed interpretations, etc., etc., will greatly reduce the bulk of the new Book, and the cost of printing; what we require is a handy Lexicon of Bible-Translations, a full narrative how each Translation came into existence, how it was revised, if revision has taken place, and what is the opinion of competent persons as to the degree of its excellence or the contrary. For instance, as regards the Persian version of the New Testament, and the revised Malagási, entire satisfaction could be expressed: as regards Hindi, Urdu, Télugu, and Mándarin, a confidence could be felt, that the steps now being taken will be sufficient: as regards a great many, there is dissatisfaction; as regards others, doubts: in this direction lies our work in the Future.

There is no room for despondency, and still less for boasting: our generation, and the closing century, have done a great work, and done it well: no preceding century in the History of the World can be compared to it in this particular branch of Human labour, but there is room for

“Limae labor et mora.”

In all Human work there is room for improvement. In past epochs there were no revising Committees: with all due respect to Jerome, a revision by experts would have improved the Vulgate: going back to the Book of the Revelation of John the Divine, a revising Committee would have corrected such obvious errors as cap. i, v. 4. It was all very well for the late Bishop Wordsworth to write in his Edition, that the Apocalypse was above the ordinary Rules of Grammar, and had a Grammar of Inspiration of its own: we do not find such Grammatical slips in the Gospels. The Gospel of the Gentile Luke may vie in the purity of its diction with any Greek Book of the time: it is clear, that in Books intended for the use of man the Rules of Grammar must be adhered to.

A supervising Committee of three men should be appointed: the age of each should be under seventy years: the Editorial Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society would naturally be one; the other two must be chosen for their qualifications. Some one with leisure might go through a clean copy of the Edition of 1860, erase all superfluous words, such as “venerable,” “respected,” “learned,” etc., correct the nomenclature and

orthography of names, countries, and Languages, correct palpable errors, and substitute abbreviations such as B.F.B.S. for British and Foreign Bible Society, and so on. I have tried to help the matter on by placing in proper sequence a sheet of paper for each Language, and entering on that sheet the name correctly spelt, and the Geographical position of the speakers, and the Linguistic Family of the form of speech.

The British and Foreign Bible Society ought to pay the stipend of the two scholars employed, and allow the work to be conducted in the Bible-House. When the copy is ready, it should be handed to Messrs. Bagster, who will be responsible for, and provide the funds for, the printing. The Records of the Bible Society should be at the disposal of the Editors for ready reference in matters of doubt, and it will be well for the Editors always to state in foot-notes the quarters, from which they derive their information.

All discussion of the bones of discord of the Bible Society, such as the great controversy of Terms for the Divine Name in China, and the difficulties about rendering the words for “Baptize,” to be absolutely and entirely excluded.

Let us look forward thirty years, and imagine the date of the year to be 1930. The present Editorial Secretary will by that date have smiled his last smile, penned his last paragraph, drawn for the last time for the edification of the Editorial Committee on his great store of accumulated knowledge. Perhaps fifty new Translations by that date will have come into existence: all the army of old translators, and those, who knew them and helped them, will have gone to their rest, and worthy men as they are, have obtained their reward. Perhaps the greatest of all earthly glories must ever surround the name of the man, whose Human pen wrote one of the volumes of the Divine Library: thoughts that breathe; words that burn; ideas that illumine the intellect; voices of the Heart, that once heard will never be forgotten; Precious Promises still to be fulfilled; expressions of lofty Wisdom, and the Highest Morality, which will never die; outpourings of the Soul of poor weak man to the great Creator, and Preserver, no longer unknown. Take the instance of Isaiah and Jeremiah. Perhaps, however, the good faithful translator, who has under the influence of the Holy Spirit grasped the meaning of the ancient writer, and rendered the sentiments into a new and different array of sounds, words, sentences, and written symbols, so that generations still to be born will be able to appreciate the message of the old Prophet, or Evangelist, may be deemed to have done a greater service to the Human race than Kings, and Conquerors, Lawgivers, and Civilizers, and Slayers of unhappy so-called Inferior races, the freemen of the Sudán, Ma-Shóna-land, and the North-West frontier of India.

June 1, 1897.

REVIEW OF BOOKS ILLUSTRATING THE BIBLE
PUBLISHED IN THE LAST FEW YEARS.

- I. How we Got our Bible. J. Paterson Smyth. 1896.
 II. Bible-Help: Illustrated Bible-Treasury. William Wright.
 D.D. 1896.
 III. Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts. Kenyon. 1896.
 IV. The Bible in the Light of To-day. Croslegh. 1896.
 V. The Bible: its Meaning and Supremacy. Dean Farrar.
 1897.

Short Notices of Books on the same subject.

- VI. The Bible and its Transmission. Copinger. 1897.
 VII. Helps to the Study of the Bible. Oxford University Press.
 1893.
 VIII. Cambridge Companion to the Bible. Cambridge University
 Press. 1893.

I.

“HOW WE GOT OUR BIBLE.” By J. PATERSON SMYTH. Tenth
 Edition. (Bagster, 1896.)

THIS is a little book of 127 12mo pages: the object is to show the continuity of the Book from the time of the Apostles to the present time. The Revised Version set people thinking, and some weak-minded worshippers of the letter complained, that their Bible had been tampered with.

In the first place, what we call the Bible is not a Book, such as Milton or Shakespeare, written by the same author, but a Library of Books, written by different authors, at different periods, spreading over one thousand years. Our modern notions represent the Bible as a bound volume, but such was not the case in ancient days: in each Church there was a Record-Chest, and a number of documents, some in Hebrew, some in Greek, but not always the same number of documents: some of the Hebrew Books had been translated into Greek, and were called the Septuagint, about 280 B.C.: some of these

documents were considered Canonical, and others Apocryphal. All the sources of what we call the Bible came from such Record-Chests; all were Manuscript copies from older documents, on perishable material, and injured by the errors of the copyist, who omitted, misspelt, incorporated marginal notes, and took liberties, which show that in those days there was no literary conscience. The work of handing on those copies was essentially Human: our treasure was in earthen vessels.

The Author reverently remarks "that it does not seem to be God's way anywhere to work Miracles for us, where our own careful use of the abilities, which He has given, would suffice for the purpose."

All the original writings have long since disappeared: the papyrus paper, *χάρτος*, II John, 12, very soon got worn out from use. But in the various libraries of Europe are stored up thousands of old copies, the oldest of which reach only 400 A.D. There are three different classes:

- I. Manuscripts or copies in the original Languages.
- II. Ancient Versions in other Languages used in the early centuries.
- III. The writings of the early Christian-Fathers from the Second to the Third century.

The Science, which deals with this evidence, is called Textual Criticism, or the Lower Criticism. In the writings of the third class quotations are found from the Scriptures. And since the date of the Authorized Version, 1611 A.D., not only has the bulk of ancient material increased, but the power to make use of it has increased still more, and the meaning of words in the English Language has changed.

As regards the first class of the Greek Manuscripts, there are Uncial (100), or Cursive (1,500), the latter the most numerous. The oldest are: (1) the Vatican; (2) Sinaitic; (3) Alexandrian: all discovered since 1611 A.D.; their date is from 300 to 450 A.D.

In addition are Palimpsest: old Manuscripts, deemed of little value in the ignorant Middle Ages, had been scraped so as to make the skin available for use again. But traces remained of the old letters, and by chemical treatment the later writing has been removed, and the old letters made legible. Some of the Cursives, the comparatively modern in date, have a great value, being obviously copies of ancient Uncials.

The text of no ancient classical author is supported by such a large number of Manuscripts as the Scriptures.

So far about the Greek: as to Hebrew Manuscripts we have none older than the Tenth century A.D., but they are valuable on account of the scrupulous care of the Jewish transcriber.

I now pass to the Ancient Versions: these Translations were made at a date anterior to the oldest Greek Manuscript. The old Syriac version was probably in use only half a century after the date of the latest Book of the New Testament, and was in a Language akin to the Language used by our Lord, and the Jews, who heard Him. Next in date are the Coptic, Abyssinian, and Armenian, Versions, the Vetus Latina, and the Gothic Versions of Ulfilas, 350 A.D.

Jerome's Latin Vulgate marks an Epoch: it was completed (the New Testament) in 385 A.D., and he dwelt several years in Palestine to enable him to translate the Old Testament from the Hebrew. For more than one thousand years the Vulgate was the parent of every more modern version. The Vulgate had to fight the same battle against ignorant prejudice as our own Revised Version: no amount of sentiment can be a good plea to retain a faulty Translation. "*Magna est Veritas.*" As time went on, at the Council of Trent, 1545 A.D., the same foolish attachment to the Vulgate was evidenced, as is now shown in England in some quarters to the Authorized Version.

I now pass to the Quotations: they are often fragmentary, and often made from memory, not the *ipsissima verba*: and, moreover, a quotation of a passage from Milton's "Paradise Lost" would not necessarily prove the date of the whole poem: however, they have their value. We must recollect, that in those days there were no Concordances, few Manuscripts, and it was very difficult to trace a passage. Accuracy of quotations of prose-writings was not deemed then so important as now, and the memory was trusted to.

Our Author, writing for an English public, leaps over centuries, and brings us to the history of the English Bible. The only material, which English Translators had at that early period, consisted of copies of the Vulgate.

Cædmon showed the way, but not by a Translation, but by a series of Religious Poems about 670 A.D.; after his death there were Anglo-Saxon Translations, and in 735 A.D. the Venerable Bede died in the act of dictating a Translation of the Gospel of John.

In Cap. v our author arrives at Wycliffe's English Version, 1380 A.D., which is based on the Latin Vulgate; for the simple reason, that he knew neither Hebrew nor Greek, even if copies of these Languages could have been obtained; with him the Manuscript period ends; 170 copies survive.

Cap. vi deals with Tyndale's Version, A.D. 1524, and Cap. vii with the Bible after Tyndale's days, including the Authorized Version; all this is familiar ground. A century elapsed betwixt Wycliffe and Tyndale, and in that period a new Power sprang into existence, the Printing-Press, and the battle, as against the opponents of Bible-Diffusion was won; but two great Giants have been brought into prominence: Textual or Lower Criticism, and

Higher Criticism, accompanied by a desire of Revised Translations from the original Language, as our Knowledge advances. The Greek Language also had risen from the grave, with the New Testament in its hand. And something began to be known of Hebrew.

It is well to recollect, that the version of the Psalms, and the "Comfortable Words" of the Communion Service of the Prayer-Book of the Church of England, are legacies from the "Great Bible" of 1539; that in the Geneva Bible, *alias* the Breeches Bible, of 1559, the old black-type letters were got rid of, the Apocrypha omitted, the Text was divided into verses, the name of Paul was omitted from the Epistle to the Hebrews, and all words not occurring in the original were printed in italics.

On the whole, the volume under review is a most useful Book, and of very moderate cost, and all lovers of the English Bible should provide themselves with a copy for occasional reference, as any point arises.

June 6, 1897.

II.

"BIBLE-HELP: ILLUSTRATED BIBLE-TREASURY AND COMBINED CONCORDANCE." Edited by DR. WILLIAM WRIGHT, of the Bible-House, London. (London: Thomas Nelson, 1896.)

It is to be regretted, that to this valuable work a Concordance of words, occupying 350 pages, has been fastened on like a dead weight. As a separate volume, or separate Appendix, the Concordance might have been acceptable: as it is, it takes away from the value of this excellent work, and the Maps and Illustrations, with which it is accompanied.

Among the Collaborators we find the names of General Wilson, Professor Sayce, Colonel Conder, Dr. Edouard Naville, Canon Tristram, Canon Isaac Taylor, Professor George Adam Smith, Professor Rendel Harris, Professor Ramsey, Professor Robertson, Archdeacon Sinclair, Professor Marcus Dods; in fact, we hardly miss a single name of a Scholar competent to speak on the subject from the point of view of its many-sided aspect: Geography, Language, History, Botany, Inscriptions, Excavations, Manuscripts.

All roots of bitterness are avoided; the narrow views of the ignorant, or half-educated, or stupid, conservatives, are passed gently by; the too daring theories of the new School are tempered down. The writers feel, that they are occupied in discussing the environment, not the substance, of the most important collection of writings, that were ever possessed by the Human race, writings

which admittedly belong to dates spread over a period of from twelve to eight hundred years, in three distinct Languages, and the latest of which belongs to the first of the nineteen centuries of the Christian Era.

These writings are called the "*most important, that were ever possessed by the Human race*" by one, who has not spent the last fifty years of his life in a rural rectory, acquainted with no other Sacred Books, or any other Language, but his Mother-Tongue, or any other Religion, but his own peculiar Shibboleth, but by one who has dwelt a quarter of a century in intimate intercourse with non-Christian peoples, who has loved them, and knows their dogmas, their form of Worship, and their Sacred Books, and felt *ex animo*, that the presence of the great Creator, the Heavenly Wisdom, and the Holy Spirit, was evidenced in every clime, in every Nation of mankind, since the Creation, dimly, imperfectly, but really, until in the fulness of time God sent His Son in Human form, for He had so loved the World, the whole World, all His own poor children, not only the little Jewish tribe, not only the generation of men, to whom that Son appeared after the flesh, but all Mankind, from the beginning, continuously, everywhere, and to the end of time.

To those, who have not studied the History and Archaeology of Egypt and Mesopotamia, some of the illustrations must be very overwhelming, and some plates might have been spared; such as those at page 67, and page 101, for they have no relation to the subject of the Divine Library, and do not help us to understand it: many of the illustrations have only the character of contributions to a pretty scrapbook, and excellent of their kind they are.

Of course, the pictures of places in their modern appearance, very different to their appearance at the time of the narrative, are interesting: the contributions to Geography, to Botany, to Zoology, to Numismatics, to Inscriptions, to Chronology, to Sculpture, and to Statuary, have great value, but the little volumes of the Divine Library are crushed by the vast mass of Nineteenth-century Knowledge piled upon them. We must recollect, that the Hebrew race was as regards things of this World, relatively when brought into juxtaposition with the Nineteenth century, and comparatively when placed by the side of their contemporary Nations, exceedingly ignorant in every branch of Human Knowledge: they have left no tokens of their Art, Science, Architecture, Statuary, Inscriptions, behind them: in fact, but for the Divine Library they would have been forgotten. Their country was very small, their resources very limited, their period of independence very brief; and but for the lustre thrown back upon them by the appearance of the Son of God in the form of a Hebrew child, they would have filled but a small space in the History of the World; and they are now surrounded by an exaggerated halo, which the great Nations of

Asia, who are now slowly passing into Christianity, will hardly admit to be justifiable.

Much of the matter embodied in this volume, such as the descriptive analysis of the different Books of the Divine Library, is not new; we have seen it all before in many shapes, sometimes better, sometimes less good; some of the statements made are not, in the opinion of some, quite true. Thirty years hence, in the next generation, it will be admitted, that the Human external form, in which the Divine Truth has been enveloped, or, in other words, the earthen vessel, in which our treasure has been stored, viz., the parchment, or papyrus, or metal, on which conventional scratches have been made in pigment, according to the cunning of the hand, or the mental fancy, of the composer, or compiler, of each volume, is liable to the infirmities of old age, the vagaries of the copyist, and the liberty taken by a succession of editors. We have only to place the Septuagint, the Massórah, the Vulgate, and the Revised Version, side by side, to be aware of that.

Section V, Geography of Bible-Lands; Section VI, Treasury of Bible Science; Section VII, Treasury of Bible Terms, etc., are invaluable, and render the Book an essential feature of the revolving bookcase, within reach of the arm of every *bond-fide* student, who never allows a word to pass under his eye without seeking to understand it. But to the ordinary Bible-reader, who merely reads his portion as a daily task to be performed, or mutters the words as a kind of sensational charm, such Chapters will be useless; they are, indeed, in their very nature, above the intelligence of nine-tenths of Bible-readers.

In fact, the study of such a complicated subject as the Divine Library, consisting of imperfect Translations of very imperfect Texts, is one of the most complicated of studies, the oldest Hebrew Text being separated from the original writing by a minimum period of fourteen hundred years; the events recorded, and the sentiments expressed, are divided from the Nineteenth century by 2,300 years at the least, and the environment, the Language, the conception of the Divinity and divine things, the degree of Human Culture, are totally different. Such Books as the one before us help to bridge over the great gulf fixed between the Return of the Hebrews from exile, and the present Epoch; but a vast amount of European mediaeval, we may boldly say, patristic misconception, has to be cleared away.

June, 1897.

III.

“OUR BIBLE AND THE ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS, WITH A HISTORY OF THE TEXT AND ITS TRANSLATIONS.” By FREDERICK KENYON. Second Edition. 1896.

THE Bible can be regarded from an internal as well as external point of view: the former treats of its Divine, the latter of its Human aspect; and let it always be remarked, that the features of its Human aspect are shared by all the Greek and Latin authors of the period preceding and immediately following the Christian era, without any distinction. But the unequalled importance of the internal aspect, viz., the relation of God to the Soul of man, gives a special interest to the external aspect of the Bible. I love the charming works of Homer, Plato, Virgil, and Cicero above all literature, but the question of their authenticity, their date, the accuracy of their Text, does not present to me the solemn problem, which these features of the Bible present. I know, that Virgil takes poetic license, but it does not offend me. Take the analogy of the Human body: it is liable to infirmity, disease, and death, and yet it is, or can be, the Temple of the Holy Spirit, and though this poor body is of the same quality as that of other mammals, yet at its birth it received from God the special gift of Language and the Religious Faculty, by the former of which the Divine thoughts and utterances of one generation can be conveyed to all future generations, and by the latter the Soul can be placed in relation with God. The Author of these volumes deals with the Human side only: the Language, the Written Character, the material to which those Characters were originally committed, and on varieties of which they have been handed on from generation to generation since the origin of Alphabetic writing, which cannot be scientifically carried back beyond the Moabite Stone, in the Ninth century B.C. Attempts are made to carry back the date to the Mosaic Epoch, but cautious palaeographers reserve their judgment until proof is shown. Moses, no doubt, could write Egyptian Hieroglyphics, and possibly Mesopotamian Cuneiform; at any rate, we know that they existed in his time, but this cannot be said of the Alphabetic Phenician Character, which is the parent, or elder sister, of the old Hebrew Character of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the well-known Square Character of the time of our Lord. It is well to have a *terminus a quó*. The object of the Author is to give the unlearned reader a general knowledge of the Textual History of the Bible from the time, at which the several Books were written until their appearance as our English Bible to-day. This is what is

technically called the Lower Criticism, as opposed to the well-known Higher Criticism, which deals with the date and meaning of the Text, and the probable or possible authors of each Book.

Cap. I treats of the "variations in the Bible-Text." In the Revised Version the fact is not concealed, that there is considerable doubt as to the exact words of the writer. The Edition called the Variorum Bible testifies to this. None of the fundamental Truths of Christianity rest on passages, of which the genuineness is doubtful. Our Author's object is to show, that our Translation represents as closely as may be the actual words, and the means, which we have for knowing that it does so. It is unnecessary to dwell on the well-known Problem of Manuscripts, and the Errors of the copyist before 1454, the date of the invention of Printing. The copyist was liable to omit, incorporate marginal notes, and mistake letters: the mistakes of the thoughtless copyists are as nothing to the deliberate changes made by the copyist, who presumes to have a critical opinion. It is a comfort to know, that *in substance* the Text of the Bible is certain: the variations are in unimportant details, and, as regards the New Testament, we may rest satisfied, that the Text is as true as that of any Greek, or Roman, author: this cannot be said of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament; we are driven to conjecture to supply the true readings.

Cap. II. The Authorities for the Bible-Text. (1) Manuscripts, regarding which there is a regular Science. (2) Early versions: a Translation will indicate the particular Text of the original, from which it was made: it so happens, that versions are older than MSS.: the Samaritan and Greek of the Old Testament, and the Syriac and Latin of the New Testament, are older than any MSS. of the original Hebrew and Greek, which have survived the wreck of time: for the oldest Greek MS. now in existence is about 350 A.D., but the Syriac and Latin Translations were made 150 A.D., and as to the Hebrew, the Septuagint version in Greek was made about 280 B.C., and the date of the oldest Hebrew MS. is about 800 A.D.

But in addition to MSS., the original Language, and the versions of an older date, we have a third store to draw upon, the quotations of the Early Fathers, who must have used MSS. earlier than any, which have survived to our time. Caution must be exercised, as quotations were often made from memory, for the good reason, that copies were not at hand on every table, as they are now, and there were no Chapters or Verses, or Concordances, to facilitate reference: anyone, who has examined a Synagogue-Roll, may be thankful, that he has not to copy quotations from it. This quotation from memory has its dangers:

Bishop Jeremy Taylor, of our own time, quotes a well-known Text nine times, only twice in the same form, and not once correctly.

Cap. III. Original Manuscripts of the Bible. Our Author treads here on difficult ground: the date of the Exodus, the date of the Earlier Books of the Old Testament, concerning both of which points there is a conflict of evidence and opinion.

Cap. IV. The Hebrew Text. Our Author gives an excellent account of the formation of the Text: he keeps clear of the Higher Criticism controversy: he, of course, rejects the old notion of the Canon of the Old Testament having been fixed by the so-called, but imaginary, Great Synagogue. No doubt the Canon insensibly grew, and the Law was recognized as inspired about 450 B.C., the Prophets about 300 B.C., and the Hagiographa about 100 B.C. Neither our Lord, nor Josephus, nor Philo, make one single quotation from the Apocryphal Books, a fact which must have weight in excluding them.

The old Hebrew Character was superseded about 100 B.C. by the well-known Square Character: the old Hebrew Language was never used as a Vernacular after the return from Babylon, but became a sacred, and liturgical Language. Both at Jamnia on Lake Tiberias, and at Babylon, there were great centres of Jewish Scholarship, which watched over the Hebrew Text. Then Aramaic Targums, or Translations, understood by the people, came into existence: we may suppose, that our Lord at Nazareth read from the Targum, and there addressed his hearers in Aramaic. To the Targum, or Translation, followed the Talmud, or explanation and commentary, culminating in the Massórah, the final stage of the Hebrew Text with the addition of vowel-points, and traditional commentary: no change was made in the Text, and even when it was clearly wrong, the Talmudists merely noted in the margin the superior Text, discriminating the two by the words *kri*, 'read,' and *khtb*, 'written.' The verses, words, and letters were numbered, and the middle word and letter of each sentence noted. This Massórah Text is still the oldest and standard Text of the Hebrew Bible; there is little variation, and all old copies were destroyed. The Massórah dates back to the seventh century, and represents a Text which had been in use 500 years: we may therefore be satisfied, that this Hebrew Text had been handed down without serious change since 100 A.D.

Cap. V. The Ancient Versions of the Old Testament. This important Chapter of 50 pages recapitulates the interesting story of the early versions: it is familiar ground to the Bible-Student, but is intensely interesting. The remarks upon the importance of the

Samaritan Manuscript of the Pentateuch are specially valuable. I have twice visited Nablús, at the interval of thirty-five years, and it is a sample of the stubborn persistence of lying legends, that I was told by the Priest, when he submitted in 1852 his famous Manuscript to myself, and Consul Finn of Jerusalem, that the copy was actually made by Eleazar the son of Aaron, and the true interpretation of "till Shiloh shall come" was "till Shaliman shall come," which proved according to him to be true, as the kingdoms of Israel and Judah parted after that King's Death. No Manuscript of the Samaritan Bible is older than the Tenth century A.D.

The remarks about the Septuagint are extremely important. Which represents the actual texts of the Old Testament, the Massórah or the Septuagint? Are the extraordinary differences between the two versions to be attributed to carelessness, or deliberate falsification? Our Author notices the early versions after the Christian era: (1) the Syriac, (2) the Koptic, (3) the Latin, (4) the Gothic of Ulfilas, (5) the Armenian, (6) the Arabic, (7) the Georgian, (8) the Slavonic. It is interesting to be reminded, that there was the same stupid opposition to the Vulgate of Jerome in the Fourth century A.D. as there is to the English Revised Version in the Nineteenth century A.D. Gradually superior accuracy and scholarship must gain the victory. Our Author reminds us, that the real and sole object of inquiry into ancient versions is to feel our way to the original Text of the Old Testament behind the Massórah of 100 A.D., and the Septuagint of 280 B.C.: what greater proof can there be of the essential Humanity of the Book, than in the manifold discrepancies of the Text? Fortunately, these discrepancies do not touch any of the fundamental teachings of the Old Testament. Still, it is as well to recollect, that if our Lord had appeared in this century, every act of His life, and every word that He uttered, would have been recorded with faultless accuracy; but we cannot expect such safeguards in 800 B.C., which is the oldest date, that can be safely assigned to Alphabetical writing, or the centuries after the Christian era.

In Cap. VI we have to consider the Text of the New Testament, and pass from obscurity into a region of comparative light: our oldest Manuscript reaches to within 250 years of the date of the composition of the Book. We have good reason for believing that all the Books of the New Testament were written within the space of half a century, 50 A.D. to 100 A.D.; all the Books were separate writings, with no idea of their being combined into one collection. Only gradually was this collection made by authority. Our Author goes over the whole subject in great detail; it is not necessary to follow him, as the ground has been so frequently traversed, although, if any persons are not familiar with the advance of criticism of the New Testament, they are recommended carefully to study this

Chapter. In an appendix to this Chapter is a note on the chief printed Editions of the New Testament, beginning with those of Erasmus, Ximénes, Stephanus, and Beza, between 1515 A.D. and 1611 A.D.

Cap. VII goes over, at great length, the equally familiar ground of the "Manuscripts of the New Testament," with beautiful facsimiles of a page of each of the most celebrated Codices: the questions, which still remain to be finally settled, are calmly discussed: there are great scholars on both sides of each contention. I quote his last words: "Each one of these Manuscripts
 " is not a common Book, such as machinery turns out in hundreds
 " every day in these later times; but it was written by the
 " personal labour, and sanctified by the prayers, of the Egyptian
 " or Syriac Christians of the early days, some Greek or Latin
 " monk of the Middle Ages working in the writing-room of some
 " great Monastery of Eastern or Western Europe. From the
 " comparison of all, from the weighing, not the mere counting,
 " of their testimony, slowly is being built up a purer and more
 " accurate Text than our forefathers possessed, and we are brought
 " nearer to the very words, which Evangelist and Apostle wrote
 " nearly eighteen hundred years ago."

After this, will any stupid class of readers cling to old and inferior Translations, based on corrupt Texts, merely because their grandmothers used them a century ago, or because they used an old Bible in their childhood?

In Cap. VIII the Author treats in detail of the early versions, from the day of Pentecost to the Latin Vulgate, giving the history and facsimile of a page of each. There were certain words used in the Acts, ii, 5, as to those who were present on the day of Pentecost, "devout men out of every nation under Heaven," followed by a detail of those Nations, whose territories occupy only a very small portion of the Globe. Surely such expressions are very Human indeed, and the Languages, to which the Scriptures have been committed, are exceedingly Human, the creatures of men's brains, and the forms of Script, differing in each Language, are still more Human, the vagary of men's hands, both Language and Script in course of centuries dying, and being replaced by younger Languages, and new forms of writing; and, moreover, in each version there are substantial discrepancies, as the ideas contributed by the writers to one Language were transferred to another by incompetent persons. Why was the *im súf*, 'the sea of weeds,' in the Hebrew, transformed into the Erythrean Sea in the Septuagint Greek, and its followers, creating a Geographical difficulty? A certain amount of Scholarship, and familiarity with the details of Language and Written Character, are required to enjoy this Chapter, and yet it is very enjoyable.

Cap. IX, the Latin Vulgate in the Middle Ages; Cap. X, the English Manuscript Bibles; Cap. XI, the English Printed Bible, including the Revised Version, were necessary to exhaust the subject, which our Author had undertaken to treat, but require no remarks, as all thoughtful students of the Bible are familiar so far with the History of the Book, which they use daily.

I loathe the goody-goody flattery of the Bible by ignorant fanatics: the Sikhs sing the same song to the same tune as regards their really interesting Book, "The Granths of Baba Nának and Guru Govind." I detest the blind abuse and depreciation of the wonderful survivals of the Genius and Goodness of past generations of Men. I quite admit, that the World would be poorer, if Plato, Zoroaster, Confucius, Buddha, and the Hindu sages, had not thought out great Problems and committed their pure, holy, lofty thoughts to paper. There has been a Providence in the matter: the Holy Spirit can take care of its own productions. Think of the survival of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Alexandrine Septuagint: had the Jews of our Lord's time desired to manipulate their Book (though there is no proof that they did desire to do so), they were checked by these two versions. Think how the New Testament was hedged round by Manuscript Versions, and Quotations: that the Apocryphal Books were never once quoted, is a great fact, and puts them out of Court.

I do not place so much value as some do, on the enormous number of Uncial and Cursive Manuscripts: they are calculated to multiply error: an engraved tablet like that of Darius at Bisutún, and Asóka in India, centuries before Christ, or the bricks of Babylon, and the Papyri or Stelé of Egypt, would, from a literary point of view, have been more valuable. Nothing in the way of Inscription has come down to us from the Hebrew Nation; in fact, they were an ignorant and inferior race, compared to those who surrounded them, at all times of their existence before the Christian era: they are not so now.

Nor is it wise to contrast in favour of the Hebrew Poets their Language, and expression, and style, with the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, Authors, for to those, who know all four, it is clear, that the Semitic Authors cannot stand comparison with the three great Arian Languages in the plenitude of their multiform, and melodious beauty. That is not the strong side of the Hebrew Prophets, and post-Exilic writers. Fortunately the New Testament has come to us in Greek, not always Grammatical Greek (see Revelations, i, 5): it is all very well for Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln to attribute eccentric word and sentence building to "the Grammar of Inspiration," but that will not gain currency any more than to say that two and two making five is the Arithmetic of Inspiration. Still, in the hands of a competent writer such as Luke, the Gentile convert, Greek is worthy of the great subject, and the subject is

worthy of the great Language, and the two first Chapters of the Gospel of Luke will hold their place linguistically by the side of any passage of any Greek Author.

Let us consider the wonderful Historical Crisis at the time, when the Old and New Testaments were made known to the Western World. Greece had said her last word in Philosophy; Rome had conquered her last Province; but there was a movement of Nations, "a sound of a going" in the forests of Europe; and the Kelts, the Teutons, and the Slavs, were on the warpath moving Westward, and from that day to the present they have never ceased to move, and to their infant Languages, just in the course of being committed to writing, the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures were confided, to become the great staple of the greatest Literature that ever existed.

Let us also consider the Geographical aspect, and reflect on the great Controlling Mind, that regulated the contact of new Nations with old ones. As a fact, on the Map of Asia and Europe a Semitic enclave had settled betwixt the great Gracco-Latin, and the Perso-Indian races, both of whom spoke Languages of the Arian Families, and betwixt whose Religions there was affinity. And in that Semitic enclave were the germs of the Christian Dispensation, which owing to the contiguity of the Greek and Roman populations, and the receptivity of these two great races, spread Westward, and not, as might have been expected, Eastward into Arabic Provinces occupied by Semitic races. But supposing that this Semitic enclave had not existed, or that all the Hebrew tribes had disappeared in Babylon, and the great races of Persia and India, with their great literary treasure of Philosophy, and Wisdom, and Religion, had been contiguous to the Greek and Roman races, would they not have imbibed the doctrines of Zoroaster, the Hindu Sages, and Buddha, and developed by the contact a totally different Religious Conception? As a fact, the Worship of Isis from Egypt, and the Doctrines of Manes from Persia, did struggle for victory with the new Semitic idea of "Jesus and the Resurrection," which Paul preached in the market at Athens to the astonished Epicureans and Stoics: and the Latin Inscriptions found in the great Roman wall of Northumberland record the Religious ideas of the Roman Legion stationed there for a long period, on the tombstones of the soldiers, their wives, and their children; and we read, that in the British Isles the Sun-god Mithra, the Egyptian Deity Serapis, the Syrian Astarte, the Phoenician Hercules, and the Divine Mother, and the ancient gods of Rome, were worshipped, and trusted to, on dying beds.

In 1,900 B.C., the first Dispensation commenced with Abraham, and lasted until the Christian era: it appears to have failed in its object in creating a peculiar people, faithful to their own Jehovah, and zealous of good works, if we read aright the deep condemnation passed on the Hebrew Priests and Scribes by the great Founder of

the Second Dispensation, which has now lasted 1,900 years, and is spreading over the World, carrying with it those Scriptures, which are the subject of the Book which I have now passed under notice.

July, 1897.

IV.

“THE BIBLE IN THE LIGHT OF TO-DAY.” By DR. CROSLEGH.

THIS book was published in 1896 by the S.P.C.K., and is of a very attractive appearance. The Author apparently wishes, in his Preface, to stand betwixt the extreme right and extreme left: one party (page 10) considers that “the Bible was called into existence in the form, in which we have it in our hands, by the creative fiat of God’s Command, and must therefore be judged by a standard altogether different from that, which we use in criticizing other writings.” This is just the view, which the Hindu has of the Veda, an extremely ancient book of uncertain date, and which the Mahometan has of the Korán, a comparatively modern book of a certain date. In fact, such an opinion is that of an uncritical ignorant fanatic. Our Author writes (page 8) that “the Christian advocate has no right to take for granted, that the Bible stands by itself, unique, unlike to others.” The opposite party has gone to the other extreme, and lays down as an axiom that, “whenever they meet any trace of the supernatural, it must be at once rejected as being necessarily unhistorical.”

Our Author lays down the following excellent rule, that “the inquirer must proceed on the footsteps of that criticism, which is common to all Scholarship: he confesses, that he finds himself at a loss to understand on what grounds it has so often been assumed, that we are bound to receive the Bible as being the *bearer of a divine message to us wholly, so to say, upon trust.*” He would encourage, therefore, “the fullest use of all the powers, which God has given us, to ascertain on what grounds they are to regard the Bible as entitled to demand from us nothing less than spiritual submission; we are bound to accept with gratefulness whatever light the increase of Human Knowledge may be able to throw upon the subject.”

Above all things, our Author maintains that he seeks for Truth: that there are Human blemishes in the Bible, he admits; if we pretended to ourselves that *facts are, as they clearly are not*, then we are deceiving ourselves: no untruth can possibly avail the defender long.

This Preface leads us to expect, that the subject will be discussed with a judicial mind. Our treasure is in earthen vessels; he, who loves the Divine Library, will not be satisfied with a perfunctory reading of favourite passages, but study the whole, Book by Book, in the original Languages, apply the Lower Criticism to the Text, the Higher Criticism to the meaning of the Text; he must do this with an open mind, and some amount of critical experience, for, after all, what is traced by a pen held by the hand of man, on paper or vellum, is essentially Human.

The Book is divided into Three Parts:

- I. The Growth of the Bible: Historical Sketch.
- II. Review of the Evidence showing the Bible to be from God.
- III. Answer to Objections.

Part I has Four Chapters:

1. Introductory, on Manuscripts: *the Material*.
2. How did the several writings which compose our Bible, come to be collected into one volume? *the History*.
3. Are the Books, which we have, the same as those originally included in the Canons of the Old and New Testaments? *the Identity*.
4. Have the Texts been faithfully preserved? *the Text*.

Cap. I. The Material.

The Divine Library, as we have it, is a Translation from three Languages, Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek: the Authorized Version is dated A.D. 1611; the Revised Version, A.D. 1881. The originals have been lost for many centuries: the Translators of the Authorized Version had access to but a small quantity of the materials available for the Revised Version. The Hebrew MSS. of earliest date is only 800 A.D.; the Greek go back to the Fourth century A.D. There are 107 Greek uncials, and 2,800 cursives, but all are not of the *whole* New Testament. The first printed Edition of the Hebrew was 1484 A.D., and of the Greek 1506 A.D.

Cap. II. The History.

The very name shows, that it is not one Book. Jerome used the collective title "Divine Library"; Greek writers called it *Biblia*, 'the Books': the plural neuter noun was unfortunately deemed to be a feminine singular, and the word 'Bible' came into existence. There is conclusive evidence, that the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures has not come down to us: Books are quoted, of which we know only the name. The formation of the Hebrew

Canon is involved in obscurity: the Hebrews divided it into the Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa: after the return of the Captivity (say 450 B.C.), the Canon of the Law was fixed and read in public Worship: the Canon of the Prophets was fixed about the close of the Second century B.C.; the Hagiographa still later: the number of Books was 24.

The Author at page 81 comes to the conclusion, that nothing is known as to by whom, when, or where, the Canon of the Old Testament was made up: in fact, it grew: clearly some amount of literature was rejected; some was admitted under doubt; about the remainder there has been general and uninterrupted consent. A Hebrew Synod was held at Jamnia, in Palestine, 90 A.D., in which the existing Hebrew Books were accepted, and no dispute has arisen since. Fortunately the Christian Annals do not assert the right of any other Books. It must never be forgotten, that the Septuagint Greek differs materially from the Masoretic Hebrew. Take one instance: the wife of Job (cap. ii, v. 9) seems to speak like a foolish woman in the Hebrew text, but the Septuagint puts another verse into her mouth, which alters our opinion of her character: she may be wrong-headed, but at any rate not foolish.

As to the New Testament, our Author remarks, that by the close of the Second century A.D. it was accepted by the Churches, as it is now, with the exception of the Epistles of James, Jude, 2nd Peter, 2nd and 3rd of John, and the Revelation. But just as certain Books had to be rejected from the Sacred Library of the Old Testament, and placed in a separate class, so it was with the New Testament: but these rejected Books, such as the Shepherd of Hermas and the Epistle of Barnabas, clung to the more fortunate Books. The Canon of the New Testament was the result of gradual usage on the part of very uncritical Churches: it was a very Human process indeed: there was no thunder or lightning from Mount Sinai to introduce the New Dispensation: the recipients were not runaway, ignorant slaves, but the cultured subjects of the Roman Empire: the universality of the Dispensation, the wondrous nature of the precepts given, the precepts of Humanity, Peace, Love, Altruism, and the Hope of Future Life hereafter, triumphed by their own innate vitality, and suitability to the wants of all mankind.

Cap. III. The Identity.

We wonder why there is any doubt on this subject, but the fact is, that the Christians of the two first centuries were neither wise, nor learned: they resembled, as regards intellectual Culture, very much our converts in India, taken for the most part from the lower classes of the Community. Moreover, the immediate return of our Lord, and a mighty change of all things, had been impressed upon

them, and it was a matter to them of little importance to collect, and solidify for all time, the Divine Library. The Epistles are of the date of the earliest Christianity, and earlier than the Gospels. The disputed Books are of no vital consequence to Christian Truth. Of most of Paul's Epistles there is no doubt at all, and we can gather from them the great familiar facts of the New Dispensation, before the Gospels were written. About these Gospels there are two opinions. Some place their date at the end of the Second century A.D. Our Author goes over at length the whole of the argument for the authorship of the Gospels: it looks, as if they were copies, or enlargements, of earlier oral traditions, which had expanded gradually into written treatises: these earlier mouth-to-mouth traditions had crystallized into certain forms, but there is a fatal tendency in repetition to new hearers to make enlargements of the story, and written statements became necessary, not only to keep alive facts, but to keep down accretions, so-called improvements, and downright fictions: we have evidence of this every day on Missionary Platforms, how a story grows, handed from mouth to mouth by uncritical speakers or writers.

Cap. IV. The Text.

Our Author goes over with care the pedigree of the several MSS. in the original Languages, versions, and quotations. It is not a new subject, but new strength is added periodically to the argument: I write from a scientific point of view, not a theological; no further remarks are required on this Chapter, and this closes Part I.

There is one point to which the Author does not allude. When we read the Epistles, we feel, or our literary conscience feels, that whatever be their Theology, they have the outside form of serious hortatory letters such as a spiritual overseer would address to his absent flock. The Acts of the Apostles satisfy the ordinary critic, that they are the narration of ordinary events, or events such as they were recorded at the time: the latter part of the Acts is a *bonâ-fide* Daily Journal: they might have been written in this century. But what shall we say of the four Gospels? They have the strong flavour of a legendary age. Dreams, heavenly voices, thunders, prophecy, visions, resuscitation of dead bodies from the grave, occur as a matter of course, and never occur in later centuries, or are discredited. We set aside all Christ's miracles from this argument, as being Himself God, it is clear, that the Laws of Nature were subject to our Lord's wish when expressed, and, if we believe Him, we believe this.

At the same time, the structure of the Gospels postulates the necessity of the writers being thoroughgoing and spiritual students of the Hebrew Scriptures, Books not to be got at at that time in

private life, written in a dead Language, the Manuscripts engrossed in a style difficult to decipher: yet Matthew, a collector of petty tolls on Lake Tiberias, Mark, a young man, an amanuensis, and companion of Peter, Luke, a Gentile Heathen converted in manhood, and John, a Fisherman, are credited with the capacity to select from the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, and to quote all the Prophecies relating to the smallest details, with one only misquotation: let anyone read the chapters of the Old Testament, in which such prophecies are imbedded, as “they parted His garments,” “they shall look on Him whom they pierced,” “out of Egypt have I called My Son,” and wonder how these unlettered persons arrived at such wonderful power of appreciation and selection.

It seems to me that a great deal of quiet study and deep scholarship, consultation with others, and a spiritual appreciation of passages of ancient MS., must have been necessary to compose these Evidential Essays, which would have been quite lost in oral preaching to ignorant Jews. I cannot but think, that either the Gospels must have been reduced to their present form in the Second century A.D., by some pious scholar, or that the quotations from the Old Testament were written by some pious scholar on the margin of the original Text, and introduced into the Text after a considerable interval: the very phrase, “and all this was done, that the Scriptures of the Prophets might be fulfilled” (Matt. xxvi, 56), has the ring of an unworldly ecclesiastic poring over MS. in his secluded cell, not of an eye-witness, a simple business-man, who collected copper coins from the people, using the boats on an inland lake: he saw the things happen: they were indeed foretold, but it is an unnatural idea, and an unworthy one, that they took place *because they were foretold*: the facts took place after the prophecy *post hoc*, but not to maintain the character of the prophet *propter hoc*. This is a Pagan view of the Government of God.

Another argument, however, in favour of an early date for the Gospels, is that, if they were the deliberate outcome of studious Christians of the second or third generation after Conversion, all allusion to the abnormal occurrences, such as the dream of the Magi, the dream of Joseph, etc., as alluded to above, would have disappeared, as being out of touch with an enlightened European age. In the Gospel of John we find no allusion to “casting out of devils,” nor in any of the Books except the Synoptics. The unclean spirits, alluded to in the Acts, come under a different category.

PART II.

Review of the Evidence showing the Bible to be from God.

There are Six Chapters :

- I. The attestation of Divine Authority of the Bible *by the Church.*
- II. Claims to Divine Authority found *in the Bible itself.*
- III. This claim confirmed by examination of the *subject-matter*
- IV. The Bible has its *witness in itself.*
- V. The Bible has borne *more than Human fruits.*
- VI. Meaning of the phrase, "*the Bible is from God.*"

Cap. I. Attestation by the Church.

Here I am constrained to part company with the Author. His Book is entitled, "The Bible in the *Light of To-day*": this Part is worthy of last century. He leaves the arena of Judicial impartiality, and rests his argument for the Bible on the testimony of a body called "the Church." The Church of Rome believes legends, and doctrines, which we have the grace to reject. She cries out, "*Semper, ubique, ab omnibus,*" to the Immaculate Conception, and the Papal Infallibility. Where are we to draw a line?

So the Mahometan states, without doubt, that every line of his Korán was written in Heaven; the Hindu claims the same for the Veda; the Jew accepts the Old Testament, and scoffs at the New. It is clear, that, in a Judicial Court, such a witness could not be admitted: we should summarily reject the evidence of the Hindu and Mahometan; they are at liberty to believe anything themselves, but, if they wish to convince outsiders, it is of no use appealing to the evidence of themselves: the Church of Rome does that, and we laugh at its claim. Our author (p. 104) admits, that no Council ever determined the authenticity of the Bible. None of the early Fathers wrote an Essay on the subject; it cannot be asserted, that, because it was never questioned at that period, it is unassailable now. As to the argument, that in the time of the Decian persecution, A.D. 303, many Christians died rather than give up their Books, a Hindu and Mahometan would do the same.

The Author says, that the Bible alone has the stamp of divine authority, as witnessed by the Church; but the Hindu and Mahometan, Parsi and Buddhist, assert the same thing: it is a mere matter of Faith, Πίστις, Imán, Biswas. The Author lays stress on

the reading aloud of the Bible in the places of public Worship: how little we should know of the Bible, if we only heard four Chapters each week? Besides, it was usually read in a Language not intelligible to the people: even now how little is known of the Bible by the majority of Christians! Stress is laid on portions committed to memory: the Brahmin repeats large portions of the Veda, the Mahometan the whole Korán; they do not understand one word; did the Christians understand what they learned?

It really appears, as if we had traces of another hand at work in this Chapter, to suit the requirements of the Religious Society, which undertook to publish the work. Higher Critics would detect the authors: I quote the last paragraph to show the real authors who speak thus:

“ On the authority of the Church we receive the Bible as
 “ Divine: but this does not mean that acceptance of it is imposed
 “ by force, but that the Church preserves, attests, and accredits
 “ the Book, which appeals alike to head and heart, to mind and
 “ conscience.”

With this all will agree: we thank those, who have handed down the Book to our times, as we thank the copyist, and the maker of the vellum, but we do not place credit in the Book, because past generations professed to do so.

Cap. II. Claims found in the Bible itself.

The Author seems to give himself away by not keeping distinct the line betwixt Evidence and Faith. John and Peter were eye-witnesses, and we may firmly believe, that they honestly told what they saw or heard: this is evidence.

But in Paul's case everything with him was Faith, and up to the date of his assuming office as an Apostle we must take him on Faith. John, v, 31 contains our Lord's ruling: “ If I bear witness of myself, My witness is not true.” We accept Paul's writings and his speeches as evidence. Mahomet wrote just in the same way of himself, and Millions of his followers believe him by Faith: similar stories were told of Buddha, and hundreds of Millions believe it.

We cannot give in our adherence to the following bold assertion, page 118: “ If the writers in the Bible were honest men, believed
 “ what they wrote, and were capable of knowing whether they had
 “ authority or not for the statements which they made, we must
 “ believe, that God did communicate to them truths, which the
 “ Human mind is altogether incapable of discovering by the utmost
 “ exercise of its highest powers.” The Romish Church would say
 “ Ignatius Loyola was an honest man: he declared that he worked
 miracles: therefore we must believe the truth of his miracles.”

Turning to the Old Testament: can we be sure of the dates and authors of any Book before the time of Hosea, when writing in

Alphabetic character commenced? until we are sure, how can those Books be accepted as evidence? The words "Thus saith the Lord" occur more than 100 times: it was the pious feeling of the writer, but it is not evidence. Such phrases occur everywhere in Heathen Poetry and Prose; they must be accepted by Faith. Our Author (p. 119) draws back "from the disastrous conclusions as to "the nature and extent of the Divine Inspiration of the Bible "which some have drawn. In the cause of Truth it is impossible "to be too careful." I have heard a Vicar in a great London Church declare that it must be true, because the words "the Lord said" occurred more than 100 times.

No doubt the New Testament continually refers to the Old Testament, and according to our Author "the New Testament "writers gave to passages of the Old Testament, which they quote, "a depth and fulness of meaning, which was never grasped by the "men who uttered them, or by the men to whom they were "addressed." Some of the Early Fathers carried the notion of several distinct meanings of passages in the Old Testament to an extreme length. Some err on the other side, and take poetic phrases *au pied de lettre*.

It is true that our Lord bears ample testimony to the Old Testament: "It is easier for Heaven and Earth to pass, than one tittle of the Law to fail" (Luke, xvi, 17), and yet within a quarter of a century of His Ascension, by an *ipse dixit* of Paul, Circumcision had been abolished; and within forty years Sacrifice had ceased with the destruction of the Temple, the day of the Sabbath was changed from the seventh to the first, a new era commenced, and a new Dispensation was founded.

Cap. III. Subject-matter of the Bible.

It is of no use following our Author into detail: I cannot agree with him. The contrast, which he makes of the Old Testament with other ancient Histories, is quite that of a partizan: he has clearly only imperfectly read, if he has read at all, the Sacred Books of the East: he asserts (p. 134), that the Old Testament alone among ancient writings "maintains throughout the relative proportion of events": and yet we find the possibilities of the Human race in its hundreds of Millions limited to one petty tribe of the Hebrews, the subjects alternately of the Sovereigns of Egypt and Mesopotamia. God only cared for them according to these notions: the rest of the World was treated as dirt, and, because they would not submit to a degrading mutilation of the male body, were twitted as uncircumcised. The discipline, to which the Hebrews were justly subjected, is described (p. 138) as the Education of the Human race: what will the people of India and China in their 600 Millions say, when they hear this? At p. 144 the teaching of

the Prophets is described as teaching to a *World*, instead of the few thousands of the Kingdom of Judah. Surely there is a want of proportion here.

Cap. IV. The Witness in itself.

I have no remarks to make.

Cap. V. More than Human fruits.

To an ordinary English congregation, or a Sunday-school-class, this Chapter may be edifying: it seems idle boasting: those, who know something of the Courts of Justice and Police, in the great cities of Asia, must admit that there is no such exhibition of drunkenness, immorality, money-grabbing, and contempt of Religion, as in Christian London, after thirteen centuries of the Gospel. In some parts of London a Religious weekly remarked, that Christianity was out of possession. Are worldly prosperity, National greatness (pp. 178-9), and luxurious living, tests of Religion? I think of the cruelty of the British, not of the Army, or the Government, but of self-asserting Companies to the poor Natives of Africa, South of the Equator, slaughtered in order to increase dividends: wholesale robbery and murder. Surely it is better, while discussing the Bible, to try to forget, that the British, in dealing with inoffensive subject-races, are following the example of the Hebrew in their treatment of the tribes, whom they found in Palestine.

Our Author remarks (p. 188), "That there have been multitudes, and still are, to whom the Bible has been little more than a fetish." Members of the Church of Rome, when charged with Mariolatry, throw back the charge of Bibliolatry. Really it was scarcely necessary to record the names of Lord Chancellors, who have appreciated the Bible at its full value; but this is empty laudation, for a long row of distinguished men could be quoted, who did not care for the Bible, or live after its precepts; a Chapter like this might well be omitted from a serious Book.

Cap. VI. The Bible is from God.

I quote with satisfaction the following (p. 197): "We need not deny, that God has at all times vouchsafed to other Nations of mankind, besides the chosen people, some revelations of Religious Knowledge; and whatever is found in the Sacred Books of other Religions to make for the cause of Divine Truth in the World, being as it were the utterance of the voice of God in conscience, must be referred to the one Eternal Law of all Truth."

I thank the Author for these words: he and many other great Preachers and Writers have come out of the fortress of ignorance,

and learned to justify the ways of God to man, and to find traces of His work in all the ages, and in all races of mankind; for all are His poor creatures: He made them, and hated nothing that He had made, and Christ died for all mankind. Moreover, every good gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights; and who can deny the possession of a good and perfect gift to Plato, and Marcus Aurelius, and Cicero, and Buddha, and Zoroaster, and Confucius, and the Hindu Sages?

I am entirely with the Author at page 202. In our fond jealousy for the honour of the Bible some insist "that every communication of the Divine will recorded in it must have been made in a manner altogether unknown to our common experience, and that God cannot act without a Miracle." The remarks in the following pages are very judicious, supported as they are by quotations from the Bible: the preservation of a man through a long, simple, uneventful, life comes as directly from the Hand of God as a special deliverance in the hour of danger: in Him we live, and move, and have our being: that includes all.

The Author justly remarks, that when writers treat of spiritual facts, they are obliged to describe them in Language framed to meet the needs of our material surroundings (p. 212): (1) anthropomorphic expressions; (2) peculiar imagery, alien to our ordinary modes of thought; (3) hyperbole, such as comparing the number of a people to the sands of the seashore, or stars of the heavens; (4) such phrases as "God speaketh," "God hears prayer" (p. 214).

On the subject of spiritual evolution or development (p. 225), the Author is very clear: "Earlier generations of men had no clear perception of the continuity of Divine operation in the spiritual World. It was reserved for modern thought to discern, that God's method is not by fitful, independent, successive exertions of power, but by a process of unbroken continuous progress." Knowledge advances, and the intellect of men in things Spiritual, as well as material, advances with the progress of the Sun. The conceptions of stupid grovelling Idolatry, Witchcraft, Human Sacrifice, Oracles, Heavenly appearances, Miracles, are impossible now, and we have to face the facts, that all these phenomena are familiar to us in the Old and New Testaments; on the other hand, in the direct Idolatrous sense the first Commandment of the Decalogue has ceased to be required. No one now believes, that there is any god but *the God*: the Brahmin and the Papist tell you that in bowing to a stone, or a picture, their Worship is to that Deity, whom the material represents: of course, the Idol of the World, of the Home, the Market-place, the Den, the particular Church, or favourite Minister, even of the Bible, in its material Human form, often with weak minds stands betwixt a man's Soul and the first great Cause, the Saviour, and the Holy Spirit.

PART III.

Answers to Objections.

This Part is peculiarly instructive ; it consists of seven chapters :

- I. The marks of *faultiness* in the Bible.
- II. The untrustworthiness of the History in the Bible.
- III. The non-agreement of the Bible with Physical Science.
- IV. Portions are repulsive to the Moral Sense.
- V. Criticism has demolished the traditional dates, and names of authors.
- VI. The admitted presence of error is inconsistent with the claims to Divine Authority.
- VII. The Bible cannot be the guide of life to men, unless it is infallible.

All these objections are supposed to prove, that the Bible cannot be from God. The question is fairly stated, and the Author replies *seriatim*.

Cap. I. There are unquestionably Human faults in the Text, and there is no reason to expect absolute immunity from Human errors in Human writings (p. 243). It is rank Bibliolatry to assert the contrary : the Hindu may do so as regards the Veda, and the Mahometan as regards the Korán ; but there is no assertion of freedom from Human imperfection made by the Councils of the Christian Church, either as regards the structure of the Book, or the relation of the Divine element unquestionably contained in it to the Human element, which presents itself to the eye, ear, and understanding. A careful examination reveals the fact, that in the Text we find hyperbole, grammatical errors, barbarisms, indecent expressions, discrepancies between different parts (p. 246), slips of memory, and incorrect order of events. There are variant readings, and we are not at liberty to conceive, that the Bible is an engraved tablet come down from Heaven. The writers were independent, and personally accountable for what they wrote. Our author (p. 258) goes further, and finds errors in the discourses imputed to our Lord (p. 258) ; quotations are inaccurate, or at any rate disagreeing in different writers (p. 260) ; one quotation of the Old Testament is made in five different forms (p. 264) : could the writers have each considered their form of quotation as divinely dictated, *alias* verbally inspired ? Let us consider the six classes of variations in the Text, the so-called inspired Text : (1) different readings due to traceable causes, the resemblance of two letters, a slip of the pen, etc. ;

(2) transpositions; (3) omissions; (4) additions; (5) paraphrases; (6) chronological discrepancies. It is impossible to determine with certainty, whether our Lord quoted the Aramaic Targum or the Greek Septuagint: in one case only we have the *ipsissima verba*, the quotation from Psalm xxii. The Evangelists seem to have disregarded verbal accuracy (p. 277): we find instances of ambiguity and inaccuracy, both of which are the results and evidence of Human weakness, but the absence of verbal accuracy is in no way inconsistent with its coming from God (p. 285).

Cap. II. I cannot agree with the Author in his estimation of the History of the Hebrew Nation as given in the Old Testament. He would place it as unique among the Annals of Nations. It is true, that the picture drawn by the Hebrew Historian of his own people is an unattractive and unpleasant one: a deadly enemy could not have written more severely, but I cannot see that it is better or worse than the Histories of other contemporary Nations, or that it is more or less trustworthy.

Cap. III. The Physical Science argument has been so fully discussed elsewhere, that it is unnecessary to notice it.

Cap. IV. I am compelled totally to dissent from the remarks of the Author in this Chapter. Morality may differ *in practice* at different Epochs, and in different environments, but *in the abstract* it must be the same: the slaughter and plunder of the Canaanites by the Hebrews, who themselves had only just escaped from bondage, can never be justified: when the same misfortunes fell on themselves, they loudly complained of the injustice. It is difficult to say, in what particulars the Canaanites were worse than the Hebrews; at any rate, they had never been taught the Sixth and Eighth Commandments, and the Hebrews knew, that their conduct was forbidden, and they had deliberately sinned, while they ought to have known better.

Cap. V. With the remarks of our Author in this Chapter I heartily agree; but Higher Criticism has been fully discussed elsewhere: the opponents of Higher Criticism seem to prefer darkness to light.

Cap. VI. Our Author's remarks in this Chapter on the subject of the lax use of the term "the Word of God" (pp. 394, 395), and "Inspired by God" (p. 397), are excellent. Immunity from all possibility of errors is not claimed for the writers. In the time of our Lord, Hebrew was a dead Language, and the Scriptures were only known to Palestinian Jews in the Aramaic Targum, and to the Jews of the Diasporà in the Greek Septuagint, both

Translations. It creates unnecessary difficulties to make the life of Christianity depend on the genuineness of every Book, and every passage.

The New Testament was written in Greek, not the Language spoken by our Lord and His Disciples. It is not accurate to call the Bible the "Word of God": the word *Λόγος Θεού* occurs in the New Testament thirty-nine times in all: it is used twenty-six times to signify the Gospel-Message; six times of our Lord Himself; four times in a sense, which may be interpreted either of the Message, or our Lord; and three times only of the Old Testament. It is *never once applied to the whole Bible*. It has been suggested, that we should substitute for the "Word of God," the phrase "the Word of God mediated by Human Instrumentality" (Professor Driver's Sermons), which is probably the sense, in which most persons, who think at all, use the phrase at the present day. George Fox, of the Society of Friends, steadily refused to call the Bible "the Word of God": he saw the dangerous consequences, which would follow from that ambiguous title. The Mahometan calls the Korán "Kalam Ullah," the Word of God, and he means what he says, for he believes, that the pages of the Book written in the Arabic Characters by the Divine Hand were brought down from Heaven. Now Christians do not give credence to such tales with regard to their Treasure, which is in earthen vessels. Similarly, the words "Inspired by God" (*θεόπνευστος*) are greatly misunderstood, and exposed to gross exaggeration. That Greek word only occurs once in the Bible (II Timothy, iii, 16): II Peter, i, 21, gives us a similar idea. Men spoke from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost: *ὑπὸ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου φερόμενοι*. This might apply to Holy men of our own day also. We cannot in reason deny, that men of rare intellectual gifts, such as Dante and Milton, were "inspired." In our prayers we ask, each of us, the humblest, that "our thoughts may be cleansed by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit."

The men and women of the Bible are not represented to us as faultless persons: quite the contrary. The Chronicler is very hard on many, recording their weaknesses, and frailties, over which a modern biographer would have cast a veil: it cannot be, as sometimes asserted, for our benefit, as the offences are not such, as could be committed in the later centuries, such as the profligacy of David and Solomon, all allusion to which is omitted in the Book of Chronicles, though detailed in the Book of Kings: such again, as the cold-blooded perfidy of Jael, the cruelty of Jehu, and Elijah, acts which met with the approbation of the Chronicler, on account of the cause of them, but which the greatest Moral offender could not justify now.

God sends us the Light of His Divine Truth through a Human medium, an imperfect medium of sentences, words, and letters

liable to every kind of intentional or casual errors, but that light is transmitted to us sufficiently for all our needs, if we seek that light humbly, prayerfully, and with open minds, as we should in any Human matter.

Cap. VII. The Bible cannot be the guide of life to men, unless it be infallible.

This objection differs in nature from those, which we have already considered. Our Author (page 457) puts the case neatly. The constant proneness of poor weak man to provide himself with substitutes for God, is one of the cardinal facts in the History of Religion. That History records the manifold ways, in which man has fashioned himself idols, which he sets in God's seat. Idolatry pure and simple is out of date, but, in subtler guise, it lurks in Human hearts. Sometimes in the form of an infallible Apostolic Church: "*Semper, ubique, ab omnibus.*" Sometimes an infallible Pope; sometimes Ritual and the Sacraments; and sometimes in Bibliolatry, or a perfectly infallible Book. Canon Burgon writes: "The Bible is none other than the Voice of Him, that sitteth on the Throne: in every Book, every Chapter, every verse, every word is the direct utterance of the Most High: not some part of it more, and some part less, but all alike is the Word of God." It is said of Bishop Lee, that he considered every word of the English Authorized Version inspired, and an absolute belief in it to be necessary to Salvation, as in every particular whether History, Chronology, Geography, or Physical Science the Book is infallibly accurate. Unopened, unread, misunderstood, the modern popular view is, that it is a kind of bag full of infallible Texts, to be drawn out as occasion requires, either to support our own favourite preconceptions, or for the discomfiture of those, who differ from us. This may seem an extravagant statement, but it represents a view held unconsciously by simple-minded, earnest, sincere Christians. It is our duty not to make a fetish of the Bible, but to seek after God through His written Book, and His Works that surround us, and apply all the talents, which He has lent to us, to this high purpose. The mind of the present generation is alarmed by a succession of intellectual convulsions, which have laid in ruins imposing theories, built up in an age less fully instructed; but Eternal Truth is unmoved. We can imagine good and holy men, at the time of the Reformation, equally shocked at the idea of the Papal System being questioned: it is the prerogative of each century to try and approach nearer and nearer to absolute Truth.

A brief Concluding Chapter closes this valuable Book. A feeling comes over the reader, that there are two hands at work in this

compilation, or at least that the Author lags behind in certain points of view of this many-sided subject, or has allowed the interference of those, who pay for the publication. No doubt, it is a very great advance, and it is to be hoped, that many thoughtful men will read it, *not once only*, and think over it. There comes a time in the history of Mankind, when old intellectual positions must be reconsidered: the Truth must be sought out even at the sacrifice of many prejudices. The easygoing views of the last generation, on many subjects, will not stand the strong light thrown upon them by men equally devout, but more learned, equally jealous in the cause of the Gospel, and jealous of the reputation of our Book, which we are scattering in Millions of copies, and hundreds of versions, all over the world: a Book which has been the joy of my youth, and middle life, and my consolation in old age. How few can say that they have steadily read the Divine Library Book by Book, Chapter by Chapter, verse by verse, not once only, but repeatedly, not in one Language only, but in many!

July, 1897.

V.

“THE BIBLE: ITS MEANING AND SUPREMACY.” Dean Farrar, 1897.

THIS is a most remarkable Book, and well-timed. I had myself been gathering together materials for an Essay, or a series of Essays, on the subject of a *Via Media* in the view to be taken of the Hebrew and Christian Sacred Books, known as the Old and New Testament. I tried to find a just and discriminating position between the undue depreciation of these great venerable Writings, and the undue degradation of them into Fetishes. And this work has been done, and well done, by Dean Farrar. It consists of twenty-three Chapters, eighteen of which relate to the Meaning, and five to the Supremacy, of the Bible. Let us consider each Chapter separately. It has been my fate to break a lance with the Dean on the great questions of the Opium-Trade and Liquor-Traffic of British India, and I by no means belong to his School, yet I most entirely value his previous publications on several subjects, and especially this his latest work. There is a full Index, which in such a treatise as this is most important.

In the first page of his Introduction the Dean makes a just remark, that the Clergyman, who is constantly required to address numbers, *must not live in a fool's Paradise*. He must not ignore the difficulties, the great difficulties, of the Epoch, or must not try

to overwhelm them by vituperative phrases; he must not condemn as blasphemous the views of men as good and scholarly as himself, nor must he expect, that his dogmatic utterances are to be accepted by the laity as Gospel: he may perhaps still be on the intellectual and spiritual platform of thirty years ago, when he took Orders: the World has advanced, and he must recollect, that the Church loses its hold on the young educated class by being too dogmatic. One of those ruinous Dogmas is the belief in the supposed inerrancy and supernatural infallibility of every Book, sentence, word, Text, and Translation, of the Divine Library. The object of this Volume is to make known what earnest Christian lovers of the Bible are, and what they are *not*, prepared to maintain and defend. It is only Ignorance and Imposture, which shrink from the light of day. If it be argued, that the attempt to remove erroneous conceptions may disturb Faith, the reply is, that Faith is erroneous, which is built on error. Inspiration must not be confused with omniscience; we must not forget, that our priceless Divine Treasure is committed to the earthen vessels of Human modes of expression, Human forms of vocal utterance, Human methods of committing words to parchment and paper: error abounds in all these three phenomena.

Intolerance is an idea, that can no longer be allowed to exist amongst reasonable men on Spiritual matters. The Pulpit-oracle, and the old-fashioned writer, must go to school again, and learn their lesson anew. The fundamental Truths of Christianity are unalterable, but minor propositions, which Time and Ignorance have attached to them, must alter from age to age. The new development of Truths, which cause the opinions of true Christians to differ widely from age to age, are nothing less than a continuous Revelation.

The Dean lays stress on this, that it is no part of Christian Faith to maintain, that every word of the Bible was dictated supernaturally, or is free from all error, or on the loftiest level of Morality, as finally revealed (p. 15). Let the conservatives recollect, that there is a style of defence more perilous than the worst attack. We must not deify the interpretations of less well-informed generations, and attempt to enforce them on others. If we attribute to Scripture more than it can justly claim, we shall cause even those things, which it has most abundantly, to be less reverently esteemed.

Cap. I. We must not treat the Divine Library, which encloses the thoughts of men, spread over a period of one thousand years, as one Book. Each Book was written at its own period, for its own special object, by writers with very different qualifications, and degree of Knowledge. "The Bible is not one homogeneous Book, but a collection of Books gradually brought together"; and the formation of the Canon of both Testaments was left to the

ordinary influences of the Holy Spirit, and not to any external inspired authority. Men's thoughts grow wider with the progress of the sun: the sanction of Thunder and Lightning, which surrounded the supposed birth of the Pentateuch, was not deemed necessary in Post-Exilic Times. The way, in which the Canon of the two Testaments grew into their present shape, by the general consensus of Christians, is well known. The Scientific and Spiritual requirements of each age must be satisfied.

Cap. II. The Bible represents the remains of a much wider literature.

It seems a strong assertion, that both the Old and New Testaments *represent the selected and fragmentary remains of an extensive literature.* Four and a half centuries intervene between Malachi (420 A.D.) and the First Epistle to the Thessalonians (about 53 A.D.). The writers of the Old Testament quote from at least sixteen Books, which are lost: many of the Books of the Canon are anonymous, and two at least pseudonymous, i.e. attributed to writers, by whom it is not possible to believe, that they were composed. Higher Criticism has a word to say with regard to the composition of the Books of the Old Testament: it is impossible to get rid of such serious and legitimate inquiries by expressions of dogmatic ignorance. The line of reasoning adopted by the Church of Rome against all, who differ with them, is a curse: time has advanced: the Old Testament is a jewel in a setting of Human History, and must be judged by its surroundings.

The New Testament represents the extant, and accepted, portion of a much more extensive literature. This can be gathered from the statements made. Portions of the accepted Books have to be rejected from textual considerations. If our traditional views are liable to modification, which so many other Christian views undergo from age to age, this is no more, than we should expect from the entire method of God's economy. Men foolishly fight for their own mistakes, and misconceptions, forgetting, that the light of Human knowledge is for ever broadening, and that this light is from Heaven. We have to thank Mr. Gladstone for a sentence in his impregnable "Rock of Holy Scripture": "I embrace one of the great Canons of modern Criticism, that the Scriptures are to be treated like any other Book in the trial of their title."

Cap. III. The Bible combines immense variety with essential unity.

The Author boldly declares, that the contents of the Divine Library are not all of the same value, and not all of the same importance. Our Lord, in the New Testament, sets aside some of the distinct dicta of Moses. So do Peter and Paul. The Bible is not like the Korán, or Zend Avesta, the work of a single intellect,

but it furnishes us with the wisdom, and experience, of widely different ages : it is acceptable to all times, Nations, and conditions of Life : its deep Truths come from the common heart of mankind : its contents are exceedingly distinct from each other, as the Book was written by all sorts and conditions of men. We must bear in mind this diversity, if we wish to comprehend the meaning : from this variety comes its inexhaustible interest and divine Universality. Our Author exaggerates, when he says, that in Bible-story we meet with *all* the races of mankind, as in fact the scene of its action is confined to Western Asia, North Africa, and Eastern Europe, but we find it is suitable to the intellect of all races, since it has been circulated far and wide in the present century.

The essential unity lies in the principle of the existence of a God, and of *one God only*, for the whole World. This cannot be said of any of the Religious Conceptions previous to the Christian Era : Some were atheistic, some were polytheist : the Hebrews themselves in their earlier days were Monolatrists rather than Monotheists, as they admitted the possible existence of other gods for other tribes, but not for themselves ; but Monotheism was the great feature of their Scriptures, the earliest date for which may safely be placed in the Ninth century B.C., recording, however, the *oral* traditions of a much earlier date.

Cap. IV. The Allegorical Method of Exegesis is untenable.

Here again our Author is very bold, and we ought to be thankful to him for stating distinctly, that the Old Testament does not stand on the same level with the New ; that it is neither rational, nor true, to attach equal validity to *all* the Books of the Bible, as it contains an ever-advancing Revelation, and there can be no final rule for Christians, except the Gospel of Christ. God revealed Himself to the Hebrews slowly and gradually. I myself go further, and firmly believe, that God hated nothing that He had made, and revealed Himself in divers manners, and sundry times, to other tribes of His poor children, and did not care only for the one petty graceless tribe of the Hebrews : He winked at the ignorance of the Heathen, and suffered all Nations until the fulness of time to walk in their own ways : Paul the Apostle teaches me this lesson.

It cannot be denied, that the Morality of some passages of the Bible is not in accord with the teaching of Christ : the Hebrews committed acts, which Christians must abhor. Nothing but confusion can arise from the attempt to elevate the early Conceptions of the Hebrews to the dignity of Gospel-Morality : for instance, to place the moral conduct of Mary, sister of Lazarus, on the same level with that of the traitorous murderess Jael, or the teaching of John the Evangelist with that, which was imputed to Moses. We must not deem a bad act to be right, because it was done by Samuel

or David. We must not give an undue value to the common formula of all the Prophets, "Thus saith the Lord." There was indeed a voice, which spoke to holy men of old, as it does to holy men of the present Epoch, the Holy Spirit addressing their conscience. The Author (p. 60) denounces the old Fetish-Worship of a Book in the place of God, who had put it into the hearts of men to entertain holy thoughts, and write the holy words of the Book.

To get over the difficulty the Method of "Allegory" was devised, and a mystic sense extracted. The words *ἄλλο ἀγορεύειν* mean "to say something else than what is really said." This Chapter is peculiarly worthy of careful study: it is amazing to think, that sensible men should have believed that every word of Scripture had a threefold sense, literal, allegorical, tropological, and even according to some a fourth. Rabbi Akiba said "that there was a mystic meaning in every letter, title, and flourish of the Old Testament." A worthy Dean, lately dead, declared that every "letter of the Bible was divinely inspired" (p. 64). The Venerable Bede understood that the passage in Samuel, that "Elkanah had two wives," meant that Elkanah represented our Lord, and the two wives the Church, and the Synagogue. Swedenborg in our own time found that the passage "Rebecca arose and her damsels, and they rode upon camels," meant, "an elevation of the affection of Truth, and the intellectual principle elevated above natural scientifics": after this words cease to have proper meanings. The fallacious extension of Allegory offered, as an explanation of passages of Scripture, must be rejected as a mere subterfuge.

Cap. V. The Bible is not homogeneous in its Morality.

The imprecatory Psalms are a proof of this. Such passages as Psalm cxxxvii, 9, should not be read in a Christian Church: it is painful to hear a Minister pronounce in a careless voice such sentiments as the above, or read in the ordinary drawl. Numbers, xxxi, 17, 18, "Kill every woman that hath known man, but all the women children, that have not known a man, keep alive for yourselves," and they actually saved for themselves, under the orders of Moses, 32,000 virgins (v. 35). A great outcry is made against the Sicilian vespers, and Armenian atrocities, and yet in the Book of Esther we read (ix, 16) that 75,000 were slain through the artifices of Esther. Professor Sanday remarks, that it is out of the question to say that "the Book of Esther is wholly filled with the Spirit of God," and worthy of a place in the Canon. As a fact the defence of Religious Truth is in no way concerned with such passages: we hold this up to execration, and read them as History only.

There is much more in this Chapter deserving of careful reflection.

Cap. VI. Antitheses of Scripture.

The slightest perusal shows us, that there is a marked difference between the Law and the Prophets, between Leviticus and the Gospel: a man's Salvation seems to depend in that Book on such details as the right burning of the two kidneys and the fat: in the Prophets such things go for nothing. No one can read the Gospels without observing a great intellectual and spiritual difference between the Gospel of John, and the three Synoptic Gospels, the outcome of an earlier generation. We do not sufficiently grasp the fact, that the whole Levitic Law, which had been regarded for centuries as a Divine Dispensation, was swept away by the Apostle Paul on his own *ipse dixit*, and declared to be imperfect, transitory, and no longer worthy of observance. The misuse of isolated Texts has sanctioned the deadliest crimes, and has blocked up the path of advancing knowledge by cries of "Anathema, Infidel, Heretic." Perhaps some readers of this volume will couple Dean Farrar's name with similar choice epithets, but he lays down two sound Rules ·

- (1) No greater perversion of the true purpose of the Bible can be imagined than to quote passages to justify Slavery, Religious Persecution, Intolerant Bigotry, and false Morality.
- (2) Quotations from the Bible are always rightly used, when its teachings are applied to make men more noble and happy, for Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ.

Cap. VII. Verbal Dictation an untrue and unspiritual Hypothesis.

It is clear, that each author had his own style, his own phrases, his own literary methods. Did the Divine voice of the Eternal simulate Human individuality, and Human imperfections? For as Scholars we are obliged to admit, that in this precious Library,

- (1) The Text is not infallible.
- (2) The ordinary Grammar is not infallible.
- (3) The Science is not infallible.
- (4) The History is not infallible.

The Book of Revelation is very ungrammatical: Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln attributes errors, which would be the cause of the corporal punishment of a Schoolboy, to "Grammatical Inspiration." Some treat the Hellenistic Greek of the New Testament as a *form of that Language peculiar to God*.

The Author (p. 99) gives birth to a thought, for which all earnest Christians will thank him: that it is a great mistake

to suppose, that God had withdrawn Himself into silence since the days of old; that men of the present Epoch, instead of living and having their being in Him, have to get on as best they can, *not* in the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit, the unceasing immanence of God, but with stored-up masses of Church-Tradition, and the manifold perplexities of a fragmentary ancient Literature. The theory of mechanical Dictation is, however, unconsciously irreverent. Could God have dictated some passages of the Old Testament without dishonouring His own Majesty and Holiness? Can anything wicked in man be sanctioned by God? Again, take the case of Luke the Evangelist: does he claim miraculous help? does he not tell us, that he is a painstaking historian? Augustine of Hippo claimed Inspiration for the Septuagint, but it did not agree with the Massórah.

Then as regards the quotations of the Old Testament made in the New: 228 passages are quoted, of which 53 only agree with the Hebrew Text: in 76 the New Testament differs both from Hebrew and Greek, and in 99 the New Testament, the Greek, and Hebrew are all variant: the gross material idea of verbal Dictation was clearly entirely unknown at that period.

Cap. VIII. Plenary Inspiration.

What is the exact meaning of Inspiration? To whom is it limited? Every good gift is from above, and there is, therefore, a room for Inspiration to the Pagan, as well as to the Jew and Christian. The best of the Christian Fathers admitted, that the great Pagans knocked at the door of Truth (p. 106). Is the word "inspired" a monopoly of Scripture? Was not the poet Milton inspired? Even among the modern Jews there is no single opinion on the definition of Inspiration, which can be called the Jewish opinion, and the Christian Church has never attempted to define the nature, the action, or the limits of, Inspiration. The Church of England Prayer-Book always refers to Inspiration not as an exceptional gift of Infallibility, but *the continuous method of Divine government*. "Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the Inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit." "Inspire continually the Church with the Spirit of Truth, Unity, and Concord." Socrates had long before uttered the famous words: "I am moved by a certain Divine and Spiritual influence."

In the New Testament the word Inspiration (*Θεόπνευστος*) occurs but once (II Timothy, iii, 16), and once in the Old Testament "neshamuk" (Job, xxxii, 8). Neither Christ nor His Apostles teach us on this subject. It does not suppress the individuality of the Biblical writers, nor neutralize Human infirmities.

Four well-marked theories have been held unchallenged in the Christian Church (p. 112):

- I. The organic, mechanical, or Dictation theory.
- II. The Dynamic theory: this view recognizes the Divine energy, but does not annihilate Human co-operation.
- III. The Illuminating theory, confining the Divine Guidance to matters of Faith and Doctrine.
- IV. The *General* Inspiration Theory. Such Inspiration as is vouchsafed to other noble and holy Souls. It regards the New Testament as a truthful record of the doctrine and life of Christ: the writers of the record were under influences analogous to the action of the Holy Spirit on the heart and intellect of all really Christian men.

If it be asked how are we to know what in Scripture is of God, and what of man, the answer is that Christians have had to do this again and again :

- I. They have excluded and admitted Books from and to the Canon.
- II. They have set aside large portions of the Old Testament as belonging to an abrogated Dispensation: they even treat some portions of the New Testament as not binding upon them to the letter.
- III. They set aside a large portion of Scripture, as having been of a transient character, say the Book of Leviticus.
- IV. They do not abstain from things strangled and blood.
- V. They do not anoint the sick with oil, &c., &c., &c.

Cap. IX. The Higher Criticism.

This subject is so well discussed elsewhere that I pass it by, merely quoting our Author's definition of this new Science. The Lower Criticism deals with the Text, and what is purely Linguistic. The Higher Criticism takes into account (1) the discoveries of History and Archaeology, (2) the teaching of Comparative Religions, and (3) the consideration of the ordinary Laws of evidence, of documentary transmission, and Human Literature. In fact, it does for the Hebrew Annals and Legends the same office, which has been done for the Greek and Roman, and what is being done for the Egyptian, Arabian, Persian, Indian, and Chinese Annals and literature. Those, who cry out against any approach of the Critic to Hebrew Literature, quite recognize the propriety of Criticism with regard to any other Literature, though much more ancient, much more copious, and much more beautiful from the literary point of view.

Cap. X. The Bible contains the Word of God.

But at the same time it is not in its whole extent identical with the Word of God, which is an incorrect nomenclature. The Heathen World was not left destitute of the Grace of God. Peter and Paul bear emphatic testimony to this: "in every Nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of Him" (Acts, x, 35). Moreover, our Author distinctly states, that if anyone be shocked by the plain statement, that every Word of Scripture is *not* the Word of God, it can only be out of ignorance. Not once throughout the Scriptures is the Bible called the "Word of God," though the phrase occurs more than 300 times: the use of the phrase does not apply to written Books at all: in its true and supreme sense the phrase, the Word of God, applies to Christ and Christ alone. The Church of England has always held that Scripture *contains* the Word of God (p. 136).

Cap. XI. Biblical Infallibility.

On this subject the Author remarks, that there are scarcely any two great branches of Christ's Church which are even agreed as to what constitutes the Bible, as to the constituent Books, as to the Text, as to the Interpretation, as to the necessity of a Supplemental Authority. Attempts have been made to derive from the Bible an infallible decision on all the subjects of Human Knowledge. The Hindu sincerely believes that his Veda came down written from Heaven, and contains all Past, Present, and Future, Human Knowledge. Moreover, each sect finds in the Bible its own favourite interpretation:

"His own opinions here by each are sought,
And here to each his own opinions taught."

The Romanist finds in the Bible the primacy of Peter, the Supremacy of a body called the Church, and the necessity of Penance: the Protestant finds in the Bible, that Rome is the mother of harlots, the mystic Babylon: the Sacerdotalist finds Priests, Eucharists, and Sacramental Salvation: the Baptist thinks, that every believer must go *under water as adults*. In the Mirror of the Bible each partizan practically sees nothing but his own face, and attributes a different opinion to wilful blindness and a bad heart, and treats his own enemies as the Lord's enemies. Many of the Psalms taught this lesson. Each generation sees new Commentaries published, which in the next generation become totally obsolete, on account of the incomplete knowledge, and deep-rooted prejudices, of the writer.

Cap. XII. Dangerous result of the Supernatural Dictation-Theory.

Nothing has done a deadlier injury to the Majesty of Scripture than the pride, which has led incompetent interpreters to assume, that they could utter infallible oracles on every branch of Human Knowledge. The Pope sent Galileo to prison, because he declared that the Earth revolved on its axis. Are we quite sure that modern theologians have escaped this snare? Darwin's theory of Evolution is true, notwithstanding the denunciation of Pulpits.

Cap. XIII. The Bible not the only Source, from which we can learn of God.

Scripture is not God's only Revelation to mankind. God is revealed to us in History, in His glorious works around us, which we call Nature, and lastly, there is yet another Book of God, the Human Conscience.

Our Author is not afraid to express a sentiment, in which I, from long experience, heartily agree, that the Gentiles, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, realized many of the same truths, which are brought home to us by the witness of these Scriptures, which they did not possess, for those Millions, for whom the Occidental Christian cares so little, were not unloved by their God and their Father. We feel no misgiving, when we are told, and truly told, that there is scarcely a simple Moral precept of Christianity, which may not be paralleled by quotations from Heathen Literature, and these Truths were revealed to the Gentiles by the same light, which shines on us. This fact, which the Dean boldly states, has been for more than forty years forced upon my consciousness by my intercourse with natives of India, and study of non-Christian Literature. There is an Inspiration, wherever the Spirit of God makes itself heard in the heart of man. God can do this and has done it, and that for ages, without any aid from the Scriptures. The Apostle Paul (Romans, ii, 14, 15) was aware of this.

Moreover, during the dark ages of Europe, when the Bible was practically shrouded from view in a Translation in a dead Language, and those, whose duty it was to publish the contents of the Holy Book, strained every nerve to conceal it from the Laity, yet Christianity was not starved to death for want of the Bread of Life: Intolerance did not stifle it, Ignorance did not crush the life out of it, and the time came, when Greece rose from the dead with the Greek New Testament in her hand. Erasmus and Cardinal Ximenes unconsciously worked to the same end.

Caps. XIV and XV treat on the painful subject of the Misinterpretation of Scripture, the true and false views of Scripture.

The Author opens out many questions, which have forced themselves upon thoughtful Christians, such as the following: Were the Canaanites so abnormally wicked, that their extermination was morally necessary? At any rate, eleven of the sons of Jacob had Canaanitish wives, and the twelfth an Egyptian wife? Did not the crave for their lands act in the same way on the escaped Hebrew bondmen from Egypt, as the gold and diamonds of South Africa acts upon the _____ (I cannot find a suitable expression) English invaders, leading to the destruction of the unhappy owners of land, which was wanted by others to increase the dividends of a Joint Stock Company. Are we to regard the Laws of Right and Wrong, the Sixth and Eighth Commandments, as Eternal Truths, or arbitrary Mandates? Can we conceive of God *ordering* immoral acts? Could a people, whom God had partially enlightened, have supposed, that downright spoliation and slaughter of women and children were in accordance with the will of Him, who hated nothing that He had made? Could the invaders acceptably pray to God with hands red-wet with the blood of the innocents, either in Canaan or Ma-Shona-land? The corrupt Church of Rome was lavish in its appeal to Scripture against witchcraft, and against heresy; even Augustine of Hippo was responsible for the shameful misinterpretation of the innocent expression of our Lord: "Constrain them to come in." The Church of Rome has shed more innocent blood than any other Human Institution, and all in the name of misunderstood passages of Scripture. The Mormons now defend Polygamy on the example of David. The Southern States justified Slavery on the authority of the Bible. Even supposing that the original Text of the Scriptures were pronounced infallible, are the interpretations infallible also? Cardinal Newman remarked, that "the translated Bible is the stronghold of heresy": Cardinal Vaughan complacently remarks that "the Catholic Church has never spared the knife, when necessary, to cut off rebels against her Faith and authority." It is not the fatal tendency, that is wanting in the Nineteenth century, but the opportunity to start a new Persecution.

I do not think, that our Author is justified in stating, that the Scriptures have a loftier standard of Righteousness, a purer ideal of Eternal Life, *than all the most Sacred Books of the Nations*, unless he went on to assure us, that he has studied *all* those Books in the original or Translation. On my shelves stand the volumes of Sacred Books of the East: it is a "large order." We cannot class Dean Farrar's assertion with those of John Selden, "I have surveyed *most of the learning among the sons of men*, but I stay my Soul on none of them but the Bible" (p. 265). John Selden died in 1654, long before anything was known of the Sacred Books of the East: Selden, therefore, made use of an exaggerated expression, which was pardonable at his Epoch. Far be it from me to affirm, that any of

the Sacred Books of the East are superior, or equal, to the Hebrew Scriptures; and of course they are entirely inferior to the New Testament. But, if they are to be dragged into a comparison of excellence, it should be by some one, who knows them. A Mahometan told me calmly, that his Korán was far superior to the New Testament, as it was written, or dictated, by one man in gleaming and beautiful Language in the very words used by the Prophet. No doubt the Korán as a literary work stands very high, and the New Testament is not written in the Language spoken by our Lord.

Cap. XVI. The Wresting of Texts.

This Chapter scarcely requires remark, as it belongs to a different department of inquiry, and the doctrine of Eternal Punishment is imported, which is outside the orbit of my remarks.

Cap. XVII. Scripture Difficulties.

The same remark applies to this Chapter. Here again the Author imports a comparison of the Scriptures with the other Sacred Books, and to the discredit of the latter: he states, that the Bible is more pure and free from stain than any other Sacred Book: I am forced to ask whether, comparing the impurity of occasional expressions of one with the other, his conclusion is justified. He expresses the opinion, that Eastern readers are not disgusted and offended by indecencies to the extent that Europeans are. It is singular that on this very subject there is evidence to the contrary. To my own Knowledge, educated Natives of India of all ranks of life are extremely restrained in their utterances by unwritten Laws of propriety. Impure Books are imported from Europe to corrupt the young men, who knew nothing of such things before. In my presence a Chinaman had an interview with the Committee of the B.F.B.S., and expressed his wish, that the Book of Genesis should not be supplied to the Chinese on account of Cap. xix, 30-38, which offended their prejudices. Of course no such request could be complied with, but the feeling grows stronger on me yearly, as I read the Scriptures in different Languages prepared for the use of Oriental Nations in a low state of Culture, that it would be advisable to issue Translations of selected portions of Scripture, expurgated. On the other subjects treated of in this Chapter, Miracles, the story of Babel, Balaam, Jonah, and the Suspension of the Laws of the Universe by Joshua to assist the Hebrews in a battle, I wish to express no opinion. Perhaps as there exists in the Old Testament such an abundance of magnificent and instructive Chapters, the reading aloud of such Legends as those above alluded to might with advantage be discontinued.

The remainder of the Volume, cap. xviii to cap. xxiii, comprises a series of eulogies of the Bible under the following heads :

Supremacy of the Bible.
 The Bible and individual Souls.
 The Bible the chief source of Human consolation.
 Special consolations of Scripture.
 The Bible and the Nations.
 Conclusion.

The Author quotes the opinions on the subject of the Bible of many distinguished persons of all Nations and under different circumstances. To me it appears, that the Bible hardly requires the recommendation of a crowd of strangers: it must speak to each individual Soul: each individual must have his own experience. While the first Part of this Volume as far as cap. xvii is a profitable study, the latter Part was not required to complete the argument, and I leave it.

July, 1897.

VI.

“THE BIBLE AND ITS TRANSMISSION: BEING A HISTORICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL VIEW OF THE HEBREW AND GREEK TEXT, AND THE GREEK, LATIN, AND OTHER VERSIONS, BOTH MS. AND PRINTED, PRIOR TO THE REFORMATION.” By Dr. COPINGER. Price £5 5s. 1893.

THIS is a magnificent Volume, with a limited Edition of 220 copies, of which only 150 are on sale, at a price which forbids ordinary purchasers. It has been printed at the Oxford University Press. A series of collotype illustrations reproduce famous Manuscripts and early printed copies.

The object of the Author is to “give a general idea of the condition of the Texts and the mode of their transmission: to briefly describe the more important Manuscripts, and to specify the printed Editions of the whole Bible, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, in every age, and the Vernacular Versions prior to the Reformation.”

This Volume illustrates the material and scientific side of the subject.

VII.

“HELPS TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE,” including:

- I. Introduction to the several Books.
- II. The History and Antiquities of the Jews.
- III. The Results of Modern Discoveries.
- IV. The Natural History of Palestine.

With Tables, Concordance, Indices, and Maps. Published by the Oxford University Press. 1893.

THE first Edition was published in 1876, and had an enormous circulation; numerous communications were made to the Editors, and in 1884 the entire Book was carefully revised, and a new Edition published. The completion of the Revised Version of the Bible, in 1885; the Progress of the Lower Criticism of the Text, and the Higher Criticism of the Contents of the Book; the Progress of Archaeology generally, especially the labours of the Palestine Exploration Fund; the advance of Linguistic Science: all these causes led to the revision of every Section of the existing Editions, and the publication of a new Edition.

The Illustrations, consisting of sixty-four Plates of Manuscripts and Monuments; the Maps compiled from the Survey of Palestine, conducted by the Palestine Exploration Fund; the Indices of Proper Names, Subjects, and Places on the Maps, in addition to the Concordance, are wonderful Helps to the Student: add to this Notes on the Political Condition, Sects, Geography, Topography, Botany, Geology, Zoology, Musical Instruments, Weights and Measures, which make up Part V. No Student would be wise to be without this Volume on the shelves of the revolving Bookcase by the side of his chair. The time has passed, when thoughtful readers can pass names, or expressions, or allusions, in the course of the daily reading of Holy Scripture without fully understanding what they mean: the period of complimentary acquiescence, and pious Ignorance, has passed,

Parts I, II, III, IV represent the bulk of the Volume. Part I is a General Introduction: the Title of the Bible, the Canon, the Language, the Authenticity, the integrity of the Text, the Ancient Versions, the English Versions. Part II contains a Summary of the Old Testament, Part III the Apocrypha, Part IV the New Testament. The tone of the Book is that of a partizan of the antiquated view of things, a leaner on authority, not on proof: the issue must be left to time.

VIII.

“THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO THE BIBLE,” containing Chapters
ON ·

- I. The Structure.
- II. The Growth.
- III. The Preservation.
- IV. Introduction to the Several Books.
- V. The History.
- VI. The Chronology.
- VII. The Antiquities.
- VIII. The Natural History.
- IX. Glossaries, Indices, Concordance, Maps.

WE have indeed reason to feel grateful: this Book is most useful, and should also find a place near the chair of every Student: it takes a more liberal view of the great subject than the Oxford Bible-Helps, but there is room for revision by a competent Linguist, Student of Comparative Religion, an Ethnologist, a Palaeographer, and Geographer. Some assertions are made on the Scientific side of the subject, of which the proof is not given. When after the lapse of ten years the time comes for a revised Edition, these points should be looked to. It is a most admirable and useful compilation.

PART IV

MISCELLANEOUS.

OBITUARY NOTICE OF A DEAR YOUNG FRIEND.

ON my return from Palestine in April, 1885, I heard that my sweet young friend S. M. F. W. had passed away on March 6th, just five months after her wedding-day. Last Sunday I went down to the now desolate house of the afflicted parents, for both their daughters, one at the age of 22, and the other at the age of 26, have by the inscrutable dispensations of Providence been taken away, and lie side by side in the churchyard. I found the village more beautiful than ever, for Nature had restored the ravages of Winter with a luxuriant beauty of flower and foliage; but the chief beauty in my eyes was gone: the attraction, which had originally drawn me to the village, no longer existed.

Many young girls have passed away in years bygone, and many more will pass away in future years, but the memory of these two sisters deserves recording, as from their childhood to their graves they were devoted to the cause of Christian Missions. I made the acquaintance of my friend when attending a Missionary meeting in the West of England as a Deputation. After the speeches a sweet young woman entered into conversation with me, and told me, that her sister, who had lately died, had left all that she possessed to her Missionary Society, and that she, the survivor, intended to go out as a Missionary to China. She seemed so delicate and frail, that my heart sank within me at hearing this. The result of our meeting was, that I promised to attend and speak at the annual meeting of her father's parish, which would take place on her birthday, July 4, 1883.

I found, that she had shown an early love for the Heathen lying in darkness; that, at the age of five and six, she and her younger sister had started their baskets of trifles to be sold to form a fund for the Mission. As they grew from childhood into girlhood, this intense love for Missions increased, and by their collections they supported a child in a School in the Mauritius Mission. They helped to conduct the annual sale for their Society, and as they grew in years, and their talents expanded, their industry developed itself in painting on china, and including the last piece, painted by the surviving sister in January of this year, within a few weeks of her death, they had produced a clear gain of eighty pounds, and remitted it to the Society's House in London.

The dear child, whose loss we freshly deplore, had accepted the offer of eternal life, and full and complete Salvation after one of Mr. Moody's meetings at Camberwell; she has herself recorded the date, June 18, 1875. She then made the following words part of herself:

“ I believe the glorious record
 God has given of His Son ;
 I accept the free forgiveness
 His atoning death has won.”

From the time, that she dedicated her life to Him, the cause of Missions became increasingly dear to her heart as well as to that of her sister. Later on she tried to help by her collections and her prayers the Zanána Societies. Had she been altogether free and independent of home-duties and ties, she would long ago have joined one of these Societies, and gone out to the Field. But this could not be. She had a fortnightly working-party of the children in her father's parish, and was a sedulous collector. It so happened, that she had never visited the Society's House in London, but among her papers of last year, 1884, I came on the following entry: “How little I thought that my first visit to the Society's House would be to offer myself as the wife of a Missionary.”

God accepted the dedication, but not in the sense, in which she intended, but in a form, which she accepted without demur and without regret. He had need of *her*, and not of her poor services. She had hoped, that with the brave and strong her course might lie to carry the Gospel to the Heathen, but another part was, suddenly according to mortal conceptions, but ordained for her from the moment of her birth, chosen for her, and she accepted it without a murmur. She had fashioned for herself a high, the highest, idea of mortal life, but a still higher reality was ordained for her. She was one of those gentle spirits, who yielded to His love, and who, ripening fast, was soon removed. Those, whom God loves, die early.

When her birthday came round in July, 1884, she again asked me to come, but I was away at the North Cape, and a friend went for me, and spoke for the dear Society on what proved to be her last Missionary birthday. Humanly speaking, all was working in the way, in which she wished, and her life was to be dedicated to the Heathen; but God's ways are not our ways. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? A feeling of sublime joy seems to cast out the Human sorrow, when I calmly reflect on her story.

I sat down last Sunday alone in the little room, which had been the scene of the studies, the prayers, and the labours, of both sisters, from their earliest years. I looked round with a feeling akin to despair, when I thought, that both of these bright flowers had been plucked so early; it seemed such a waste of good material,

that they should not have lived on to be the joy, and the counsellors of an unborn generation of children, and the gatherers-in of a rich harvest of saved Souls of the Heathen. I was in the midst of their holy and simple life. There were their registers of the Sunday-school, and of the Band of Hope: there was the Missionary-box, and on the table was the closed desk, for their hands were stiffened; on the desk was the closed pocket-Bible, for their eyes were darkened; the birds sang outside, but their voices were still; round the table were the forms, on which the little village-children used from week to week to sit; all was, as it were, ready for either of them to enter, full of health, and tenderness, and beauty; it seemed, as if the door must at any moment open, and let them in, for the memory of them perfumed the room, like the odour of crushed rose-leaves; but they will return no more; they are engaged in the service of their Master elsewhere. The feeling of despair, which had seized me, suddenly disappeared, when I thought of the plenteous Grace, which must have descended within these narrow walls, to make them what they were, to make her, whom I knew and loved so, what I knew her to be. It must have been Grace, that took them to their Saviour's feet, when they were quite little children, and kept them there, steadfast to the end, neither fearing to depart, nor wishing to depart, ready to stay and ready to go, for I read her own words, dated December 31, 1881:

“ My life is in His keeping; I have entrusted it to Him, so
 “ what He does I am satisfied with. I look back on many sins
 “ and failings, and lost opportunities of witnessing for Him; but
 “ they have all been brought to the Fountain opened to wash away
 “ sin, and all, I know, are pardoned. His love is my rest, my joy,
 “ and my strength, and who shall separate me from His love? No
 “ one; nothing; for I am His, and He is mine, my very own for
 “ ever! and, if He came for me, and called me home, how joyfully
 “ I will go! If left to live, may I only live for Him!”

Her heart was filled with high aspirations, and she had Grace given to her to carry them into action. Hers were not empty words, for on a little piece of paper I found in pencil the rough copy of a letter to the Rev. E. Wickham, of Holmwood, Dorking, dated July 30, 1877:

“ DEAR SIR,—I was so much interested and touched by what
 “ Mr. Hubbard said at the Missionary meeting this afternoon, that
 “ instead of giving to the collection the silver I had meant, I felt
 “ constrained, out of love to Christ and a desire to do something
 “ for Him, to give a sovereign, which was lately given to me as
 “ a birthday present; and the reason of my writing to you is to
 “ say, that, if you will allow it, I should like that sovereign to go
 “ especially towards sending a Missionary to King Mtesa, and
 “ I trust that money will soon be raised for that object, that it may

“ never be said, that England is too poor to send the men out,
 “ when they are ready to go. Please let Mr. Hubbard know of
 “ my wish, but please do not mention this to any one else, or try
 “ to find out who I am, as I wish only to be known, as a young
 “ Christian lover of Missions. May God help me to think and
 “ pray to do more for the Heathen than I have yet done ! ”

I felt, that the two daughters had not lived in vain, that they had scattered around them the perfume of the beauty of holiness. Souls had been brought to their Saviour by their useful and gentle lives, and more had been touched by the contemplation of their holy and steadfast departure, the faithful and fearless going home to the mansion of their Father. The parents may well feel, that they have a greater happiness in two dead daughters such as these, than they would have derived from many living children, who knew not the Lord.

Church Missionary Society Gleaner, 1885.

II.

THE SHAH OF PERSIA AT ASHRIDGE PARK.

ASHRIDGE Park is a peninsula of Bucks running into Herts; the house is in Bucks, the offices are in Herts. The park abounds with red and fallow deer; the trees were in all their unrivalled splendour. On a ridge visible from the London and North-Western Railway is a lofty column erected by the Earl of Bridgewater, to record the peace of 1815; a wide view of Buckinghamshire is commanded, which includes Windsor Castle. Here was the Palace of Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall, son of King Henry III, who founded in 1283 A.D., a monastery for the order of “Bonhommes.” He presented this with a relic, a portion of the blood of Christ, which was exhibited at St. Paul’s Cross, February 24, 1538, and proved to be only honey clarified and coloured. Skelton in his poem writes thus:

“ The Bonhommes at Ashridge, beside Barcanstede,
 Where the ‘ Sange Royal ’ is, Christ’s blood so rede.”

A pleasanter place than Ashridge is, it were hard to find. Edward I kept his Christmas in 1290 A.D. here, and held a Parliament. Queen Elizabeth resided here as Princess, having received a grant of the confiscated monastery in 1552; here

she was taken prisoner on suspicion of being concerned in Wyatt's conspiracy, and, being confined to her bed by illness, was carried away in a litter. In her reign the Collegiate Church was destroyed, but the great Hall and Cloisters survived till 1800, when they made way for the palace erected by Wyatt for the late Earl of Bridgewater. Nothing remains but the crypt. The new mansion is in the Gothic style with a lofty spire, and is worthy of one of the most wealthy of England's nobles.

The following guests had assembled at Ashridge to meet the Shah: Duke and Duchess of Abercorn, Lord and Lady Dufferin, Major and Mrs. Talbot, Colonel and Mrs. Talbot, Mr. G. Leveson-Gower, Miss Welby, Mr. Drummond, the Duke and Duchess of Leinster, the Marquis and Marchioness of Bath, Lady Catherine Thynne, Lord and Lady Kilmorey, the Persian Prime Minister, Prince Malcom Khan, Captain Holford, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, Lord and Lady Grimston, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. Neville, Mr. Robert Cust, Mr. Henry Cust, Countess of Pembroke, Admiral the Hon. W. C. and Hon. Mrs. Carpenter, Hon. A. and Mrs. Talbot, General Sir J. M'Neill, Mrs. L. Drummond, Rev. C. W. and Mrs. Lane, and Colonel Gouraud. During dinner the band of the First Life Guards played on the lawn. Afterwards Countess Brownlow held an evening party, and many hundreds from the neighbourhood were assembled. The gardens were illuminated, and there was an exhibition of the phonograph in the Great Hall. The Shah was so delighted that he asked for possession of the machine, and Colonel Gouraud presented it to him. A magnificent supper at one a.m. on Tuesday was prepared for the guests, and it was three o'clock before the last carriage had driven away. The weather was most propitious.

On Tuesday morning the Shah had a drive in the park, the like of which he will not find in his own dominions. He was photographed in a group by an artist from Watford, and he planted a tree, of Persian origin, the *Thujaopsis dolabrata*. He also ate a hearty luncheon, and His Majesty is evidently blessed with a good digestion, and a ready will to enjoy everything, to be courteous to everybody, and to leave most favourable impressions behind him. At one o'clock he got into his carriage with Prince Albert Victor, and drove off to a second lunch at Halton, the residence of Mr. Alfred Rothschild. His travelling suite numbered thirteen Persians, one of whom was the little boy, aged eight, with whose life the Shah considers his own to be entwined; and another is said by the "wicked world" to be a lady in disguise, but the story is ridiculous, and only a canard.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCH OF COCKAYNE HATLEY, BEDS.

CHAPTER I.

THE parish of Cockayne Hatley in Bedfordshire is very inconsiderable in size: the following mention of it is made in Lysons's "Magna Britannia" in 1806:

"Hatley Port or Cockayne Hatley, in the hundred of Biggles wade, and deanery of Shefford, is a small village two miles from Potton on the borders of Cambridgeshire. It was anciently the estate of the Argentines and Bryans. Sir John Cockayne, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1427, became possessed of the Manor, and made it his country-seat. From his family the village obtained the appellation, which distinguishes it from some neighbouring parishes, likewise named Hatley, in Cambridgeshire. The Manor has lately passed by marriage to the family of Cust. In the Nave of the Parish Church is an altar tomb stripped of its brass plates, said to be the monument of Chief Baron Cockayne. There are several memorials of this family from the year 1427 to 1739. In the North Aisle is a monument of Sir Patrick Hume, who married one of the Cockaynes and died in 1627."

The Mansion house resembling other residences of that age and neighbourhood has no architectural interest, though of considerable antiquity, and surrounded by a moat. Immediately adjacent to it is the Church, of the style usually called Decorated, dedicated to St. Peter, or as some say St. John the Baptist, regular in form, consisting of a Nave, two Aisles, Chancel, and square Tower at the West end. There is no record of the name of the Founder, or the date of the building, but it is generally of the same character with the neighbouring Churches of Potton, Sutton, Dunton, and Hatley St. George, probably about the close of the Fourteenth century. The arch connecting the Tower and the Body of the Church is a beautiful specimen of its age: the pillars supporting the four arches, which separate the Nave from the Aisle, differ, those on the North side being round, those on the South being octagonal: this might induce the inference that the Aisles were not built at the same period, but there are no other features in the building to support this hypothesis. The six windows in the clerestory are in the time of the building, consisting of two lights trefoiled, and perhaps of a date antecedent to the six windows of the Aisles, which are flat topped, consisting of three lights, and quatrefoils. The West window, and the North and South windows of the Chancel, are in the perpendicular style: the original East window

having entirely perished, at the time of the repairs a new one was substituted in the Decorated style, copied from the East window of Wilbraham Church in Cambridgeshire. The Tower consists of three stories, rising to an altitude of sixty-six feet, and had a tiled roof terminated by a wooden staff carrying a weathercock: these were removed, the battlements restored, and four handsome stone pinnacles substituted, twenty feet in height, following the original design of the Tower, as indicated by the corner buttresses; these pinnacles were copied from the Church of Denton in Lincolnshire, and are surmounted by gilt vanes. The walls of the Church are made of rubble and sandstone, as is usual in the neighbourhood, surmounted by battlements. The Registers of the Parish extend no further back than the year 1701, and contain no facts of interest: the value of the living in the King's book is eight pounds, and is now worth about one hundred and seventy pounds, including fifty-two acres of glebe land. In the margin are the names of the former Incumbents, as far as is known; the living is in the gift of the Proprietors of Cockayne Hatley. Of the Monuments, mural or otherwise, the most remarkable is the one alluded to by Lysons, to Sir Patrick Hume, who married a lady of the Cockayne family: it is of the period of James the First, and a handsome specimen of that age, comprising two kneeling figures, smaller than life, with armorial decorations, and a Latin inscription. A white marble Tablet records Mrs. Judith Porteus, the relict of a former Incumbent, and a member of the Soham branch of the Cockayne family. Within the Communion Rail are four slabs of black stone to the memory of the four last members of the Cockayne family. In the centre of the Nave are four Monumental Brasses of the Sixteenth century of no particular interest. Three of them are of the Cockayne family, the fourth of a family of the name of Bryan, who preceded the Cockaynes: the brass of the last has been removed, but the inscription can be traced from the incisions in the stone. The monument to the memory of Lord Chief Baron Cockayne, alluded to by Lysons, has perished; it was a plain altar tomb of stone without any decoration. In the North Aisle within the family pew are two white marble slabs to the memory of two daughters of the Hon. and Rev. H. C. Cust, who died in 1836 and 1844. Like almost every Parish Church in the kingdom there were a few fragments of stained glass, of no particular value, but the patterns of the panes have been copied for the renewal of the windows in both Aisles. Of ancient woodwork there were no remains of interest; all the pews were of modern unpainted deal of most ordinary description: a few oak benches, coeval with the Church, remained in a dilapidated state. The original bells were small and both cracked: they are

Revd. Mr. Storm

— Mr. Porteus

— Dr. Cust

— Mr. Peate

— Mr. Davis

— Mr. Cust

replaced by bells of proper size and good tone. The Font is octagonal, and was quite plain of the same age as the Church: its faces have been now decorated by quatrefoils to correspond with the adjacent windows. On the South side of the Communion Table was a ruined Piscina, which was removed to make room for the woodwork, and placed after considerable repair in the Nave against the tower.

CHAPTER II.

THE past slight notice has been made of the state of the Church at the commencement of the present century to ensure a full appreciation of the exertions, and outlay made by the present Incumbent. There had been no permanent resident on the estate since the death of the last Cockayne in 1739, when it passed into the Cust family, who were non-resident, and, the parish being small, the Church had fallen into a most lamentable state of neglect. The roof of the Chancel was so entirely decayed, that on the Christmas Day of 1806 snow fell on the Communion Table during Divine Service, and all the woodwork had to be removed to make way for an entirely new roof. The roof of the Nave was taken down and thoroughly repaired and replaced: the beams are supported by Angels holding shields with emblems of the Passion; four of these, as well as the carved bosses in the ceiling of the Tower, were obtained from the Church of Biggleswade, where a modern roof has been placed: in the centre of the beams are the initials of the Restorer, and date of the Restoration. The beams are of oak, but the interstices are of plaster painted. The Nave being higher than the Chancel, at the point of junction of the two roofs, a stone arch has been erected for a Sanctus Bell, and at the extreme end of the Chancel Roof is a foliated stone cross taken from that of Trinity College, Cambridge. The whole of the South Aisle had to be rebuilt from the foundation, as the walls were in so ruinous a state, that they were only kept up by wooden props; a large ruinous Porch was entirely removed, the two entrances on the South side were stopped up, the door of the North Aisle opened for the convenience of the Residents of the Mansion, and that under the West window for the Congregation. The ornamental stone work of the Porch has been worked up in the North doorway, and the door itself is copied from one of the Church of Ditton, in Cambridgeshire. The Chancel had been originally of a greater length with two windows on each side, which did not correspond in design: the whole was in so unsatisfactory and ruinous a state, that it appeared expedient to shorten it, and rebuild the Eastern wall on a new foundation with an entirely new window: the whole Church was recoloured, and the drainage attended to by opening a trench all round the building, and every effort made to overcome the damp, by which the interior was defaced.

We will now proceed to a description of the Interior commencing with the Chancel; the chief feature of this part of the building is the carved woodwork and stalls extending the whole length on both sides, and in height reaching from the floor to the windows: The stalls are eight in number, terminating at the Communion Rail, but the carved woodwork extends nearly the whole length of the Chancel, and consists of sixteen carved medallions in oak representing the busts in *alto relievo* of some of the most distinguished of the later Saints and Writers of the Roman Catholic Church. Each bust is surrounded by a wreath of foliage and fruits in the style of the later Renaissance, most elaborately carved, and so prolific has been the genius of the designer, that the ornaments of each department differ. Between each compartment are angels holding the Instruments of the Passion, and the expression of their faces is remarkable; the backs of the stalls are ornamented by different patterns inlaid in black wood. Too much cannot be said about the elegance and beauty of this woodwork, which is unique of its kind in this country, and was celebrated in its original position, as appears from a history of the Bishopric of Liege, in which the Abbey was situated whence they were derived. Its history is the following: In the neighbourhood of Charleroi in the Low Countries on the banks of the River Sambre are the ruins of the old Abbey d'Alne, of the Benedictine order, which was set fire to, and destroyed by a body of the French under General Charbonnais, when General Dumourier entered the territory of Flanders. The Chapel and other buildings of this Monastic Establishment are described as having been most magnificent; the ruins of the Building, as they are now, support this statement, and the magnificent woodwork, which had passed into the hands of a dealer at Charleroi, and was purchased by good fortune for Cockayne Hatley Church, and which is represented as having formerly decorated the Nave of the Abbey, give us a good idea of the magnificence of the fitting up: it is worthy of remark, that there are twenty-four stalls, and only sixteen carved medallions of Saints; the remaining eight were disposed of to some other hands, but it is not known to whom. It fortunately happened, that eight stalls and the sixteen medallions were just sufficient for the Chancel, the remaining stalls were placed in the Nave by an arrangement somewhat similar to the ancient Church of St. Clement, Rome. The date of this carving is precisely ascertained to have been A.D. 1689, being recorded with the arms of the conventual Establishment on two of the stalls, and in the woodwork which connects the Chancel with the Nave is introduced in similar style the arms of the Incumbent with the date of erection, 1826.

The Communion Rail was purchased from a Church at Malines in Flanders: it is about two feet in height. It consists

of four oak Compartments with carved representations in *alto relievo*, typical of the Holy Sacrament. Under infant forms, are portrayed:

1. Israelites obtaining water from the rock.
2. Gathering Manna.
3. Harvest to typify the bread.
4. Vintage to typify the wine.

All these subjects having reference to the Sacrament, they form a most appropriate, and highly ornamental Communion Rail. The Table is of carved work of the Renaissance period, but it has no history attached to it, and was purchased in London. The Decalogue, Creed, and Lord's Prayer are painted in old English Characters on a gold ground, in frames of old woodwork, extending under the East window, and over the Table, forming a frame for the words,

“The Law was given by Moses; Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ.”

The chairs are facsimiles of the well-known Glastonbury chair, and were presented to the Church by the Brother and Sons of the Incumbent. In the Chancel are three windows: the great East window is filled with stained glass executed by Thomas Willement of Green Street, London, from ancient designs: the three lights represent six passages in the Life of our Saviour—the Birth, Dispute with the Doctors, Baptism, Agony in the Garden, Crucifixion, and Resurrection. In the upper compartments are allegorical representations of the four Evangelists and other suitable devices, the highest compartment bears a shield with the emblems of the Passion, and is taken from a Church in Kent. The Communion Plate is of a plain design in silver, and was presented to the Church by Mr. Francis Cust, a former proprietor of the Estate. The velvet Communion Cloth and cushions were made from the Garter-robe of the late Duke of Richmond. The foot-cloth is part of a former carpet of the chapel of St. George's, Windsor. The two side windows of the Chancel are filled with stained glass, representing the armorial bearings of eight occupants of the Estate, four of the Cockayne, and four of the Cust family. In the upper compartments are the crests of the family, the cockle plant, the badge of the Cockayne family, and the red cross, the badge of the chapter of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, of which the Incumbent of the Living, and Proprietor of the Estate, who erected these windows, is a Member: this glass was designed and painted by T. Willement.

The chief ornament of the Nave is the carved Oak Pulpit: this is a most exquisite piece of workmanship. Its history is as follows: It belonged without doubt to the Church of St. Andrew's at Antwerp, which is ornamented with other fine carving: for

reasons, which cannot be ascertained, this pulpit was discarded at the commencement of the present century, and was exposed for sale, while by the rare good fortune of the Church of St. Andrew's its place was supplied by a pulpit even more imposing, and striking in its effect, than its predecessor, but in a different style, representing in figures as large as life the call of the Apostle Andrew. The old pulpit was fortunately heard of, and purchased for the Church of Cockayne Hatley for the sum of £80, far below its intrinsic value. It consists of three portions, the pulpit, the staircase, and the panel supporting the sounding-board. The pulpit itself is in the *cinquecento* style, as the date inscribed on one of the panels (1559) indicates: it is hexagonal and on each side is carved a frame highly decorated in the Renaissance style: in four of these frames are small figures in *basso rilievo* of the four Evangelists with their appropriate emblems: the fifth and sixth sides are occupied by ornamental roses. Beneath them are scrolls and borders of the same period; so elegant is the form of this beautiful piece of workmanship, that in the steel-engraving it gives rather the idea of a chased goblet, than of a pulpit. The stairs are designed in a style equally graceful and ingenious: a slight curve breaks the harshness of the lines in a direct ascent and makes place for a small Medallion representing "the Salutation of the Virgin Mary by Elizabeth." The sounding-board, although sent over from Flanders with the pulpit, was not required here for that purpose, but the panel supporting it with an *alto rilievo* figure of Saint Andrew, to whom the Church at Antwerp was dedicated, has been used for the front of the reading-desk. The stalls in the Nave are the sixteen carved stalls from the Abbey of Alne, which were not required for the Chancel. Another town in the Low Countries, Louvain, contributed, for the decoration of this Church, the large oaken folding doors pierced in a rich pattern, separating the Nave from the Tower: these are immediately under the Organ-loft, which is formed by an ingenious adaptation of small pieces of carved wood: the rail of the Organ-loft, fronting the Nave, is composed of four compartments of oak, forming part of the Communion Rail, from Malines: in the original Church, which was much wider, they were arranged alternately with the other compartments, and it is worthy of notice, that they have emblems typical of the Sacrament. (1) Grapes; (2) Shewbread; (3) Ark of the Covenant; (4) Sacramental Vessels. The Organ-pipes are painted and gilded after a taste, of which examples were formerly found in the pipes of King's College, Cambridge, and St. Mary's, Oxford, and the arrangement of the woodwork has been made, so as not to obscure the West window from the body of the Church, a plan adopted from several churches in the Low Countries. In the font is a China dish of Raphael-ware, representing the chief incidents in the life of Joseph. The purple velvet covering of the

cushion of the pulpit was a part of the pall, which covered the corpse of King George III at his Interment in St. George's Chapel in February, 1820. Beneath is another and still older covering worked by some member of the Cockayne family with passages from Scripture. The Bible on the reading-desk was presented to the Church by the Dowager Lady Brownlow, the mother of the present Incumbent.

§ V. At the East end of the North Aisle is a window containing old stained glass, representing four Saints and Saxon Monarchs: this glass was preserved from destruction in a small Parish in Yorkshire through the agency of T. L. Parker, Esq. The wood-work-screen separating the family pew from the rest of the Church is from the Church of St. Bavon at Ghent: it has been re-arranged, and the lattice work has evidently been part of a confessional. There is nothing worthy of remark in the South Aisle, except the Monument already alluded to. The family vault occupies the ground of the former porch, and is accessible from the South Aisle. All the windows of both Aisles are filled with stained glass of a simple pattern. The West window beneath the Tower is also filled with stained glass: the centre light is occupied by a full length figure of St. Peter, copied by Willement from old glass. Beneath it are the armorial bearings of the present Incumbent, and restorer of the Church: the side lights are filled with various rich patterns, the highest compartment by a simple red cross, the badge of St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

The Church of Cockayne Hatley is now in a complete state of repair, and, from being at the commencement of the century a ruinous building with no features worthy of notice, has been converted into an object of admiration to all, who appreciate Church-decorations. The stained glass is English, and for the most part modern, but from ancient designs: the woodwork has been contributed by five celebrated Flemish towns, Antwerp, Ghent, Louvain, Malines, and Charleroi, and from reference to these notes it will appear, that every ornament is on the authority, or after the model, of some other Ecclesiastical Building. The restoration of the Church was completed before the year 1830, since which period few additions, if any, have been made. Since that time the knowledge and taste for Ecclesiastical Architecture has made rapid progress, and numberless Churches have been erected and restored throughout the kingdom, but for this Church may be claimed and with justice the honour of being one of the first, as its restoration was undertaken and completed, when the subject was elsewhere much neglected. Those, who take these facts, into consideration will more fully appreciate the labours of him, whose grateful task it was alone to plan, superintend and complete, this pious work.

Cockayne Hatley, August, 1851.

THE PAROCHIAL RATES OF THE METROPOLIS.

THIS is a most serious and painful subject. They are increasing year by year. The rate for Board-Schools is about one shilling in the pound, and now the Voluntary Church Schools are clamorous for a rate for themselves, and for the exemption of their buildings from rates, which means increasing the burden of their neighbour. The time must be coming, when there will be a migration of the better classes from the city to the counties, and the number of houses with bills "to let" indicate, that the movement has commenced. A house rented at £200 annually has to pay £50 as rates, and £7 as inhabited house duty.

But the burden falls still heavier on the humbler classes of the community, those unfortunates, to whom the words "rent and rates" are hateful. They have not power over themselves to put by for their quarterly demands, and the evil day comes upon them like a lion. First comes a summons signed by a Magistrate, on which a small fee of one shilling and threepence is charged. Then comes the order for attachment of chattels, but the broker or the rate-collector generally finds, that the landlord's broker has got in first. So very little comes from that except the charge of an additional fee. After another interval the unhappy defaulters are summoned to receive the sentence of imprisonment, with a possible maximum term of three months, though one month is the usual sentence, which expunges the claim of the parish.

It is a most painful and disagreeable duty to have to sit on the bench for such cases; every form of human rascality, recklessness, and real misfortune appears, as one by one the defaulters come up to show cause why they should not enjoy the advantage of free-quarters, and change of air, as if that were a new idea of their own, in Holloway Gaol. Everyone first begs for a little more time, probably they have taken no notice of the summons, got out of the way of the attachment of goods, and only now, when arrested, are brought face to face with the necessity of paying. It is scarcely credible, that some old hands annually submit to the prison, and take Holloway Gaol very much as an ordinary citizen takes a sojourn at the seaside, as one of the year. Others make a hard fight, and plead every kind of excuse, that they have been rate-payers for many years, and have always paid, but that this year

some unheard-of misfortune has fallen upon them. It is in vain explained to them, that the remission of their money necessarily entails a loss to the parish, which may eventuate in an increased rate next year. One extraordinary feature is that, when the warrant is signed, and the actual arrest is imminent, the great majority of this class of claims are satisfied, and the same people go through the same miserable farce every year, and they know that the Magistrates are aware of their habits.

Still there is a residuum of defaulters, who are deserving of pity. A strike of a higher class of skilled labourers often throws out of employ a number of miserable labourers of a lower position: many months of illness, the death of the bread-earner, who is not necessarily the head of the family, whose name is on the register, bad luck, drunkenness, have induced hopeless poverty, certified to by the rate-collector. The tenement has been given up, the furniture sold. The unhappy defaulters are gravitating to the workhouse as paupers for life. The keeper of some humble lodging-house is pulled down by the failure of the lodgers to pay their rent. Sad form of human misery is exposed to view. The Magistrates have the power of entire or partial remission of the claim of the parish, and, if the tenement is vacated by parties with a good record of past years, this is done.

The administration of great cities will be one of the great problems of the Twentieth century. County-Councils, District-Councils, manhood-suffrage, gradual decay of the wealth of the country as the result of the strikes, and the enhanced competition of foreign countries, must have its consequences. As houses of the better classes are vacated, a certain amount of business and profit is lost to the classes below. If the County-Council launches out into great experiments, the result must be enhancement of the rates, and the increase of suffering of the poorer classes, where members increase annually, while the doors of emigration are gradually being closed. The prospect seems dark indeed for the city of five millions.

Stanford paper, 1893.

HONEST POVERTY.

THE great problem of modern times is how to discriminate between the honest and dishonest pauper. At the age of sixty a large proportion of the working population of the kingdom are used up: the men, if labourers, are pushed out by younger and more capable hands; of the women, a large proportion have lost their bread-earner, and are more or less infirm widows. Their sons and daughters are scattered, and unable to contribute to the maintenance of their parents, or are unwilling to do so; so the old home is broken up, the furniture sold, and the broken-down couple, or the survivor, who have lived respectably and honestly for forty years, have no refuge for their declining and closing years but the male and female wards of the workhouses, and the degradation and destruction of self-respect, which accompany it.

Those who have lived shifty, dishonest, immoral, and drunken, lives, are no objects of pity: they are lucky, if they have escaped the Prison, the Lunatic Asylum, or a premature six-foot length of earth in the pauper Cemetery. All are herded together, "*Omnes eodem cogimur*," and it "passes the wit of man" (to borrow an expression of the "Grand Old Man") to devise a scheme, by which some distinction can be made betwixt classes, who deserve so differently of their fellow-citizens. "In some dim and remote future" (to quote another of the "Grand Old Man's" utterances) some workable form of pension for the aged, who have deserved it, may be worked out; but it appears hopeless at present, and the cost and risk are enormous. It is sad to think how, to many, the provision made for old age, or widowhood, or orphanage, has been swept away by the dishonest secretary or manager of a Providence-Committee: the Liberator-Society is the last instance. But, as a fact, the labouring classes live for the day, or the week only. They frequent the Public-houses too often; they marry at puberty, and beget large families; they do not care to look forward, in the day of their youth and strength, to the time when their faculties may begin to wane. The poor old pauper, male or female, in an endless stream, stands at the workhouse door. When once the home has been broken up, there is no escape but the Pauper-Cemetery.

I sat down, a few weeks ago, on a bench in the male dayroom, in the midst of the poor old fellows; my advanced years, and grey hair, made me appear like one of them, and my heart made me feel with and for them.

The sight was not encouraging: bovine features, husky voices, forms either attenuated or bloated; a longing for tobacco, which, of course, is not supplied, except to those, who undertake certain unsavoury workhouse-duties. They are said to be quarrelsome among themselves; of course, none of them were such as a man of Culture would select as a companion; their life must be very dull, chopping wood for faggots, breaking stones in the stone-yard, taking part in workhouse-domestic-duties. When the weather is fine, they sit out on benches in the sun, waiting for nothing in particular but the Angel of Death to pick them off; and, as they are fed with nutritious food, and supplied with decent beds and warm rooms, and not exposed to weather, they live on longer than their fellows outside the workhouse-gate. If you pass into the female quarters, you will find the same features; perhaps more work is available to a female, in such an environment, than to a male; on the other hand, the female temper is more waspy, and they feel more keenly the loss of their own home, however humble, and the society of neighbours.

Attempts have been made to provide married quarters, to which aged couples could retire after the day's work was done, and look at each other; but it is not found easy to fill them. The men have been known to make ungallant remarks: that, bad as workhouse life was, it had one advantage, in getting clear of "his old woman"; the ladies, on the other hand, at least some of them, decline occupying the same room with that "dirty old fellow." Such are the last scenes of the play called "Matrimony," before the winding-sheet is dropped, and the bones of the poor pauper are rattled over the stones of London.

Another scheme has been started, "The Brabazon system of employment of aged and sick Paupers." Money has been supplied to Committees of Ladies, who, with the leave of the Authorities, visit the wards, supply the women with materials for hand-work, and distribute newspapers and light literature; it is not much, but it helps to break the deadly dulness of pauper-life, secluded from the general life of the town, and that neighbourly and kindly gossip with old friends, which makes lowly uneducated life endurable. Another scheme has been ventilated, to migrate a certain number of selected males and females to vacant wards in rural unions, from the crowded city-workhouses: this would supply fresher air and greater freedom, which are impossible in a great city, with the temptation of public-houses. As it is, even attendance at the Parish Church, which would be so beneficial, is impossible in a city, and Chaplains have to be remunerated, to minister to the different sections within the walls.

Stamford paper, 1893.

TOMBS OF BRITISH SOLDIERS AT SEBASTOPOL.

THE interest felt in the proper preservation of the tombs of our gallant soldiers, who are buried in the immediate vicinity of Sebastopol, induces me to ask you to publish these lines. I attended the meeting held in London last Summer, under the presidency of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, to consider the subject, and my own interest was so much roused, that I determined on my road to Tiflis and the Caspian, in the Autumn, to visit these cemeteries.

This I have now done, and I have had the good fortune to meet General Conolly, who is specially deputed to superintend the operations, and Captain Harford, the well-known Vice-Consul of this place.

The policy of concentration of monuments is being thoroughly carried out. In the course of a very short time all the monuments in the existing cemeteries (eleven in number) will have been transferred to the greatly enlarged cemetery on Cathcart's Hill, which will become the sole depository of the memorials of those who fell. I found the space within the solid masonry wall strewn with slabs, which had been brought in from the abandoned cemeteries, and I met on the roads carts laden with the same interesting, though mournful, records of the dead. The greatest care and judgment is manifested in all the subsidiary arrangements. In fact, if the transfer had to be made, it could not possibly be done better. In the entrance the custodian will reside, and keep the enclosure in proper order, as well as in absolute safety from violation and insult.

No doubt the step was necessary, but when I visited the secluded cemetery of the Engineers, near the mill, which had by good chance escaped all violation, is well walled in and picturesquely situated, a feeling of regret came over me, as I passed from stone to stone, that a necessity had arisen to separate the memorial of the dead from the grave, which held, or once held, the remains of the brave men whose names were recorded. But the feeling was sentimental rather than practical, and I feel sure that the surviving friends of the dead will be satisfied, as indeed they ought to be. But what of the poor remains? They have not been, nor ever will be, disturbed. They have long ago become part of the soil, which contains them. The removal of the monumental slabs is accompanied by a levelling of the ground: the walls will be knocked down, and the area once set apart will be restored to the waste or to the cultivated

field, as the case may be, and no one will know the spot, where each brave man was buried by his comrades. As a fact, some of the cemeteries which a few years ago were abandoned when the first concentration took place are covered with luxuriant crops:

*“Nunc seges est, ubi Troja fuit, resecandaque falce
Luxuriat nostro sanguine pinguis humus.”*

One thing remains to be done, and this is the real object of my letter. More money is required, about £300. Arrangements have been made out of the existing fund to erect the wall, remove the slabs, and level the old cemeteries, but some adornment is required of the enlarged and concentrated cemetery on Cathcart's Hill. A well has been sunk, but trees should be planted around the wall, as has been done in the French cemetery. Something in the way of sober embellishment seems still to be required. If by your powerful influence a sum of money could be collected and forwarded to the Vice-Consul, a good work would be thoroughly and satisfactorily completed, which would last for centuries. Balaclava is included in these arrangements, but the graves of those, who fell in the battle of the Alma, are intentionally excluded as being too far removed. I have just returned from a visit to the Alma, having the good fortune to have the Vice-Consul as my companion. Of the few monuments to record that battle two have been removed to Cathcart's Hill. Two others, on the slope of the hill, are being surrounded by a masonry wall, the inscriptions being carefully renewed. One solitary monument of Aberdeen-granite has been left in a garden on the north bank of the Alma on the spot, where the officers fell. It is surrounded by a wall, which is being repaired. This records the name of my young cousin, Horace Cust of the Guards.

From the foregoing it will be gathered that, in three places only, will in future be found the monuments in the Crimea, one at Sebastopol and two on the Alma.

It is highly to the credit of the good feelings of the Russian Nation, that they have not only in every way assisted the erection and preservation of the monuments of the dead, but they have allowed trophies, in the shape of crosses and obelisks, to be erected, which, in fact, record their defeat and the occupation of their country by the enemy. It is not every Nation, which would rise to such nobility of feeling towards their foe.

As time passes, domestic grief will be extinguished by the death of those relatives and friends, who still mourn the companions of their youth, who fell in the great campaign of 1854-5. The elder generation, who felt the keener pang of bereavement of their children, have all passed away. But the National memory and honour will survive as long as England continues to be a Nation,

and beyond. The cluster of monuments on Cathcart's Hill will, like the Greek monumental inscription upon those, who fell at Plataea, survive to all ages as an incentive to future deeds of valour. "Go, Englishmen, do as these did, and fall as these fell!"

Times, 1882.

VII.

SLAVERY IN CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

A. BRITISH PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN MADAGASCAR.

THE Lord Chief Justice a few years ago remarked in the House of Lords, that there was a subject, in which even a Judge might be forgiven, if he spoke with warmth. That subject was Slavery. My devotion to Missions is only exceeded by my abhorrence of Slavery, and, when the name of a Missionary is mixed up with that of Slavery, I feel in a dilemma, and I wish to discuss this subject with more than judicial coldness. A Missionary is obliged to *tolerate* Slavery, as he is obliged to tolerate many other evil customs, such as Polygamy, divorce, exaggerated Caste, drunkenness, and profligacy: but he should cut off his right hand rather than directly or indirectly *countenance* it. There are many fancy-grievances, and many ephemeral Societies are started to paint the evil, which they denounce, in exaggerated colours, and suggest remedies, which would often be worse than the disease. On the question of Slavery, however, no two men can be found, righteous or unrighteous, who will defend the status, and there is no true Briton, who in this Nineteenth century would not lend his aid to any measure, which might sweep from the World the abominable custom of involuntary labour.

We are too apt to imagine, that Slavery in Asia and Africa is of the same character as the Slavery of the Planters in North America, and the West Indian Islands. Such is not the case. In Mahometan countries the slave is often treated as a member of the family, and some slaves possess slaves. Still a large percentage of the women have to submit to involuntary concubinage with their owners, and a certain percentage of the males are turned into eunuchs to serve as guards to their polluted sisters. The lash, and the prison, the private sale, and the auction mart, are always possibilities. The right of husband, the right of parent, Education, Religion, power of locomotion, of amassing a competence for old age, are, as regards the slave-portion of

a population, suspended, whilst, as regards the free portion, honourable labour cannot exist, where everything menial is done by a slave. No true social state can be founded on Slavery, and no real Christianity.

In British India forty years ago Slavery existed in its mildest form, and it was not deemed prudent, considering the vast population of that country, and the small number of the British, to abolish it in so many words. But a Law was passed, that the so-called slave possessed the same rights in a Court of Justice, civil and criminal, as the freeman. The lash and the prison ceased thus to be operative, and the bad custom has gently died out. But it did most unmistakably exist. I have often had petitions filed in my court by women, fugitives from the house of some rich man, praying for leave to go where they wished; and in spite of the angry protests of their owner, the brief order has been endorsed on the petition, "that the parties are at liberty to do as they liked, and no one dared to molest them."

Now supposing some energetic young magistrate had conceived the idea of a training College in any district of British India, and had sent up his plans of buildings providing for a room for each student, and a *room above for his slave*, I can answer as to the nature of the reply, which he would have received from any Commissioner or any Governor. I know the order, that I should have endorsed myself on such an application, and I think that my great master, John Lawrence, would have done the same, only in stronger language: "Send back the scheme, and remind the writer, that he is a Gentleman and a Christian, and that any more proposals of this kind will lead to his removal from a post, of which he is unworthy." If it had transpired, that the public officer had slaves among his domestics, knowing that they were such, knowing that a portion of the wages paid by him to his attendant went to the slave-owner, it would have been intimated to him, very unmistakably, that such things must not be, that he must rather submit to the inconvenience of a bad cook than have a slave-cook: in a word, that the servants of the Queen-Empress must not, directly or indirectly, *countenance* Slavery, though out of wise far-seeing policy they *tolerated* it for one generation.

And yet the Missionaries of the Church of England in Madagascar find it right to act in the manner, in which I have only, by a stretch of fancy, imagined a civil officer of Government acting, for I feel sure that no civil or military officer would ever have so done. Let me quote the words used in the *Mission-Field* of 1878, pp. 580, 581: "The most important and hopeful step is the opening of a College to educate native Catechists and Clergy. The students are all married; each has a house, consisting of sitting-room, bed-room, and kitchen, *with an upstairs room for his slaves.*"

It has transpired, and has not been denied, that the domestics of the Missionary and the Mission are slaves, receiving indeed adequate wages, and, no doubt, leading comfortable and happy lives, yet still paying over a portion of their wages to their slave-owner, who had the power to chastise them, imprison them, sell them by private contract, and break up the relation of husband and wife, parent and child. In such a home, as that of the Missionary, the female slave, and the wife of the slave, would enjoy an honoured status; but that, which a Missionary allows himself to do, a layman, and a bad layman, can do also, and without the purity and self-restraint of a Missionary household. We make no charges against the European residents of the island, but somehow or other mixed races do come into existence, and the History of the Southern States of the great American Republic is before us, as a beacon and a warning, that the status of Slavery is incompatible with a moral and religious life.

These students are to be trained to be Catechists and Pastors. It is amazing to read, that the stoutest champions of Slavery in the island are the Native Pastors themselves of the Nonconformist Churches. British Missionaries of all denominations have everywhere steadily denounced the practice, but have not found themselves strong enough to pass that order in Madagascar, which their brethren in Asia and Africa have passed, that no office-holder of the Church should hold or employ slaves. A grotesque feature is disclosed in the fact, that some of the Pastors are slaves themselves, and that a portion of their stipend, collected under the influence of prayer, in their churches and chapels, finds its way through the funnel of these consecrated Pastors to the accursed stores of the slave-owners. For these slaves are the sweepings in of raided villages, the captives made in unjustifiable wars, in which the men were all killed, and the women and children made slaves, the purchases made by private sale in the weekly slave-market at the capital of the kingdom, for the public market has only been interdicted within the last five or six years.

It is of no use arguing, that the Government of the island cannot abolish the practice, or render it innocuous, by giving full power to redeem slaves, or enact a similar law as the one enacted in British India, which will lead to the same results. Under pressure from the British Government the Queen of Madagascar has prohibited the import of slaves from Africa, set free by a stroke of the pen, without compensation, one hundred and fifty thousand¹ imported

¹ Admiral Gore Jones says in his Report, published in a Parliamentary Paper, 1883, that the Queen had liberated one hundred and fifty thousand Mozambiques at an enormous loss to herself and the principal slave-owners. These Mozambiques are members of the very tribes, Yao, Makua, and Niassa, among whom the Universities Mission and the Scotch Missions labour. Surely out of so many thousands a sufficiency of freedmen could be found to supply

Africans, forbade the export of Malagási slaves to other islands, and prohibited the weekly slave-market. This shows, that the Queen is an arbitrary Sovereign, who can deal at pleasure with the property of her subjects. Great sympathy has been felt with the Queen of Madagascar in the peril, in which she stands in face of the Government of France, and much of this sympathy has arisen, because it is credibly believed, that the real object of the French is to secure slaves from Madagascar for their own Colonies; but the sympathy in question will greatly diminish, when it transpires, that so locally deep-rooted is the system, so necessary a feature is it of domestic, and even of Missionary life, that a Church of England Missionary constructs a College, presumably as a permanent institution, with rooms for slaves. There is no euphemism to cover the objectionable phrase, and there is no half-feeling possible as to the Religious public of England objecting to have "Missions" and "Slavery" brought into such juxtaposition. It is said, that at Rome you should do as at Rome, and in Madagascar as at Madagascar, and thus male and female slaves become part of the daily life of a theological student.

I will not stop to argue with those, who would drag the wisest and most tender-hearted of men, Paul, into this controversy. The heart of Great Britain and of the great American Republic, have beaten in unison, and it is a settled rule, that in no state of Society, or Culture, or political Government, is Slavery to be *countenanced* by anyone of the great Anglo-Saxon race. A short time ago I received a letter from a Missionary Society in the United States, expressing astonishment at the state of things in Madagascar. It was Slavery, that brought on the terrible Civil War in North America, and it would seem, as if the French Invasion were so timed as to bring matters to an issue. In Tunisia the Bey had a few years before the French Invasion abolished Slavery, following the example of Algeria, and setting the example to Egypt.

How does it happen, that in Madagascar alone of all the Mission Fields in Asia and Africa is it found necessary to countenance Slavery? Surely Bishop Steere, at Zanzibár, found circumstances very analogous, and yet, from the first, he and his colleagues have set their face against it. How do the Missionaries at Masási and Magíla provide themselves with domestics? And how do the students of the Training College at Zanzibár do without

domestics in the families and colleges of Missionaries, and the class from whom the servants of the Mission on the continent are drawn are good enough for the Missionaries of the island. The Native Malagási Pastor can hold slaves, but no subject of the Queen of England, in any part of the World, can purchase a slave without being liable to an indictment for felony in the Courts of London. The Missionaries in the Island of the Mauritius do not employ slave-labour. It is true that the law of England forbids it there, but it has always been understood that in moral questions the Missionary obeys a Higher Law than that of the Civil Government.

the upstairs room for the slaves? How do the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society manage at Mombása on the East Coast, at Sierra Leone, Lagos, and on the Niger, on the West Coast, in regions where the very air is impregnated with Slavery, where the Mission agents are themselves redeemed slaves, or the offspring of redeemed slaves? Among the founders of that Society were Wilberforce and Thornton, and the Committee has steadily opposed any compromise, any departure from the simple rule, that no office-holder must countenance Slavery. It is not the business of a Missionary to start a crusade against Slavery, but he should say, "As to my home and family, we will not be contaminated by Slavery." Great inconvenience is no doubt felt, and life might be made easier by sitting looser to principle, and it is not pretended, that the rule referred to is not sometimes broken. I read of a Negro Pastor in the Yáriba country, for instance, who, to save his dying wife, bought a slave-girl to act as wet-nurse to his baby, educated her, converted her, set her free, and had her married, and then humbly apologised for having so far broken the rules of the Society in an exceptional case, to the manifest advantage of the slave. So, if one or two slaves had found their way to the Training College at Madagascar, been redeemed, and converted, there would be nothing to object to; but, in this case, there is a permanence given to the institution, and a determined standing up for the practice, in a building permanently dedicated to the Church of England.

I read that in the Brazils the Manufacturing Companies are urged not to employ slaves, whose wages are paid to the slave-owner. Are the ordained Ministers of our Church to occupy a lower moral position than a manufacturing company? The Missionary, in my opinion, is the jewel and glory of the Nineteenth century. He is the honest, unselfish, simple-minded man, who is found in every part of the world, generally in the darkest, as a witness of the Truth, and a living protest against the abominable customs of the Heathen. I write this advisedly, for I have lived a quarter of a century in the midst of the Heathen, and have learned to love the Heathen people and conciliate their love; yet I have always recognized their failings, and the blessing conferred on a Heathen country by the Missionary, simply because he adopts the highest standard of Morality, the highest possible, and most chivalrous standard, which keeps up to the mark the well-intentioned but feeble Christian laymen, and impresses the Heathen around. The Pastor from the pulpit denounces Polygamy, Divorce, and Slavery, as bad customs; but how can he do so with any consistency, if he returns to a polygamous household to eat a dinner cooked by slaves? The Madagascar code of Laws tolerates *all* these customs: why does the Missionary find strength to put his foot down against the first two, and weakly yield to the third, which is, in fact, the

cause of the other two? Where there are female slaves, there will be Concubinage, Polygamy, and Divorce, the last to an extent frightful to contemplate.

In Madagascar-Slavery there is a peculiar feature, unknown in ancient Rome, unknown in modern America. Not only are the so-called servile and inferior races made slaves, but also the ruling race of the Hova. If anything could be imagined as worse than a Briton possessing a negro slave, it would be his possessing a British slave. We may anticipate servile wars, assassination, and a total disruption of Society, if it be true, that the number of slaves exceeds the number of freedmen, and if, as the Missionaries say, the moral force is already waking. A foreign invasion will bring matters to an end, and the slaves will achieve their freedom in the midst of confusion arising from a subversion of the existing constitution.

The Foreign Office is fully informed of the state of affairs, and of the relation, which British subjects, the Missionaries, bear to Slavery, within their churches, their colleges, and their homes. Moreover, the French Government is fully aware also, and, if we object to their unjust and iniquitous invasion of Madagascar, on the ground of their alleged intention of supplying their Colonies with slave-labour, they may fairly retort, that the English Missionary employs slaves, on the plea of necessity, treats them kindly, and pays them full wages, and the French planter intends to do the same, and give them the opportunity of becoming good Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic Missionary is always logical and consistent; he goes a step further, and purchases slave boys and girls, who are kidnapped from their parents, with a view of forming so-called orphanages all over Africa.

Mr. Peill, a Missionary fresh from Madagascar, in a lecture delivered in 1883 at the Society of Arts, tells us that cases of cruel oppression to slaves are not uncommon; the slaves are at the mercy of their masters, and have no recognized rights. In 1881 a Law was passed, that slaves may no longer be traded in as merchandise, but if a man wants a slave for his own, male or female, he may buy and the master may sell, but the transaction must be between the two parties, and not through slave-dealers, and must be duly registered. The young child must not be sold away from its mother, but there is no protection thrown round the young girl of maturer age. In a late number of a Missionary journal a story is told of a girl, who was mistress in a Missionary school, being sold by *her mistress*, possibly a Christian, to an Arab to be his concubine, and who was only saved from this disgraceful career by flight, concealment, and then a large sum collected in England to redeem her, Mrs. Peill, in her letter to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, makes the important admission, that slaves and non-slaves are often employed together as fellow-servants in a European family, receive the same

wages, and are treated in the same way, and we have no doubt a kind way, and with such equality, that the outside observer would not be able to say whether they were slaves or not. This convincingly shows, that free labour is available, that the plea of necessity cannot be advanced, and that the scandal may cease at once, if the Missionary so decide. This good lady makes the further admission, that the slave-owner derives benefit from the educated faculties of his slave in the Missionary household. It is shocking to think of the lad, who rises to the position of Teacher and Pastor in a Mission, paying more and more on each rise in the World to his owner, and, if married to a Christian girl, begetting children to the profit of the same possibly Christian owner, possibly a native Pastor himself.

The suffering of the African slave in America or the Mid Passage has ceased; but only those, who have for years read every Book relating to Africa, and who have, as it were, Africa on the brain, can realize the abomination of the custom as it still exists in Africa itself. We may laugh at the account given by the Missionaries of the little children of the better classes in Madagascar going to Church with a little slave behind them carrying their Bible and hymn-book. The Pastors can have small influence on their flocks, when such marks of pride and Caste are tolerated. One Quaker-Missionary had the grace vouchsafed to him to denounce the practice of Slavery in an assembly of the different Native Churches in Madagascar, and a *vote of censure was passed upon him by the other Missionaries*. He, however, published his address in England, with the Motto, "Touch not the unclean thing."

If a vigorous attempt be made, the end is near in Madagascar. Let the Queen only agree to the following rules, urged upon her by the British Nonconformist Missionaries, who have striven nobly to mitigate the evil.

I. A Registration of redeemed slaves.

II. A Fixation of a reasonable price for a slave, which must be accepted, if tendered.

When the subject was discussed on my motion at a meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a Statesman, who has studied the whole subject, Sir Bartle Frere, told the meeting, that some day the Missionaries would thank the mover of the motion for calling attention to this blemish; for it is a sore blemish in a rising Church. Regard the matter from whatever point of view you like, Madagascar is the only Mission of the Church of England in any part of the World, that *countenances* slavery, and has *slaves* on its premises, other than those who come for educational, medical, or spiritual, advantages, which the Church of England extends to all, whether Bond or Free.

Taking the lowest level, the Missionary should recollect, that the Spanish Priest, though he cannot put a stop to the cruel custom of

Bull-Baiting, never is present on such occasions. A right-minded English Clergyman cannot put a stop to the evils of an English Race-Course, but, if he has any respect for his cloth, he never is seen at a Race. The Missionary cannot stop Slavery, but he and his office-holders, should keep clear of the contamination.

Mission-Life, 1883.

B. THE FRENCH ROMAN CATHOLICS IN AFRICA.

One of the great curses of Slavery and the Slave-Trade is that it dislocates the labour market, and leaves, even when abolished, a trail of evil consequences and fallacies; and it is necessary from time to time to appeal to first principles, and expose weak and evil practices into which good men fall.

The evils arising from an ill-regulated traffic in Coolies, or Free Labourers, have often been exposed. The movement of ignorant labourers is always a dangerous process. Even in British India the supply of labourers from the districts of Bengal, where there is a surfeit, to Assam, where there is a demand, is not accomplished without risk. The export of Coolies from India beyond the seas is a most complicated operation. The planter, in his selfishness, calls out for labour, and cares not by how great a sacrifice of Human life his wants are supplied. Too often the Cooley becomes little better off than a slave. The great Island of Madagascar is now destined to be exposed to ruin and loss of life, with a view of supplying labour to French planters. The Latin races never can be persuaded to look upon involuntary labour of subject races with the aversion, with which the Anglo-Saxon regards it.

The French Roman Catholic Missionary openly conducts his Missionary operations under the Black Flag, and it is well that this should be thoroughly understood. I will not quote any other authority but their own recognized Reporter, *Missions Catholiques*, and I select the volumes of 1881-2 to show, that the practice is not an old and abandoned one, but one actually in force:

“ *Abeokúta, Western Africa, Feb. 1881.*

“ Qu’il nous serait facile de *racheter* des esclaves, si nous avons
 “ des ressources. Après chaque expedition guerrier il souffrait de
 “ se rendre sur quelqu’une des grandes places, ou sont exposées des
 “ familles entières de captifs.”

“ *Embomma, on the Congo, Nov. 1880.*

“ Le *Rachat* des enfants devenant de jour en jour ici plus difficile,
 “ j’ai resolu d’aller voir, si dans le haut de Congo, il ne presentait
 “ pas plus de facilité.”

“ *Landána, on the West Coast, Oct. 1880.* ”

“ Il profité en même temps de ce voyage pour renouer et activer
 “ l’œuvre si importante du *Rachat* des enfants, car Hélas ! au
 “ Congo comme partout ailleurs cette œuvre devient de plus en
 “ plus difficile.

“ À cette époque la Mission élevait environ cent enfants, dont
 “ les uns avaient été confiés par les chefs de l’intérieur, et les
 “ autres avaient été *rachetés*. ”

At the close of the year 1881 three French Missionaries lost their lives on the Eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, in the country of U-Rundi, in consequence of their complicity in the purchase of, and forcible retention of, purchased slaves ; for the Wa-Bikári, having solicited in vain the return of children kidnapped from them, in some way or other recovered the person of one of them. The French Priests threatened the use of force to retake their slave, but were anticipated by an attack of the Natives, who made a sudden onslaught upon, and killed the French Missionaries, one of whom had arms in his hands. It is obvious that children must belong to some one. No tribe, however savage, will sell its own offspring. The slaves sold must be the booty of war, or the result of kidnapping.

Undeterred by this catastrophe, the French Roman Catholic Missionaries recommenced their purchases on a larger scale, and at Táborá, in U-Nya-Nwembe, on the high road from Zanzibár to both Lake Victoria and Tanganyika : “ Quand nous exposames
 “ à lui [the brother of the Arab Governor of U-Nya-Nwembe]
 “ notre intention de *racheter* des enfants esclaves pour en faire des
 “ hommes libres, et leur apprendre à bien vivre, il nous dit : ‘ Bien,
 “ des enfans vous en trouverez ici beaucoup. Vous venez pour les
 “ enfans ; c’est bon. Je suis votre homme. ’ ”

The pious priest then remarks : “ O Providence de Dieu, qui
 “ daignez employer à votre causes les vices mêmes de vos ennemis !
 “ Puissiez vous tirer de l’avarice de ce vieux fils de Mahomet la
 “ délivrance et le salut de beaucoup d’âmes autour de nous !

“ Déjà nous avons commencé à former notre petite famille negre,
 “ *rachétant* plusieurs enfants, que l’on promenait dans la ville
 “ comme des animaux en vente. Nous aurons fréquemment
 “ l’occasion d’en *racheter* d’autres sans sortir de chez nous : ce sera
 “ la petite pêche a l’hameçon en attendant que l’autorisation de
 “ Saïd Bargache soit arrivée de Zanzibar. Alors nous pourrons
 “ faire la grande pêche en haute mer ; pêche que n’aura d’autres
 “ limites que celles de nos ressources. 150 ou 200 francs suffisent
 “ pour le *rachat* et l’entretien d’un enfant pendant une année. Avec
 “ 15,000 ou 20,000 francs nous pourrait fonder ici un orphelinat
 “ d’une *Centaine de beaux Negrillons*. ”

The Arabs, themselves not very scrupulous, held back from taking part in this tremendous scheme, and begged leave to apply to the Sultan, their Master, at Zanzibár. The Priest wrote off to M. Ledoux, the Consul of France, begging of him to use his influence in the aid of this slave-purchasing enterprise. Publicity may possibly have checked this detestable enterprise, and it has been reported to the British Foreign Office. That on the peaceful high road from the Sea to the Equatorial Lakes, there should be established a House of Kidnapped Children, purchased by a European, appears to be a public misfortune.

In Tanganyika the French Roman Catholic Missionaries, in spite of the warning received by the slaughter of three of their body, report, September 25th, 1881, another advance along the dangerous and shameful path. “ Nous avons vu déjà mourir plusieurs de ces “ enfants au Masanjé. Aussi avons nous du *racheter* des jeunes “ *filles* esclaves. Ce moyen offre de nombreuses difficultés, comme “ vous le comprenez facilement vous mêmes.”

If the kidnapping of boys was not enough to rouse a tribe to wrath against the white strangers, surely the kidnapping of girls will do so. The problem is a tremendous one, but at Zanzibár we read: “ À l'hôpital est annexée une école pour les petites Nègresses, que l'on *rachète*, ou qu'on enlève aux marchands des esclaves.”

Such is the practice of the French Roman Catholic Missionaries in the East and West of Equatorial Africa. They cannot see, that the words *rachat* and redemption, were applicable, when sums were sent to Barbary to rescue French and Spanish sailors, who had been captured by the Corsairs: that it would be perfectly legitimate to a Native of the country to purchase his own freedom, or redeem from Slavery members of his family or his friends. The wholesale purchase of male and female children encourages kidnapping, raids, and tribal wars, and perpetuates a state of affairs, which we would gladly see entirely changed. An orphanage, filled with children ravished from their parents, is only so in name.

Now if the benevolent Missionary can do this with impunity, and start a school, and a factory, and industrial operations, and distil liqueurs, as the Monks do in Algeria, why should not the benevolent Planter do the same? If he is not allowed to do so, he will be undersold in his business by his Missionary rival, who conducts the adjoining factory. If children, male and female may be purchased, why not lads and lasses, and adults generally? The male children, when they come to the age of puberty in the Missionary schools, will want wives, and the Priest must ask his friends the Arab slave-dealers to send in a supply of marriageable Nègresses. When neighbouring tribes demand in a voice of anger the restitution of their ravished children, what reply is to be given to them? The transaction becomes more horrible, when the Arab is found to be the go-between, and the panderer

to the Missionary lust to get possession of Negro bodies for the sake of their Souls. How the Mahometan must scoff at the Christian for his inconsistency!

When the Roman Catholic Mission temporarily quitted Rubága, the capital of King Mtesa, on Lake Victoria, they took with them several boat-loads of Negro boys, whom they had purchased, and who were their property. In the pages of the *Missions Catholiques* of Lyons, appear each week notices of subscriptions made in France for the purpose of purchasing children, and the name, which the pious donor attaches to the gift as the name designed for the purchased child, is generally that of a little girl, showing that the perilous policy of purchasing female slaves is persisted in. To the Arab slave-dealer it matters not, whether a little girl is supplied to a harem or a Mission-school; or a little boy sold to be converted into a eunuch or into an acolyte. It is a matter of so much money. And, when these children grow up to maturity, they will abscond, and there will be claims for restitution. It is fortunate that a Protestant power like Germany has appeared on the scene of East Africa, which is not likely to tolerate the purchase of slaves for any purpose in its jurisdiction.

Cardinal Lavigerie, in his late address to Pope Leo XIII, at Rome, May, 1888, took credit for buying slaves in Equatorial Africa in the name of the Church, and saving them from Slavery, and the Pope in reply begged him to buy, or redeem, as many as he could: so it must be considered as part of the authorized method of Romish Missions; and indeed, in the life of Friar John de Monte Corvino, the Romish Missionary in China in 1298 A.D., he mentions in a letter, which has come down to us, that he bought one hundred and fifty boys of from seven to thirteen years of age, and these he taught Latin and Greek, to copy Manuscripts, and chant the Services of the Church. It is clear, that the Romish system of evangelization is built upon slave-purchasing, whenever they find it possible.

It is a comfort to think, that every Protestant Missionary Society in Africa is free from even the imputation of this blot. The Missionaries of the Universities' Mission to East Africa write, that they have difficulty in providing for the children, who flock to their schools. The alleged difficulty of getting children to come to the Mission schools is a mere snare; if regular attendance at school of little Negroes, who know not what time is, is to be secured by their purchase, their bondage, their incarceration, their personal chastisement, we say boldly that we had rather let them remain free Heathens than become Slave-Christians repeating their "Ave Maria!"

Another form of snare, which tempts the Missionary to swerve from the high beaten road, is the institution called "pawning." It was explained at a Missionary Board to mean this. A Heathen

family spend a large sum on the funeral of their chief: the money is borrowed from a moneylender on the security of the mortgage to him of the involuntary services of one member of the family. A younger son is made over, pawned, pledged, to become the slave for life of the moneylender. It was suggested by an amiable Missionary, on whose health, countenance, and judgment, a long residence in Africa had had a deleterious effect, that the Christian should adopt a modified form of this practice, that the pawning should be registered, an account kept of the capital and interest, and a power of redemption reserved. It is scarcely necessary to say, that a great Missionary Society, among the founders of which was Wilberforce, could have nothing to do directly or indirectly, openly or in disguise, now or in future, with any practice, which implied the dominion of one man over the person of another, and the right of one man to use the involuntary labour of another. The power of a Missionary Society is limited, but it can prohibit its office-holders absolutely from contact with such transactions, can admonish and affectionately urge its adherents to abstain from them, and can stand forth before the Heathen a living protest that, the purchase of slaves, the employment of slaves, the mortgaging of the labour of one man to another, is an abomination before God and man.

It is necessary to speak out clearly, and call upon Missionary Societies to take heed, lest mud stick to the skirts of their clothing. Now that Africa is so thoroughly thrown open, and associations, religious and secular, are springing up like mushrooms, care must be taken, lest the enemy should sow tares. All that we can do is to publish to the Christian World a *bonâ-fide* and authentic account of every such transaction, and thus bring it to the notice of the Attorney-General, who is empowered to prosecute the purchaser, if a British subject, in the High Court of Justice; for it is distinctly an offence against the Act of George IV, and punishable as a felony in any Court of Her Majesty, without reference to the venue of the transaction.

Mission-Life, 1886.

C. INDEPENDENT NATIVE CONGREGATIONS IN YÁRIBA-LAND.

Slavery, or Involuntary Labour, is one of the disgraces of the Human race, and yet it is one of the oldest of institutions, and one, which is only entirely eradicated by the influences of the Christian Religion upon modern Civilization, which is itself the outcome of Christian influences, however much Atheists and Anti-Christians may think or say to the contrary. It is true, as will be shown below, that there are some races, which will not submit to Slavery,

preferring death, just as there are some races of men and beasts, and birds, which cannot be tamed, and prefer extinction; but the domination of stronger over weaker races has been the Law of Human life, whether developing into Slavery, Helotry, or Serfage. The subject to be discussed is:

- I. With whom alone rests the power of suppressing this abomination.
- II. How is it to be done with the least disturbance of the social system.

We dare not say, that Slavery is inconsistent *in itself* with Christian life without ignoring the direct teaching of the Old and New Testament. Smarting with the sense of the bondage in Egypt, Moses in the twenty-second chapter of his third book of the Law, verse 11, repeating words spoken to him by Jehovah Himself, writes: "If the priest buy any soul with his money, he shall eat of the holy things; but the hired servant shall not eat of it." And again in the twenty-fifth chapter, verse 44: "Of them (the Heathen) ye shall buy bondmen and bondmaids." And again, verse 46: "Ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you to inherit as a possession: they shall be your bondmen for ever."

Down the whole of the chequered history of the chosen people to the date of the Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon, the status is recognized by the Religious Law of the Nation. The distinction betwixt *δοῦλος* and *μισθώτης*, the slave and the hired labourer, is very marked, and Paul is not ashamed to call himself "the slave of Christ," and to write, that he has been "bought with a price." In writing about Polygamy in the previous Essay, I argued, that that institution had died out under the influence of Greek Civilization; for no one can read Homer, and the story of Hector and Andromaché, Ulysses and Penelopé, and all the immortal legends of the great Graeco-Latin races, even their Mythology, without recognizing that Monogamy, accompanied by Concubinage and Divorce, were deeply engrained in the common Law of the people. In no passage of the New Testament is Polygamy even hinted at, while the existence of Slavery is obvious in the History of the period. We cannot, therefore, brush it aside, and say that God's written Law forbids it. Paul, when he enumerated in the first Chapter of the Romans all the frightful iniquities of the Gentiles, makes no allusion to Polygamy, because it did not exist, or to Slavery, because he did not, with his knowledge of the Old Testament, recognize it as a sin, though no doubt a status deeply to be deplored. Paul was a wise man, neither an enthusiast, nor a fanatic: he inculcated obedience to a tyrant like Nero, and founded no Total Abstinence nor Abolitionist

Societies; he forbade no meats or drinks, and laid down no Laws of celibacy.

Nor does the History of modern time since the introduction of Christianity help us. It is only within the memory of the living generations, that Slavery has ceased to be tolerated by any Christian Nation, or Christian State; its cloven foot still presses the soil of Europe in Turkey; Europeans and Americans are reported to hold slaves in countries, where that institution still flourishes. Even in countries like Egypt, under the temporary Protectorate of Great Britain, it still exists. In countries like the Transvaal Republic, if the name is not pronounced, the essence of the evil exists. It appears to be taking a new life, in the shape of "Men Stealing" in the South Seas, by the British Colonists in Queensland and Fiji, and of "fictitious service-contracts" according to the practice of the French planter in the Komóro Islands, and the Réunion.

More than this, the skirts of the garments of the Ministers of the Episcopal Church of England, and the Congregational Church of England, and (Heaven help the mark!) the Society of Friends, are not free from this unhappy stain. In "Mission-Life," 1883, I published the whole story. (See No. VII, A.)

It transpired, that the domestics of the ordained Missionary were slaves, being hired from a slave-owner, who had the power to chastise them, and separate husband from wife, and parent from child. It transpired also, that the Native Pastors of all denominations were the stoutest champions of this evil institution. I, and the late Sir Bartle Frere, in 1882 (it was almost his last appearance in public), tried to persuade the S.P.C.K. to withhold a grant to this College, but in vain. I tried in vain (August 14, 1883) to persuade the S.P.G. to forbid the practice in its Missions. I was met by the argument of the Epistle of Paul to Philemon. Soon after came the French invasion of Madagascar, and it was hoped, that the Hova natives, struggling for their own liberty, would give freedom to their slaves; but it is not the case. Mr. Cousins, of the London Missionary Society, appeared in 1887 in the Committee of the Bible Society, and I asked him categorically, in an assembly composed of men of every Protestant denomination, whether the scandal still continued, and he replied that it did. One member of the Society of Friends, Mr. Joseph Sewell, had the hardihood, in a pamphlet published in London, 1876 (Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row), to denounce the custom, but he stood alone. I fear much, that even to this day ordained Ministers of the Church of England give their countenance to Slavery, in their own families. I shall be glad to be contradicted.

The Roman Catholic Missionaries go a step further. In "Mission-Life," 1886, I showed, by quotations from the printed reports of the African Missionaries, published in the *Missions Catholiques*, how they deliberately purchased children, boys and girls; how sums

were subscribed by devout children in France to purchase a little boy, to be named "Pierre," or a little girl, to be named "Marie." They call it "Redemption." I know what redemption of a slave means by the sums collected to rescue poor Christians from the Barbary pirates; I can imagine now an African paying a sum to redeem his wife, or brother, or relative. I read in the third Book of Moses, chapter 25, verse 48: "After that he have been sold, he may be redeemed again: one of his brethren may redeem him."

But the word "redeem" cannot apply to the deliberate purchase by a Frenchman of an African child. Livingstone tells us in his "Missionary Travels," p. 92: "I have never known an instance in Africa of a parent selling his own offspring. The children are first kidnapped, and then sold to the priests."

In *Missions Catholiques*, 1880, p. 120, I read: "Les esclaves achetés à bas prix."

I think that I can say safely, that no Protestant Missionary of any Society would lend himself to such transactions. But there is a tendency to error on the other side. A Missionary can have no right to convert his station into a refuge for runaway slaves, or to preach abolitionist doctrines. This practice has been expressly forbidden to the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. I regret to read in the report of the Anti-Slavery Society (of the Committee of which I am a member) a letter by a young Missionary of very slight experience and extreme abolitionist views, which cannot but be very injurious to the quiet and peaceful work of the evangelist. Paul's example is distinctly opposed to such conduct. It must indeed be a painful sight to a Missionary to witness the horror of the Slave-trade, and of Slavery, and to be unable to protect runaway Slaves; but a little reflection will convince him, that it is not his duty to interfere, and that he has not the lawful authority, or requisite power, to do it efficiently, and that he is forbidden by those, who send him out, to interfere, and that the Consuls of Her Majesty are as unable as himself, and are as peremptorily forbidden as himself, to meddle in matters beyond their jurisdiction.

I now proceed to notice the good side of Slavery in certain social conditions of the Human race. The great Dictionary of the Latin Language tells us that the word "Servus" is thus derived. "Servus dictus a *servando*, quia Imperatores captivos vendere, et per hoc servare, nec occidere, solent." "A chief in Central Africa (Valdez, vol. ii, p. 201) remarked, that it was customary for him to sell as slaves those who commit murder or robbery, or other crimes, and that, if Slavery were put a stop to, what could he do with them but put them to death? Another chief (*ibid*, vol. ii, p. 177) remarked, that he was sorry, that the Portuguese were not inclined to countenance the Slave-trade, as he thought it better to sell than to put them to death."

Another writer (Monteiro, vol. ii, p. 20), while expressing himself strongly against Slavery, remarks that: “Despite the
“ declamations of sensitive minds, as long as the barbarity of
“ Africa remains, the barter of slaves will always be considered
“ by philanthropists, as the only palliation to the ferocity of the
“ Laws, that govern these nations.”

It has occurred to some minds, that the premature abolition of Slavery by force may lead to the merciless slaughter of prisoners, or cannibalism; the captives, being useless as an article of trade, must be got rid of. A New Guinea chief, hearing of the vast slaughter in the Franco-German campaign, remarked, that the conquerors must have had an abundant supply of meat with so many bodies. On being informed, that they were not used for that purpose, his reply was, “Why kill them then? They would be valuable if sold.”

We know how in India there were formerly slave-markets, and History tells us how slaves, like Joseph, have received the highest offices of the State; but Africa is full of surprises, and I read (Wilson, “West Africa,” p. 179) how slaves, who conducted themselves well, *became themselves owners of slaves*. The writer knew several cases, where slaves owned *a larger number of bondmen than their own masters*.

Livingstone (“Zambesi,” p. 49) tells a most extraordinary story: “A man, who was a pilot, told me, that he had voluntarily sold
“ himself into slavery; he was all alone in the World and sold
“ himself to a kind master. He got three thirty-yard pieces of
“ cotton for himself, and immediately bought a man, woman, and
“ child for two of the pieces, and had one left. He afterwards
“ bought more slaves, and had at last enough to make up a large
“ caravan with his own slaves.”

In the third book of Moses, chap. xxv, verse 47, I read: “If thy brother wax poor, and sell himself unto the stranger or sojourner by thee.”

One thing is clear, that Slavery was deemed only a misfortune, and that the holding of a slave was a privilege of wealth; and it is only in later ages, and more enlightened communities, that it has been discovered to be a frightful moral delinquency, to be gradually stamped out.

For it leads to frightful evils, and has a dark side. Slaves were slaughtered to share the graves of their masters, they were tortured, cruelly chastised, starved, buried alive, carved into eunuchs, polluted into concubines; all the social relations violated, wives torn away from their husbands, children from their parents: the status was frightful among the Heathen, still more frightful among the Mahometans, and most frightful among the Christians in America. Livingstone remarks (“Last Journals,” vol i, p. 9): “The lot of the slave does not improve with the general progress

“ of Civilization. While no great disparity of rank exists, his
 “ energies are little tasked; but when Society advances, the slave’s
 “ lot grows harder; the distance betwixt master and slave increases,
 “ as the lust of gain is developed; hence one can have no hope for
 “ improvement in a slave’s condition, unless the master returns to,
 “ or remains in barbarism.”

This shows, that the very existence of Slavery is incompatible with Civilization, and therefore with Christianity.

Livingstone foresaw, that the improvement of Africa by the introduction of agricultural plantations will make the lot of the poor slave worse; but it is a comfort to reflect that escape is always possible in Africa. Already the rumour of plantations in Eastern Equatorial Africa is talked of by German speculators; and it is even asserted, that a black man was only created to work, and must be made to work, and that the Missionaries should have industrial schools to teach them how to work. The French “Engagée” system is merely Slavery in disguise, and by treachery; the practice of the planters in Queensland and Fiji to employ men to kidnap labourers, is Slavery by violence.

One of the saddest consequences of Slavery is, that it hardens the heart of the slave-owner, and the slave-holding community. They forget that the body of man is in the image of God, and may possibly become the temple of the Holy Ghost. They talk of it as black ivory or cattle; they treat the slave not as a fellow-creature but a beast. Livingstone remarked (“Zambesi,” p. 103): “That
 “ custom has made the heart of a certain Spanish priest so callous,
 “ that he coldly told a poor man, that his kidnapped daughter could
 “ not be restored to him.”

Consul Macleod of Mozambique in East Africa, in his book, 1860, vol. i, p. 276, mentions the peculiar aggravation of the form of Slavery tolerated in those territories, which are claimed now by Portugal, as being within her sphere of influence: “To keep the
 “ slave in subjection every opportunity is taken to destroy all
 “ natural affection. The son is made to flog the mother: the
 “ brother the sister: the father has to flog his own daughter and
 “ his wife. Women are made to flog, and under circumstances too
 “ revolting to be told: if two parties fall in love with each other,
 “ they are made to flog each other.”

It is this callous state of mind, which leads some of our own Nation to quote Scripture in support of Slavery. In past ages I read how Roman ladies used to flog their female slaves with iron whips. Travellers to Rome are shown the small tank on the Palatine Hill, full of fish, into which slaves of the Emperors were thrown as a punishment. I read how slaves were left to die on the march, or be devoured by wild beasts, or were killed by the slave-owner in a moment of anger. Unfortunately the African has got the idea in his head of property being possible in a man. A chief

offered Livingstone a slave to look after his goats, but was unwilling to give him a goat. I read how a man sold his young and good-looking wife, because she was unfaithful; this inspired all the other wives with fear. I must remark that King Mtesa, the friend of Christian Missions, sent his favourite wife to be killed. Colonel Grant saw her following the executioner to the place of execution; so perhaps it is better to be a slave than killed.

So frightfully complicated is the subject, that I ask the thorough-going abolitionist, how he is going to dispose of the slaves, to whom he gives liberty. Mr. Felkin, in his "U-Ganda" (vol. ii, p. 299), tells us, how the Mudír of Kordofán took credit for depriving a Greek Christian merchant of all the slaves which he was conveying to the Nile, and ordered the boys to be turned into soldiers, and *the women to be then and there married*, as the only way of disposing of them. We read in the Letters of General Gordon, by Dr. Hill, that he distributed the female slaves, whom he released, among his Egyptian soldiery as wives on the march. The poor creatures were already wives and mothers torn from their homes. The release seems worse than the captivity.

It is a comfort to think, that even in Africa some races are made of stuff that will not bend to Slavery. Livingstone tells us ("Zambesi," p. 597): "That no Kruman or Zulu, or in fact any of the Kafir tribes, can be converted into slaves. Neither in Kafir-land nor Be-Chuána-land has Slavery ever existed. And it is false, that Slavery is only looked upon by the African as an ordinary incident of life."

Livingstone, in his "Last Journals" (vol. ii, p. 19), tells us "How he saw relatives bring three goats to redeem a sick boy who was emaciated. The boy shed tears, when he saw his grandmother, and his father shed tears also, when the goats were rejected. 'So I returned, and considered all the oppression that was done under the sun, and behold the tears of the oppressed, and they had no comforter'" (Eccl. iv, 1).

Beltráme, a Roman Catholic Missionary in the Galla country ("Senaar and Shan Galla," vol. ii, p. 131), tells us that "a poor woman came down from the hills to claim justice for the murder of her husband, and the Turkish ruler ordered her at once to be sold as a slave." He was an officer of the Khedive. A Missionary, on the authority of Sir John Kirk, reported, in 1879, how the Abbé de Baize, a French scientific traveller, who died soon after, sold two women into captivity, who had joined his camp for the sake of the protection of a European.

I have given some of these cases (always quoting my authority) that those, who attempt to rush into the subject and issue general orders of a vague kind, may reflect upon the vastness of the problem, and may not suppose, that I minimise the evil, or am indifferent to it.

I now inquire how the evil is to be dealt with in a country, where the Governors are Christians, or where the slave-owners are (nominally) Christian. Let us consider what was done in British India. Sir Bartle Frere, in an article in the *Fortnightly Review*, described how during his period of service the institution of Slavery, which had been the common Law of British India, died away, and is now extinct. I was myself witness of the proceeding. In 1843 a Law was passed of a very few clauses. By one "any offence was equally an offence, where the sufferer was alleged to be a slave"; by the other "every right was equally a right, where the person claiming it was alleged to be a slave." Under the first provision incarceration or assault became punishable by a magistrate; by the second a so-called slave could always demand his freedom, and it was granted. In the course of a generation the domestic institution has died out. Had the abolitionists had their way, and a proclamation been issued abolishing Slavery under penalties, the streets would have been filled with aged and starving slaves turned out of their owners' homes, and there would have been a commotion all over India. When it is asserted, that Mahometanism cannot exist without Slavery, and that it would create a Religious war to abolish the institution in Turkey, it is replied, that in British India there are fifty million Mahometans, and not one possesses a slave. In Tunisia the Bey abolished Slavery, and in Algeria the French stamped it out.

A warning voice has come from the Niger: some of the neo-Christian congregations, such as Bonny, consist chiefly of Slaves: to spread among them prematurely abolitionist doctrines, *before the Civil law of the country has abolished the status*, is to bring on a servile war, a terrible loss of life and outrages on the part of the slave-owner, and slaves. The self-willed abolitionist-fanatic, who has but one idea, cares nought for this. Christian Statesmen await the opportunity to do permanent good: the Church should use moral weapons only, following the example of Paul.

But how should a Missionary Society act, when it is represented that members of the Church founded by the Society held slaves? The Archbishop of Canterbury stated in the House of Lords on April 12, 1883, and stated correctly, that in 1879 the Church Missionary Society laid down a rule, that any of the agents of the Society, who held slaves, should *ipso facto* cease to be such agents, and this rule was enforced. I have above stated, how I failed to induce the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to pass the same rule for their Mission in Madagascar. The question has now arisen whether Missionary Societies ought not to go further, and adopt the policy of the extreme Abolitionist Party, "*Fiat justitia, ruat coelum.*"

In a newspaper published on the West Coast of Africa appeared

the following lines in 1883: "Was this another instance of slave-
 " holding practices by Sierra Leone men, therefore British subjects,
 " professing Christianity? We fear it was, because we have too
 " much reason to know, that not a few Sierra Leone men, educated
 " in Mission schools, do not hesitate, when in Heathen trading
 " towns, to buy and hold slaves."

Now, if these men were British subjects, we may safely leave the matter to the Attorney-General of the Colony, as it is a felony for a British subject to sell or buy slaves anywhere, and punishable in the High Court of Justice in London.

In a letter written by "a native" to the *Lagos Times*, dated April 9, 1883, I find the following startling information as to the existence of slave-holding, slave-buying, slave-breeding, and ill-usage, by members of the native Churches in independent Yáriba-land, both Episcopal and Wesleyan, and there is good reason to know, that the assertions are true: "This evil thing
 " did not exist in the Yáriba Church in the very early days of
 " the Missions planted in the country; it seems to have been then
 " tabooed, and faithful native Christian teachers assisted them
 " to hold their people up to it. But after a time and with the
 " acquisition of money, a desire was conceived by members to
 " own, as of old in heathenism, property in their fellow-man,
 " and gradually obeyed, until it has become a general practice,
 " from which only the want of money to make purchases keeps
 " converts. Liberated African Christians from Sierra Leone and
 " elsewhere shared in the desire and practice. To the credit of
 " the members of the Wesleyan Church at Abeokúta it is to
 " be said, that they were the last of the Christians there to adopt
 " the practice. An influential party in their community, led by an
 " able native agent, for a long time stood bravely and firmly against
 " its introduction, till, overborne by the weight and persistence of
 " the opposition they encountered, when a concession was made to
 " members of the Church to buy slaves, but not to sell them. But,
 " as was said then by one of those, who had stood against it, the
 " concession to buy was equal to a concession to sell. He also
 " remarked, that this would prove, as it has proved, the ruin of
 " Christianity in the country. Eventually, those who were opposed
 " to the introduction of the practice, fell into it themselves, with
 " those who were originally in favour of it; and now there, as in
 " other parts of the Yáriba Mission, in places not under British
 " rule, slave-holding is a general practice; an exception is not
 " known. Christians buy slaves, breed slaves, sell slaves, own
 " fellow-believers as slaves, and sometimes sell baptized fellow-
 " Christians, their slaves, to Heathens and Mahometans, a thing
 " that may not be found in Mahometanism; separate slave children
 " from slave parents for the market; are often harder upon their
 " slaves than Heathen slave-owners are, Heathens themselves being

“ witnesses; are sometimes most unwilling to allow their slaves to
 “ buy their freedom, even though they be Christians like themselves,
 “ and these may, if they be women, have been made concubines or
 “ secondary wives of, and have borne their masters children; and
 “ would place most exorbitant prices upon them, where Heathens
 “ would be content with an almost nominal sum; would often
 “ demand from their slaves, even from poor women working for the
 “ support of themselves and their children, the payment annually
 “ of four or five bags of cowries, which value from about forty to
 “ fifty shillings, as interest on purchase money, where a Heathen
 “ master is content to have only one bag; are most unwilling to
 “ part with the system, and have persecuted for it, and been found
 “ ready and willing to invite the aid of Heathens in the work
 “ of persecution. There is a mania everywhere in the Christian
 “ community for slave-acquisition, which has seized Pastors, Cate-
 “ chists, and other agents also. A man’s importance is measured
 “ by the number of slaves he possesses. And, as amongst Heathens,
 “ so among professed Christians, Slavery feeds Polygamy, and
 “ Christians may be found, to whom much respect is conceded by
 “ the Church, whose harems are more numerous than those of many
 “ a Heathen on account of the larger number of wives. Slavery in
 “ the Churches has destroyed the brotherhood of Christians, since it
 “ prevents an equality of standing in the Church; and this in
 “ a community where class distinction should not be known! The
 “ cruelty of some Christian slave-owners, even of women, has been
 “ known to end in the lives of their slaves. Is this Christianity?
 “ Is this the Christianity that we look forward to for the Conversion
 “ of Africa from heathenism? And where, beyond British terri-
 “ tory, is it higher or better?”

Now the question which arises, and which I submit for con- sideration, is, What can a Missionary Society do to check such evils? The state of things described is not within British territory, and therefore the State cannot interfere. A Lay Committee of a Society cannot interfere with the ecclesiastical discipline of a native Church: that is the prerogative of the Bishop. Nor could, under any circumstances, conditions be attached to baptism, which are not supported by the authority of the New Testament. Polygamists may be refused baptism, because they are notoriously living in a sin against the words of our Lord, “ Male and female created He them,” and the universal custom of the Church from the earliest ages; but Slavery has never been placed under the ban of Christianity. In some Churches total abstinence from spirituous liquors has been made the condition of Church membership. Against all such narrowing of the great invitation, “ Repent and be baptized,” I must protest.

All that a Society can do is to address a letter to these Churches, reminding them of the great example set to them by the British

Nation, to whom they owe the suppression of the Foreign Slave Trade and their knowledge of the Gospel, and exhorting them to adopt the four following principles

- I. Never to sell or buy a slave.
- II. If their circumstances permit them, at once to free their slaves.
- III. If their circumstances do not permit them, they are urged to treat their slaves as brothers, never to raise the hand against them, and respect the chastity of the female slaves.
- IV. Let all children born henceforth be born free. Let them do this for Christ's sake, who bought them.

It appears to me, that anything beyond this will stultify itself. The conscience of individuals should be appealed to; the Pastors should enforce the Christian duty from the pulpit. We must recollect, that the West African Church is a weak native Church in the midst of a strong heathendom: it would be tantamount to breaking up the Church to excommunicate all slave-holders. And this was not the way, in which Paul dealt with the early Church. He was very gentle with their errors and backslidings. These Churches are independent; support their own Pastors; hold their own synods, and are not to be dictated to by foreigners, however well intentioned. If they transferred their slaves to their Heathen relations by real or fictitious contracts, it is not clear what would be the gain to the slaves. They might go through the form of manumission, and the slaves might next day be seized by the Heathen chiefs and appropriated. The problem is one difficult to solve.

The Churchman, 1887 (with additions, 1888).

SUGGESTED LETTER FROM A MISSIONARY SOCIETY TO THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE AFRICAN CHURCHES.

“ DEAR BROTHER IN CHRIST: We approach you individually in
 “ a spirit of Christian love upon a subject, which lies very near our
 “ hearts. We claim no authority, but we ask you to suffer the
 “ word of exhortation. In all humility we remind you, that to
 “ our Nation you owe your freedom from the terrible cruelty of the
 “ Foreign Slave Trade, that to British Government you owe your
 “ independence and your prosperity, and, more than all things, to
 “ Missionary Societies you owe your knowledge of Christ, which
 “ surpasses in value all other possessions. If any one had a claim
 “ upon you, it is the Society, which has been, as it were, a Nursing
 “ Mother to your Infant Church.

“ Nor do we blame you for the Past; if you have erred, it is in
 “ ignorance, and from the proneness to particular errors, to which
 “ your Nation is exposed. We allude to Slavery and Polygamy.

“ The first principle of our common Religion, of yours and of
 “ ours, is the Brotherhood of Mankind, and their descent from one
 “ Man and one Woman, both created in the image of God. Can
 “ it be right, therefore, to hold your brother of the same race,
 “ colour, and Language, in bondage, to sell and buy him like the
 “ beasts, that have no Soul and perish, to abuse your powers by
 “ ill-usage of the men, and unlawful intercourse with the women?
 “ In the day of Judgment what answer will you have to give, for
 “ you were indeed your brother’s keeper? Can you be said in any
 “ way to have known Christ, when you do such things? Can you
 “ kneel at the Lord’s table, when you have such grievous sins
 “ unrepented of, and unabandoned?

“ In the spirit of love we exhort thee, as a dear and beloved
 “ brother .

I. “ Never to sell or buy a slave.

II. “ If your circumstances permit you, at once set free your
 “ slaves. Do it for the love of the Lord who bought
 “ you, and He will repay you. For your sakes He
 “ assumed the form of a slave, and died for you.
 “ He set you free from the bondage of sin.

III. “ If your circumstances are such, that you are unable to
 “ do so, treat your slave as a brother; lift not your
 “ hand against him; use no threatenings; respect
 “ the chastity of your female slaves, and be to them
 “ as a father, and the Lord will reward you accord-
 “ ing to the measure of your good will.

IV “ Let all children born of your slaves be free. Remember
 “ that children are an heritage of the Lord. It is
 “ He that fashioned and formed them in the womb,
 “ and gave them the blessing of life in this World,
 “ and hope of eternal life in the next! Can you as
 “ a Christian withhold from these little ones the
 “ blessing of liberty? Let the thought of your own
 “ children soften your heart!

“ For your own Soul’s sake let your bondsmen be set free; for
 “ remember, that it was the Lord your God who, through the
 “ agency of the British Nation, brought you, and your family, and
 “ your Nation, out of the house of bondage. Take heed lest you
 “ abuse the kindness of the Lord, and worse things come upon you.

“ The second principle of the new Christian life, which is,
 “ indeed, equal to the first, is the equality of woman to man, the
 “ sharer of the same covenant, the inheritor of the same blessings,

“ subject to the same infirmities, and, through the blood of Christ,
 “ who died for all, the humble claimant for the same Salvation.
 “ And can a Christian man, who has indeed accepted Christ, and
 “ understood His precious promises, convert the woman, who was
 “ created to be the honoured companion, adviser, and the sustainer
 “ of man, into a mere object for debased sensual passions? We
 “ have the words of our blessed Lord: “ Male and female created
 “ He them.” “ They twain shall be one flesh.” It was of
 “ a woman, without the agency of Man, that our Lord Himself was
 “ born, being conceived by the Holy Spirit. Women were His
 “ holy companions in His earthly Pilgrimage, the last at the Cross
 “ and the first at the Sepulchre. No Nation has ever risen to power
 “ and greatness, where women have been undervalued. Over the
 “ great Kingdom, which protects your nation, there reigns in the
 “ love of her subjects a Woman.

“ We beseech you, brother, in the name of the Lord who bought
 “ you, be content with one wife, and free yourself from the deadly
 “ sin of Polygamy, in whatever form it appears among you. We
 “ only ask you to do what we do ourselves.”

VIII.

STATUS OF SLAVERY IN EASTERN EQUATORIAL AFRICA.

IN your issue of the 13th you published a letter from Mr. W. W. A. Fitzgerald on “Slavery in Zanzibar.” He pleads for a continuance of the custom, having the force of Law, of involuntary Servitude in a Region under the rule of Great Britain; his arguments are negative and positive; in his opinion, the lands would go out of cultivation in the Islands of Zanzibár and Pemba, if the custom, above stated, were abolished: he seems to argue that, on the whole, the unfortunate slaves, male and female, like it. He does not allude to the fact, that as long as Slavery is permitted, of however gentle a type, so long the atrocious wickedness of the slave-trade on the mainland of Africa will continue.

Now, though I have been a member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for many years, I am not a fanatic on the subject, or desirous to be a righter of all wrongs all over the World, but, having been for a quarter of a century an Administrator of subject provinces in British India, I am convinced, that there is no remedy, but the absolute and immediate

abolition of the legal status of Slavery, in the dominions or protectorates of Great Britain without any exception.

Fifty-two years ago, in 1844, I heard just the same pleas as those now brought forward by Mr. Fitzgerald, in British India, but the Government of that time had the strength of its convictions and passed a statute of four clauses; two of these were the following:

“(1) Every right possessed by a subject of Her Majesty is equally a right, though the subject is a reputed slave.

“(2) Every wrong inflicted is equally a wrong, though the subject is a reputed slave.”

Under this gentle discipline ill-usage of males, violation of females, disappeared: if the slaves were content, they could stay on with their masters; if not content, they could leave. Girls could no longer be imprisoned in harems, and no sale could take place, as the slave-trade was forbidden under heavy penalties.

If we let things go on as before, when will the change take place? If the islands are abundant in their products owing to slave-labour, so much the worse for the population of the islands. In other parts of the World slave-labour is not necessary. There will be no real progress until the step is taken. There will be an unpleasant five years, no doubt, but then things will settle down, and the standing disgrace to Great Britain, the one solitary black spot in her wide dominions, will be removed.

Times, 1896.

IX.

ARMED OPPOSITION TO SLAVE-TRADE.

“Ἐν Λιβύῃ ἄει τι καίνον.”

So said Aristotle two thousand years ago, and the truth is proved by the events of each successive year. Perhaps the schemes of 1888-9 exceed any dream of the past. Early last year the *Catholic Missions*, a monthly organ of very high character, published under the authority of the Bishop of Salford, announced the new departure in the Article headed “The Sword and the Gospel.” It was proposed, and subscriptions were received, to send out arms and ammunition to Equatorial Africa to enable the Roman Catholic converts to form themselves into communities and wage a war of independence against their *de facto* rulers, and their heathen neighbours. In the month of August Cardinal Lavigerie appeared in Prince’s Hall, London, at a Meeting convened by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and made the following announcement of a new policy for Equatorial Africa. The Slave-trade was introduced as an additional factor. “That is what public opinion

“ ought to obtain from civilized Governments, and which it will
 “ obtain, I am sure, if it be convinced of its utility, and does not
 “ weary in asking. But if the Governments fail to do their duty, it
 “ does not exonerate the people, should they, too, fall into a fatal
 “ indifference to the fate of so many innocent victims. My friends,
 “ if this stream of blood continues to flow, take care, that after so
 “ many warnings it may not be required by a just God at your
 “ hands, and those of your children. Let Christians, then, band
 “ together. I speak of Christians worthy of the name, for it is
 “ necessary to have clean and honest hands for such an enterprise,
 “ and not the red hands of pirates, like those which formerly
 “ devastated America. Information sufficient has now been given
 “ by explorers, Missionaries, and other intrepid men, your Stanley,
 “ with his indomitable courage, and our Joubert, formerly captain
 “ of Pontifical Zouaves, who went out on his own account to form
 “ an armed colony of blacks to protect the Missionaries and the
 “ region which they inhabit. The negroes ought, in reality, to
 “ afford the means for their own regeneration. They can, if they
 “ are armed and properly led, as we witness at this moment in the
 “ case of that grand man Emin Pasha, who, for more than ten
 “ years, has, by the aid of his native troops, kept the whole of his
 “ Equatorial Province free from the ravages of the slave-hunters.
 “ The success of his example might well stimulate similar action
 “ in other parts of Africa.”

His phraseology was guarded to suit the atmosphere of Protestant London; but at Brussels, in Roman Catholic Belgium, he lets the cat out of the bag. He meant fighting, bloodshed, and physical force.

Brussels, August 15.

Cardinal Lavigerie preached this afternoon in the Church of Sainte Gudúle before a distinguished and numerous audience. He detailed the horrors of the Slave-trade, especially in the Kongo-State. “ Belgian Catholics,” he said, “ must aid in the King’s noble
 “ work. The Act constituting the Kongo-State condemned the
 “ Slave-trade. The Mahometans and Arabs should be prohibited from
 “ carrying arms. He added, that men willing to prevent this annual
 “ butchery of two Millions of Human beings might enlist, addressing
 “ themselves to him. One hundred men would suffice for the
 “ suppression of the traffic on Lake Tanganyika, and a subscription
 “ of 1,000,000 f. would be required. Protestant England approved
 “ his efforts. Godfrey de Bouillon had gone with 80,000 men from
 “ Belgium to deliver Palestine; why should not modern Belgium
 “ find 100 men for the new crusade? The first list of the subscrip-
 “ tions would be published in eight days. His Eminence Cardinal
 “ Manning sat on the other side of the Chairman, the Earl of
 “ Granville, at the Meeting in Princes Hall, and made the following
 “ remarkable utterance: The time was come, when the knowledge

“ of this terrific African slavery, a thousand times worse than any-
 “ thing known in the West, by reason of atrocities such as were
 “ never committed in the worst periods of Western slavery, should
 “ be published.”

“ England should be covered with voices, that would tell the truth
 “ and rouse the conscience of the Nation. If he were a man of peace,
 “ he was also a man of war, and when the weak were trampled on
 “ by the strong, it was the duty of the stronger to protect the weak,
 “ and therefore by Human Law, which was just and divine Law,
 “ which was above all, there was no form of legitimate force, which
 “ he did not consider ought to be used in delivering the men, women,
 “ and children, who were being massacred and destroyed. He was
 “ confident that hundreds of men could be found ready to go on so
 “ sacred and Christian a Mission. He did not wish to complicate
 “ Governments. The people could, by voluntary action, without
 “ committing any Government, do almost what was adequate for
 “ meeting the great evil.”

It is clear, then, that the Princes of the Roman Catholic Church in France, and Great Britain, suggest the policy of enlisting a body of armed men, who, without the license and permission of the heads of their respective Governments, should go out into an independent country, wage war, take away Human life, and introduce all the incidents of modern warfare; they would scarcely kill their prisoners, they would have no means of deporting them, so they must build prisons to hold them, and levy taxes to support their own forces and their prisoners.

Commander Cameron, of the Royal Navy, now comes on the stage with his scheme: The scheme proposed by Mr. Cameron mainly consisted in his organizing a new Society, to be called the Gordon-Livingstone Society, with Committees all over the country, to collect a sum of £100,000, in order to enable an expedition of about 100 armed Englishmen, under his leadership, to go out to Central Africa and form armed stations upon Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa, and thus stop the slave-traffic through that portion of the Continent. It appears from this, that territorial annexation is contemplated; a chain of forts is to be constructed, extending many hundred miles. This is a gigantic problem even for a great European Power to undertake; for Commander Cameron, with his hundred mighty men of valour, it seems to be something half-way between a joke and a crime.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which for fifty years has occupied the ground with marvellous success, has at once repudiated all connection with Commander Cameron. By its statutes its methods are limited to “moral and religious.” To their protest Commander Cameron replies in the following jaunty style:

“ I am endeavouring to enlist sympathy on behalf of the
 “ dwindling races of Central Africa, and by all legal means to

“ assuage their sufferings. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery
 “ Society is, by its constitution I am informed, restricted to the
 “ employment of moral force only. How ineffectual for the pre-
 “ vention of slave-raids moral force alone is, I leave to those of
 your readers, who have followed recent events in Central Africa,
 “ to decide.

“ I was recently, in company with Cardinal Lavigerie, elected
 “ a corresponding member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery
 “ Society. This unsolicited and unsought-for honour does not,
 “ I conceive, restrict me to advocating the means, viz., moral
 “ force, regarded as proper by the purists, who advise the Secretary
 “ of that Society to write to you.

“ Cardinal Lavigerie plainly recommends the use of physical force,
 “ and in this recommendation was strenuously supported at Prince’s
 “ Hall, by members of the Council of the Society. That those,
 “ who consider themselves unjustified in using other than moral
 “ force, should assist the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society
 “ in the work it aims at, I consider right, and I trust that they
 “ will largely augment the funds at its disposal, but I do object to
 “ the Secretary or any members of the Society endeavouring to hinder
 “ the work, in which, if it be necessary, I am ready to risk my life.

“ The member of the Council of the Anti-Slavery Society, who
 “ supported Cardinal Lavigerie in his recommendation for private
 “ individuals to use physical force, was his Eminence Cardinal
 “ Manning, above quoted. The report of the meeting supplies no
 “ further evidence.”

It is clear that we have arrived at the parting of the ways. In
Central Africa, the organ of the Universities’ Mission, for January,
 1889, p. 2, we read: “ It may, perhaps, be well in the face of
 “ erroneous statements that have appeared in some quarters to state
 “ emphatically, that it was not the Missionaries, but the African
 “ Lake Company, who have been engaged in unavoidable hostilities
 “ at the North end of the lake. The gunboat, with which they
 “ (the Company) intended to bombard Miloyi, is delayed by a storm
 “ on the coast.”

The appearance of Scotchmen with muskets and cannon to storm
 the fort of an African on the West side of Lake Nyasa, would be
 called “ invasion,” if Arab traders appeared in the same guise on
 Lock Katrine. It is well that the warlike schemes of the African
 Lake Company, Commander Cameron, and Cardinal Lavigerie,
 should be thoroughly understood, and reflected upon by those, who
 take interest in Missionary operations. They cannot flourish with
 such an environment, and it is to be hoped that the Governments
 of France and Great Britain will restrain in time their subjects,
 before the news reaches us of wholesale massacre of the Natives,
 and retaliatory measures against all Europeans, innocent or guilty.

Record, 1889.

SLAVERY ON THE NIGER.

AN expression which was used by Lord Cairns, "She was not a slave, but redeemed," in the debate in the House of Lords on Friday the 13th of April, has caused me great uneasiness. I have read through the whole of the correspondence of the case of the "Murder of a Slave Girl," presented to Parliament November, 1882, and Sir John Kirk has called my attention to the dangerous position, in which we are.

This particular case is disposed of, and the offenders were not Agents of the C.M.S. But the facts which are disclosed require careful consideration.

It is clear, that Mr. John exercised a dominion over a redeemed slave, and it is difficult to say whether, if she had been a slave in the natural sense, he could have had more authority over her. The question is not whether he treated the girl well or ill, but how he got the girl so entirely under his control, that in the public opinion she was called "Mr. John's Girl": see page 8 of the Blue Book.

Again, at page 9 we have the following phrase: "I am a slave, and am working out my redemption." Now let us be clear: what does the word "redemption" mean? If any man by paying a sum of money down on the nail to the slave-owner redeem his parent, wife, child, relation, or friend, he is doing a lawful and meritorious act. It is presumed, that the redeemed slave becomes absolutely free from that moment.

But if a stranger in blood and acquaintance pay a sum to the slave-owner, and take over a slave to himself, and hold a right over such slave to restrain him, work him, flog him, whether for a term of years, or for ever, he has actually purchased a slave, and if a British subject, he is liable to a prosecution under the Act of George IV. His intentions may be meritorious, but they are entirely illegal. At any rate, we cannot allow our Agents to do so; it is another form of pawning. We condemned the plan of a free-man being allowed to pawn himself to pay a debt: this is just the same thing; a slave is suffered to be pawned, until he has paid his price of ransom. I fear that in former times our Missionaries allowed this; and although it is forbidden now, there may be cases of slaves still (like the man at page 9) working out their redemption. It is most important, that we should define clearly our views before any new scandal crops up, and let our Agents at Sierra Leone and on the Niger know this.

The following Rules are clear, and cover the whole ground :

- (1) Everyone is allowed by payment to redeem a relative or friend, always supposing that the redeemed person becomes absolutely free at once.
- (2) Any purchase of a slave, directly or indirectly, is forbidden, and the person doing so will be denounced to the Civil Authorities by the Local Committee, and dismissed from employment.
- (3) It is forbidden to any Agent of the Society, directly or indirectly, to enter into any contract himself, or to sanction the entering into by anyone else of any contract, by which a free person pawns himself or his relatives for a period, or for life, until a certain sum be paid.
- (4) It is forbidden to any Agent of the Society, directly or indirectly, to enter into any contract himself, or to sanction the entering into by anyone else of any contract, by which the dominion over a slave is transferred under the name of redemption, with the condition, that involuntary service is to be rendered for a term of years, or until a certain amount is paid.

Will you kindly place this matter on the Agenda of Group 3 for our next meeting?

As it is proposed to print my previous letter on the subject of Slavery in Africa, I shall be glad to add a few words. My remarks only apply to the Agents of the Society and Office-holders of the Church. It is not pretended to pass Laws to control the actions of the people, whether Christians or Heathen. A Missionary Society should never arrogate to itself the powers of the Civil Government, but it is quite justified in controlling the conduct of its own nominees and dependants, where misconduct entails discredit upon the Parent Society.

The first rule lays down what is legal and meritorious; the second rule reminds, that a purchase of a slave, as of a chattel or beast of burden, is punishable as a felony in London, wherever the act may have been committed by a British subject.

The third and fourth rules are absolutely necessary. It is very true, that in a kingdom, where Law and Courts of Justice existed, it might be, and is, possible to regulate the contracts, under which a parent can make his son an apprentice, or a freeman agree to labour under specific terms; but in a country where no Law prevails, the system of pawning is only slavery in disguise, and is open to all the objections which surround the French system of "*Engagée*" on the East Coast of Africa. The Committee has already decided, that it will not lend its sanction or

countenance to the system of pawns. The practice of redeeming slaves by purchase, and allowing them to work off their price by labour for so many years, is open to the same objections. It has a specious appearance of benevolence, and, if we could suppose an enlightened Government tolerating Slavery (which is impossible), it might be possible to regulate the procedure of redemption by careful registration, and fixation of price. In fact, such is the system recommended to the Madagascar Government under their very peculiar circumstances. But in a country like Yáriba-land, and the Basin of the Niger, no Law prevails, and no system of registration or fixation of price could exist, and the only course open to the Missionary Society is to keep clear of any contamination of its Agents and Office-holders by contact with what is Slavery in reality, though called Redemption, while it lacks the chief feature of the redeemed party becoming a free agent. If the Committee will agree to these four rules, their Agents will know what they may do, and what they may not do, in their individual capacities, and the possibility of scandal to the Society will be prevented. If any Agent disobey the rules he must be dismissed, just as he would be for any other act of immorality. Should the Church, under its Bishop, undertake any comprehensive scheme, that would be another matter; and it is probable that, if the scheme were lawful and wise, the Committee would have no objection to it.

Letter to Church Missionary Society, 1888.

XI.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

SLAVERY preceded the sale of slaves, and is one of the earliest social institutions of mankind. Abraham had slaves, some of whom were his trusty friends. Life in these days was not passed in a Realm of Law, and fighting was constant. The defeated were either killed, or spared, and made slaves: hewers of wood and drawers of water. The word *servus* in Latin, for "slave," is presumed to be derived from *servatus*, or "spared." In British India a Law was passed half a century ago, enacting, that whatever was a crime was still a crime, even if the sufferer were a slave; and, whatever was a right, was equally a right, even if the claimant was a slave. It was soon found out, that free labour under such conditions was more profitable than slave labour, as there could be no more flogging, killing, or locking up; and thus the Institution has died out.

When the slave was employed in agriculture, then the trouble commenced; when the female slave was sold to be an inmate of the harem, and the male slave to be carved into a eunuch, then the horrors commenced. A constant demand necessitated a constant supply. Thus the organized slave-trade commenced, which is a totally different offence from slavery. In British India, the import of a slave, or the export of a slave, is a felony; while sale of a slave would not be recognized, or enforced. Therefore, under a realm of Law, the slave-trade can no more exist than the status of slavery.

But in Empires such as Turkey, or Persia, and in regions without any form of government, like Central Africa, slavery and the slave-trade are abominable features, and a curse to the country which exports or imports slaves. In the course of the collection of a party of slaves for export, a vast majority are killed in the night-attack on the village, untold numbers die on the miserable march to the coast, and only a small percentage survives the sea-passage. It requires no arguments to show, that the slave-trade is a piracy of the worst kind; and, under such conditions, the only real cure is to abolish the status of slavery. If, in settled regions like the Islands of Zanzibár and Pemba, agriculture be not conducted by slaves, there will be no demand for the article. As to the traders captured on the high sea by European subjects, with a cargo of slaves, they should be hung at once from the yardarms of their own ships, the slaves conducted to one of the Freedman Settlements on the coast, and the vessel burned. Sufficient notice has been given, and for more than twenty years mild measures have been put in force. The time has now come for decisive action (1) Abolition of the status of slavery; (2) Summary execution by hanging of all slave-dealers.

In the interior of Africa, beyond the settled influence of European powers, we are helpless; but we can absolutely prohibit the import of slaves into spheres of European influence, and the sea-coast is thus barred. It is lamentable to think, that there is connivance in some cases on the part of Europeans. During this last week there has been a letter in the *Times* from the pen of Henry Stanley, the well-known African explorer, in which it is roundly stated, that the slave-dealers are supplied with gunpowder and European arms, and it is the possession of these, that enables the slave-dealer to attack villages and carry off the inhabitants, men, women, and children. A great many things are happening in Africa, which cause astonishment. Why are arms and gunpowder allowed to be unshipped on African coasts? Why are spirituous liquors imported into the West Coast in such gigantic quantities? The next generation will experience the consequences of this neglect of ordinary precautions. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is ever on the look out, and watching every move on the chessboard, and knocking at the

door of the Foreign Office, when new facts are ascertained. Public opinion must be formed, that the Slave Trade ought to be put down by force at once. It is lamentable to read that the Roman Catholic Missionaries purchase little boys and girls so as to fill their schools. Their motive is good, and money is collected in France by pious families to purchase a little girl to be christened "Louise," or a little boy to be christened "Gaston." Now this is a direct encouragement to the Slave-Trade. The Arab trader cares not, whether the boy becomes a French acolyte or an Egyptian eunuch; or whether the girl passes into a harem or a nunnery. All he wants is a market for his wares. It is a comfort to think, that not many years ago after an Arab trader had sold to the Romish Missionaries a nice little assortment of children, on Lake Tanganyika, which they had stolen from another tribe, the members of the first tracked their offsprings, came down on the Mission, killed the two French Priests, and took the children back. The French call it redemption of slaves, which is an abuse of terms. Cases do occur of a man redeeming his wife or child from slavery, who had been kidnapped; but purchasing stray children of both sexes, knowing they had been collected by brutal violence, is quite another thing.

The presence of nine millions of African freedmen, educated citizens of the United States of North America, shows that under God's Providence good can come out of evil. Such a result was not anticipated by the cruel slave-dealer of the last century; and there are good hopes, that the negroes of the West Coast of Africa will come under the influence of their educated brethren in colour and race from the West Indies and the Southern States of the Great Republic.

Stamford paper, 1893.

SOMETHING WORTHY OF THE JUBILEE.

SIR,—We are all striving to do something to render illustrious the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign. May I suggest, that we take a step, which will remove one stain from the shield of Great Britain?

Let the Government be urged to take such measures, as will convince us on June 20 of this year that there is not one person, male or female, in the shameful position of involuntary servitude, *alias* Slavery, within the British dominions in every part of the World. I was an Eton boy, when the Queen came to the Throne, and we were taught that whenever any Slave from the West Indies placed his foot in the British Isles, that moment he became free. Let that principle be extended, and let us be able to say that, whenever any tribe in Asia, Africa, Oceania, or America comes under the political protectorate of Great Britain, that very instant the fetters drop from their wrists.

It is better that the Islands of Pemba and Zanzibár should lie waste than that they should be cultivated by Slaves imported by robbers and murderers from their native villages in Equatorial Africa.

If the Foreign Office consider, that these Arabs are entitled to compensation, let them have it, and a fund in honour of Her Majesty's sixtieth regnal year be opened for that purpose.

There must be no more delay or excuses. The thing must be done. The American and French Republics allow of no Slavery in their vast dominions: why should Great Britain abolish the status of India in 1844 and allow it to continue in Zanzibár in 1897?

Times, March, 1897.

N.B. Nothing was done: the scandal remains owing to the weak-kneed policy of the British Government. (See p. 769.)

September, 1897.

THE ORIENTAL INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF EUROPE, 1873 TO 1897.

IN the first week of September there will be held in Paris, for the second time, a Congress of Oriental Scholars. To France Science is indebted for the first conception of this idea, and the first Meeting was held in Paris in 1873, and since then Meetings have been held in London, St. Petersburg, Florence, Berlin, Leyden, Vienna, Stockholm, and Geneva. After a lapse of twenty-four years, Paris offers a hospitable welcome, not only to European Scholars, but representatives of America, North Africa, and Asia. At the close of each Congress, Reports of Proceedings have been printed and circulated to all Members, and these volumes are most valuable. Membership is open to all, who send in their names, and pay a certain inconsiderable subscription. The Languages permitted to be used have been English, French, German, and Italian. The business has been divided into Sections with a certain number of General Meetings. Excursions, and entertainments, and visits to Museums, are arranged as interludes.

The advantage derived from this series of Congresses has been very great, and it is to be hoped, that they will continue to meet after an interval of two or three years. The period of the year is necessarily August and September, as so many of the Members are obliged to be at their official duties by certain dates. In addition to the ordinary Members there are also Delegates from States, or Learned Societies, or from India and different European Colonies. The advantage derived is both special and general: the special advantage is, that Scholars of different countries, who never had a chance of meeting, here meet under favourable circumstances, interchange ideas, and form lasting friendships; the general advantage is the wonderful impetus given to Scientific Inquiry, and the solidarity imparted to Oriental Study. No one, who has attended two or three, or even one of these Congresses, can have any other feeling than one of extreme satisfaction, that he was there. I had the privilege of being present at London, 1874; St. Petersburg, 1876; Florence, 1878; Berlin, 1881; Leyden, 1883; Vienna, 1886; and Stockholm, 1889; and I am deeply sensible of the interest aroused, the information collected, the new vistas of thought opened, and the sweet friendship (to last for life, I hope) formed with Scholars, who previously were valued for their works only, but whose personality was unknown.

PARIS, 1873.

On the 1st of September this Congress was formally opened by M. Leon de Rosny, the President, in the Salle de Théologie, at the Sorbonne. Delegates from England, Belgium, Spain, the United States, Greece, Holland, Italy, the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, Poland, Russia, Switzerland, and the French Colonies in Africa, were present. Fifteen Scientific Societies had also sent Delegates. A Council was elected by ballot, representative of the different Nationalities present. There were twenty-one Meetings. Three volumes of Reports were published. Half the first volume is occupied with the subject of Japan from many points of view: the other half with the subject of China, Borneo, and Buddhism. More than one hundred pages of the second volume are occupied by Egyptian discussions, in which we are glad to find that M. Maspero, the Secretary of the present Congress, took a part. About the same number of pages are devoted to Assyriology, and the name of M. Jules Oppert appears. Semitic studies occupy about the same space, and we are glad to find the name of M. Halevy conspicuous, fighting vigorously all round, then as now. Iranian, Dravidian, and the general subject of India, occupy about sixty pages, Buddhism about forty, and we are glad to see the names of MM. Vinson and Feer, who are still in our midst. It seems rather an undue stretch of the natural orbit of an Oriental Congress to have introduced the subject of Neo-Hellenism, a purely European study.

LONDON, 1874.

A single volume records the Transactions of this Congress, and I published a résumé of the whole in the *Calcutta Review* of 1875. The attendance was very great, not only of Professors, and Authors, but of the general public, some of whom could enter into the discussions all down the line. It commenced on the 14th and ended the 20th of September. Perhaps the arrangements with regard to the places of Meeting were not so perfect, as could have been wished, and it is important, that there should be ample room for all the Sections to meet in immediate vicinity to each other. There were six Sections: (1) Arian Section, presided over by Professor Max Müller; (2) Semitic Section, by Sir H. Rawlinson; (3) Non-Arian Section (of India), by Sir W. Elliot; (4) Hamitic Section, by Dr. Birch, of the British Museum; (5) Archaeological Section, by Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff; (6) Ethnological Section, by Professor Owen. Dr. Birch was President of the Congress.

The countries represented were Great Britain, France, Germany, Hungary, Sweden, Russia, and India. No Delegates came from the Iberian Peninsula, Italy, or the United States, nor do we find any Dutch, Danish, or Belgian names among the members. Turkey and Greece were silent, but Egypt sent an accomplished Scholar. It is a sad task to pass under review the names of so many illustrious men of all Nationalities, whom Science has lost since 1874.

Dr. Birch, the President, made his inaugural address on Monday, the 14th. He alluded to the progress made in Excavations, and the discovery of Inscriptions: he pressed on the Congress the importance of a Universal Alphabet. It seems strange to read, that he thought it necessary to make an emphatic declaration in favour of the reality and truth of Cuneiform studies. This marks the great progress in Human Knowledge since 1874: it is scarcely possible, that any such declaration could be necessary now. On the Hamitic Section, his own peculiar Province, he dilates at length, and he lays stress on the necessity of the labours of the Philologist being supplemented by the Ethnologist and Archaeologist. He alluded to the wholesale forgery of Antiquities for the purpose of dishonest gain, which has caused so much trouble.

The weak side of the arrangements in London began to show themselves, when it was found, that there was only time for a long address of one person, without opportunity of discussion. Sir H. Rawlinson made the opening address in the Semitic Section, and then a triangular duel took place in the French, German, and English Languages, between M. Oppert, Professor Schrader, and the President of the Section. Other papers were read on different subjects in the different Sections. Professor Max Müller laid on the table the last sheet of the printed text of the Rig Veda. Shunkur Pandurang Pandit addressed the Congress on Hindu Customs, in a singularly prepossessing manner and well-chosen Language. An exhibition took place of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Royal Asiatic Society. In the Hamitic Section Professor Brugsch Bey made his remarkable statement on the route taken by the Hebrews from Egypt to Palestine, along the Coast of the Mediterranean.

The last duty was to decide the place, where the next Congress should be held, and it was determined that it should be St. Petersburg. The Lord Mayor of London entertained a certain number of Members at Dinner, and this was pretty well all the hospitality, that was shown by Great Britain to the assembled Foreigners. The English Universities ignored the Congress altogether.

ST. PETERSBURG, 1876.

Two volumes contain the Reports of this Congress, but as one is entirely in the Russian Language, it is not of much use beyond the frontier. The second contains contributions in the English, French, Arabic, German, and Chinese Languages. At this Congress appeared for the first time the essential of all Congresses, the daily Bulletin, without which the position of foreign members is very sad, and French was the *lingua franca* adopted. The President was M. Grigoriew, and the Presidents of the nine Sections were as follows :

(1) Siberia	M. Vassiliew.
(2) Central Asia	M. Ch. Schéfer.
(3) Caucasus	M. Gamazow.
(4) Trans-Caucasus	M. Patkanow.
(5) Extreme Orient	M. de Rosny.
(6) India	M. Kern.
(7) Turkey	Ahmed Véfík.
(8) Archaeology	M. Oppert.
(9) Systems of Religions	Mr. Douglas.

To each section there were two Vice-Presidents.

A list of questions on subjects to be discussed in the Congress was prepared by the Organizing Committee, which certainly was a great advance, as Members thus knew what was going to be discussed, and there was much larger license and opportunity given for discussion, which really is the main object of a Congress. No subjects could be mooted outside this list except by special leave of the President.

The Congress was opened on the 1st September and closed on the 10th. Dom Pedro, the Emperor of the Brazils, was present as an Honorary Member, and made himself exceedingly sociable and agreeable. I had the honour of being a Member, and wrote an account of the Proceedings in the *Calcutta Review* of 1877. No attempt at private hospitality was made to the assembled Strangers, but two entertainments were given in the Imperial Palaces of Peterhof and Tzarko-Selo, at which the Imperial Chamberlain presided: otherwise no notice was taken of the Congress by any member of the Imperial Family or the Nobility. It was remarked, that there were no great German Scholars present, and that there was an open feud among the Russian Scholars, and many distinguished Russian Scholars, some actually in the City, absented themselves. A great mistake was made in admitting chance tourists, male and female, to membership. The English representatives were swamped by ignorant travellers, who took tickets merely for the sake of the Imperial Banquets. Great

advance was made in the Organization, and the *locale* was magnificent in one of the offices of Government, and a select body of students acted as chamberlains to the Meetings. Some Members of the Congress made it their special duty to introduce foreigners of different Nationalities to each other. The difficulty of Language was very great, as by the organic Rules none were allowed except French, and the Language of the Country, but this Rule was broken through, and this produced evils of a different kind: at last the four great Languages of Europe only, and set speeches in Latin, were allowed in addition to Russian. There were no long Presidential Addresses, but the idea of holding contemporaneous sittings of Sections, and thus economizing time, was not arrived at until the Florence Congress. It was authoritatively declared, that no topic relating to the Christian Religions, Politics, State Administration, Commerce, or Manufacture, should be allowed. In Russia the Press was admitted; at the next Congress in Italy it was excluded. Such are the vagaries of Continental systems. In Russia women were allowed to be members, and even delegates; in Italy they were rejected. In Russia the general public was admitted to the Meetings; in Italy even Oriental Students were excluded, and the doors closed absolutely on the Public. These features are mentioned as warnings to future Congresses.

The Nationalities represented by the Members were English, French, German, Italian, Dane, Swedish, Norwegian, Finlander, Pole, Dutch, Turk, and very few of the greatest Scholars of Europe were there.

A great many subjects were discussed in the Sections of paramount importance. Central Asia was naturally the speciality of this Congress, which was a great success, and the last business was to accept the offer of the Italian Government, that the next Congress should be held at Florence. The Report is a mine of information, and all impartial observers will admit, that Russia is doing its duty to Science in these remote Regions, and deserves thanks for the good work done, and the prospect of greater things hereafter. The presence of Buriat, Ostyak, Finlander, and Tartar, gave an Oriental reality to the Meetings, which can be found nowhere but in London or St. Petersburg, the two Powers, which divide Asia between them.

FLORENCE, 1878.

Two volumes represent the Report of this Congress, and one small volume the Bulletin issued daily: both in the Italian Language. I had the honour of being present, and published a Report of the Proceedings in the *Calcutta Review* of 1879. The Congress met at Florence on September 12th: it differed materially

from that of St. Petersburg: the attendance of Scholars was very much greater, 120 in number. Women, and persons not interested in Oriental studies, were excluded. The subdivisions of the subject were no longer Geographical, but Linguistic: the Organization was left to the control of Universal Suffrage, and business was conducted in Sections seated in different rooms, but at the same time. A Palace was provided for the Meetings and refreshments: it was clear, however, that an Organizing master-mind was absent, and confusion and waste of time were the consequence. It thus clearly appeared that Florence erred on one side as much as St. Petersburg on the other: what is required is a benevolent paternal authority, and Constitutional rules and precedents.

The division of Sections was as follows: (1) Hamitic, (2) Semitic (Ancient), (3) Semitic (Modern), (4) Arian, (5) Indian or South Asia, (6) Altaic or North Asia, (7) The Extreme Orient. As soon as Scholars had ranged themselves under their respective Sections, they elected their Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries. Some countries sent National Delegates. In some Learned Societies were represented. British India sent a Delegate.

The Congress was opened by Amadeo, late Duke of Aosta ex-King of Spain), and he entertained Delegates at dinner in the Palazzo Pitti, and the Ministers of Public Instruction entertained the whole Congress in Palazzo Riccardi. The President was Senatore Amári, assisted by Professors Ascoli, Gorresio, Severini, Lasinio, and De Gubernáti. Maspero was President of the Hamitic Section; Renan of the Semitic (Ancient), Schefer of the Semitic (Modern); Benfey of the Arian; Roth of the Indian or South Asia; Velaminoff of the Altaic; Legge of the Extreme Orient; and the list of Vice-Presidents comprised really illustrious Scholars. In the Hamitic Section M. Naville read a paper on the Edition of the Egyptian Ritual of the Dead, with the preparation of which he had been charged by the London Congress of 1874. Real good work was done in this Section, which was not crowded, but very effective. In the Semitic (Ancient) Section Renan occupied his post with dignity. M. Lenormant, Prof. Oppert, Prof. Ascoli, Prof. Sayce made interesting communications. Such meetings advance Science.

The same cannot be said with regard to the Semitic (Modern) Section: it was crowded, but the subjects discussed were of the smallest literary interest, such as would occupy the minds of dilettanti Scholars of the Old School, not the great class of "Indagatores" of the Nineteenth century. I am forced to go back to Pliny to find a word. There was an absence from this Section both of the modern Philological and Archaeological spirit; and the Report reads more like that of a Congress of University Tutors of the last century met to discuss the reading of a passage in a Great Play, or the accentuation of a Vowel, before the dawn of Comparative

Philology had swept away the cobwebs of the Scholiasts. Was it worth while to discuss whether Mahomet could hold a pen or write? Any official in India knows, that Provinces can be ruled, and Codes of Law compiled, by the Dictation of a great man, who could not wield the pen.

The Arian supplied a good deal of material for reflection. Professor Oppert explained how the Persian Cuneiform Alphabet was formed from the earlier Cuneiform Syllabic and Ideographic System. Professor Schiefner spoke about the Languages of the Caucasus. The subject of the patois of the Zingári or Gypsies, and the analogous linguistic features, which accompanied the transition of the Sanskrit and Latin dead Languages into the two groups of living modern Languages, were discussed. Dr. Leitner, the Delegate of British India, exhibited in this Section his collection of Greek Antiquities lately discovered in the Trans-Indian Provinces of the Panjáb.

The Indian Section was small, but such an assembly of great Scholars, perhaps, was never before seen in one room. A new difficulty here presented itself. I had prepared a communication on the Dravidian Languages of South India, and, warned by the fate of English papers at the Russian Congress, I wrote it in Italian; but such are the chances of Science, as well of war, that on this occasion the company was such that, with the exception of myself, Dr. Leitner, and two or three Italians, no one present understood the Language, and the paper, kindly read most distinctly by Professor Pullé, fell flat, and at its close I had orally to go over the subject in an English address.

In the Altaic Section little was done, in spite of the presence of such Scholars as Vambéry of Buda Pesth, and Donner of Helsingfors. An Italian had the hardihood to read a paper on a Language in North America; this ought not to have been allowed in an Oriental Congress.

In the Extreme Oriental Section, Professor Legge read an address on the state of our knowledge of the Chinese; here a new difficulty arose: he was qualified to speak English or Chinese; his audience understood neither; so he made his opening address in Latin, which was a mediaeval anachronism.

Other papers were read without discussion; clearly there should be a Committee of Selection of Papers; and those of intrinsic interest, but not likely to rouse discussion, should be taken as read, and printed in the Report: what we want in a Congress of Experts is a problem to be solved, a nut to be cracked, and time to do so: Knowledge will thus be advanced.

The last proceeding was to select a German city, at the discretion of the German Oriental Society, for the place of the next Congress.

One flaw in the proceedings of this Congress was the incompleteness, and tardiness of appearance, of the daily Bulletin: this is really the blood-circulator of a good Congress.

BERLIN, 1881.

The next Congress met at the Capital of the German Empire: unluckily the International Geographical Congress was held at Venice at nearly the same time. I had the honour of being a Member of the Berlin Congress, but on the last day I had to forego the pleasure of sharing in the hospitality to hurry across Germany and the Alps so as to be in time for the opening by King Humbert in person of the International Geographical Congress.

The President of the Congress was Dr. Dillman, "*grande et venerabile nomen*": he was assisted by 117 Professors and Scholars of German Universities. The oldest and most venerated were Prof. Lepsius, Prof. Fleischer, and Prof. Bohtlingk, but the two latter took no share in the proceedings. The countries represented were Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Servie-Spain, Egypt, the United States, Japan, China, India, and Syria. The Congress was opened on September 12, 1881, by the Minister of Public Instruction: in Germany everything must be official. Two volumes represent the Report: I made my Report of the Proceedings in the *Calcutta Review* in 1884.

One great blot must be recorded, as a warning to future Congresses. The grotesque and ridiculous idea was started of producing Natives of Oriental countries as illustrations of a paper read: thus, the Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford produced a real living Indian Pandit, and made him go through the ritual of Brahmanical Prayer, and Worship, before a hilarious assembly: this shocks the Religious sense of all thoughtful men. Prof. Max Müller, of Oxford, produced two rival Japanese Priests, who exhibited their gifts: it had the appearance of two showmen exhibiting their monkeys. In the African Section I read a paper in German on the Languages of Africa, but it fell flat, because I thoughtlessly had not provided myself with a Negro, a Zulu, a Hottentot, and a Moor, as object-lessons of the great Linguistic Regions of that Continent.

There were only four Sections: (1) Semitic (Ancient and Modern). Dr. Schrader was its President, with a company of sixty Scholars. (2) Arian, including Comparative Philology: sixty Scholars also formed this company, and elected Prof. Weber as their President. (3) Africa, including Egypt. Prof. Lepsius presided over a select body of fourteen Scholars, and was eventually relieved by Brugsch Bey. (4) The Extreme Orient, to which Archaeology and Ethnology were attached: twenty-five Scholars grouped themselves around Prof. Von der Gabelentz and Dr. Bastian, as joint-Presidents of the United sub-Sections.

The Imperial Family and the Nobility manifested no interest whatever in the Congress. Papers were read in English, German, and French. Visitors were kindly received and entertained by the German Professors. There was no show, but a great amount of good work done.

There was too much of the pedantic and Scholastic element in the Semitic Section. There were exceptions, however: Prof. Paul Haupt discussed the Subject of the Sumerian or Accadian Language, which brought Prof. Oppert to the front. Prof. Sayce read a paper on the Inscriptions on the rocks of Van in Armenia.

In the Arian Section Prof. Max Müller occupied a good deal of time, "*Germanus an Anglicus anceps*": his object was to note the shortcomings, and want of liberality, of Great Britain in the matter of Oriental Studies: it was surprising to hear these charges from one, who had received so much in grants from the Indian Government. He described how he had unearthed Sanskrit MSS. in Japan. Prof. Monier-Williams and Pandit Shámaji Krishnavarna gave what appeared to me an improper exhibition of the mode of Religious Worship of the Hindu, holding them up to ridicule. If the Hindu in their towns were to exhibit Anglican Ritual, we should feel offended. Prof. Monier-Williams read a paper on the important subject of the transliteration of Oriental Alphabets into the Roman.

In the African Section, M. Naville described the progress in the Edition of the "Book of the Dead," and announced the wonderful discovery of Mummies at Dar-el-Bahári, in Egypt, and the find of important Papyri. Brugsch Bey read his paper on the Egyptian Ethnological subject, and I contributed a paper in German on "Our present Knowledge of the Languages of Africa."

The fourth Section was unimportant: one paper only deserves notice, on a New Chinese Grammar, by Professor Von der Gabelentz.

A banquet closed the Proceedings, at which I gather from the Newspapers, that everybody seemed to wish to speak simultaneously. The Postmaster-General of Germany was among the guests, and in his speech expressed the only sentiment worth recording: he remarked, that upwards of Sixty Millions of letters came annually from India to Europe, furnishing loads for nine hundred Camels, and all requiring answers, which the Latin poet Horace had anticipated:

"Jam Scythae responsa petunt, et Indi."

At the last Meeting it was announced, that Holland had been chosen for the place of the next Congress. For myself, I must confess that I left Berlin with pleasurable recollections, enlarged knowledge, and widened capacity to appreciate the knowledge of others, and add to my own store, which ought to be the chief object of life.

LEYDEN, 1883.

The Amsterdam International Exhibition had been fixed for 1883, so it was deemed advisable to have the Congress the same year. It met on the 10th of September, neither at one of the great Commercial cities, nor at the Residence of Royalty, but in the quaint little Dutch town, which occupies so prominent a position in the History of Science and Literature.

Women were admitted as Members of this Congress; there is something peculiarly genial in the Dutch character. 450 Members were registered; English and French Scholars found Leyden singularly convenient of access. The following countries were represented: Germany, Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Portugal, Russia, Servia, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Tripoli, United States, British India, Japan, Persia, Ceylon, China, and the Dutch Colonies of the Indian Archipelago. Four volumes contain the official Report, in the French language. I had the honour of being present, and published my Report in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, 1884. The opening Meeting took place in the Town-Hall. The Ministers of the Interior, the Colonies, and War were present. I note with disapprobation the intrusion of Government-officials in purely popular assemblies: the first of the three officials opened the Congress, and the Discourses were in French. Professor Dozy had been selected as President, but had died: Professor Kuenen was nominated to succeed him, supported by a body of remarkable Scholars, De Goeje, Kern, Land, Leemans, Pleyte, Pignappel, Tiele, and others. Offerings of books to the Congress were then made. British India had delegated Pandit Shámaji Krishnavarna, who made an address in English. Dr. Leitner described the newly-founded Anglo-Oriental University of the Panjáb, the first of the kind in India.

Five Sections were formed, but as the first was subdivided, there were practically six companies of Scholars: (1) Semitic Modern, and Semitic Ancient, presided over by Prof. Schefer and Prof. Schrader respectively. Ninety-one Scholars were attached to this Section. (2) Arian, presided over by Dr. Roth, with fifty-three Scholars. (3) African (purely Egyptian), presided over by Prof. Lieblein, with seventeen Scholars. (4) Central Asia and Extreme Orient, under Professor Von der Gabelentz, with twenty-five Scholars: (5) Malaysia and Polynesia, under Abbé Favre, with forty-nine Scholars.

In the Semitic Sections and both subdivisions there was a good deal of dry scholastic matter, but Prof. Tiele read a paper on the Worship of the Assyrian Goddess Istar, or Astarte, which provoked long discussion. Professor Sayce brought before the Congress the

important subject of the origin of the so-called Median Inscription Tablet at Behistún. A discussion followed on the meanings of the word "El" in Sabaean Inscriptions. Prof. Oppert and M. Halévy took a large share in the discussion.

In the Arian Section, two whole days a crowded assembly were occupied with the discussion of the origin of the famous cluster of Alphabets, known as the Indian Alphabet. I had the honour of bringing the matter before the Section. No final decision has even yet in 1897 been arrived at. Photographs of the Palm-leaf Manuscripts of Sanskrit found in Japan were laid before the Congress by Prof. Bühler in the name of Prof. Max Müller. The question of Transliteration again came up: it is still in 1897 unsettled. The subject of Jain and Avesta Literature was brought forward. Several topics of special Indian interest were discussed.

In the African Section nothing was discussed except Egypt. Professor Pleyte read a paper on the covering of Mummies with flowers. Papers were read, and no discussion allowed.

There was nothing worthy of remark in the Central Asia and Extreme Orient Section. Dr. Leitner made a communication on the subject of the Languages in the Region of the Hindu Kúsh, specially the Hunza.

The fifth Section, or Malaysia and Polynesia, being peculiarly Dutch, was well attended. Professor Kern read a paper on the Mafúr Language, in Dutch New Guinea. M. Marré and Abbé Favre spoke on the subject of the Language of Madagascar, which has been proved to belong to the Malaysian family, and have no connection with Africa. Professor Humme described the Java Language. Professor Humfalvy made a communication on the different methods of counting in different countries. The subject of Proverbs was alluded to by the Rev. J. Long, of India. An attempt was made to induce the British Museum to make a loan of its priceless Manuscripts: a wish was expressed by the Congress, but in due course a decided negative was received from the Trustees, and very properly so, as an Act of Parliament forbids it.

The Proceedings ended with the usual Banquets and Toasts and Speeches. One was of exceptional interest: the Dutch Colonies of Java and Sumatra had suffered lately from Earthquakes, and there was great distress. I was requested to propose a Resolution of condolence with the sufferers, and the collection of subscriptions to be sent out. This proposal was cordially approved, and a collection of one thousand guilders was made by the agency of little girls tripping down between the tables with their baskets.

It was announced to the Congress, that the next Meeting would take place at Vienna in 1886.

VIENNA, 1886.

This Congress was opened on September 27, 1886, by His Imperial and Royal Highness Archduke Regnier, the Patron. Baron Alfred Von Kremer, a distinguished Oriental Scholar, was the President, and the University of Vienna lent their grand new building as the *locale*. Women were admitted as Members. Experience gained in previous Congresses enabled the Vienna Organizing Committee to provide against all difficulties. There were representatives of every country in Europe, of Egypt in Africa, of India and China in Asia, and the United States. 400 had entered their names, and paid their subscriptions, but only 127 appeared. A daily Bulletin was circulated, which kept all members *en rapport*. The Sessions lasted six days, and the work was fast and furious. A Report in the German Language was published in five volumes, and a copy sent to each Member, though tardily. I had the honour of being a Member, and published my Report of the Proceedings in the *Calcutta Review* of 1887.

At the opening Meeting offering of Books was made, and I had the honour of presenting one hundred and four volumes of Translations of the Scriptures, in the Languages of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, with the aid of Scholars from Germany, Holland, Austria, Russia, and England. The Books were ordered to be placed on the shelves of the University Library.

The following were the Sections: (1) Semitic (Modern). (2) Semitic (Ancient). (3) Arian. (4) African, including Egypt. (5) Central Asia and Extreme Orient. (6) Malaysian and Polynesian.

In past centuries Latin and Greek exercised a tyranny over the work of Education and Research. A similar kind of tyranny is attempted by the Arian and Semitic Scholars of Europe, and has to be sternly resisted. It is clear from the out-turn of this Congress, that the three Sections of these Languages occupied an unduly large portion of the time of the Congress for the very simple reason, that the majority of Scholars were totally ignorant of the subjects of the three last Sections, and yet they occupied the larger portion of the globe.

Ninety-one communications were made in writing, a large majority of which were read in the Sections, sixty-six relating to Arian and Semitic subjects, and twenty-five to the rest of the world. The subjects selected were new, practical, and indicated research. The Sections sat simultaneously. The Bulletin reported Progress. Notice of publication of new Books was made, and the opinion of the Congress solicited as to the expediency of publishing new Books, or new Editions of old Books. The interchange of

thought of learned men, which followed, was of the greatest importance. In the Semitic Section (Modern) Professor Chwolson, of St. Petersburg, exhibited Photographs of numerous Syriac Tomb-Inscriptions found in the Province of Semiretch, Russia, and Asia: this find will lead to further explorations. Dr. Snoucke Hurgrongi, of Leyden, spoke on the subject of Mekka Proverbs and Sayings, opening out a new field. Yakub Astin Pasha, of the Department of Public Instruction in Cairo, described the work of the Egyptian Institute. He was followed by a Colleague, who addressed the Congress in Arabic. This was a notable departure.

In the Semitic Section (Ancient) there were sixteen communications on Hebrew, Assyrian Cuneiform, Babylonian Subjects.

In the Arian Section there was a great gathering of Scholars, and thirty-two communications made. Dr. Bhandarkar, of Bombay, read a paper on Sanskrit MSS in English, and the way, in which this Indian Professor held his own amid European Scholars was gratifying to remark. Mr. Grierson read a paper on the mediaeval Vernacular literature of India, and the Congress passed a vote urging on the Government of India the importance of preparing a detailed survey of the Dialects spoken in India. An interesting discussion took place on the subject of the connection of the patois known as the Gipsy, with some of the Vernaculars of India, in which Mr. Leland took a foremost part. Professor Bühler presented the third volume of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum," edited by Mr. Fleet, and this led to an important discussion.

In the African Section Egyptology was much discussed to the exclusion of the subjects connected with the rest of that vast Continent. The vision of Scholars is often narrow, and often unsympathetic with anything beyond their own hobby. Few profess, that the World is their harvest-field. It is one of the real dangers of future Congresses, that certain great subjects should occupy all the time and interest to the exclusion of all new ones. The Greek and Latin Scholars played this game two centuries ago: they have yielded the ground to another set of narrow specialists. The points brought forward were no doubt interesting, but not suitable to a Congress "*de omnibus orientalibus antiquis aut modernis.*" Miss Amelia Edwards read a paper on the practical subject of the haphazard dispersion of Egyptian antiquities over Europe and the United States, some to be concealed in private country houses and obscure Provincial Museums: what was required was an all-embracing Register. Professor Naville reported the completion of his critical Edition of the "Egyptian Book of the Dead": he had, however, limited his research to Papyri not later than the Nineteenth Dynasty, so there is much more to be done.

In the Central Asia Section there was very little business. In one discussion Tcheng-ki-Tong, Secretary of the Chinese Legation

at Paris, stepped forward in his ordinary Chinese costume, handled the chalk with all the aplomb of a French Professor, spoke excellent French, and gave another instance of the improvable capacity of Oriental Nations: the proper study of mankind is man, and the sight of a yellow man calmly and without trepidation fighting the supercilious European Scholar with his own weapons, on his own arena, was more encouraging than the sight of an old MS. of a forgotten Religion, and an old mummy of an extinct race. The pigtailed Chinese seemed to look with contempt on the Scholars of Europe, who dared to dabble with his Ideographs, while the Hindu read his paper with an impassive demeanour, and without the least sign of self-consciousness. Professor Terrien la Couperie read a paper on the Languages spoken in China before the advent of the present occupiers of the Middle Kingdom.

The last Section of Malaysia and Polynesia was still less supplied with papers. I read a paper in German on the Languages of Oceania, in which wonderful progress has been made, and Dr. Fred Muller and Professor Von der Gabelentz took a part in the discussion. The time is not yet come for such subjects to occupy their proper place: there is a fond preference to the dead Past over the living Present.

There was a grand Banquet in the Town Hall, and a great variety of speeches. The young Chinese, above alluded to, spoke in a loud and clear voice, and drank the health of the Congress. The next Congress was announced to be held in Stockholm.

STOCKHOLM, 1889.

The condescending kindness of Oscar, King of Sweden and Norway, the hospitality of the good people of those two kingdoms, and the hazardous experiment of holding the Congress partly in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, and partly in Christiania, the capital of Norway, rather tended to impede the business of real Scholars, who came together not for a junket, but for exchange of ideas. I had the honour of being a Member of this Congress. The Report of the Proceedings lies on my table in five volumes; and I made my own Report at the time, and published it in the *Calcutta Review* of 1890. I was the Reporter of *The Times* Newspaper for the Congresses of Leyden, Berlin, Vienna, and Stockholm, and had the assistance of my lamented friend Dr. Reinhold Rost in my labours.

A positive irruption had taken place of flaneurs, tourists, and casuals: set speeches were made in all the Languages of Europe in the presence of His Majesty: there was only a *dummy* President, M. d'Ehrenheim, and an overweening Secretary. *Bonâ-fide* Orientals were stared at as in a Barnum's all-world show: the good

Scandinavian people seemed to think, that it was a collection of *Orientalists*, not of *Orientalists*, and were disappointed at no Elephants, Camels, and Tigers having been provided: the contemporaneous arrival of a Menagerie would have been most fortunate. Good work was indeed transacted somehow or other, but there was a feeling of disappointment in thoughtful minds: it is obvious, that the difficulty of obtaining invitations to other Cities was greatly increased, as the reception of such crowds was expensive: as a fact no future place of Meeting was fixed. *Hinc illae lacrymae*. The daily bulletins were imperfect: we had clearly come to the parting of the ways, and if these delightful Meetings are to be continued, the problem of the mode of doing it must be reconsidered.

The usual Nationalities were represented: Universities and learned Societies sent Delegates: the present of Books to the Congress were magnificent: the British and Foreign Bible Society sent Translations in one hundred Languages: the Indian Office and Vatican Library sent contributions. No previous Congress had received such splendid presents: they were the firstfruits of a grand harvest of intellectual activity.

The number of Members amounted to 713, of whom 515 were strangers to the country. The Orientals sent as specimens were seven from Egypt, two from Algeria, three from Japan, four from British India, four from Persia, and twenty-eight from Turkey. Many of these might with advantage have stayed at home. Death had thinned the ranks of Scholars; some were kept away by illness and were wise, for a Member of such a Congress must be strong as well as learned. Women were admitted, but it was beyond reason, that the Congress should be choked, like the Flavian Amphitheatre at Rome, by an ignorant mob seeking only "*Panem et Circenses*," banquets and garden-parties.

A perusal of the list of subjects is really painful. Some wrote on subjects of a dim and remote Past; others on contemporary incidents; others on grammatical inflections, or the true value of a syllable or even a letter: however, if there had been less frivolous amusements in the Programme, the results of this Congress as evidenced by the bill of fare would have equalled any of its predecessors.

The Congress lasted from Sunday, September 1st, to Wednesday, September 11th. There were some striking receptions, one by the King, in his Palace on Lake Malar, and one by the University of Upsála on the Hill of Odin.

Another feature is worthy of notice: the King fed twelve Scholars in a kind of cave at one of the Hotels, paying their Hotel Bill: one of these Scholars was the wife of an Oxford Professor. The all-powerful Secretary followed suite, and fed twelve additional Prophets, in a cave of his own, but it is fair to say, that

they were poor *bonâ-fide* Scholars, who could not have got to the Congress without this assistance.

On the last day a shower of Stars fell on certain male and female Members of the Congress: handsome gold medals were bestowed on genuine Orientalists, and special gold medals conferred on great absent Scholars. This is a dangerous precedent, as future Congresses may have no Stars, or Medals, at their disposal, and, as a fact, the refusal of honours to one or two, who applied for them, was the cause of subsequent trouble.

The Languages used to enlighten the Members and communicate Ideas were French, English, German, and Italian: those, that were used to bore the hearers, were Turki, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese, Japanese. In all my Indian experience of Banâras, and Amritsar, I never heard anything so unworthy of a sensible man like the Delegate-Scholar of India, as his lugubrious and foolish recitations, and the sounds emitted by an Arabic Student of El Azhar at Cairo, which combined the braying of a jackass and the whistle of a railway-engine. Such exhibitions are mischievous and degrading: clearly the Congress-idea reached its bathos at Stockholm.

The Sections were the usual five: by a stroke of genius to avoid bad feeling, one Section elected three men, to occupy in turn the post of Chairman. The King opened the Congress, and the dummy President informed us of one thing, that he had no knowledge of Oriental Sciences, and he proved this by suggesting the idea, that the assembled Professors and Tourists were “*habituées, que vous êtes, aux Splendeurs Orientales.*” The Secretary, who had made one single tour in Palestine, remarked, “*Je connais un peu l’Orient*”: we may emphasize the words “*un peu*” as a correct description of his Knowledge; perhaps “*rien*” would have covered the ground better.

I notice the real contributions to existing Knowledge:

Prof. Euting	Nabathean Inscriptions in the Sinaitic Peninsula.
Dr. Glaser .	The Inscriptions of South Arabia.
Dr. Burgess . .	Archaeological Researches in India.
Dr. Bühler .	Asoka’s thirteenth and fourteenth Edict.
Dr. Cust .	Geographical Distribution of the Turki Branch of the Ural Altaic Family of Languages.
Dr. Leitner	The Language and Customs of the People of Hunza.

The final banquet of the whole Congress took place at the Grand Hotel, Stockholm, and a remarkable Menu was circulated in nineteen Languages: this was a fair type of the whole Congress, costly, showy, unscientific, with everything done to attract uncritical wonder, and admiration, rather than to promote Science and

Research. Two special trains took off the main body of Members to Christiania, where there were more banquets. Life at Stockholm became endurable to those, who went no further. I myself retreated to Moscow. This was my Seventh Congress, in seven capitals of Europe, and I began to lose heart as to their Future.

LONDON, 1891.

After an interval of seventeen years the Congress was again held at London. It represented thirty-seven countries, and the number inscribed amounted to 600. The Rev. Dr. Taylor, Master of St. John's College, occupied the Presidential Chair. The Congress was opened on August 31, and lasted to September 11. The Report occupies four volumes. I had not the honour of being a Member of this Congress, and write, therefore, without personal experience, but I have the advantage of consulting a brochure of 148 pages, giving a full account of the Proceedings. There may be a clash of opinions, and a diversity of feeling connected with this, and the Congress of London of 1892, but I knew nothing about it at the time, and remember nothing now. In my eyes Science is sacred, impartial, and free from personal prejudices.

The *Academy*, on the 19th September, 1891, gave a summary, which is valuable.

A new and most commendable feature of this Congress was the presentation of printed Summaries of Research, up to date, since the last Congress, taking the place of tedious Presidential Addresses, which only covered the ground known to the speaker. The following summaries were noteworthy :

Prof. Vasconcellos d'Abreu	for Sanskrit.
Prof. Montet	for Hebrew.
Prof. Basset	for Arabic.
Dr. Ziemer	for Comparative Philology.
Prof. Cordier	for Chinese.
Prof. Amelineau	for Egyptology.
Captain Guiraudon	for African Languages since 1883.
Mr. J. J. Meyer .	for Malayan.
M. Clement Huart	for Osmanli Turki.

Notice was made of remarkable Explorations also.

No less than 160 papers were contributed by such Scholars as Maspero, C. A. de Cara, Abbé Albouy, Prof. G. Oppert of Madras, Pandit Janardhan, M. Aymonier, Prof. Leitner, Prof. Schlegel, Dr. Bellew, Mr. R. Michell, Colonel Tanner, and others. The papers themselves will be found in the Report.

The orbit of the Congress was widened by the introduction of kindred, yet new, subjects such as Folk-lore, Oriental indigenous Education, Ethnography, Numismatics, Oriental Archaeology. The policy of thus widening of an already very wide arena for report and discussion may be doubted: if, however, it is an error, it is one in the right direction. A Congress, however, cannot live, if its subject-matter shrinks into a narrow orbit, such as a Grammatical discussion, or a one-sided theory about any particular matter.

The opening Meeting took place at the Music Temple Hall, under the Presidency of Dr. Taylor, who delivered a brief address. He remarked that all the Members of this Congress were either Orientalists, or promoters of Oriental Studies, and that the Social element did not outnumber the Scientific.

The Sections were as follows: I. Summaries of Oriental Research since 1886: Prof. Montet was President, and Dr. Leitner Secretary. II. (1) Semitic Languages, except Arabic, under the Presidency of Dr. Taylor; (2) Arabic and Islam, Prof. de Gayangos; (3) Assyriology, Prof. Oppert; (4) Palestinology, Abbé Albouy. III. Arian, under the Presidency of Prof. Carolides. IV. Africa except Egypt. V. Egypt, under the Presidency of Sir C. Nicholson. VI. Central Asia, under the Presidency of Mr. Curzon, Dr. Bellew, and Dr. Leitner. VII. Comparative Religion, under the Presidency of Prof. Montet. VIII. Comparative Language, under the Presidency of Prince Lucien Bonaparte and Prof. Carl Abel. IX. Suggestions for the encouragement of Oriental Studies, under the Presidency of Dr. Leitner, Sir L. Griffin, with Prof. Wright and D. Adams as Vice-Presidents. X. Indo-Chinese, under the Presidency of Principal Aymonier. XI. Chinese, under the Presidency of Prof. Schlegel, with Prof. Cordier as Vice-President. XII. Japanese, under the Presidency of Prof. Leon de Rosny. XIII. Dravidian, under the Presidency of Baron Textor de Ravisi. XIV. Malayan and Polynesian, under the Presidency of Prof. Schlegel. XV. Instruction to Explorers, under the Presidency of Dr. Leitner. XVI. Ethnographical Philology, under the Presidency of Dr. Beddoe. XVII. Oriental Art, Art Industry, Archaeology, and Numismatics, under the Presidency of Mr. William Simpson. XVIII. Relations with Orientals, under the Presidency of Sir R. Mead. XIX. Oriental Linguistics in Commerce, under the Presidency of Sir L. Griffin. XX. The Anthropology, Science, and Products of the East, under the Presidency of Mr. Brabrook.

It takes away the breath of the reader to consider the multiplicity of these subjects. The Menu is too great, and the intellectual banquet too large for digestion even in a ten days' feast.

Another feature of this Congress was to indicate appreciation of original inquiries by a Medal of Honour, and of additions to

Literature by a Diploma: the principles were laid down, on which the various categories of certificates were awarded. This seems a dangerous departure: the grant of medals and honours by a Sovereign, such as the King of Sweden, at the Stockholm Congress, was open to objection, but the idea of such honours being conferred by the organizing Committee of a triennial Congress seems dangerous, and will lead to animosities.

Throughout this Congress there were signs of a "one-man" authoritative influence, which is to be deplored and avoided in all Congresses. Whether a preponderating influence is for good or evil, it is equally objectionable, and most surely causes unpopularity.

At the final Meeting, Seville was selected as the place of Meeting of the next Congress, and the distinguished Statesman Canóvas del Castillo was selected as President, and the Meeting was fixed to take place in 1892, but never came off. The expenses of the Congress were announced as amounting to £2,000, of which only £600 would be supplied by the Subscriptions: here is a new danger of a very obvious character.

The Incorporated Law Society's Hall, the Inner Temple Hall, and Six Rooms, and other meeting-places, supplied the *locale* of this Congress; whether this was sufficient and convenient may be doubted.

LONDON, 1892.

A totally independent Oriental Congress met in London on the 5th September, 1892, in the Theatre of the University of London. The Earl of Northbrook, President of the Royal Asiatic Society, opened it in due form. The list of Members, and Delegates of States, of Universities, and learned Societies, was very large. Two volumes of large-sized paper with 600 pages in each contain the Report, which was printed and circulated within the year. This is an essential feature in a good Congress. Papers read, or contributed, should be handed in then and there to the Secretary. I was not a Member of this Congress, nor in London at the time: my information is gathered from the Newspapers and the Reports. I could not approve of a Congress of a particular Nationality being presided over by an alien exile. Surely there are plenty of illustrious Scholars in Great Britain.

There were ten Sections: (1) Indian: President, Sir Raymond West; Vice-Presidents, Drs. Bühler and Lanman. (2) Arian: Prof. Cowell; Vice-Presidents, Ascoli and Kielhorn. (3) Semitic: (a) Assyrian: Prof. Sayce; Vice-Presidents, Hommel and Ward. (b) General: Prof. Robertson-Smith; Vice-Presidents, Kasabacek and Kautzsch. (4) Persian and Osmanli-Turki: Sir Fredk. Goldsmid; Vice-President, Prof. Darmesteter. (5) China and the Extreme Orient: Sir Th. Wade. (6) Egypt and Africa: Le Page Renouf;

Vice-President, Prof. Reinisch. (7) Australia and Oceania: Lord Stanmore. (8) Anthropological: Dr. Tylor; Vice-President, Prof. Darmesteter. (9) Geographical: Sir M. E. Grant Duff; Vice-Presidents, Count de Gubernatis and Dr. Gilman. (10) Archaic: Greece and the East: Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

There was indeed a wonderful supply of remarkable communications. Turning over the pages of these two magnificent volumes, every communication seems to be worthy of thoughtful study and to add to Knowledge. It is satisfactory to record, that the cost of the Congress did not exceed £1,100, but the expense incurred in publishing the Report was supplied by a munificent friend. The final Meeting took place on the 12th of September, and Geneva was fixed as the place of the next Meeting in 1894.

My report of the London Congresses of 1891 and 1892 is very brief, as at every step I take I feel, that I am walking upon nails, and any unlucky remark might tend to rouse up those difficulties, which it is the object of all friends of Science to forget. The hatchet has been buried. Both the Congresses held at London were essentially brilliant and useful, and well attended. It is devoutly to be hoped, for other reasons, that the Congress will not meet annually, but the London-Congresses of 1891 and 1892 show that, when this does happen, there is no diminution of power, and interest.

GENEVA, 1894.

This Congress is the last of the series. Four volumes in the French Language will contain the Report: three volumes, Nos. II, III, and IV have appeared: No. I has not yet seen the light. I had the honour of being a Member of this Congress, and intended to have been present, being a Delegate of the Royal Asiatic Society, but my health failed, and I sent my daughter, who is a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, to take my place, and she wrote a Report of this Congress, which was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1894. I contributed an Essay to this Congress in the English and French Languages, on the "Ancient Religions of the World before the great Anno Domini," and I followed the proceedings with close interest.

It met on the 3rd of September, and was closed on the 12th. Prof. Edouard Naville, the celebrated Egyptologist, and Assyriologist, was the President. In his opening address, he claimed, and justly claimed, for the Swiss Nation a place in the first rank of European Nations as regards Oriental Studies. Prof. Maspero, from France; Lord Reay, President of the Royal Asiatic Society, from England; Prof. Windisch, from Germany; Count Angelo di Gubernates, from Italy; and Ahmed Zeki, from Egypt, addressed the opening Meeting.

There were the following Sections: (1) Indian, under the Presidency of Lord Reay, with Prof. Weber and Prof. Bühler as Vice-Presidents; (2) Arian and Linguistic, under the Presidency of Prof. Ascoli, with Prof. Breal and Prof. Schmidt as Vice-Presidents; (3) Semitic, under the Presidency of Prof. Kautzsch, with Prof. Oppert, Prof. Tiele, and Prof. Almqvist, as Vice-Presidents; (4) Mahometan, under the Presidency of M. Schefer, and no Vice-Presidents; (5) Egypt and Africa, under the Presidency of Prof. Maspero, with Profs. Renouf and Lieblein as Vice-Presidents; (6) Extreme Orient, under the Presidency of Prof. Schlegel, with Prof. Cordier and Prof. Valenziani as Vice-Presidents; (7) Greece and the East, under the Presidency of Prof. Merriam, with Prof. Perrot and M. Bikélas as Vice-Presidents; (8) Geography and Eastern Ethnography, under the Presidency of Prof. Vambéry, with Prince Roland Bonaparte and M. de Chaparede as Vice-Presidents.

The Nationalities represented were Switzerland, France, Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, United States, Sweden, Norway, Greece, Egypt, Hungary, India, Russia, Belgium, Turkey, Australia, Algeria, and Persia. There were Delegates from 12 States, 38 Universities, 31 Societies, and 15 Academies. The number of the representatives of foreign countries at Geneva amounted to 216: there were a great many Members from Switzerland. The number of women entered for *bonâ-fide* Science-purposes amounted to 43.

Certain subjects were discussed: one, the hopeless question of transliteration, into the Roman, of Oriental Alphabets. M. Senart called attention to an Inscription found near Pesháwar, in India, in an unknown form of written Character: an appeal was made to the Government of India to adopt measures for the better preservation of Inscriptions. Mrs Lewis exhibited her Photographs of the Syriac MS. found by her at Mount Sinai. An appeal was made to the Khedive of Egypt to protect the Monuments on the Island of Philae; and, in the midst of the din of discussion, and the festivities on the Lake, the death was announced of the great Egyptologist, Brugsch Pasha, an event which was universally deplored. He was present at the London Congress in 1874, as has been already mentioned.

One request seems rather a cool one: the Congress expressed an opinion, that the Japanese should modify their written Character, so that the Language might be more easily acquired by foreigners. It is well known by linguists that the written or printed Characters used is a very small item in the difficulties of acquiring a Language. In India we have twenty different forms of written Characters, but no one has suggested, that such an interference should be attempted with the Customs of a great Nation. Time and contact with other Nations will do what is required, if anything is reasonably required.

The change is beyond the Ukase of a Tsar, the Bull of a Pope, or the Suggestion of a Scientific Congress.

The President announced, that the decision of the Organizing Committee was, that the next Congress should be held at Paris in 1897. This decision was hailed by all. The circuit of Europe had been made in the twenty-four years, which have elapsed since Paris started the idea in 1873. Approaches had been made to Spain and Portugal, but had failed. Greece, however much it would have attracted Members to Athens, was impossible: the idea of Constantinople, or New York, could not be tolerated: so the Congress wisely returns to the place of its birth.

I thus close my account of the eleven Congresses since 1873. I have read with interest and profit the Reports of all. I wish every success to the Paris Congress under the control of my valued friends the illustrious Scholars of France.

May 18, 1897.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

One painful feature of these periodical Meetings is, that in each gathering we miss some honoured face and figure, which has in the interim disappeared. I should like to have recorded some of the honoured names: it seems to me after a lapse of years a real honour to have touched the hand of, and exchanged ideas with, great Scholars, whose names will last long after the Civil or Military Hero of the time has been totally forgotten. I should have mentioned them by their simple name, laying aside their ephemeral orders, and childish titles. We speak of Homer, Plato, Cicero, and Virgil, without the title of Privy Councillor, or Companion of the Star of India, to which the Rulers of the time did not admit them, or the really ridiculous decoration for a quiet Scholar in his study, or a German Printer, or a Dutch Publisher, to have conferred on him, that of the Northern Star and Gustav Vasa. How Horatius Flaccus, who would have been a delightful Congress-man, would have poked fun into Virgil, if he had been decorated for his Immortal Poem in this way. But want of space forbids: it would be a delightful labour of love to carry out the scheme in a separate Essay at some future time.

The lesson, which we learn from the history of past Congresses is:

- I. That the place for the meeting of the next Congress must absolutely be fixed before the business of the Congress is done.

- II. That the Congress is not to leave the Countries of Christian Europe. This excludes absolutely Constantinople and New York: Scholars could not afford the cost of the journeys.
- III. That the choice of President and Organizing Committee be left to the country, which is selected, and that under no circumstances is a foreigner by blood, or Nationality, to be selected as President.
- IV. No interference on the part of the State-Authorities to be tolerated: the Congresses are essentially private reunions without reference to Politics or Religion.
- V. Convenient places of Meeting, and all in one locality, to be provided.
- VI. No one, male or female, to be admitted a Member, who is not a Scholar, a Student, or certified by a Scholar to be personally interested.
- VII. No titles, honours, diplomas, or stars, to be distributed during the Congress to Members of the Congress under any pretence.
- VIII. Banquets, Entertainments, etc., except of a strictly private character, to be discouraged: earnest Scholars do not care for such things: flaneurs, like moths round a candle, are attracted by them.
- IX. The Report to be published within one year of the Assembly of the Congress. No Languages but German, Italian, French, and English, to be used in the Meetings.
- X. Discreditable exhibitions of Hindu, or Mahometans, performing their devotions, for the purpose of amusing a crowd, to be forbidden. Natives of Asia, Africa, and Oceania, to be admitted on the same footing as Europeans, and with the same personal respect.
- XI. The Press should be admitted to all Meetings thrown open to the Members, and the general Public to a portion of the Hall reserved to them.
- XII. A Summary of the Progress of Oriental Research in the subjects discussed at the last Congress should be presented at the following Congress.

XIII. There should be a strong important Committee of Papers, and Subjects to be discussed. Scholastic and narrow humdrum subjects should be rejected. Some Papers may be deemed valuable, as contributing to the Report, but, as they would not lead to discussion, they should not be read, but taken as read. The object of the Congress is to elicit diverse opinions of competent Scholars.

XIV Commerce and Geography may be excluded, as they have their own arena, and their own Congresses: the underlying object of a Scientific Oriental Congress of Language, Archaeology, Ethnology, and Religion in its broadest sense, is to introduce such studies to the outer world, and knock down partitions of prejudice in the minds of members of different Nationalities.

“The proper study of Mankind is Man.”

XV All rivalries of different Branches of Science, or of Nationality, to be sternly repressed. All present are equal, and entitled to respect, many to love and honour. The self-asserting busybody should be got rid of by a vote of expulsion.

XVI. Devoted though I am to the subject of the Excavations in Greece, it will be wise to exclude from the orbit of Oriental Congresses, Europe and America absolutely: they have, or will have, their own arena.

HOW I SPENT MY SUMMER HOLIDAYS IN 1876.

THERE have been published several books about life at Eton in various phases, such as "A Day of My Life" and "About some Fellows"; not to mention a host of papers on the same sort of subject. These I know have been very successful, and well repaid the care spent upon them by their authors. I am afraid, that my present book will not have such a complete success throughout the whole 900 and odd boys, but I trust, that at least *some* may be interested by it, and that it may call forth other books detailing and depicting the delights of other ways of spending the Summer holidays. I know that, though *I* never could see the fun of it, some fellows think it great fun to stump across moor and bog on the chance of hitting a bird, or to stand for hours in a stream on the chance of hooking a fish, or many other sorts of amusement. But *chacun à son goût*, say I; I prefer certainly the way of spending the Summer holidays, which I will now detail.

It was one Summer ago, that I first had the offer of going abroad. I had been to Paris at the previous Easter, and enjoyed it very much. But now my Father offered to take me on a tour, which promised to be far more enjoyable; namely, to St. Petersburg, whither he was going as a member of the International Oriental Congress, by the way of Hamburg, Copenhagen, and Stockholm. We started in the middle of August, our party consisting of my Father, another old Etonian, and myself. It was extremely hot weather at the time, and the usual passage from Dover to Calais, so well known to most people, who have been abroad, was shorn of its horrors. Here a little time was given for dinner in an extremely dingy and tremendously crowded "buffet." Thence we travelled for sixteen hours to Cologne, through Lille and Brussels, and oh! the heat was awful. We arrived at Cologne half melted, and put up at the Hôtel du Nord. Arising early next morning, we hurried round the Cathedral with its sacristy and shrine of the Three Kings, of whose bones all that is to be seen are three mouldy skulls with gold crowns on them. We saw also the bones of Ursula's eleven thousand virgins. We then started by train for Hamburg. It was monstrously hot, and the compartment we were in was very full of people and extremely close. One young Frenchman squinted awfully. He was travelling with his mother, and she confidentially told my Father, that her son was going to meet his *fiancée* for the first time. The young girl, rather pretty, came to meet them at the station: we saw them meet: I pitied her.

After a long day's journey we arrived at Hamburg, and got rooms in an hotel, whose windows overlooked a great sort of half-harbour, half-lake. That evening we went in a little steamer across the aforesaid lake to a pleasure-garden to hear a "Monstre Concert" (*sic*). Here we found a large number of people sitting out under the trees at little tables drinking beer, and enjoying the strains of a band. The lake looked very pretty with all the lights round it, and one or two boats were hung with coloured Chinese lanterns.

Thence home to our hotel and to bed, as Mr. Pepys would say in his famous Diary.

I forgot to say, that I was in the Middle Division of the Fifth Form, and, when my Father proposed to enter my name among the "Savans Orientalistes," and get a ticket, that I might enjoy the advantages, I was taken aback, but he reminded me, that I had been to India while a baby in arms, and was therefore an Orientalist, and that every Eton boy was a savant or "knowing one"; some a little more, and some a little less. Besides, I found that my friend Anna, daughter of another old Etonian, whom we caught up at Stockholm, had taken out a ticket as a "savante," and she was only a girl, so I consented to be entered as a Savant Orientalist.

Next day we saw Hamburg, ran over to Lubeck, and saw that place. I read Murray's Guide-Book, and never leave any place, till I have verified every object mentioned. This takes time, but I acquired the habit at my Dame's of doing everything thoroughly. By sunset we got to Kiel, and went on board the steamer, which during the night took us to Corsor in the Island of Zealand. Here we landed and took train to Copenhagen. Here we had a day's hard work visiting galleries, libraries, and museums. The whole place was full of naked marble statues. We lived in a state of ceaseless perspiration day and night. There were some capital open-air pantomimes in one of the public gardens.

Thence we took train to Elsinore, saw Hamlet's Castle, famous for Shakespeare's line ·

"Who's there? It is I, my lord, the early village cock!"

We saw also Ophelia's grave, and embarking on board a small steamer named "Horatio" we crossed the Sound, and landed at Helsingborg in Sweden. We had a fair view of the Kattegat. When we went to take our places in the train, we found that not only were there compartments for smokers, but also for swearers, for one was labelled "Dam-coupé." We found that the barmaid was called a "Flicker," and the ladies' cloak-room was marked "Fúr Quinner." We travelled all night, and reached Stockholm early in the morning. The city was beautiful, and our hotel was

a grand one just opposite the Palace. Here we joined a great many other savans, German, English, Danes, and we were exceedingly jolly.

In the Hotel was Christine Neilson, the Swedish singer, and the Emperor of Brazil, travelling under the name of Don Pedro d'Alcantára. We had a famous time at Stockholm, going about the lakes in little steamers, going to the theatre, where we saw "Round the World in one hundred days," and a ridiculous Scotchman in plaids with a long telescope, and notebook, and Murray's Guide, always getting into trouble. The heat was awful. Some of the peasant girls from Dalicardia had such pretty dresses, and one of the most interesting sights was the National Museum, with life-size figures of all the different Scandinavian races. The people here are rather savage and behind the age, for, when I turned out on Sunday in an Eton round jacket, turn-over collar, and tall hat, just as every fellow wears as a matter of course, we had quite a concourse of boys after us, and everybody turned round to look at me; and the guide asked my Father, whether I was got up in that dress "pour mon premier communion." We saw a wedding take place in our *Salle à manger*: the men were all in black trousers, and white ties, and looked such cads; the women in white dresses: they stood in a row behind a table, upon which was a large book, and a champagne-bottle: one of them put the hand of the bride into the hand of the bridegroom, and said something in Swedish: then they uncorked the champagne, and hobnobbed, and walked out into the streets, and went to places of amusement. We went over to Upsála, overtook in the streets a nice old clergyman, who said he was the Dóm Prost, something like our Provost, I suppose, and he looked rather like Dr. Goodford. He was very civil to us, and called us "les savans anglais," took us into the Cathedral, and the University Library, and showed us the Codex Argenteus of Ulfilás, and the Devil's Bible. He seemed inclined to kiss us, when we took leave; but, as he did not offer refreshments, we had them at a little inn, and went to see the Hill of Odin, where we ascended and drank some mead—filthy stuff—out of Rurik's horn: the mead was something worse even than my Dame's beer. Stockholm is very nice, and the Swedes are a very nice people.

Next day we embarked in a steamer to cross the Gulf of Bothnia to Hango in Finland, part of Russia. The steamer was in a canal just under the hotel-windows, so we walked to it, and found the Emperor of Brazil on board. The scenery down the arm of the sea into the Gulf was magnificent. Stockholm beats Venice out and out: I have seen both. When it was dark, we went down into the cabin to supper, and found our seats close to those of the Emperor. He was going to the Congress also: in fact, the whole party on board was doing the same thing. After supper, some one

told the Emperor, that there was an Eton boy on board, and His Majesty's Equerry came to my Father to ask leave to take me to be presented; so I went, and there never was such a jolly Emperor: he asked me all about Eton, he quoted Virgil and Homer, and was quite friendly. He did not pouch, however: I should like to have seen the kind of gold coin, that is current in Brazil. He then sent for my Father, and they had a long talk about the Congress, and Sanskrit. His Majesty is an *A 1* savant. When we were in our cabin, a fearful storm came on, and we were all terribly sick: our passage was very long. When my Father got on deck, he found it was raining, and the Emperor was in the round house, and His Majesty remarked, that it was "*trés humide.*" We landed at Hango, had to run the gauntlet of the Russian police and customs: however, the fact of the Congress made this very easy, and no one could mistake savans like us for Nihilists, and Dynamitards. At one hotel the landlord would make us put down in the register not only our names, and residences, but also our professions; we told him that we had none, that we had "*rien au faire,*" and to his horror entered ourselves as, "*Nihilistes.*"

We then took train to Helsingfors: we saw a prohibition to smoke in ten different Languages, and at the stations the retiring rooms were labelled in Russian, Finn, Swedish, and German. When we reached the station, we rushed out to secure a drosky; it was the first that we had seen, and the dress of the coachman, and the way in which he held his reins, and the whole turn-out, impressed us, but what surprised us most, that every coachman, when hailed, made the same reply, which to our ears sounded like "*Got a lady,*" which we heard afterwards was Swedish for "*engaged.*" We worked our way to our hotel with difficulty. We had introductions to some Swedish friends, who held high positions in the local Courts of Justice. We went to call, but our reputation went before us, for not only were we introduced generally as "*les savans anglais,*" but Anna and I, who went up last, heard ourselves introduced into a room full of strangers as "*les jeunes savans anglais.*" We were treated most kindly, and with the most profound respect, as due to our juvenile scholarship. We had expected to find the Finns something like the Lapps, half-naked, or in skins, and accompanied by reindeer, but we found the company as polished and refined as Parisians, and the young ladies charming. They took us about the place: there was not much to see, but they showed us that, and told us, that they were Finlanders and Swedes by origin, and not Finns; they were all Russian subjects, but Protestants. They came to see us off at the station, and were most loving. On arriving at Wyburg we found a new feature at our hotel; there was no food to be had, as they only supplied beds: so we had to perch in one street at the hotel, and peck at a Restauration in the next street. We saw with

delight the first samovár, or tea-urn, with which we became very familiar in Russia, as tea seems always on tap in every house at all times.

Next morning we were up early, and went on board a canal-steamer, and by a succession of locks, one above the other, we were pumped up many hundred feet to a canal on a higher level. There was an Inscription in the Finnish language to record the names of the engineer, who had accomplished this daring work. We saw everybody drinking tea on the deck: the men drank it in glasses, and the women in cups: it seemed a distinction of the sexes, but both put sugar and slices of lemon in their boiling weak tea, but no milk. At a certain place we landed, and were transferred to a char-a-banc. We had insensibly formed an acquaintance with two young ladies, one a Swede, one a Norwegian, who had just completed a tour in Switzerland travelling together alone, and, as they were going to Imátra, we four formed ourselves into a party. The Swede sat on the same bench in the char-a-banc with my Father, and the Norwegian sat by my side. As we drove violently down the deep descents, and up the steep ascents, the motion of the vehicle was quite indescribable, and my Norwegian friend began crying out, "Wah! wah!"

On reaching our destination we visited the wonderful Rapids, down which the waters of the great lakes discharge themselves in their course to the Baltic: a light suspension-bridge crossed it, but we declined to venture across, and settled down in the little hotel. Next day we returned to Wyburg by the road in a flat cart, or rather flat wooden box without springs on two wheels: the jolting was worse than yesterday. Every ten miles our boy and pony were changed. On reaching the hotel at Wyburg a telegram was put into our hands, unmistakably addressed to us with the words in English: "Ask for my nightgown." We were at a loss to understand what this could mean, but the chamberman (for we had got beyond the region of chambermaids) produced a roll of linen, which proved to be the nightgown of our friend, who had gone on direct to St. Petersburg, which had been left by accident behind. At the station we found ladies with plates collecting money "pour les pauvres slaves et bougáres." They were exceedingly angry, when my Father asked, if they received presents "pour les pauvres Polacques" also. In the train we met some charming young Russian schoolgirls going home for their holidays: they were delighted to talk to us in English, and told us, how they read Walter Scott and Dickens. We reached St. Petersburg in safety, and found the work of the Congress already commenced.

Of course we did all the sights, drove everywhere in droskies, saw the Winter Palace, the Museum, the cathedrals and churches. The heat was sweltering, and we drank tea freely. We went to the

tombs of the Emperors, and the National Museum, with figures large as life of every description of Russian subjects. I went shopping with Anna, and acquired certain Russian words such as "skolko?" how much? "kotóro chás?" what o'clock is it? "tchai," tea. In fact, we had a very jolly time of it.

But the real work was the Congress. Representatives of every country in Europe were there, and I saw a live Turk in a red cap, and every kind of subject was discussed, and a quantity of different Languages used. Two old fellows, Stickler and Lágus, had a discussion in Latin: no one understood them, for their pronunciation was not fit for the Fourth Form. They got great applause, but I wondered, what the Head Master would have said, if he had had their copy under his thumb, and heard the false quantities, which they made: I will be bound to say, that he would have found false concords also. One Englishman, now an M.P., disgusted us by getting up to make a speech in French, and commencing "Je suis un anglais barbare." Our meetings were held in one of the palaces of the Russian Emperor. The Emperor of Brazil attended the Sections, and in the middle of one he leaned across to my Father, and asked him, if he had seen the telegraph from Constantinople, that the Sultan of Turkey had been deposed. I began to feel quite at home with Emperors.

Then we had excursions of the whole Congress. One day we all lunched at the Yacht Club, and then embarked in a steamer on the River Neva, and passed by the fortress of Cronstadt, and landed at the Emperor's Palace of Peterhof, where we were all to dine. The Emperor himself was away at Livadia on the Black Sea, but the chamberlain, Count Galitzin, did the honours. We were driven about the park, and saw all the small houses, where the different members of the Imperial Family dwelt at certain seasons. We dined in the Palace of Peter the Great. I had got Murray's Guide-Book up, and naturally asked to see Peter the Great's nightcap. It could not be found. I appealed to Count Galitzin. I heard some one say: "Le jeune savant Anglais desire voir le bonnet de nuit du Pierre le Grand: où est-il?" After some search a most dirty object was found.

Just before dinner we all assembled in a beautiful hall, and the Imperial attendants, in their swell uniforms, brought in trays with sardines, and caviare, and cognac, and everybody took a little, and ate and drank standing; the ladies ate and drank with their white gloves on. This was a kind of pick-me-up, for soon we all filed into dinner. One little French professor amused us. He was always losing his wife, and hunting for her, crying out: "Où est ma Caroline?" We all laughed, and passed on his message. We had sturgeon and Russian dishes, and it was a very fine sight to see the dinner of some hundreds in the Imperial Dining Hall. After dinner we began to discuss, whether we ought not to propose

the health of the Czar, and I seemed to feel it my duty to make an effort, and as being the best up in Latin of the party, thought of something of this kind: "Epulantes, Caesar, te salutamus"; but Count Galitzin informed us, that it was contrary to Imperial etiquette to do anything of the kind in any of the Palaces. We went back to St. Petersburg by train.

Another day we were all taken to dine at another palace of the Emperor, Tsarko-Selo. This was built by the Empress Catherine II, and some wonderful rooms belonging to Her Majesty were described, but we found them shut up. I again appealed to Count Galitzin, who read the account in my Murray, and after inquiring of the attendants, told us that they were the apartments of the "Impératrice actuelle." I urged that, as Murray mentioned them, I ought to be allowed to see them; this argument struck him as forcible, and he took a few of us, and tapped at the door, and they actually let us in, because we belonged to the Congress, so kind and courteous was everybody. Count Galitzin remarked: "C'est le premier foi, que j'ai vue ces apartments, grâce au jeune savant Anglais avec son Murray." We had another good dinner, and were then driven to a great music-hall, and back by train to our hotel.

On examining our trunks to-night, as we were starting next day, we found, that the whole of our gold and foreign silver had been stolen. We generally carried our cash about with us, but, when we dined with the Emperor, we were obliged to put on evening dress, which is short of pockets. The thieves had carefully opened the trunks with false keys, left the English silver money, as of no use at St. Petersburg, and replaced everything, and locked up the trunks, and strapped them. They knew, that we were starting early next morning, and had watched their opportunity: of course, the master of the hotel shrugged his shoulders, and expressed his regret.

We took sleeping-berths by train to Moscow, for we were fairly worn out with heat and hard work: woke up to see the train cross the River Volga, and get into Moscow in the morning. One of our friends met us at the hotel, and told us, that he had been robbed of everything at the Station. While he was getting his railway-ticket, somebody's arm came over his shoulder, and took his pocket-book out of his side-pocket: when he felt it go, and turned round, he saw nothing but stolid Russian faces behind him, none of whom he dared to charge with such an impudent robbery. So we had all to go to the Bank, and raise money for our immediate wants, as we had been all cleverly cleaned out.

I did all the sights of Moscow: the Big Bell, the Cathedral, Sparrow's Hill, and the view of the city, and here I took leave of the good old Emperor of Brazil, coming upon him suddenly, while having a cup of tea in the room of an English lady. I shall always

think well of Emperors after this specimen. When he came to London next year, His Majesty graciously asked my Father, "How is your little son?" One of the ambassadors was good enough to tell me, that I must lay myself out to be one of the "Savans de l'avenir." All our friends had dispersed, and we had nothing to do but work our way back.

We made an expedition to Troitska, a most sacred place of the Greek Church: as we came in sight, all the Russians in the train rose from their seats, and bowed to the building, and repeated prayer. We walked over the Sacred Chapel, and watched what was going on. A Brahmin would have found himself quite at home, for no idolatry could be worse in a Hindu temple. The pictures were covered with jewels, and everybody kissed them. We were taken in to see the Treasury of the Cathedral: the value of the jewels is enormous, and the sight magnificent; diamonds seem to go for nothing. What a lot of *lút* we shall have, when we take Moscow! As we went back, I had a row with a Russian Mujik: they all smoked, and when I tried to let down a window, the man opposite to me, who was half drunk, would not let me. He was very troublesome, and as nothing would stop him, my Father called out to him the only Russian words which he knew, "Góspedi Pómeloi," "The Lord be with you," which is shouted out in all the churches in the litanies. It had the most extraordinary effect, for everybody burst out laughing, and the man was quite crushed, and gave no more trouble.

We took tickets to Warsaw: only one train each day, and the journey lasted two days and a half: we saw the sun set twice, but it was rather jolly. We could walk along the whole length of the train and pay visits to friends. We had some French friends with us, who called themselves Parisian Hebrews, and lived like Christians, and, when they saw the horrible Polish Jews on the platform, "O! mon Dieu! voilà les Juifs," which seemed to us an odd remark from their lips. The train was timed to stop at certain places for meals, and once we had our dinner after midnight. We got to Warsaw all right, and saw all that was to be seen. When people die, they take the bodies and lay them out in the church, and we stepped in, and saw the body of a young girl, who was just dead, lying in a kind of bridal dress. We were cheated at the railway-station, for they would only give the value of half Napoleons for half Sovereigns, and we were hustled into the train without time to complain.

We went to Buda Pesth and saw the Danube. We walked about with Arminius Vambéry, the famous Oriental traveller. As we travelled to Vienna, we nearly got into trouble. We were always making collections of curios, and we saw outside the train a delightful brass badge with the words, "Smoking is forbidden" in Hungarian. We pocketed this, and also a sweet little label,

“Frauen Wagen.” Unluckily as we passed from Hungary into Austria, the train was made over to a new set of officials, and these things were missed, and there was a grand search, and inquiries were made. We were obliged to pretend, that we knew no Language whatsoever, and we produced our tickets, and passports, and luggage-ticket, and refused to understand anything beyond: so they left us downright stumped, and we got off. We threw away the small label, but I have got the brass one still among my curios.

At Saltzburg we went into the mines, and a wonderful affair it was. We had to put on the dress of a miner, and then sit straddle-legs on a kind of wooden horse on wheels, women and men all the same. I sat behind a fat woman, and my Father sat behind me. We were told to bend our heads forward, and we were then propelled along tunnels into the bowels of the earth. We passed through large caverns, dimly lighted up, and it was capital fun, but we clung to each other for fear of falling off. It was nearly dark, and we had each a lantern in our hands, but, as we left the mine, we were violently shot out into the broad daylight, and the midst of a crowd of tourists, and we then became aware, the women particularly, what a ridiculous appearance we presented. We then went in a boat on the beautiful lake, and to my surprise I found, that the boatmen were all women, in short dresses, and they had such thick legs. I suppose it comes from punting and boating. I never saw such legs on the Brocas. We went to see a tunnel, cut last century for the high road. The Emperor’s bust was over the arch, and the words, “Te Saxa loquuntur.” It was quite absurd, for the commonest railway-tunnel is far greater, and anyone, who had seen Mt. Cenis and Gothard tunnels, could well laugh at this little affair, which was thought a great thing then.

We went to Nuremburg. I liked that old town better than anything. It was so old and quaint, with great walls and ditches all ready for a siege. We went to see the manufactory of German toys. In one room we found hundreds of Noah’s Arks all ready painted, and ready to be filled. In another there were thousands and thousands of every kind of beast all ready to be distributed in the Arks according to a list. At Munich we saw the galleries, and went into a statue of Bavaria, right up into the head, where there was room for five people to sit. At one place we went to see a balloon go off from a garden. A young American girl got into it alone, and off it went into the skies. We saw her waving a flag of stars and stripes. At length she quite disappeared: we had to go off by the train. I should have liked much to know, what became of her, and how she got to land again, and where. In one of our journeys we travelled with a Greek lady and her daughter. Money was wanted to pay something, and we heard one say to the other, “*ποῦ τα χρήματα*” (‘where’s your money?’).

We began to rub our Greek up, and my Father said to the lady, “*θυγατέρα σου κάλη ἐστίν.*” The young girl twigged the meaning at once, and giggled. Their pronunciation was horrible. Another funny thing happened. My father happened to stay at one of the same hotels the next year, and he looked down the hotel-book, and found his name registered as “M——avec une dame.” He remonstrated with the landlady, reminding her of me, whom she recollected, but she said, that, whenever two persons occupied the same room, they always entered one as a *Dame*.

From Dresden we took tickets straight to London without stopping, but we got into some trouble in a steamer on the River Elbe. As we were passing under the Bastei Rock in Saxon Switzerland, my Father sat down on a large wooden chest to enable him to look up to the elevated gallery in the side of the Mountains. He had not been long there, before he became aware, that a quantity of yellow stuff was oozing out on the deck, and he found, that he had been sitting on a box of eggs. He beat a rapid retreat to the extreme end of the vessel, and began to admire the scenery, but the owner of the eggs, a woman, found him out, and actually insisted upon his purchasing the whole case containing 1,500 eggs. As we were going to stop only one night in Dresden, it was impossible, that we could buy a case of 1,500 eggs: so my Father would not take any notice of her. Presently the Captain came up, and, raising his cap, began the following conversation: “I think that you were sitting on that box of eggs.” “Yes.” “I fear that some of the eggs by accident were broken.” “Possibly.” “I fear that the owner has suffered loss.” “Possibly.” “Would it not be possible to satisfy her?” “How much?” “Would one mark (a shilling) be deemed too much?” My Father handed over the mark, and the incident ended.

Thence we hurried back to London and to Eton. I hope that some of the fellows, who read this, will be interested, and perhaps follow my example. I can assure them, that it was jolly good fun, and opened my eyes a good deal, and I brought home some delightful things to ornament my room. Conspicuous among them was a gold *εἰκων*, or picture of the Virgin, such as the Russians stick up in the corners of all their rooms, and some pretty silver lamps to hang from the ceiling. I add a copy of my Holiday Task telling the whole story.

September, 1876.

HOLIDAY TASK.

ITER AD CONGRESSUM ORIENTALEM APUD
PETROPOLIM, A.D. MDCCCLXXVI.

Annus in solitum nos suscitât ordo laborem :
 Sacculus, Argentum, Poenula, Liber, adest :
 Nos novus invitat cursus, nova pascua : lingua
 Nos nova : carpe diem : Terra paterna vale !
 Omine felici nobis iter incipit : Aequor
 Tranquillum : nullis piscibus esca datur.
 Gallia nos recipit, gratissima Gallia, linguâ
 Jucundâ : longé ferrea rheda trahit
 In Belgas : Sol Bruxelli prope moenia lucem
 Condit, et in mediâ nocte cietur iter.
 Terna alii Regum describant nomina, et ossa
 Virginea in cistis, Undecimilla, tuis.
 Nobilis Hamburghi nos tandem urbs accipit : Elbam
 Transimus : multo membra calore madent.
 Inde, Lubeck, celeres te visimus : inde recepit
 Nos in contracto ferrea cymba sinu.
 Nox teritur somno : prostrata cadavera mane
 Cernimus : ingratus naribus adstat odor.
 Vidimus é celsâ Danorum littora puppi :
 Prima quies nobis tu, Copenhagen, eras.
 Scandimus hic tures : per totam curritur urbem .
 Miramur statuas, pocula, tela, libros :
 Vestimenta Deae non sunt ! Vae nuda puella !
 Quocunque aspicias, nil nisi nudus homo est !
 Nec mora : sub noctem petimus loca clara, per Aurem,¹
 Quâ cita Baltiaci defluit unda freti :
 Mane novo Hamléti castella antiqua subimus .
 Protinus accipiunt Gothica regna pedes.
 Inde laborantes in nonam currimus horam :
 Quocunque aspicias, sylva, lacusque, loco.
 Dulcia Suedorum quô possum dicere versû ?
 Cymba per aequoreas itque, reditque, vias.
 Pulchri homines, et pulchrior Urbs, pulcherrima Virgo :
 Miramur Regum signa, tropoea, domos.

¹ Urbs Helsingor (Anglicè Elsinore) apud fretum Oresund (Anglicè Sound), alias Aurem, sita.

Hinc per Hyperborei vehimur freta nave paratâ
 Oceani, stomacho non toleranda meo.
 Nox placida, et somnus facilis: cito turbine pontus
 Aestuat, et mediâ cymba laborat aquâ.
 Insequitur clamorque virûm, stridorque rudentis:
 Traditur indigno piscibus ore cibus.
 Exagitatus, edax, passus graviora, carinam
 Linquo libens: rupes osculor, Hango, tuas:
 Finnica nos dulcis ripae conducit Imatrae,¹
 Quâ sonat aeternus nocte, diéque, fragor.
 O! quam te memorem! si centum vivitur annos
 Finnica Virgo, tui corde manebit amor!
 Frons gracilis, roseaeque genae, niveique capilli,
 Caeruleique oculi, foemineusque decor!
 Russia, terrarum domitor, spoliator Eoi,
 Illustrare fugax te mea Musa timet.
 In centum linguis tibi dant maledicta, Tyranne;
 Aedibus in sacris mille tropoea nitent.
 Te tuba terribilis, te ferrea machina mortis,
 Ala ferox equitum te, peditumque cohors:
 Te luctus, famesque, et mors violenta, sequuntur:
 Te tenet in templis prava Superstitio.
 Urbs praeclara tamen, Petri sub nomine, lantis
 Nos recipit tectis: incipit inde labor.
 Namque Professores, Doctores, atque Sophistae,
 Indi, Semitici, Seres, et Assyrii,
 Grammaticale peens, congestio Pragmaticorum,
 Conveniunt, uno gens aliena loco:
 Themata, discursus, argumentatio, libri,
 Signaque in egregios torta retorta modos:
 Diversae voces, diversaque nomina: cultus
 Diversus: varius sanguis, origo, color.
 Hic Academiae claustris nutritur: at ille,
 Quâ rheda errantem convehit una domum.
 Adsunt Gallorum, Germanorumque, phalanges,
 Et Dani: lepidè lingua Latina sonat:
 Namque "Gubernatis"² Florenti ex urbe subivit,
 Flos Italiae gentis, deliciae meae:
 "Oppertusque"³ ferox, Teutonve an Gallicus anceps,
 Ambobus bellum ferre paratus, adest:
 Anglia quos mittit? juvenumque senumque profusé
 More vorat patrio, vociferatque, cohors.

¹ Imátra, locus in terrâ Finnicâ ob delapsam aquarum celeberrimus.

² Angelo di Gubernatis in urbe Florentiâ Professor, doctissimus, amabilissimus.

³ Julius Oppert, Assyrologus acutissimus, vivacissimus, bellicosissimus, apud Hamburgum natus, in Parisiis demorans.

Tu quoque, "Kerne,"¹ venis Batavorum gloria, cujus
 Doctrina ingenio certat, et arte labor.
 Prisca Javanorum tibi debent carmina vitam :
 India te novit Proxima, et Ulterior.
 Addit se sociam, Doctisque supervenit, Anna,²
 Pulchra satis, genio fertilis, arte, sale :
 Foeminea argutâ nectens subtilia voce ;
 Lucentes oculi vim Rationis habent :
 Hanc incessanter Juvenesque, Senesque, frequentant :
 Corda Professorum frigida mollit Amor.
 Caesaris augustâ pransi regalite aulâ
 Congredimur : multo carpitur ore dies.
 Occupat immensâ Germanis pulpita barbâ ;
 Raucâ voce suam rem, digitoque, movet :
 Respondet Gallus : " Si quae nova diois, Amice,
 " Non vera ; et verum est quod, novitate caret."
 Consurgunt alii : facit indignatio verba ;
 Tinnitus tenui futilis aere sonat.
 Surrident Angli et Batavi : regionis Eoae
Imperium est illis grande, *loquela* parum.
 Tunc pietate gravis veniam, pacemque, requirit,
 Felix, cui surgit plausus utrâque manu.
 Praevalet at sermo Russus : comprehendere nemo
 Audet : Gregorieff³ praesidet : aula silet.
 Sic intestinis crescit Res Palladis armis,
 Europaeque recens undique floret honos :
 Sic "redit a nobis Aurora, diemque reducit" :
 Surgit et e fuscâ lux Oriente nova :
 Secreta exponunt penetralia Seres, et Indi,
 Cimmeriusque nigrans, Aethiopumque genus,
 Sacrilegis cedunt violata cadavera chartas :
 Urbium et antiquae defodiuntur opes,
 Ossa sepulorum, veterum vestigia Regum :
 Vox vocat é tumulo : lux patefacta micat.
 Quae nunquam Graii, nunquam novêre Latini,
 Cantitat, absorbens poma nucesque, puer.
 Quaecunque obscuris recitârint carmina lucis
 Gymnosophi, vel quae luxuriârunt Arabs,
 Omnia nota patent : nam quid non vincere possit
 Subtile ingenium, et nocte dieque labor ?
 Hinc iter ad veteres ducit, Moscovia, sedes
 Volga superfusâ plena redundat aquâ :

¹ Henricus Kern, apud Lugdunum Batavorum Professor, vir jucundissimus, utriusque Indiae sermonibus doctissimus.

² Puella Anglica, caeruleis calceis induta (vulgo "blue-stocking"), hujus Congressûs pars mihi non minima.

³ Basilius Gregorieff, Congressûs Praeses atque Proconsul.

Vidi ego, per totum mundi dum curritur orbem,
 Multas Regum urbes, multaque templa Dei:
 Nulla tamen palmam te tollit: corde fideli
 Tu, quasi Jerusalem, tu, quasi Roma, nites!
 Salva mane, splendeque, novos visura triumphos,
 Russia! vicini dant tibi damna lucrum:
 Nam malus e nostro latro sestertia sacco
 Abstrahit: amissas ploro viator opes.
 Quis fecit, quum, quo, quare, cur, quomodo, plane
 Nescimus: notum est quod fuit, et quod abest.
 Inde dies noctesque duas properamus ad Elbam,
 Iuque domum reduces ferrea cymba vehit
 Hic miser ovorum cophino male cautus operto
 Insideo: pretium foemina laesa rogat:
 Quid faciam? facinus non est mihi lingua negare,
 Et solido lapsûs damna rependo mei.
 Musa sile, properaque domum, nam Mater Etona
 Appellat natos in sua claustra suos:
 Saevior hic regnat Russorum rege tyrannus.
 Suavior hic Finnâ virgine "Dama"¹ sedet:
 Per campos, vallesque, et montes ivimus altos.
 Sustulimus longae dulcia, acerba, viae:
 Quid juvat ah! terras alio sub sole calentes
 Visere, si Patriae pectore desit amor?
 Namque bonum externâ si sit, seu nobile, terrâ,
 Est melius patrio, nobiliusque, solo,
 Ne mihi sit finis terrae, nec meta laborum,
 Dummodo vis animae, corporeusque vigor.
 Omne quod Ars tulerit, quod conservaverit Aetas,
 Quidquid agant homines, est ibi cura mea.

IDIBUS SEPTEMBRIS, MDCCCLXXVI.

¹ "Dama" animal sexûs ancipitis, quod pueros gremio fovet, necnon suppliciiis torquet.

DETAILED SURVEY OF THE LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS SPOKEN IN CERTAIN PORTIONS OF BRITISH INDIA.

THIS is not an entirely new subject. Mr. Beames, of H.M. Indian Civil Service, in 1875, published a small yet valuable work called "Comparative Grammar of Arian Vernaculars of India." I myself, in 1878, published in greater detail, accompanied by Language Maps, a "Sketch of all the Languages of Nearer and Further India," and I still hope, that my valued friend Mr. Grierson, of H.M. Indian Civil Service, will, in 1903, after the expiration of a quarter of a century, complete and publish an enlarged and corrected Edition of my Sketch; and I have arranged, that the accumulated additional information, entered in my interleaved copy, should, after my death, be made over to Mr. Grierson, to add to his own collections, for he is out and out the best informed Scholar in this Branch of Linguistic Knowledge at the present Epoch.

At the International Oriental Congress of Vienna, in 1886, at which Mr. Grierson, and myself, were present, a Resolution was passed, "urging on the Government of India the importance of preparing a detailed Survey of the Languages and Dialects spoken in that country"; and the question was taken up by the Viceroy in Council, and it was determined to make a rough unscientific Catalogue of every known form of speech spoken throughout British India, exclusive of the Provinces of Madras and Burmah. The area to be investigated consisted of the Province of the Panjáb, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Bangál, Assam, the Central Provinces, and Rajputána. Attempts were to be made to investigate as far as possible the Languages of the Kingdom of Kashmír, and the semi-independent States of the Himaláya. This large area included practically the whole Arian-speaking population of British India, and the aboriginal tribes, whose Languages belonged to the Kolarian and Tibeto-Burman Families.

With the cares of Empire on its shoulders, the Government of India is not very partial to Scientific Subjects, and with the calls of War, Famine, and Pestilence, on the Exchequer, is not inclined to any expenditure, that can be avoided: still, recognizing that something should be done to ascertain and record every form of speech used by the 300 Millions of the subjects of the Empress of India in her Jubilee-year, the Viceroy in Council sanctioned the following scheme:

The work was to be divided into two stages.

I. To compile a rough list of all the Languages and Dialects spoken in each District. Each District-Officer to be supplied with a form, to be filled up, detailing the different Vernaculars (Urdu, *Boli*) made use of in his District, and the number of the population speaking each variety of speech. The Officer charged with the compilation would, from these returns, supplemented by Census-Reports, Land-Revenue-Settlement-Reports, and Special Memoirs (where such exist), prepare Lists of forms of living speech: (A) by Districts, (B) by Vernaculars, discriminating between (1) an indigenous Vernacular, (2) a Vernacular imported by immigrant strangers.

II. To obtain specimens of all the indigenous Vernaculars, carefully edit these specimens, and then compile an accurate Language-List, based on the information derived from the specimens. A careful examination of these specimens may divulge the fact, that two different Language-names represent one and the same Language. A notable instance of such a phenomenon appears in the List of Bible-Translations, where the selfsame Language is called Danish, and Norse, in Denmark and Norway respectively. Another possibility is, that the identical name is carelessly given to two totally distinct forms of speech. The name of Gond is sometimes applied to the Dravidian form of speech, indigenous to the tribe which bears that name, and sometimes to the local Dialect of the Arian Hindi, as spoken by the Gond tribe. In each case there will be two specimens of each form of speech: (A) A translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, specially prepared by competent persons: this facilitates intercomparison of one Language with another, and betrays any possible linguistic affinity, which may exist in word-store, or construction of sentence. (B) An independent specimen compiled by each District Officer, from the lips, or written records, of each tribe: this will be a powerful check on the Translator, who might, if unchecked, adopt a dialect of his own devising, or borrowed from some printed book.

Such is the Scheme, and it deserves high commendation.

The selected specimens should be supplemented by written records of local ballads, legends, and folklore, but this will be the work of time. A comparative Alphabetical List of two hundred words for the ordinary requirements of the Human race in each of the Languages of India would greatly assist the inquiry.

Mr. Grierson has, at his own expenditure of time and money, compiled sixty-five versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and they have been printed at the Calcutta Government Press, and I have a copy on my table, which I have presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. This compilation is admitted to be imperfect and confessedly preliminary, yet it represents a great step in advance as regards the second stage. As regards the first stage, Mr. Grierson

has compiled, and is correcting the proofs of, a list of the forms of speech spoken in the vast Province of Bangál, with a population of 60 Millions.

On the 10th September, 1897, Mr. Grierson had the opportunity of bringing this subject to the notice of the Indian Section of the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists held at Paris: and after discussion, a resolution was proposed by Herr Kuhn of Munich, and seconded by Hofrath G. Bühler of Vienna, and was carried in the following terms:

“ La Section Indienne du XI^e Congrès International des Orienta-
 “ listes exprime ses vifs remerciements au Gouvernement de l’Inde
 “ pour avoir mis à exécution le vœu présenté au Congrès de
 “ Vienne (1886) demandant une statistique des langues de l’Inde.
 “ Elle tient à signaler les services, qui pourra rendre à la linguis-
 “ tique cette entreprise, quand elle aura été complètement menée
 “ à bien.”

It is obvious that, when the Statistics and the Specimen-Translations have been collected from the different Districts, they will be found to have been prepared by persons with no Philological Knowledge in the strict sense, and the materials must therefore be laid before a Linguistic Expert, who will examine them critically, and classify the different forms of speech under their appropriate names, their Linguistic Family, and their position in that Family, whether as a mere Patois, or a recognized Dialect, or a *bonâ-fide* Language: then will follow the consideration of the proper form of Written Character, if any, which belongs to each form of speech. Mr. Grierson, in his Introductory Notes, uses the words Perso-Hindustani as regards the well-known Alphabet, which should be called the Arabic Alphabet, and by no other name.

The plan of compiling a translation of the same story in different forms of speech is excellent, as it facilitates intercomparison of the structure and word-store of each. An additional feature is, that not only are the Vernacular words transliterated on scientific principles, but care is taken also to indicate the pronunciation. Then, again, the construction of the Language is in many cases distinctly shown by a word-by-word retranslation from the Vernacular into English.

It must not be forgotten, that Mr. Grierson is not dealing with a Linguistic Field, like Central Africa, or Russia in Asia, where the population is, without exception, in a very low state of Culture, and without an indigenous Literature. Such may have been the case in some parts of British India last century, but it is not so now. The modern Literature of British India is multiform, and prolific, and there is an active Native Press, and efficient Educational Establishments. One result will be, that weak local Languages, Dialects, and Patois, will be crushed out and extinguished by the lordly Vernaculars, such as Hindi, Urdu,

Bangáli, and Marahti, each with a population counting by tens of Millions, and increasing annually. There is no attempt in British India, as in the French Colonies, to force an alien European Language upon an unwilling people in the Courts of Justice, or Primary Schools. If individuals wish to learn English, they can do so, but the business of Empire is conducted in each Province, or Region, in the recognized Vernacular of that Province or Region, and in my opinion this is not only the wisest policy, but the only practical one. The English officials have to learn to speak and understand the form of speech used by those, whom they are sent to govern. There is no absolute necessity for the European officer reading written documents, though many are able to do so, and no possible necessity for their writing a line, as the routine of business is carried on by *vivá-voce* readings of Reports, and petitions, and other documents, and *vivá-voce* dictation of orders, which are engrossed upon the Report or Document in the Vernacular, and signed by the presiding officer in English. It is well to understand this, as it reduces the problem of the multiplicity of Languages to its proper proportions as regards the difficulty of administration, and the Government of British India may fairly look at the subject from this point of view only, and leave the spread of Literature to the people themselves.

A vast amount of Native Literature is in circulation, and the European Missions greatly promote this expansion. The Missionaries are, as a rule, excellent linguists, and distribute wholesome Literature, and notably Translations of the Christian Scriptures. My carefully prepared List of Bible-Translations, 1896, exhibits the following facts as regards British India .

I. Translations in Arian Languages in circulation in British India . . .	18	in addition to twelve well-	
II. Translations in Dravidian Languages	8	recognized Dialects . . .	12
III. Translations in Kolarian Languages	2	in addition to one Dialect .	1
IV. Translations in Tibeto - Burman Languages	6	in addition to two Dialects	2
V. Translation in Khasi Language . . .	1		
	35		15.

(In all, 50.)

Many of these are circulated in annual thousands: every student of a State-College receives a copy as a present, not from the State, as that would be a departure from the Law of Absolute Impartiality and Tolerance, which are the Jewels of Empire, but from well-wishers of the people of India.

My lamented friend, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, collected and printed Translations in the numerous imperfectly known Languages

of the Ural-Altaic Family of Russia in Europe and Asia: the contribution to Linguistic Science was most interesting, but there it ends. This noble work of Mr. Grierson has a much wider range, and can only be surpassed by that of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which distributes translations of the same Book in every part of the World, amounting to three hundred and forty-three, one hundred and ninety-six of which have been produced during the reign of Queen Victoria, 1837-1897. Such works as these place Linguistic Knowledge on a solid base, for the translations turned out on the spot in the midst of the tribe speaking that particular form of speech, and no other, may not be elegant, and are certainly, as time goes on, susceptible of Revision, but they are truthful, and represent the sounds, and words, and sentences, uttered in the Mission Schools, and Mission Chapels, and have the merit (a small one perhaps in Churches which are fond of liturgies in stilted, or even dead, Languages) *of being understood by people of the lowest culture*, which was the primary, but often forgotten, object of the great gift of speech to the Human race.

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Jan., 1898.

XVI.

THE LANGUAGE OF SOMÁLI LAND.

IN the Eastern corner of North Africa is a country very little explored, the extreme Eastern Headland of which is called Cape Guardafui, known to the ancients as Aromata Promontorium. The Region has a frontage to the Red Sea, and to the Indian Ocean, and its geographical position is in its favour. There is no Protestant Missionary Station within its boundaries: there is no portion of the Scriptures translated into the Language of the people.

The Rev. Frère Evangeliste de Larajasse, a Missionary of the Church of Rome, who had been since 1892 in that country, called upon me during the Summer, and offered for my acceptance two volumes, which represented the result of his labours.

- (1) Practical Grammar of the Somáli Language, with a Manual of Sentences.
- (2) Somáli-English, and English-Somáli, Dictionary.

Both were published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., London, and their appearance was most creditable.

I had a long and interesting conversation with the compiler. It appears, that he had a colleague, also a Missionary of the Church of Rome, who shared his labours, the Venerable Frère Cyprien de Sampoint.

As the author was returning to his station, I offered to pay him, on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a certain sum of money, if he would translate the Gospel of Mark, and send it to me, and he agreed to do so. It is right to record, that the learned world is indebted to Lord Delamere for the publication of this costly work, which was far beyond the resources of the humble Missionary of the Church of Rome.

It is true, that Colonel Hunter some years ago published a Grammar and Vocabulary of this Language, and the German Scholar Schleicher also laboured in the same direction, but their opportunities were slight compared to those of the present author. There are undoubtedly Dialects of this great Vernacular, and we shall know about them in future years. The standard of pronunciation of words, and the words themselves, are adopted from the marketplace of Bérbera, the chief place of business in Somáli-land, and visited by individual members of all the tribes; but experience teaches that those, who stay at home, are the best representatives of the Dialects spoken in each sub-Region.

The Roman Alphabet has been wisely adopted, but that does not dispose of the problem, as there are many varieties of the Roman Alphabet; notably, the French mode of transliterating certain letters differs greatly from the English. It will be interesting to compare the mode of rendering the same or similar sounds adopted by those who have dealt with the three Dialects of the neighbouring Galla Language, and the company of great Scholars, who have placed the Coast-Language of East Equatorial Africa on a sound and scientific base. I allude to the Swahíli.

The Manual of Sentences attached to the Grammar is specially valuable: they have been compiled on a system adopted from an English-Hindustani Manual of Conversation: of course, as to the success in the idiomatic rendering, no opinion can be given. Arabic may have been used in times past, and may still be used, for purposes of correspondence, just as Persian was used fifty years ago in British India, but the Author has wisely kept clear of the Arabic Written Character, though the use of some Arabic loan-words is a necessity.

I now quote a portion of a learned Review of this Grammar and Dictionary, which appeared in the London *Times* a few weeks ago:

“ The origin of the Language, like the origin of the race, is wrapped in mystery. There are those, who consider the Somáli to be of North African Berber origin, and point to the name of Bérbera as an indication of this. It would appear, however, more natural that the name of Bérbera, if indeed it is derived

“ from any settlement of strangers, is more likely to be due to an
 “ occupation from Berber in the North-Eastern Sudán. Perhaps
 “ the old theory of Sir R. Burton is the most correct one: that
 “ they are of Negro-Hamitic descent, and ‘nothing but a slice of
 “ the great Galla nation Islamised and Semiticised by repeated
 “ immigrations from Arabia.’ Such a theory is in the main in
 “ harmony with the Somáli traditions of their Arabian descent, and
 “ geographical and historical conditions do not conflict with it;
 “ moreover, the physical type of the people agrees with it. The
 “ origin of the Galla is another question altogether. Whether
 “ they are part of the same race, which pushed into South Africa
 “ from the North and are now represented by the Káfir, or
 “ whether they are a half-caste Abyssinian race, need not here be
 “ discussed.

“ Somál, or Somáli, is a name, that has only been in use to
 “ describe the dominant race in the Horn of Africa since the
 “ beginning of this century. Sir R. Burton (1856) says that the
 “ Somáli call their country Bar-al-Ajam. The old maps name
 “ the country Asha and Hawiya. The derivation of the word
 “ Somál has puzzled people. Major Abud, whose authority must
 “ carry great weight, leans to that, which has been suggested by
 “ the Language itself. He says: ‘The Somál are a hospitable race,
 “ and, as milk is their staple food-supply, the first word a stranger
 “ would hear in visiting their kraals would be *So-mal*, i.e., go and
 “ bring milk. I have heard it suggested that the word for milk,
 “ *liss*, may account for the termination *lis* in *Somalis*.’ As a
 “ matter of fact, *So-liss* is not used in a command to go and bring
 “ milk or to go and milk a camel for a visitor, but only in ordinary
 “ conversation, and *So-mal* is the usual command in bidding anyone
 “ to go and bring milk for the refreshment of a stranger. In any
 “ case, there is nothing indicative of the origin of their Language
 “ or race in the name Somáli or Somál. Sir R. Burton has a note
 “ on the name Somál, where he alludes to a traveller who asserted
 “ that Somáli was derived from the Abyssinian *Soumahe* (heathen).”

Our author adopts the idea, that the Somáli race comes from India; other writers base their arguments on the similarity of architectural fragments to temples in the Dekkan, and to the use of certain Indian words, which really does not prove much: but our author, in a letter to me, as well as in conversation, lays stress on the existence of some Portuguese book in which the story is told of the emigration from India to the Horn of Africa. As the name of the book and the name of the author were unknown, I suggested, that he should go to the British Museum Library and search the Catalogues; he did so, but failed to come on any clue. His theory is, that the expedition took place in the eleventh century of our era, but up to this time there is no shadow of proof. For fear of not having stated his theory fully, I subjoin

an extract in the French original from one of his communications. His two excellent Philological works will enable Dravidian Scholars to give a distinct opinion, whether there exists the alleged linguistic affinity.

The Somáli are Mahometan in Religion, and the population, in a very low state of culture, has never been ascertained.

It is not actually included in any Protectorate, or Sphere of Influence; possibly the Italians may have had a dream about annexation, but they have been roused from that dream. The Abyssinians may in past centuries have deemed it to be their hunting-grounds. The coast is occupied by English and French settlements, who would have something to say, if Germany or Russia were to attempt to annex it.

Extract from Notes on the Somáli-land, prepared by the Rev. Frère Evangeliste de Larajasse, at my request, and with a view to publication in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society:

“ De l'étude de la langue Somáli, en ne considérant que le seul point de vue philologique, il nous apparait que ce langage n'a aucune parenté avec celui des peuples environnants.

“ Le génie de la langue Somáli n'a rien qui ressemble au génie de la langue Arabe. Le Somáli a fait de très larges emprunts à la langue Arabe, mais en prenant les mots Arabes, il les a arrangés à sa façon et suivant le génie de sa langue. Donc, malgré leur généalogies, transmises par la tradition généalogies, qui les font tous remonter à un ancêtre Arabe, il me semble impossible d'admettre uniquement cette descendance Arabe; une telle descendance aurait certainement laissé sa trace dans la langue parlée. Je suis porté à croire que le Musulman, qui a conquis le pays vers la fin du 13^e siècle, a détruit, ou emporté, tous les anciens monuments de la première occupation, à fin de mieux fixer ce peuple conquis dans la croyance à l'Islamisme. Cette politique, suivie dans toutes les conquêtes faites par les Musulmans, a dû être la même sur la terre Somáli. Pourtant, si le conquérant a pu imposer sa religion, il n'a pas eu la puissance de changer le langage du peuple conquis.

“ Le Somáli, et l'Abyssin, n'ont aucune ressemblance; il existe bien quelques mots empruntés à cette dernière langue, mais ce serait totalement insuffisans pour attribuer une origine Abyssine au peuple Somáli. Il y a plus d'affinité entre le Somáli et le Galla; quelques centaines de mots paraissent dériver d'une racine Galla; néanmoins, le génie des deux langues reste si différent, qu'il est bien difficile d'attribuer une descendance Galla au peuple Somáli.

“ Je ne connais pas le *Swahili*, mais à en juger par les différents extraits que j'ai pu lire, je ne vois rien, qui ressemble au langage Somáli.

“ J’en suis par conséquence arrivé à conclure qu’il faudrait aller
 “ chercher l’origine de ce peuple étrange jusque dans les Indes,
 “ non point sur la côte de Malabar, mais de l’autre côté des Indes
 “ sur le versant des montagnes, qui séparent la côte de Coromandel
 “ de la partie des Indes faisant face à l’Océan Indien.

“ Le langage des peuples Indiens qui parlent le *Concanim* ou
 “ le *Tamil* or *Tamul* semble avoir quelque affinité avec la langue
 “ Somáli. Les mœurs des peuples nomades, qui habitent les mon-
 “ tagnes du *Dekkan*, sont les mœurs du peuple Somáli; et le langage
 “ Somáli a de si grandes affinités avec le *Tamil*, qu’un Madrassien
 “ après quelques semaines est capable de comprendre un Somáli.
 “ Si on pouvait trouver l’historien portugais, qui parle de la conquête
 “ des côtes Africaines au 11^e siècle, on aurait la solution de ce
 “ problème, qui jusqu’à cette heure est resté un mystère pour tous
 “ les Savants.”

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Jan., 1898.

XVII.

AFRICA IN 1897.

It may be well to consider the position of Africa after the lapse of twenty years since the special scramble for that unhappy continent commenced. In some cases, indeed, the wrongful occupation of territory dates back to the beginning of the century, but the most striking instances of attack and annexation have occurred at a much more recent date. Among the most active aggressors are Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and Belgium. The possessors of African Territory of an earlier date are Spain, Portugal, and Holland.

The gang of slave-dealers has, indeed, been reduced to small proportions, and may probably be entirely crushed, but its place has been taken by the merchant of alcoholic liquors and of warlike stores. The destruction, accordingly, of Africans has been increased rather than diminished. Some geographical explorers have passed across the continent killing men and burning villages. Can it be that a Chartered Company only hopes to pay its dividend by the slaughter of natives, and the spoliation of their property in cattle or land?

Africa falls conveniently and naturally into four portions :

I. North Africa: from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Red Sea, and extending South as far as the Sahára.

II. South Africa: the Region South of the Rivers Zambési and Cunéne.

III. East Africa: the Region extending from the limits of North Africa along the coast of the Indian Ocean to the River Zambési, and divided from West Africa by a line drawn down the 25th degree of East Longitude.

IV. West Africa: the Region extending from the frontier of Morocco along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean to the River Cunéne.

Let us now consider the political state of each Region and its component parts.

I. North Africa consists of seven well-defined sub-regions: (1) Morocco, (2) Algeria, (3) Tunisia, (4) Tripolitána, (5) Egypt, (6) Abyssinia, (7) the Sahára.

(1) Morocco is an independent Mahometan State, owing no allegiance, spiritual or secular, to the Sultan of Turkey. Its situation is remarkable with its North coast facing the Mediterranean, and its West coast the Atlantic Ocean; a mountain range to the East and South, a climate suited to European colonization, harbours available for commerce, and proximity to Europe in Spain and Portugal. Under an enlightened Government it might have a magnificent future: the jealousy of the different European States guarantees its independence; but under the present degraded dynasty there is little hope. It is interesting to reflect that, when Charles II married Catharine of Braganza, part of her dowry consisted of the Island of Bombay, and the port of Tangier, which last was held by Great Britain from A.D. 1662 to 1684, when it was abandoned, because it was troublesome. From the Island of Bombay sprang the Empire of India: the possession of Tangier might have eventuated in an African Empire. I have visited Morocco.

(2) Passing Eastward, we come to Algeria, a French Colony. It extends from the frontier of Morocco on the West to the frontier of Tunisia on the East, with the Mediterranean to the North, and the Sahára to the South. I have traversed it and studied its capabilities. It has a strong and not unsympathetic Government, and the half-century under French rule has developed its resources.

(3) Further to the East is the French Protectorate of Tunisia, which I have also visited, ruled over by a Mahometan Sovereign with every prospect of peace and progress. It extends from the frontier of Algeria on the West to the frontier of Tripolitána to the East, with the Mediterranean to the North and the Sahára to the South.

(4) To the East of Tunisia lies the Province of Tripolitána, which extends to the Egyptian frontier. It has the Mediterranean to the North, and the Sahára to the South, through which it has access by caravans to the districts of the Sudán. It is governed by a Mahometan viceroy, and is, nominally at least, part of the Turkish Empire. Looking into the future, should that Empire

disappear and its provinces pass by partition among the European States, it is to be hoped, that Tripolitána may fall to the share of the kingdom of Italy, which has the capacity, and will, to give it a good administration.

(5) In the extreme East of the northern portion of Africa we come to Egypt, nominally a superior Pachalik of Turkey, practically a Protectorate of Great Britain, and possibly hereafter an independent kingdom. Its circumstances present one of the great problems of the future. It seems madness on our part to retain such a dangerous Protectorate. It was well to give it a decade of good administration, and develop its latent resources, but this has now been done, and well done. I made a careful inspection of the whole province in 1885 from the point of view of an Indian Administrator. In my humble opinion the time has come to treat it like Belgium, and place it under the protection of the Great Powers as an independent kingdom with its present dynasty, the Suez Canal being declared neutral, and open to all. No European Power can hold it with absolute safety, as it is too small to be called to bear the burthen of an occupying army, and is exposed to attacks on every side from the Mediterranean on the North, the Red Sea on the East, the desert on the West, and the upper Nile Valley on the South.

If it be unwise to hold Egypt proper up to the first cataract as a Protectorate, it seems madness, so far as Great Britain is concerned, to annex by force the Province of Nubia, and to court perennial trouble by the conquest of the Egyptian Sudán. Apply to Egypt the usual questions asked before the annexation of a Province to British India: (1) Is it defensible from foreign attack? (2) Will it pay? If the reply be in the negative, sound policy suggests to have nothing to do with it. No one, who has carefully studied the problem on the spot, as I have, can doubt that the advance now made to the south is perilous, and may eventuate in a second Khartúm disaster, even after the fall of Berber. Great Britain has a sufficient burden in controlling the frontier tribes of Afghanistan, and the natives of her African Colonies, without also undertaking the thankless responsibility of bringing the dauntless free Arabs of the Sudán under the dominion of the Turk, or the Egyptian Khedive. There can be no glory in such undertakings. Will there be any real expansion of commerce, any prospect of advancing the true and lasting interests of the Sudán populations, after the recurrent slaughter of dauntless freemen and the barbarous destruction of their villages?

(6) The kingdom of Abyssinia occupies the South-Eastern corner of the North region. It is occupied by a Christian population under a Christian Sovereign, representative of a Church of an older date than any European Church. Barbarous indeed is the population of this Monarchy, but it is desirous to maintain its own

freedom. Russia has the credit of conducting a semi-religious, semi-political, intrigue with the Abyssinian authorities. Great Britain, thirty years ago, invaded Abyssinia, destroyed the then King (Theodore) and his dynasty, and then left the country in anarchy. The more recent Italian attempt to conquer a portion of Abyssinia has wofully failed. At one time Abyssinia was actually recorded as being in the Protectorate of Italy. It now looks as if the Italian Colony of Erythrea existed under the Protectorate of King Menelik of Abyssinia. Indeed, Abyssinia may have a future of its own. Above Khartúm the Nile Valley lies well within the sphere of its influence, and the Mahdi and the Khedive of Egypt may have to reckon with the power of King Menelik in the Equatorial regions. Both France and Russia may, through this Potentate, obtain an influence, which may seriously affect British pretensions in trade and policy.

II. South Africa: the Region South of the Rivers Zambési and Cunéne.

The Dutch Settlement of Cape Town was in 1795 occupied by Great Britain during the war with France, and except for a short interval, 1803-1806, never given back; from this basis the Colony has extended on both the East and West Coast. Portugal still maintains its ancient Colony of Delagoa Bay; and Germany in 1882, in her desire to be a "Kolonial Macht," laid her hands on Dámara-land and Namáqua-land, an unimportant territory on the West Coast. More than fifty years a portion of the Dutch inhabitants of the Cape Colony "trekked" across the River Vaal, and founded the two Republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Neither of them have any seaport; they are shut in by British and Portuguese Colonies. The discovery of diamond-mines in Be-Chuána-land led to a Northern extension of the Cape Colony, and in the last few years the Chartered South African Company has, in what I consider to be a most unprincipled manner, occupied the Regions of Ma-Tabéle-land, and Ma-Shóna-land, extending practically the dominion of Great Britain from the Cape of Good Hope up to the River Zambési. The circumstances connected with the invasion of a distant country by a dividend-paying company, the slaughter of unoffending natives, the confiscation of their cattle, lands, and gold-mines, by adventurers, "the riffraff of the British population," as they were described by a Colonial Secretary of State, are too well known to need repetition in this summary. Emboldened by success against Lo-Bengúla, who was hunted to death, the leaders of the movement, Messrs. Rhodes and Jameson, attempted to play the same game against the Republic of the Transvaal, but the Boers were too many for them, and the whole policy has been exposed with all its lust for gold, its hunger for land, and its contempt for black human life. In British annals no more discreditable

incident has been recorded. The East India Company did indeed oust all the Mahometan and Hindu rulers of that great country, but they robbed no man of his lands for the benefit of alien colonists: all rights of property and religion were respected, and except in pitched battles there was no slaughter: on the capture of Delhi 1,200 females of the Imperial harem came into the possession of the conquerors: they were *not* distributed among the soldiery in the manner in which George Gordon of Khartúm distributed the women rescued from the slave-dealers, and described by him in his own published letters, but were cared for until they could be made over to their friends. Nor was their fate such as that of the women of Ma-Shona-land.

Along the Eastern coast lies the Southern portion of the Portuguese Colony, known as Delagoa Bay: the position of Portugal will be more fully alluded to in the description of East Africa.

III. East Africa: the Region extending from the limits of North Africa along the coast of the Indian Ocean to the River Zambési, and divided from West Africa by a line drawn down the 25th degree of East Longitude.

Of this Region only forty years ago little or nothing was known: it contains Lake Nyása to the South, Lake Tanganyika to the West, Lake Victoria Nyanza on the Equator, Lake Albert on the North-West corner, and several lofty ranges of mountain. Lake Victoria Nyanza contains the sources of the Nile, and is itself upwards of 5,000 feet above the level of the sea. It is considered by some suitable for the colonization of Europeans, but we have no experience of this. Politically it has been divided betwixt Great Britain and Germany in the form of colonies, protectorates, spheres of influence, and hinterlands. They approach from the East; but France appears to be advancing from the West along the course of the River Mobangi into this Region, and, if this Egyptian craze continues, it is possible that Great Britain, in the name of the Khedive, may be found to be approaching from the North. The Kongo Free State has also appeared in the Nile Basin. The occupation of posts on the coast either directly, or as a protectorate of a native Mahometan Power, may be admitted as a means of extinguishing the slave-trade; but the occupation of the vast regions of unprofitable land, without resources or commerce on the North side of and beyond Victoria Nyanza, by Great Britain, seems unintelligible. Similarly, the occupation of the region betwixt Zanzibar and the South side of Victoria Nyanza, does not promise at any time to be profitable. The distance of 500 miles from the coast to be traversed and a range of mountains render the tenure of U-Ganda a very unsafe and precarious one. In British India the early Settlements were on the coast, and the occupation was gradually extended up the basins of great rivers, teeming with a vast population dwelling

in cities and villages, until the whole country was occupied: and it took the best part of a century to accomplish this. In Eastern Equatorial Africa this cautious policy has been cast aside. In the scramble for Africa there was a necessity for immediate occupation. Germany and Great Britain pushed on trying to outwit each other, neglectful of establishing supports on the routes of communication with the coast. The real question is: will the occupation of the country, and the maintenance of the railways, pay their working expenses? This is much to be doubted: the inhabitants are in the lowest round of culture; there are no cities, and no accumulated wealth, and no agricultural products. The supply of ivory will not last long. One of the early explorers thought, that the products of the whole of U-Ganda might occupy the railway for one week in each year. The administration of this kingdom is conducted by extremely ignorant native chieftains. The political aspect of the Region of East Equatorial Africa is very unsatisfactory. So far, at the present time the import of liquors and lethal weapons has not commenced. It is not pretended that European colonists could settle permanently in any portion of the German Colony, Protectorate, or Hinterland. It is a fact, that in the British Protectorate north of Victoria Nyanza no European family has settled, no European child been born, and even the Missionary, who sends home such an abundance of children from every part of British India, and Ceylon, has none to bestow on his country from Equatorial Africa or the Equator. We must recollect, that barely twenty or thirty years have elapsed since this lake may be said to have been discovered by Speke, and visited by Henry Stanley. Enthusiasts may dream of expeditions pressing Northward along the Nile Valley from the lakes to Khartúm to meet the advance-guard of the Khedive of Egypt moving Southward. Mr. Rhodes dreamed another dream of a telegraphic line from his own Rhodesia, south of the Zambézi River, to Lake Nyása, from Lake Nyása to Lake Tanganyika, from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Victoria Nyanza. In British India we are in the habit of dealing with things actual and practical, and which pay the outlay of the undertaking, so the boasts of African promoters of companies do not disturb an old Anglo-Indian like the writer.

To the North of these two great annexations of Great Britain and Germany are the barbarous tribes of the Galla and Somáli, extending up to Cape Guardafui. The latest maps show this vast Region to be partly under a British Protectorate, and partly, Heaven save the mark! under an Italian Protectorate. The islands of Zanzibar and Pemba are held by a Mahometan chieftain under the Protectorate of Great Britain. To the south lies the Portuguese Colony of Mozambique with an extensive sea-front, reaching far down to Lorenzo Marquez in South Africa, but the much coveted Hinterland is occupied by the British Central African Protectorate

on Lake Nyása and the River Zambési. The Portuguese Colonies in Africa, as in British India, represent the miserable survival of the most unfit.

IV. West Africa: the Region extending from the frontier of Morocco along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean to the River Cunéne.

Proceeding Southwards from Cape Nun, we come to the Spanish Protectorate, part of the Sahára, a profitless possession opposite to the Canary Islands, which are also Spanish. Next in order comes the great French Colony of Senegal, which by gradual extension into the Sahára and as far as Lake Chad occupies nearly two Millions of square miles. Next the tiny British Settlement on the River Gambia, and the patch known as Portuguese Guinea. Then comes the French Guinea, also known as Rivières du Sud, and the important British Colony of Sierra Leone. Passing beyond, we come to the American Republic of Liberia, beyond which is the French Colony known as Great Bassam on the Ivory Coast. Beyond is the British Colony of the Gold Coast. Beyond is the German Colony of Togoland, and the French Colony of Dahomey. All these petty Colonies have no Hinterland. They are entirely shut off from all internal expansion by the French Sudán, part of the Senegal Colony. The native Kingdoms of Ashanti, or Dahomey, do not count for much. Passing onwards, we come to the large block of the Niger Coast British Protectorate, the British Colony of the Island of Lagos, and the territory of the Niger Chartered British Company, extending far into the interior, so as to include the Sultanat of Bornu in its Protectorate, and reach the shores of Lake Chad. At the point, where the coast of Africa ceases to run to the west, and trends Southward, is the German Colony of the Kamerún, which extends in the interior as far as Lake Chad.

South of the Equator we come on the Colony of the French Kongo, which reaches far into the interior, and following the course of the River Mobangi runs northward up to the south shore of Lake Chad, while its eastern expansion is only prevented by the Protectorate of British East Africa from tapping the valley of the Nile in East Africa.

We now arrive at the most amazing phenomenon of the great scramble for Africa, the Kongo Free State. It has a narrow neck of land to the South of the broad stream of the River Kongo, which reaches the Atlantic Ocean; extending back and into the interior it occupies the enormous area of nine hundred thousand square miles, touching to the North the valley of the River Nile and the French Colony, to the East the British and German East African Protectorates, and to the South the British Central African Protectorate, to the West the Portuguese Colony of Angóla. In fact, it occupies the great and imperfectly known centre of Africa North and South of the Equator. That an individual European Sovereign,

and a petty State like Belgium, can effectually occupy and manage such a vast and profitless territory, is very problematical, and France has the reversion of the whole, if King Leopold and Belgium desire to be free of the burthen.

South of the Kongo Free State is the Portuguese Colony of Angóla: as a fact, a small portion of this Colony is situated to the North of the estuary of the great river. At one time the Portuguese dreamed of extending their two Colonies on the East and West Coasts so as to touch each other: from this dream there has been a rude awakening.

This completes the circuit of the four Regions of Africa, and the detail of their political position in 1897, subject to errors of statement in so complicated a subject and changes which are taking place. I have watched the sad and moving drama of African oppression for more than twenty years. The sufferings of Armenia under the Turk are as nothing in comparison.

This great Continent, compact in form, and accessible to the Ocean on every side with vast navigable rivers, may be said roughly and inclusive of its adjacent islands to comprise eleven millions of square miles: its population amounts to one hundred and thirty millions, and this is a minimum calculation. We cannot kill this population, as we have elsewhere, and replace it by the riffraff surplus of European Nations: even if we wished to do so, we must accept as a fact, that the Negro and Bantu races are made of such stuff, that no amount of cruel persecution continued for centuries will suffice to exterminate them. It is the fashion to talk of the Negro as a hopeless savage. In an offhand way some speak of the great people of British India, amounting to three hundred millions, in the same airy way: those, who know them well, are of opinion, that the Hindu and Negro are quite able to hold their own against the Latin and Teutonic races, if they get their chance.

This population both in India and Africa can live and propagate their race in yearly increasing millions in a climate, and in a social environment, under which the European will surely succumb. The same Power, that fashioned the features of the Region, has created the population suitable to inhabit it. If wisdom and benevolence, and not selfish chauvinism, united with low earth-greed, had guided the councils of European statesmen, they would have devised plans which would be to the advantage of the indigenous population, and not only to that of the reckless and penniless adventurers.

I now give the statistical results as regards areas in square miles, and population:

	AREAS IN SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.
I. Great Britain : South, East, and West Regions of the Continent and islands on both East and West Coast	2,194,000	43,200,000
II. France : North and West Regions of the Continent and islands on the East Coast	3,320,000	30,000,000
III. Germany : South, East, and West Regions of the Continent	884,000	8,300,000
IV. Portugal : East and West Regions of the Continent and islands on the West Coast	826,000	5,400,000
V. Spain : North and West Regions of the Continent and islands on the West Coast	150,000	400,000
VI. Italy : North Region of the Continent
VII. Belgium : West Region of the Continent	905,000	16,000,000
VIII. Two Boer Republics : South Region of the Continent	177,000	764,000
IX. Morocco : North Region of the Continent	154,000	6,000,000
X. Tripolitána : North Region of the Continent	338,000	1,000,000
XI. Egypt : North Region of the Continent	349,000	7,600,000
XII. The Egyptian Sudán : North Region of the Continent	609,000	5,800,000
XIII. Eastern Sahára : East Region of the Continent—Wadai, Kanem, Tibesti, etc.	773,000	2,730,000
XIV. Western Sudán : West Region of the Continent—Mosi, etc.	155,000	2,800,000
XV. Liberia : West Region of the Continent	51,000	1,000,000
XVI. Area occupied by Lakes West Region of the Continent	70,000	...

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

What is the moral of this discreditable game of grab, which the three great nations of Europe (France, Germany, Great Britain) have been playing at the expense of the unhappy African, Semites, Hamites, Negro, Bantu, and Hottentot-Bushmen? Attila, and Genghis Khan, could not have done worse than these nominal Christian States. Murder, confiscation, rapine, have been the results. Deception and diplomacy have been the machinery. Lust of land and gold have been the motive-power.

What a mockery it seems with one hand to stop the deportation of slaves, and with the other to introduce millions of casks of alcoholic liquors! One Missionary reports his landing from a ship with ten thousand gallons of alcohol. Lord Salisbury is credited with the assertion, that the settlement of Religious Missionary bodies in a Region, to which they had come to preach the Gospel, helped to make up the proof of the occupation of the Region, which was required to justify a claim to its sovereignty! Treaties were made by Missionaries, scientific explorers, designing speculators, and the chief, who put his mark to a treaty, knew not what he was doing: the brandy bottle was placed generally by his side and the pen put in his hand; he often, in ignorance, assigning the same lands to rival adventurers.

Throughout there was an utter neglect of the interests of the unhappy population. They were to be saved indeed from deportation across the Atlantic to a country, into which men of the same blood have developed into nine millions of freed men (citizens of the United States of N.A.) in a stage of European culture: they were to remain at home, and be slaves there, to see their lands and cattle confiscated, their villages destroyed, their chieftains, like poor Bushiri, hung by the Germans, their women, as in the Kamerún, flogged by Europeans, or worse. The Missionaries of different Churches and denominations flock in, and become a portion of the conquering race: one Missionary near Lake Nyása is said to have actually hanged a man; another Missionary near Victoria Nyása to have burned a village: some sections of Christians actually wage war with other sections. Things are done, which would be deemed to be impossible out of Pandemonium; and yet this is complacently described as the advance of Civilization and Christianity.

There are still a few unoccupied Regions, notably Wadai and Kanem in the Eastern Sahára. Thousands of square miles have never had any effectual occupation, but the words "sphere of influence," and "Hinterland," are delightfully elastic. The unhappy Portuguese had nominal possession of a vast region under a treaty made by the Emperor of Monomótápa in 1630 A.D., but they had maintained no "effectual occupation"; and when the South African Company began to lust for Ma-Shóna-land, the claims of Portugal were rejected with scorn, and perhaps rightly so, for they had lost their opportunity. As the day of Spain and of the Empires of Rome and Turkey passed away, so the Empire of Great Britain may before long pass away, unless it reverts to those principles of righteousness, which alone give permanence to a Rule.

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ESSAI SUR LES CONCEPTIONS RELIGIEUSES
MODERNES, QUI ONT PRIS NAISSANCE DANS
TOUTES LES PARTIES DU MONDE DEPUIS
L'ERE CHRETIENNE.

DANS une communication, que j'ai faite en langue anglaise et en langue française au dixième Congrès international des Orientalistes à Genève, 1894, j'ai décrit "Les Anciennes Conceptions Religieuses du monde avant l'Ere chrétienne."

Quelques-unes aujourd'hui sont complètement éteintes; d'autres traînent une existence inutile, dégradée. Il en est, qui sont encore de puissants facteurs dans l'histoire du monde; les unes enfin ont été nationales, les autres, universelles. Toutes les formes de culte de la Nature et de la Conception animistique, connues à cette date-là, sont en train de mourir lentement, n'ayant point d'attache avec notre époque. Sous l'influence d'une religion écrite, et plus encore d'une religion propagandiste, ces faibles conceptions religieuses se dessèchent et tombent.

A l'époque présente, il y a une différence marquée dans l'atmosphère religieuse, aussi bien que dans les sentiments de l'humanité, à propos de certains sujets. L'idée même des Sacrifices d'animaux, des Augures, des Oracles, des Signes dans le Ciel, des Miracles, des Songes, des Visions, des Apparitions surnaturelles, des Arts de la Magie, de la Possession des Mauvais Esprits, et autres choses semblables, a disparu. De même aussi les mutilations de certaines parties du corps, le défigurement des traits, la coloration de la peau, les tortures volontairement imposées, l'Ascétisme, le Célibat, toutes ces faiblesses du vieux monde, si elles n'ont pas disparu, sont en train de mourir, et ne peuvent plus servir comme indices du rapport de l'Ame humaine avec Dieu. On dédaigne les légendes mensongères. Le "Criticisme élevé" soumet tous les records des hommes anciens et des temps anciens à une seule épreuve sévère de crédibilité. Le rêve incohérent de ces documents écrits, qu'on suppose descendus du Ciel, les assertions audacieuses, simples assertions de l'inspiration verbale d'individus ou d'assemblées d'individus, appelées Eglises, tout cela doit, avec respect, avec une tendre sympathie pour les véritables croyants, être mis de côté.

Pour tous ceux, qui ont étudié l'Histoire de l'Humanité jusqu'à ce jour, ce sont les doctrines promulguées en Galilée, dès l'ère chrétienne, qui paraissent répondre le mieux aux demandes de l'Humanité, de l'Humanité tout entière, à tout degré de culture, à toute variété de climat, ou de position géographique, vu qu'il n'y a pas de chaîne qui attache ceux, qui ont reçu ces doctrines, à un lieu comme La Mecque, à un objet matériel comme la Pierre Kaaba,

à une langue dominante comme l'Arabe, l'Hébreu, ou le Sanscrit, à des Coutumes sociales ou à des Lois en dehors de la grande Loi morale de la race humaine.

Mais ces doctrines simples alors ont été altérées, dirons-nous "déformées?" par des accrétions du Judaïsme et du Paganisme, pendant les époques sombres, et défigurées par le verre coloré, que l'Européen a placé sur elles. Cependant la liberté de parler, d'écrire, et de se réunir, ayant été obtenue, et l'égalité absolue devant la Loi Civile pour tous ceux, qui professent toutes les variétés possibles de Conceptions Religieuses, ayant été développée, nous pouvons avec équité permettre aux Conceptions Religieuses, qui existaient au premier siècle de l'ère chrétienne, d'entrer en ligne de combat dans cette lutte meurtrière, que le contact de la Société et du commerce a fait naître. Si, comme je le crois et comme beaucoup d'autres le croient, si elles sont de Dieu, elles triompheront; elles ne réclament ni Bulles de Papes, ni Ukases d'Empereurs, ni Actes du Parlement anglais.

Celui qui écrit ces lignes a sur ce sujet des convictions profondes, et elles lui sont plus chères que la vie; mais on ne trouvera dans cet exposé sommaire aucune trace d'aveuglement provenant d'elles, car il est descendu, et il marche dans une arène ouverte; à ses yeux tout discours abusif en masse, toute description fausse ou raillerie ne sont pas des arguments; employer de tels moyens, c'est avouer qu'on défend une cause faible. Pour une personne, qui passe de l'état de Hindou sincère à l'état de Chrétien croyant, il doit y avoir une lutte intellectuelle pénible; et il y a danger que les fondements de foi, posés dans l'enfance, ayant été une fois bouleversés, ce premier changement ne devienne le précurseur de beaucoup d'autres changements. Lorsque le Chrétien, né dans la Foi, vient à passer par une période de doute, si par une conviction solide il revient à ses vieilles attaches, il sera plus fort et meilleur que le croyant, qui en prend à son aise, et ne s'est point attardé à mesurer les profondeurs, à examiner les difficultés. La majorité des hommes se trouve dans cette triste situation d'esprit. La religion n'a plus de réelle influence sur eux. Il y a quelque chose dans le sarcasme mordant d'Ernest Renan: il dit ("Israël," v, 106), que les Cérémonies religieuses sont "devenues par la perversité des hommes une imposture nécessaire. La race humaine semble avoir été créée pour boire l'Erreur, et même quand la Vérité est admise, elle ne l'est pas de réelles bonnes raisons."

Les vieilles Croyances Nationales du monde ancien étaient très tolérantes; si on les laissait seules, elles laissaient les autres seules. Sans aucun doute, le bât les blessait, quand un membre de la famille adoptait une phase entièrement nouvelle d'idées, quand un Hindou, par exemple, se faisait Mahométan, le converti était privé de son héritage et exclus de la société: mais pour un sectaire hindou dans le giron il n'y avait pas de changement. Les préceptes

de Bouddha étaient, il est vrai, propagandistes, mais il n'y avait pas de persécution. Si l'on voulait arguer qu'il y eut persécution, au temps de Darius le Méde, à propos de Daniel jeté dans la fosse aux lions, il faut se rappeler, que l'offense avait été une désobéissance aux ordres du roi, et que Daniel avait agi par ostentation et par défi. Il aurait pu faire ses prières quotidiennes en secret. De même les persécutions contre les premiers chrétiens par les empereurs romains furent dues en grande partie à l'esprit de défi de personnes, qui désiraient être martyrs. Lorsqu'un souverain ordonnait qu'un serment de fidélité lui fût prêté, on pouvait le faire sans porter atteinte aux convictions religieuses. Avec le christianisme a commencé l'époque de l'Intolérance et de la Persécution. Les Hébreux en avaient donné l'exemple en égorgeant les prêtres de Baal, en lapidant Etienne. Les Mahométans suivirent le mauvais exemple des chrétiens, mais le bras du Persécuteur est désormais arrêté. Même alors le mal aurait été comparativement léger, si on n'avait pas réclamé le Bras de la chair; si cruautés, persécutions, et déchéances n'avaient pas été corroborées par le Pouvoir Civil, pour soutenir la manière de voir d'un parti sur tel profond mystère contre la manière de voir d'un autre parti.

Les différences dans les manières de voir religieuses ont été l'un des grands fléaux de l'humanité: nous en voyons les derniers vestiges dans la persécution sociale actuelle des Hébreux dans l'Europe Orientale.

L'intelligence de l'Humanité affranchie à notre époque discute à fond le rapport de l'Ame à Dieu, et deux questions de l'importance la plus sérieuse se sont présentées d'elles-mêmes:

I. La même conception religieuse est-elle bonne pour tous les temps? N'y a-t-il pas de place pour une évolution?

II. La même conception religieuse est-elle bonne pour tous les climats, pour toutes les races, pour toutes les circonstances physiques, pour toutes les positions géographiques?

Elucidons ces deux points avec respect et loyauté.

I.

La même conception religieuse, qui avait paru bonne pour Abraham et Jacob au dix-neuvième siècle avant J.-C., serait-elle également bonne à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle après J.-C.? La même loi morale prévalait-elle? Abraham épousa sa propre sœur, eut un enfant de la servante de sa femme, fut tout prêt à tuer son propre fils. Jacob, à l'âge de soixante-dix-sept ans (il aurait pu avoir de meilleures idées à cet âge), prit deux sœurs et leurs deux servantes pour femmes; leurs enfants furent tous égaux l'un par rapport à l'autre et passèrent pour légitimes. Il trompa grossièrement son vieux père. Il était prêt à recevoir Jehovah pour son

Dieu, si Il lui fournissait la nourriture et l'habillement : “ *Do ut des* ” (“ Je donne pour que tu donnes ”).

Sa femme au moment de quitter la maison paternelle, vola “ les images qui appartenaient à son père,” et Laban, le père payen, accusa son gendre, Jacob, de lui “ avoir volé ses Dieux.” Il faut bien admettre, qu'il y eut une évolution considérable de l'idée religieuse pendant les dix-neuf cents ans, qui se sont écoulés avant que l'Évangile nouveau fut prêché par Jésus aux petites tribus des Hébreux, parmi les millions des Nations soumises à Rome, qui n'étaient rien si on les compare aux centaines de millions du monde entier. Il s'est écoulé une seconde période de dix-neuf cents ans depuis lors, et vraiment peut-on dire qu'il n'y a pas eu d'évolution spirituelle et intellectuelle depuis cette date ?

II.

La même conception religieuse est-elle bonne pour tous les climats, pour toutes les races, pour toutes les particularités physiques, pour toutes les positions géographiques ?

Cette question a été sérieusement discutée. C'est un fait connu, qu'il y a une grande différence dans le bagage intellectuel, dans la capacité intellectuelle des diverses races humaines ; en ces derniers temps, le monde a été tout exploré, et chaque voyageur rapporte à la maison des récits sur la diversité de couleur, de structure corporelle, de coutumes, d'aspirations, et de croyances religieuses. Il y a des portions de la race humaine, qui sont contemporaines par la naissance, mais qui sont à des siècles de distance l'une de l'autre dans l'évolution intellectuelle. Quant à ce qui regarde les Hébreux, dont nous connaissons l'histoire sans interruption depuis le temps d'Abraham, n'ont-ils pas totalement changé dans toutes les choses susceptibles du changement, sauf dans la mutilation du corps mâle ? Et même en ce qui regarde les nations arrivées à un état élevé de culture, quel abîme béant s'ouvre entre les hommes instruits et les ignorants ! Quand je conversais avec les naturels de l'Inde, mes amis, j'adaptais ma conversation à leurs connaissances en histoire, en géographie, en théologie, en sciences ; sans cela, ils ne m'auraient pas compris. On ne donne pas de viandes fortes à l'enfant, c'est vrai ! mais faut-il donner la nourriture de l'enfant aux hommes forts ? On suspend avec respect les vieilles armes aux murailles, mais on n'en fait plus usage dans les batailles. On fait allusion avec respect aux histoires du vieux monde, mais elles n'entrent plus en compte dans les conseils des hommes pratiques : on les met de côté, avec révérence, comme appartenant à une phase depuis longtemps disparue de la race humaine.

Cela nous amène à parler des Anciens Livres religieux du vieux monde. Leur étude a causé un changement considérable dans la

position de cette grande question du rapport de l'âme avec un pouvoir supérieur. Autrefois, il était formellement admis, qu'à l'exception de la toute petite nation des Juifs, toute l'humanité était dans l'obscurité intellectuelle, dans l'ignorance grossière des choses spirituelles. Les écrits de Platon et de Cicéron auraient dû cependant arracher de toute âme sincère cette illusion. Mais aujourd'hui, les Livres sacrés de l'Hindou, du Bouddhiste, du Confucianiste, du Zoroastrien, de l'Égyptien, de l'Assyrien, et de la philosophie grecque, ont amené les chercheurs à constater que la sagesse, la sainteté, le péché, le jugement futur, et l'idée du Créateur, n'étaient pas le monopole exclusif des Hébreux en Asie pendant les siècles qui ont précédé l'ère chrétienne ; et le fait, que la grande majorité de la population du monde professe encore à l'heure actuelle des croyances non-chrétiennes, est un fait qu'on ne peut pas contredire, en dépit des efforts énergiques, que font les représentants les plus puissants, les plus dévoués des grandes nations de l'Europe et de l'Amérique du Nord pour soulever le voile. Prenez, pour exemple, le cas de l'Inde Anglaise. L'accroissement annuel de la population par voie de procréation ordinaire dépasse le nombre des convertis et de leurs familles, et pourtant c'est l'œuvre de deux à trois siècles !

Le grand malheur du Christianisme à son aurore, c'est qu'il n'y avait ni rapports littéraires, ni rapports sociaux entre les Hébreux et les Greco-romains à l'occident, et qu'il y avait ignorance absolue des grands progrès intellectuels de Zoroastre, de Bouddha, des Sages hindous, et de Kong-Fu-Tsee, à l'orient. Ce fut une période d'isolement littéraire. Paul de Tarse, un homme érudit, cite deux poètes grecs ; mais pourquoi n'avait-il pas étudié les ouvrages de Platon, et des philosophes romains ? Il est difficile de croire, qu'il ait ignoré leur existence. Une visite d'une heure de Paul à Sénèque eut été une heure bien employée, et un entretien avec Epictète eut été utile à la grande cause. L'époque actuelle, dix-neuf cents ans plus tard, offre une position sociale toute différente. Tous les hommes, qui ont souci des choses, lisent les publications de Chander Sen, de Syud Amir Ali, de Comte, et de beaucoup d'autres, et ces hommes lisent à leur tour les publications d'autres hommes, desquels ils diffèrent. Il y a de hardies questions sur le passé, et des regards plus hardis encore sur l'avenir.

Il était nécessaire d'engager la discussion qui précède pour préparer le terrain, où seront décrites les nouvelles Conceptions Religieuses, en dehors des grandes doctrines prêchées en Judée. Nous allons les passer brièvement en revue ; elles forment deux catégories :

I. Les vieux systèmes épurés et adaptés à la position d'une société civilisée.

II. Les conceptions modernes résultant du mélange des vieux systèmes avec la doctrine chrétienne, sciemment ou non.

La première catégorie comprend :

- A. L'Islamisme avec sa dernière évolution, le Bábismo.
- B. Le Néo-Judaïsme.
- C. Le Néo-Hindouisme.
- D. Le Néo-Zoroastrianisme.
- E. Le Néo-Bouddhisme.
- F. Le Néo-Confucianisme.

Aucune de ces conceptions religieuses n'est aujourd'hui dans le même état, qu'elle était avant de venir en contact avec la civilisation européenne.

A. *L'Islamisme* est bien connu de ceux, qui ont vécu dans les contrées où on le professe. Des personnes ignorantes affectent d'en mal parler, mais il n'en représente pas moins un progrès immense dans l'évolution des idées spirituelles sur le point d'arrêt de l'ancien monde. En certaines positions particulières, il est porté à rétrograder, comme aussi le christianisme ; mais dans un pays, où règne la loi comme dans l'Inde anglaise, les soixante millions de Mahométans ne commettent point d'excès, vivent d'une vie décente, remplissent leurs devoirs religieux et font de bons citoyens ; les accusations contre l'Islamisme ne s'appuient pas sur ce qui dérive de leur Conception Religieuse, mais sur leur premier état barbare, sur la faiblesse commune à l'humanité, quand elle n'est pas maintenue par des cours de justice et par un gouvernant puissant.

La secte, connue sous le nom de Bábí, est une secte nouvelle. Un jeune Persan, nommé Mirza Ali Mahomet, annonça en 1844, que Dieu se manifestait en sa personne, et il prit le nom de Báb, ou Porte, c'est-à-dire la voie, par où la véritable signification du Koran est révélée : il écrivit un livre intitulé le Beyán, qui devait, d'après ses vues, remplacer le Koran ; et il affirma publiquement, avec assurance, que celui que Dieu devait manifester paraîtrait bientôt. Il fut martyrisé par les Mahométans ; et, à l'heure de sa mort, il se montra patient, satisfait, heureux d'être ainsi sacrifié. Un successeur lui fut donné ; et il est évident, qu'une renaissance religieuse d'un caractère exalté a eu lieu, et nous ne savons pas quelle en sera la fin, aujourd'hui que le bras du persécuteur est arrêté par les influences européennes.

B. *Le Néo-Judaïsme*. Il y a des bruits de vie dans cet arbre mort ; il y a des mouvements d'ossements morts. Une section avancée propose de faire partir des missions judaïques, d'établir un Judaïsme nouveau. Mais à cette forme de conception religieuse, comme à celle de l'Islamisme, s'attache encore ce rite disgracieux de la mutilation du corps mâle, rite qui la différencie de toutes les conceptions religieuses de l'ancien monde et de toutes les conceptions

religieuses du monde moderne, qui ont un caractère réellement spirituel ; rite, qui au dix-neuvième siècle, époque de culture et de respect pour la personne, doit empêcher les conversions. Les femmes sont dans la pratique exclues de l'admission, vu qu'il n'y a pas de rite d'initiation pour elles. Nous n'avons qu'à nous imaginer un membre du type de la Femme Nouvelle célibataire, désirant accepter les doctrines de l'Islam.

C. *Le Néo-Hindouisme* est un mouvement tout à fait indépendant de toute influence chrétienne ou européenne. Dáya Nanda, de Ajmír, fondateur de l'Aria-Somáj, mourut en 1883. Il fut le champion déterminé de l'interprétation littérale des Veda, qui dans son opinion, furent apportés du Ciel, dans leur forme matérielle, et embrassaient toute connaissance, humaine ou divine, passée, présente, ou future. Ce mouvement forme un violent contraste avec celui de Brahmo-Somáj, dont il sera parlé plus loin. Deux faits remarquables sont affirmés. C'est que les Veda n'admettent pas de traduction, mais seulement un commentaire, et que c'est un devoir de les mettre dans les mains des hommes pieux, au meilleur marché possible. Les doctrines de l'Aria-Somáj consistent en opposition négative contre l'Hindouisme, le Christianisme, et l'Islamisme. Le *motif* de ce mouvement paraît être de se débarrasser de beaucoup de coutumes hindoues, de date récente, qui se sont introduites après l'époque des Veda, et aussi de faire disparaître toutes les Conceptions Religieuses venues des pays étrangers : c'est aussi une école de secours mutuels, de perfectionnement personnel. L'idée, c'est le relèvement d'une grande nation, qui considère sa position spirituelle avec indépendance par rapport au passé et à l'avenir.

D. *Néo-Zoroastrianisme*. Une communauté de 100,000 personnes environ représente dans l'Inde anglaise ce qui survit de cette conception Religieuse si ancienne et si importante. Elles sont, il est vrai, éminemment riches, respectables, et bien élevées ; elles sont monogamistes. Le parti avancé, comme chez les Hébreux, se prépare à réformer les abus séculaires de leurs coutumes. Leurs livres sacrés en Zend leur ont littéralement été révélés à eux-mêmes par les savants européens. Comme les Hébreux, ils ont sérieusement songé à attirer des convertis. Leur Religion est purement monothéiste, et ils n'ont jamais eu de temples, ni d'images, ni d'autels. Hérodote le disait, 500 ans avant J.-C. C'était vrai alors, c'est encore vrai aujourd'hui. Ils vénèrent le Feu, comme étant le symbole resplendissant de Dieu, mais c'est improprement qu'on les appelle les adorateurs du Feu. C'est encore une erreur d'affirmer, qu'ils admettent le Dualisme de deux Pouvoirs indépendants, hostiles, spirituels ; l'idée de "l'Esprit du Mal," chez eux est identique à l'idée de Satan chez les Juifs. Ils

croient à l'immortalité de l'âme, à une vie à venir, aux récompenses, aux châtements. L'ensemble de leur morale est : "Bonnes paroles, bonnes pensées, bonnes œuvres : ne pensez rien que la vérité, ne dites rien que la vérité, ne faites rien que ce qui est convenable." Une de leurs pratiques religieuses fait tache : ils exposent les corps des morts à la pâture des oiseaux de proie. J'ai discuté ce sujet avec un Parsi éclairé ; il considérait ce fait comme le meilleur moyen de se débarrasser des morts. Peut-être accepteront-ils peu à peu la crémation comme un accommodement ; dans une contrée civilisée, il serait intolérable de trouver ça et là des pieds et des mains, restes de corps d'homme, que les oiseaux de proie ont apportés des Tours du Silence, et laissés tomber dans leur vol.

E. *Le Néo-Bouddhisme.* Cette ancienne conception religieuse propagandiste fut très connue dans les siècles passés. Le nombre de ses adhérents, réel ou nominal, surpasse le nombre de toute autre ; mais elle est terriblement dégradée. La question est de savoir quelle part elle prendra dans l'évolution des générations futures. Il est possible qu'elle acquière des adhérents, car nous en avons un exemple à noter dans le *Times* du 28 septembre, 1889. Un Américain, nommé Powell, fut reçu avec le cérémonial prescrit dans la communauté Bouddhiste par le chef spirituel, à Colombo.

La partialité marquée pour le Bouddhisme, telle qu'on l'exhibite en Europe et en Amérique, ne peut manquer de réagir sur les communautés natives, car l'Education s'étend jusqu'à elles, et des notes de renouvellement, de renaissance, paraissent fréquemment dans les journaux. Il se forme des Associations bouddhistes pour contrebalancer l'action des Missionnaires chrétiens ; des Ecoles opposées s'ouvrent. Nous apprenons qu'au Japon, un Bouddhisme réformé est actuellement prêché par un Japonais fraîchement sorti d'Oxford, en Angleterre.

Il y a aussi des essais de combinaison entre le Bouddhisme et le Christianisme, et on en cite des exemples en Birma, parmi les Karén. Le rite d'initiation consiste à avaler une portion de riz, à payer des honoraires au chef spirituel, à observer le repos du dimanche, et à pratiquer, à l'imitation des chrétiens. On dit que les adhérents de cette nouvelle forme de culte se comptent par milliers. Il ne nous a été donné aucune information sur la doctrine enseignée, mais les faits constatent la facilité, avec laquelle le peuple ignorant accepte ces nouveaux enseignements.

Qu'est-ce que le Bouddhisme en réalité, et sous quel jour apparaît ce culte aux yeux de qui recherche l'histoire spirituelle de l'Humanité ?

Le véritable Bouddhisme, c'est l'Humanitarisme, quelque chose comme l'Évangile de l'Humanité, que je classerai sous le titre de

Positivisme, dont l'essence est l'élévation de l'homme par l'intelligence de l'homme, par l'intuition, par l'enseignement, par l'expérience, et par l'effort, jusqu'au degré le plus haut de la perfection; et pourtant, il y a dans le Bouddhiste idéal quelque chose de très différent, c'est la renonciation à toute existence personnelle. La perfection du Bouddhiste, c'est l'annihilation, et pour toute intelligence non faussée la notion d'extinction en devenant Bouddha a une attraction fatale, et la doctrine de la Transmigration explique (et c'est la seule explication que puissent comprendre les esprits non-éclairés) la prospérité matérielle non-méritée des Méchants, et les souffrances non-méritées des Bons. Je crains que le monde ne puisse pas se débarrasser de l'une ou de l'autre de ces deux doctrines, ni sortir de ce dilemme.

Nous avons à chercher maintenant si ce système de "Morale sans Dieu" formera un noyau pour la réception d'hommes, qui ont appris et qui pensent, qui cherchent à suivre ce qui leur paraît à eux la voie droite. Il nous est difficile d'être de bons juges; car, d'après notre conviction, il y a dans l'esprit de l'homme, depuis le jour où il a conscience, un quelque chose, que nous pouvons appeler ou soupçon, ou idée innée, ou intuition, ou sentiment, d'un Pouvoir plus grand que nous-mêmes. Toute la création animale, sauf l'homme, ne le sent pas; mais l'homme a le sentiment né avec lui, et qu'il ne peut déraciner, le sentiment de dépendance et de confiance en un Pouvoir plus élevé, qui n'est pas nécessairement un pouvoir bienveillant; il a la conscience d'être contrôlé par ce Pouvoir, et c'est la signification du mot "Religion." "*C'est Lui qui nous a fait, et non pas nous-mêmes qui nous sommes faits.*" Le Bouddhisme est la négation absolue de ce sentiment. Le grand fondateur du Bouddhisme n'a pas tenu un compte suffisant de ce sentiment dans la poitrine humaine.

Laissez-moi dire un mot dans l'autre sens. Bouddha demandait à être l'idéal de l'assujettissement de soi-même, jusqu'au point où l'homme pourrait atteindre. Cet idéal n'est pas loin de la perfection chrétienne. Qu'est-ce que Bouddha a laissé derrière lui, quand il mourut, 500 ans avant l'ère chrétienne? Ni Dieu, ni Ciel, ni état futur, mais il a laissé l'esprit de charité universelle, de bienveillance, de commisération, et de pitié, généralement inconnues jusqu'alors; renoncement à soi-même, simplicité de cérémonial, égalité de tous les hommes, tolérance religieuse, et absence de toutes les difformités effrayantes, qui s'attachent à l'extérieur de toute autre Religion, intrigues de prêtre, rituels, formalités, orgueil, hypocrisie, ignorance. Son principe de conduite, c'est l'altruisme, opposé à l'égoïsme.

F. *Néo-Confucianisme.* La nature des enseignements de Kong-Fu-Tzec est bien connue. Le système est imposé par l'Etat, et il faut bien se rappeler, que le Grand Sage fut surtout un

compilateur des anciennes traditions du Royaume du Milieu, et aussi un auteur indépendant. Il y a lieu d'espérer, que le contact avec les étrangers, la publicité de la Presse, et les progrès de l'Education, débarrasseront ses enseignements de bien des choses, qui les ont dégradés dans les temps qui ont suivi sa mort.

L'étrange notion, sur laquelle repose le culte des ancêtres n'est point particulière à la Chine, vu que, dans le culte du paganisme romain, les *Lamies* et les *Lemures* erraient, croyait-on, comme des esprits, qui n'étaient pas arrivés au lieu du repos, et plus tard, on les regarda définitivement comme de Mauvais Esprits. Ces croyances antiques meurent difficilement, mais elles disparaissent sous l'influence de l'éducation.

Le sujet de l'adoration du Culte des Ancêtres a été discuté à la Conférence des Missionnaires à Shang-Hai, en 1890.

Les traits principaux de ce culte sont :

1. Des attributs divins sont accordés aux Morts.
2. Le motif réel est la crainte du mal, qui peut venir des mauvais Esprits.
3. Les Mânes de ceux, qui n'ont pas de descendants, sont apaisées par pure lâcheté.
4. Tout individu est supposé avoir trois âmes : (a) l'une qui s'en va au ciel ; (b) l'autre qui s'attache à la Tablette dans la maison ; (c) la dernière, qui reste dans la tombe.

Tout cela peut être vrai, mais la conception en est si contraire à la raison, qu'il paraîtrait possible d'en débarrasser l'esprit chinois ; on n'y pourra point arriver par pure moquerie de la coutume, mais par raisonnement calme. Il y avait, à la Conférence, un petit nombre de Missionnaires doués de vues assez larges pour découvrir ce qu'il y a de bon dans le système ; il témoigne de piété filiale, il tend à conserver la pureté et la moralité de la famille. Malheureusement les Missionnaires ont, avec beaucoup d'autres excellentes qualités de compensation, des vues très étroites ; et, comme à propos de la question du commerce d'opium, de même ici, ils semblent avoir complètement perdu tout pouvoir de se former un jugement indépendant. Remarquable est ce culte chinois, mais également remarquable aussi l'incapacité d'hommes raisonnables à comprendre les choses raisonnablement. La moquerie insouciance ne guérit pas les maux. Les doctrines de Kong-Fu-Tzec sont basées sur la conscience du Juste et de l'Injuste, conscience innée dans l'homme, ou conférée par ce qui est appelé le "Ciel" à l'homme. Si vague que puisse être ce terme traduit par "Ciel" il vaut mieux que l'athéisme avoué des Bouddhistes, ou que le polythéisme confus du Taouisme corrompu. Ceux, qui professent ces deux dernières formes de croyances, sont redevables de leurs convictions sur le devoir aux enseignements de Kong-Fu-Tzec, tout comme les hommes de culture européenne, qui nient la divinité de Jésus, ont d'une façon inconsciente, mais immuable, leur sentiment

du devoir basé sur le principe chrétien modèle. La conversion des Chinois présente ainsi un problème, qui n'a point son égal en difficulté et en grandeur dans aucune partie du monde. J'ai appris d'un Missionnaire, qui travaille au champ de la Chine, que le Confucianisme épuré, ou Néo-Confucianisme, est un danger très possible, car les Chinois baptisés semblent croire, que le Christianisme n'est qu'une forme perfectionnée de la Morale de Kong-Fu-Tzee. Peut-être l'usage du terme Shang-Ti a-t-il contribué à leur donner cette idée.

La seconde catégorie comprend :

- A. Le Brahmoïsme.
- B. La Théosophie.
- C. Les Hau Hau, Te Whiti, Te Kooti, de la Nouvelle-Zélande.
- D. Le Mormonisme.
- E. Le Positivisme, ou Comteïsme, ou la Religion de l'Humanité.
- F. L'Agnosticisme.
- G. L'Unitarisme.
- H. Le Théïsme.

A. Le *Brahmoïsme* diffère essentiellement du Néo-Hindouisme de la catégorie précédente, parce que l'on admet l'influence de l'idée et de la pratique chrétiennes : il appartient à une époque différente de Conception.

Le fondateur du Brahmo-Somáj, Keshab Chander Sen, se détacha du vieux parti conservateur, et marcha plus loin dans son zèle pour la pureté religieuse. Il était prêt à rejeter tout esprit de caste, à choisir ce qu'il y a de meilleur dans tous les Codes sacrés du monde, à former un Code sacré. Socialement, il condamnait la polygamie et les mariages prématurés. Il posa en principes, qu'il n'y avait qu'un seul vrai Dieu, que nous devons l'aimer, et accomplir les actions qu'Il aime ; que son seul temple est dans nos cœurs ; que les seules cérémonies sont les bonnes actions ; le seul sacrifice, le renoncement à soi-même ; le seul pèlerinage, la fréquentation des bons ; le seul Veda, la science divine ; la formule la plus sacrée, "Fais le bien et sois bon" ; le seul véritable Brahman était celui qui connaissait Brahma.

Tous les fondateurs de Religion parlent ainsi, avec autorité, de l'existence de Dieu, et des Vérités spirituelles, qui sont essentielles au salut de l'homme. Il y a abondance de christianisme aussi sur les lèvres des chrétiens de profession. Dans un de ses discours voici comme il parle de sa Religion :

" Le Brahmo-Somáj fut à l'origine établi pour protéger le culte
 " Théïstique, et, après quelque temps, le mouvement s'étendit
 " à toute la longueur du Bengale, à toute la largeur du Bengale.
 " Partout où il y avait une École anglaise, on établit un Brahmo-
 " Somáj, comme conséquence nécessaire de l'éducation anglaise.

“ Après vingt ans, on trouva, qu’il y avait un défaut dans la fonda-
 “ tion, car le Veda, sur qui leur foi était basée, enseignait, parmi
 “ certaines vérités, beaucoup d’erreurs, comme le culte de la nature,
 “ la transmigration, et des rites, et des cérémonies absurdes.
 “ Abandonnant le dogme de l’infaillibilité des Veda, les Brahmo
 “ en appelèrent à la nature, à leurs propres cœurs, à leurs propres
 “ intuitions religieuses en vue de s’établir eux-mêmes sur une base
 “ purement théistisque. Mais la Société, quoiqu’elle eut atteint
 “ la pureté de doctrine et de dévotion, n’était point pratique.
 “ Aussi y a-t-il eu dernièrement une sécession du parti progressif,
 “ qui proteste contre la caste et tous les maux sociaux.”

Il est clair, d’après ce qui précède, que le Brahmoïsme est un lieu de refuge, temporaire ou permanent, pour les Hindou instruits. Le mouvement a duré soixante-dix ans ; il a marché dans la direction droite, au point de vue social et spirituel ; il est d’accord avec l’esprit du temps, et avec la tendance, que l’intelligence hindoue a de spéculer sur le monothéisme ; il est libre de toute souillure sociale, de tout transcendentalisme spirituel ; c’est l’un des rivaux les plus puissants de la foi chrétienne.

A Exeter Hall, 1890, en ma présence, un ex-lieutenant gouverneur de l’Inde septentrionale, qui possédait à fond ce sujet, s’exprima ainsi :

“ Il s’élève rapidement dans l’Inde une classe d’hommes aussi
 “ instruits, aussi cultivés que ceux, qui ont quitté les écoles et les
 “ collèges d’Angleterre. C’est une classe petite mais très influente,
 “ car ce sont les hommes de la Presse et de la littérature, et ils ont
 “ le contrôle des destinées du grand nombre dans l’avenir. Ils
 “ n’ont aucune difficulté à se procurer des livres pour lire, car
 “ toutes les ressources de la littérature anglaise sont mises à leur
 “ disposition ; mais la grande question pour eux est celle du choix :
 “ que doivent-ils lire ? ” L’orateur pensait “ que le Brahmo-
 “ Somáj faisait un splendide service dans ce sens. Il regrettait,
 “ que ce système s’arrêtât court au christianisme, mais il était
 “ opposé à l’athéisme, au matérialisme, à l’immoralité. Il con-
 “ naissait les différences d’opinion relatives à ce système, beaucoup
 “ de personnes le considérant comme un obstacle à la propagation
 “ du christianisme ; mais il croyait lui, que c’était un aide, en ce
 “ qu’il préparait la voie pour la grande œuvre chrétienne dans
 “ l’Inde.”

En 1882, P. C. Moozumdar a publié à Calcutta, un livre destiné à donner une idée assez complète des principes du mouvement. Ce livre a pour titre : “ Foi et Progrès du Brahmo-Somáj.” Il paraît, qu’il envoya des missionnaires, qui voyageaient au loin et au large. En 1884, il y avait cent cinquante branches par toute l’Inde, et l’œuvre de conversion faisait partie du système. Ils avaient obtenu de la législature de l’Inde anglaise de passer une loi pour légaliser les mariages civils, comme aussi pour les préserver même de toute

ressemblance formelle avec les cérémonies idolâtres. Il y a deux ou trois librairies, bien fournies de littérature nationale, le seul article d'origine occidentale étant un catéchisme Bouddhiste en anglais et en birman, par le colonel Olcott. Il y a d'autres traits intéressants de ce développement nouveau, qui rappelle l'hérésie ainsi nommée du Gnosticisme, au second siècle de l'ère chrétienne, lequel Gnosticisme était en fait d'origine exclusivement payenne, et s'était assimilé certaines conceptions empruntées au christianisme. C'est ce qui lui donna sa force vitale, et lui garda son intérêt, longtemps après qu'il eut disparu. Nous ne devons pas être surpris de trouver de semblables combinaisons, là où le souffle vital du mouvement chrétien même imparfait vient en contact avec les cendres des idées du paganisme mort. Une combinaison de Néo-Bouddhisme et de Culte Romain n'est pas impossible, et le transcendentalisme sans contrôle de la soi disant "Armée du Salut" pourrait incorporer des éléments de Néo-Hindouisme. Les questions, sur lesquelles les Gnostiques discutaient, étaient précisément celles, qui en tout lieu, et dans tous les siècles, ont agité les cœurs des hommes, à savoir : l'origine de la vie, l'origine du mal, la corruption sans espoir du monde, tout créé qu'il soit par un Dieu parfaitement bon, sage, et puissant. L'intelligence Hindoue s'ébat dans ces questions subtiles et sans profit.

B. *Théosophie*. Cette conception religieuse n'a de rapports d'aucune sorte avec la Théosophie, dont ont parlé des écrivains d'autrefois. C'est un développement tout à fait moderne, et principalement confiné dans l'Inde, les seules personnes, qui lui sont attachées, étant un américain, le colonel Olcott, et une Russe, Madame Blavatsky. Le colonel Olcott définit le mot Théosophie "Sagesse divine," "un principe éternel répandu partout dans la nature, avec lequel la faculté intuitive intérieure de l'homme est parente."

Les objectifs de la société sont :

1. De former un noyau d'universelle fraternité de l'Humanité, sans distinction de race, de croyance, et de couleur.
2. D'encourager l'étude de la littérature des religions, et des sciences orientales, et de faire connaître leur importance.
3. De rechercher les mystères cachés de la nature et le pouvoir psychique dans l'homme.

Ce sont des paroles hardies. La Société existe depuis 1875 ; elle a son quartier général à Madras. Elle a une littérature périodique à elle, et l'Inde entière, Ceylan, et le Japon, ont eu sa visite. La vérité ne peut triompher qu'après avoir remué les idées. Nous pouvons nous réjouir de tout souffle de vent, qui rompt le calme sans espoir du paganisme ignorant.

Un trait extraordinaire est l'introduction sur la scène de Mahatma, ou Sages, qu'on suppose cachés quelque part dans les

chaînes de l'Himalaya, qui ont conquis toute science, et apparaissent en visions à leurs sectateurs.

Dans le *North American Review*, Août, 1890, Madame Blavatsky accorde à ce mouvement un succès, qui a été bien au-delà des rêves des premiers moteurs.

Elle dit qu'il est basé sur trois principes :

1. La fraternité des hommes ;
2. L'étude des théories orientales ;
3. La recherche de la force cachée dans la nature et dans l'homme.

Elle énumère trente huit branches (succursales) en Amérique, douze dans la Grande-Bretagne, cent cinquante, un peu partout ; il y a sept centres de publication, avec deux revues en France, une en Amérique, et une à Londres : leur but, leur désir est de concourir jusqu'à un certain degré à l'élaboration de vues scientifiques correctes sur la nature de l'homme. Pendant une longue série d'années, l'Humanité a imploré, dans l'ombre, et à grands cris de la lumière et des guides. Il n'y a que les Maitres de la Sagesse orientale, les Mahatma, qui puissent poser les fondations sur lesquelles on bâtira le nouvel édifice, de manière à éclairer l'esprit et l'intelligence, à guider l'Humanité à travers la nuit vers un jour plus clair.

Tant que les philosophes nous présentent des esprits imaginaires, frappés au coin de leurs cerveaux féconds et agités, nous pouvons avoir patience et indulgence ; il en a toujours été ainsi. Mais quand nous sommes convoqués pour voir et comprendre, ou pour chercher à voir et à comprendre, ces émissions de Sages indiens, les Sanyasi, les Vanaprâstha, l'habitant des cavernes, qu'on n'a jamais pu rencontrer, ni entendre, mais qu'on suppose rédant aux aguets, hors de la portée de l'Humanité et vivant apparemment de rien ; et quand ces Messieurs apparaissent d'une façon merveilleuse et révèlent la Vérité à un Américain, à une Russe, qui totalement ignorent la langue indienne, oh ! alors, il faut tirer une barre. Quelles qu'aient été les choses survenues au temps de l'empereur Auguste, il faut bien dire, à la fin du xix^e siècle, que l'idée des Apparitions angéliques, des Visions, des Messagers célestes, et des Miracles, doit être respectueusement mise de côté, comme ne concordant pas avec une époque matérielle.

C. Hau Hau, Te Whiti, Te Kooti. Ceci est un mouvement religieux parmi les Maori dans la Nouvelle Zélande.

En 1864, ils se révoltèrent contre le Gouvernement anglais ; un détachement du 57^e régiment britannique tomba dans leurs mains ; les hommes furent tués, et les têtes coupées. Dans leur haine contre le gouvernement anglais, ils inventèrent une nouvelle religion, et firent de la tête de l'officier, qui commandait le détachement massacré, le symbole et le centre du système. Ils avaient été chrétiens de nom. Leur nouvelle religion fut appelée

Pai Marire; un grand prêtre fut établi, qui fit profession de recevoir les inspirations de l'Ange Gabriel par l'intermédiaire de la tête du capitaine. Ils croyaient qu'ils étaient sous la protection de cet Ange, et de la Vierge Marie; que la religion chrétienne était fausse; que toutes les Ecritures devaient être brûlées; qu'il ne fallait pas observer les dimanches; que les sexes devaient vivre en promiscuité, afin d'assurer l'accroissement de la population. Leurs prêtres prétendaient avoir des pouvoirs surhumains, et pouvaient assurer la victoire en criant "Hau, Hau!" D'où leur nom.

Te Whiti était un chef de l'Île septentrionale à Parihaka près du Mont Egmont. Il se révolta, fut défait et emprisonné à Christ Church et Nelson, mais on lui a permis depuis de retourner chez lui. Il se donnait le titre de prophète, mais il n'était en réalité qu'un patriote. Il lisait la Bible, mais pas d'autre livre. Il prétendait avoir un pouvoir divin, mais son objectif réel était de délivrer son pays des colons blancs. Il assura son influence sur ses compatriotes de cette manière, prêchant la résistance passive; mais, quand les choses arrivèrent à la crise aiguë, il déclara qu'il avait un message divin (Atua), qu'on avait déposé dans sa bouche, et qui ordonnait à ses compatriotes de combattre pour leur pays.

Te Kooti fut un autre de ces chefs révoltés, qui, après avoir fait œuvre de rébellion et de meurtre, assumait le rôle de précepteur, et fonda un système religieux, qui attira beaucoup de sectateurs, même des Naturels chrétiens. Sous des apparences extérieures de respect pour les choses spirituelles c'était un manteau cachant le libertinage. Un grand nombre de chrétiens pervertis retournèrent à leur ancienne Foi. Dans ces dernières années, il s'est opéré un changement parmi les sectateurs de Te Kooti, et la cause de la Tempérance a fait de rapides progrès; quelques-uns sont devenus chrétiens.

D. *Mormonisme, ou Saints du Dernier Jour.* Dans tous les récits, qui nous viennent de la Nouvelle Zélande, je lis, que les Mormons déploient beaucoup d'activité parmi les Maori. Leurs missionnaires vont et viennent parmi les gens ignorants: le Livre de Mormon a été traduit en Maori, imprimé et mis en circulation. Ils ont aussi fait apparition dans l'Inde. L'histoire de cette secte est bien connue. Ce ne fut qu'en 1830 que le prophète Joseph Smith fit paraître le Livre, et connaître la nouvelle dispensation qui lui avait été communiquée par les Anges. On acceptait les Saintes Ecritures des chrétiens, mais on y ajoutait le Livre de Mormon. La forme de gouvernement est une théocratie stricte, maintenue par les Anciens. Une sorte de polythéisme a pris naissance, comprenant Adam, Jésus-Christ, Joseph Smith, et Brigham Young. Ils s'abstiennent entièrement de l'usage des liqueurs et du tabac; ils pratiquent l'immersion totale. Ils poursuivent leur œuvre de missions avec un grand zèle en Europe, en

Amérique, et en Océanic. Leurs sociétés sont petites, mais elles représentent une agence troublante, avec laquelle il y aura à compter. La coutume de la polygamie a été abolie par l'autorité civile; elle ne faisait point partie de la Révélation originelle.

Un Ministre chrétien, en 1890, expose ainsi la raison d'être des Mormons : “ Les missionnaires Mormons n'ont pas le cœur faux, ni “ trompeur; au contraire ils sont doués et dans une large mesure “ de sincérité et de zèle; de sorte que les Saints du dernier jour “ envoient plus de missionnaires et font plus de conversions, en “ proportion du nombre de leurs adhérents que n'importe quelle “ autre corporation; la domination universelle est leur but : 90,000 “ convertis accomplissent le long voyage d'Europe à l'Utah.”

Voici quelques traits caractéristiques excellents :

1. Le Saint ne vit pas pour lui-même, mais pour le Royaume.
2. Le salut n'est désiré que pour la cause du service.
3. Toute préoccupation de personne et de famille doit être laissée strictement dans un rang inférieur.
4. Tout adhérent doit aller où l'Eglise l'envoie.
5. Ils vont sans salaire, et servent à leurs propres dépens, car dans leur opinion, payer des salaires, c'est imiter les voies du clergé chrétien.

Voici d'autre part des traits où apparaît leur folie, leur déviation de la vérité :

1. Ils prétendent guérir leurs malades avec des prières et de l'huile : quatre cent seize malades de la petite vérole ont été guéris par la simple imposition des mains.
2. Ils chassent les démons : trois cent neuf dans le pays de Galles (in Wales), et tous en un seul jour, et par l'opération d'un seul Ancien, et par fractions de trois à trente-sept à la fois.
3. S'ils ne sont pas bien accueillis, ils crient malheur et malédiction ! New-York a été bien près d'être détruit par le feu deux ans après une malédiction, si l'on en croit leur récit.
4. Ils avaient coutume de nier l'existence de la polygamie, quoiqu'il fût notoire qu'elle était pratiquée.
5. La piété n'est pas requise d'un *Saint*, pas même la moralité.

On affirme que la circulaire récente (1890), qui défend la polygamie, n'est simplement qu'une soumission formelle à la loi civile du pays, et non pas la condamnation *ex animo* d'une coutume immorale : en fait, la polygamie sera remplacée par le libertinage.

E. *Positivisme, ou Comteisme, ou la Religion de l'Humanité.* Il y a quarante ans, un Français, Auguste Comte, a développé un système de philosophie positive, qui, pour un temps, eut une grande influence, vu qu'en fait il y avait certaines vérités incontestables dans sa méthode. Il eut une école, qui le suivit, et

M. Frédérick Harrison est aujourd'hui le maître enseignant, qui expose ses idées le premier jour de chaque année, appelé le *Jour de l'Humanité*. Il y eut à Londres une cérémonie de la communauté positiviste à l'occasion de la mort d'un homme considéré.

Avant de procéder à la crémation, ses amis se réunirent autour de son cercueil, qui était couvert de fleurs blanches et couronné de palmes. M. Harrison rappela aux personnes qui suivaient le deuil, " qu'il n'y avait point de fosse ouverte, point de service religieux " d'aucune sorte, mais seulement l'expression d'une affection personnelle et d'un adieu, et il réclamait pour le mort cette " immortalité, qui vient des bonnes actions et du bon exemple. " D'une autre immortalité au delà, M. Harrison ne savait rien, et " n'affirmait rien." Cette forme de culte, accompagnée de la crémation, peut être une retraite acceptable pour l'Hindou pieux et instruit.

En 1895, dans le *Nineteenth Century*, M. Harrison s'exprime ainsi : " S'il peut être une religion scientifique, il n'est pas d'alternative " entre la Révélation et l'Humanité. Si dans ce monde Dieu ne se " présente pas à nous, comme le pouvoir dominant, comme l'objet " de notre respect et de notre confiance, alors c'est l'humanité qui " doit l'être. C'est en vain, que les Agnostiques nous disent que " nous n'avons pas besoin de religion, qu'il n'y a pas de Pouvoir " dominant constaté, que nous pourrions contempler l'Univers, " l'Infini, le Tout, le Possible, l'Inconnaissable, comme la Somme " inépuisable d'une évolution continue. Voici la réponse : ' Nous " voulons avoir une religion ; nous devons avoir une providence ; " nous soupçons après un Pouvoir semblable à nous-mêmes : c'est " ou Dieu ou l'Humanité.' "

F. *Agnosticisme*. Il n'est pas nécessaire de faire plus que d'écrire le mot, qui dit tant à notre époque actuelle. Ceux qui en font profession n'ont pas caché la lumière sous le boisseau, et leur doctrine est aussi vieille que le livre de Job : " *Oh ! si je savais où je pourrais Le trouver !* " Il représente un lieu de repos, ou plutôt un lieu sans repos, dont il faut tenir compte en considérant le sujet que je discute en ce moment. L'Illuminé, le Bouddha de l'Ecole connaît, ou du moins a essayé de sonder les profondeurs de ce système, si bien décrites par un poète moderne anglais, en parlant de Lucrèce :

" Il a fait descendre la sonde
 " Dans le vaste univers, bien bas,
 " Et ne trouvant pas la raison du monde
 " Il a dit : ' Dieu n'est pas ! '
 " En style divin, à grands pas,
 " De Dieu même il parcourt le livre,
 " Et le doute mène au trépas
 " Le grand poète aux bords du Tibre."

Mais pour les pauvres brebis, qui l'ont suivi dans le désert, le Scepticisme scientifique se résout en un simple doute, et l'Agnosticisme intellectuel se résout en une ignorance aussi profonde que celle de l'insulaire de la Mer du Sud.

Quand ils auront abandonné leurs vieilles amarres, qui du moins les attachaient avec quelque garantie à la Moralité, le dernier état de l'Hindou et du Chinois sera pire que le premier.

La tendance des ouvrages de l'un des plus grands de l'Ecole est de montrer l'Humanité passant par toutes les Religions historiques, l'une après l'autre, la Conception de la Déesse et du Gouvernement divin devenant à chaque pas de plus en plus abstraite et indéfinie. Le but extrême c'est l'Athéisme philosophique ; car, quoiqu'on ne nie pas l'existence d'une Première Cause, on déclare, on prouve qu'on ne peut la connaître. L'Hindou en sortira mieux avec son Brahma que le malheureux héritier de tous les âges, qui a suivi ce Dieu feu-follet, jusqu'à ce qu'il disparaisse.

G. *Unitarisme*. Une Revue unitarienne a paru au Japon. Le missionnaire chrétien croit avec raison, qu'à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle, le Japonais progressif aura secoué ses vieilles croyances ; mais qu'aura-t-il emprunté à l'Europe ? Quelques-uns pensent, que l'Unitarisme suffira pour le menu peuple, mais rendra perplexe l'esprit de l'Hindou instruit. Il est bon de savoir ce qu'est l'unitarisme. Un des Chefs, après une vie sainte et honorée, a laissé ce manifeste final : “ Une conclusion s'impose de force, et je ne la
 “ subis pas sans chagrin, sans effroi ; c'est que le christianisme,
 “ tel qu'il est défini et compris par *toutes* les églises qui le formu-
 “ lent, est sorti par une grande évolution de ce qui est passager
 “ et périssable dans ses sources, de ce qui est non-historique dans
 “ ses traditions, mythologique dans ses préconceptions, et mal inter-
 “ prété dans les oracles de ses prophètes. De la fable de l'Eden
 “ jusqu'à l'image de la trompette dernière, toute l'histoire de
 “ l'ordre divin du monde est disloquée et déformée. La tache du
 “ péché originel, avec sa perdition involontaire ; l'incarnation, avec
 “ ses postulats vulgaires du rapport entre Dieu et l'homme, et sa
 “ doctrine impraticable de deux natures en une seule personne ; la
 “ transmission officielle de la Grâce par des moyens matériels dans
 “ la conservation d'une corporation sacrée ; la seconde venue du
 “ Christ pour convoquer les morts, et séparer les brebis des boucs
 “ au Jugement dernier : *tout* est le produit d'une littérature
 “ mythique, ou de songes messianiques, ou de théologie pharisaïque,
 “ ou de littérature sacramentelle, ou d'apothéose populaire. Et ces
 “ vaines imaginations préoccupent les croyances de si près, que pas
 “ un élément moral ou spirituel ne peut y entrer, sauf ‘ la ré-
 “ mission des péchés.’ Pour consacrer et répandre, sous le nom de
 “ christianisme, une théorie de l'économie du monde, faite d'illusions
 “ qui datent des périodes grossières de la civilisation, on déploie

“ d’immenses ressources matérielles et morales, dont les effets ne sont
 “ pas moins déplorables, dans la promesse d’une religion, qu’ils ne
 “ le seraient dans celle des Hiérarchies de Science, et des Missions
 “ pour protéger l’astronomie de Ptolémée, et pour inculper les
 “ règles de la nécromancie et de l’exorcisme. Cet éloignement du
 “ christianisme qui se manifeste de plus en plus parmi les classes
 “ intellectuelles de la société européenne, et l’arrêt forcé des autres
 “ dans leur culture spirituelle à un niveau qui n’est pas beaucoup
 “ au-dessus de celui ‘ de l’Armée du Salut,’ voilà des phénomènes
 “ sociaux qui doivent faire naître un appel bien solennel à la
 “ conscience. Pour le long arriéré de dette envers l’intelligence
 “ de l’humanité, on cherche adroitement à faire amende honorable
 “ par *la beauté élaborée de l’Art Rituel*. L’apologie apaise pour
 “ un temps, mais elle ne durera pas toujours.” (Martineau,
 “ Seat of Authority in Religion ”—“ De l’Autorité en matière de
 religion,” p. 650 ; Longmans, 1890.)

H. *Théisme*. Que cette forme de conception religieuse fasse de grands progrès, on ne peut le nier. La science progresse, et les esprits des hommes prennent de l’expansion ; un besoin de développement travaille notre siècle. Il est impossible de tenir compte des progrès continus de la race humaine dans son pouvoir acquis de raisonner, dans sa capacité infiniment rehaussée de juger des degrés de croyance à donner aux récits anciens, sans conclure naturellement que ce qui convenait à l’enfance de la race humaine ne peut pas avoir été préparé pour son âge mûr. Nous ne pouvons qu’être conscients de l’atmosphère d’évolution, dans laquelle nous nous mouvons ; nous ne pouvons pas fermer les yeux, ni boucher les oreilles, à tout ce qui se meut autour de nous. Le “ Terminus ad quem ” de toutes les méditations doit être l’existence d’un Dieu, et voilà ce qu’est le Théisme très distinct de l’Unitarisme. On ne peut pas se débarrasser de la question par des platitudes ou par des citations de forme commune. Quelque contraire à notre nature que soit le problème, c’est le problème de l’avenir.

CONCLUSION.

On ne peut pas raisonnablement conclure que la connaissance de l’homme dans ses rapports avec son Créateur ait atteint son niveau le plus élevé, il y a dix-neuf siècles, alors que toutes les branches de la science humaine étaient dans leur premier âge, et que la race humaine était dans son enfance, sans aucune connaissance de ce qui l’entourait et de ce dont elle était capable. Il y eut beaucoup de Vérités éternelles, émises par des Anciens, et elles sont toujours des Vérités, mais elles n’occupent pas l’orbite entier de l’intelligence humaine. Il y a encore de grands dépôts de Vérités, qui n’ont pas

été distribuées, des dépôts inconnus aux Sages des temps passés, et qui se développeront par degrés.

Les croyances existantes n'étaient pas toutes fausses, par cela qu'elles ne sont pas entièrement vraies aujourd'hui; elles étaient appropriées à leur temps, et elles ont fait leur œuvre; elles n'étaient point finales, et elles ont été corrompues avec le temps. "Corruptio optimi pessima."

Tout ce qu'on demande, c'est la tolérance pour les opinions des autres, et la non-intervention du Pouvoir Temporel. Nous pouvons attendre avec calme la survivance des plus Vraies; et, en attendant, nous pouvons accepter celles, qui sont le plus en harmonie avec nos besoins spirituels, avec nos convictions profondément élaborées. Par suite de sa condition dure, de son manque de loisir, et de sa grossière ignorance, la plus grande partie de l'Humanité se contente de laisser aller les choses comme elles allaient précédemment. Que chaque homme croie, mais qu'il comprenne ce qu'il croit, et qu'il ne l'emprunte pas à crédit, comme l'Hindou, aux générations passées.

XIX.

THE DIGNITY OF LABOUR.

1. Go to the Ant, thou Sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise. (Proverbs, vi, 6.)
2. For my heart rejoiced in all my labour, and this was my portion of all my labour. (Eccles., ii, 10.)
3. The sleep of a labouring man is sweet, whether he eat little or much: but the abundance of the rich will not suffer him to sleep. (Eccles., v, 12.)
4. Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat, which endureth unto everlasting Life. (John, vi, 27.)

My subject is the dignity and the resulting joy of Labour, to all, young and old, rich and poor, male or female.

No one is more to be pitied than the idle man, who for want of legitimate employment can scarcely get through the day. Idleness is the root of much evil, that springs from itself, but it is in itself a misfortune: idle people are led to do wicked acts, of which the fully-occupied never think. As I pass down the wards of a London Workhouse I do so pity the old labourers: it is not their fault, for they are incapacitated for a good day's work by old age, or infirmity: how glad they would be to be young and at work again!

I also address you, as an old working-man, for I have laboured more than fifty-five years since I was twenty, and in a foreign country; and I still take my twelve hours each day with delight, for there is always something to do "For Christ and for our fellow-creatures."

Nobody deserves to live, who does not do something to justify his existence.

I met a Bishop of one of the Missions to the South Sea Islanders far away; he was sitting on the ground, learning to thatch, "because," said he, "I want to teach converts how to make tidy roofs for their houses." Think what pleasure a potter must have when he turns out a neat vessel with faultless proportions; think of the printer, when he throws off his clean proofs; of the gardener, when he sees the blossoms coming on his carefully trained plants; of the blacksmith, when he has done his work. One of our great Poets writes: "Something accomplished, something done."

"Thanks! thanks to thee, my worthy friend,
 "For the lesson thou hast taught;
 "Thus at the flaming forge of life
 "Our fortunes must be wrought!"

But remember, there is a joy not only in the results of the Labour, but in the Labour itself. A wise old Indian wrote thus centuries ago, in an Indian Language very familiar to me

"Rejoice in the work alone, and never in the results of the work."

I read this in my College days, in 1841, and have never forgotten it, and I have always rejoiced in my work. Now, this evening I shall be well pleased, if my words are profitable to any of my hearers, but my first and greatest joy is being allowed at my advanced age of 76 to drive down to your Meeting and address you. "The end and the reward of Toil is Rest," but there is something even better than Rest, if that Rest be taken to mean mere Inactivity.

There are joys beyond: a man wishes to maintain his family, and to be respected as an independent man: the Apostle Paul tells us:

"Owe no man anything, but to love one another." (Romans, xiii, 8.)

This is the best kind of debt to pay, and the best currency to pay it in, blessing both the creditor and the debtor: the working for another, the interchange of mutual kindnesses, an extra hour of work taken to help some weaker brother through his task: the resources of none are so limited that he cannot help a brother who in the struggle of Life has fallen behind his contemporaries or failed. Poor fellow!

Here comes in the Religious aspect, and let me assure you, that nothing can prosper, which has not an aspect turning to God, what men call Religion. My fourth text, "Labour not for the meat which perisheth," is not intended to encourage idleness, but to warn us against placing our heart on earthly things, and neglecting those of the future world, for we must all die. A man can do a good day's work to meet his worldly wants, and keep a corner for his neighbour, but he must consider as paramount his duty to his Heavenly Father, and to his Saviour, who loved him and died for him, and not forget to read the Scriptures and pray morning and evening. There is a story about a sailor, who, in a bustling life aboard ship, found time to have two fresh verses of the Bible for each day in his thoughts, like a sweet lozenge in his mouth. More remarkable is the story of the housemaid, who, being asked, when she found time for her prayers, answered that she was in prayer in all her work: when she swept and washed the floor, she asked that her sins might be swept away and *washed away with His Blood*; when she attacked the cobwebs, and secret corners of dirt, she prayed that she might find and drive out all her secret sins; and so on.

We must recall Paul's description of one of the good women, who helped him in his great work .

" She laboured much in the Lord."

What a nice Inscription for the Tombstone of any of us! Or the still sweeter one .

" Working with Thee, Lord,
Working with Thee."

It is a pleasure in old age to look back on life well employed. If the Lord has given Health and Strength, we must consecrate it to the Lord, and feel in sympathy for those, to whom God's Providence has denied these two blessings; and as regards those who drop by the wayside in early Life, God does not judge as men judge, by the result: He takes the Will for the Deed: unto whom much is given, such as long life, opportunities, means, talents, from them much will be required. Remember the Parable of the Ten Talents: think of the retrospect of the Idle man, who had lived years and years and had done nothing, absolutely nothing, for the Lord, who had done so much for him.

The Night cometh when no man can work: this is a solemn thought. " He giveth His beloved sleep."

" Come unto Me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden!" .

To those who have arrived at old age and grey hairs, to be permitted to have the will and faculty to do a good day's work is a great blessing, for we are waiting our call: at evening-tide there is light: we know not at what hour the goodman of the house may arrive: when He does come, let each of us be found watching and working; and when the Angel of the Lord arrives, let us be able to rise up from our honest holy work, whatever it may be, however humble in the eyes of men it may be, and say, "Lord, I am ready." This is what happened to good Bishop Lightfoot: he was at his Bible-work in his study, labouring at those volumes, which we all value so much: he dropped his pen, and obeyed the summons. He had done what he could for himself, and his fellow-creatures. His work was done; at least, the Lord so ordained it; and he went up higher.

Remember that Christianity is Christ: a loving Power whose Holy Spirit dwells within each one of us, if we do not with wilful, presumptuous, unrepented sin, drive him out.

The lessons of the New Testament twine, or ought to twine, like a golden thread round our hearts and through the whole of our lives. Satan is a hard taskmaster; Jesus is a gentle and loving Teacher. The parting of the ways has arrived: let us choose the right way.

You are mistaken, if you suppose, that the Rich and Great have an easier life than those with moderate means. Wealth brings cares and worries of its own. Solomon, centuries ago, remarked: "Give me neither Riches nor Poverty: feed me with food convenient for me." And in a Romance of modern times occurs the following: "The old woman blessed him: 'May your portion be,' said she, 'with the rich in this world and with the poor in the next!'"

I now narrate to you a scene, which I beheld nearly fifty years ago in North India, with my reflections upon it. It is well to give precepts to one's children, but the life, which each one of us leads is a precept for good or for bad, a life which is clean or unclean; and the scene, which I describe, was to me a precept engraven upon stone.

I once stood at the mouth of the Great Panjáb Salt Mine on the River Jhílám, and watched the long procession of men, women, and children, young and old, slowly advancing towards me, toiling up the steep incline, each with head bent, and back curved, under the burden of rock-salt, which they brought from the bowels to the surface of the earth. This was their hard and palpable day's Labour. To the strength of each his burden was adjusted: the young daily grew into capacity to bear heavier, the old daily felt their strength less equal to their diminishing load, but all rested night after night, wearied with their daily round, and all each day rose to a consciousness of another day, sweating and straining, and

a risk of accidents and disease, and the dark River to be crossed at last.

Tears started to my eyes, as I thought of the sad procession of my contemporaries, whom during my own life I had seen toiling and striving, lifting their heavy burdens, or sinking by the way under them. I thought of the strong and enthusiastic, too eager for the strife, who fell years ago; the patient and uncomplaining, who toiled on till within the last few years; the yearly diminishing group of fellow-labourers with yearly diminishing force, and the dark unknown Future before me.

But there is no prison so deep, that its depths are not reached by some ray of God's interminable Day, and as I looked into the faces of the salt-bearers, I became aware, that one ray of light reached to the lowest slope of their dungeon, and, as they advanced upwards, it ever became brighter and brighter, shining hopefully in their uplifted eyes, and gladdening their hearts with the thoughts of home, and of rest, and of Labour sanctified for the sake of the little ones, the old ones, the sick ones, to whose comforts their earnings ministered.

Nay, more. God's great lessons are taught in His works, and His creatures. As each labourer reached the outer world, and flung down his burden, his eyes insensibly turned up with a look of thankfulness, and acknowledgment, to the Kindly Light, which had led him, and then each unconsciously shrouded his eyes with his hands, as if unable to bear the full glow of unutterable gladness, which the Grace of God sends to testify to the sanctity and dignity of Labour, however humble and contracted the sphere. "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, *thou hast been faithful over a few things.* Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!"

Address given from notes to Men :

- (1) *Parish Church, Bromley, St. Leonard's, Bow, 1895;*
- (2) *Holy Trinity, Brondesbury Road, Kilburn, 1896;*
- (3) *Parish Hall, South Acton, 1897;*

and now copied out in detail.

ESSAYS ON RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS.

- I. The dawn of a Religious Conception.
- II. The decay of a Religious Conception.
- III. The useless prolongation of the life of a Religious Conception beyond the Epoch, for which it was intended.
- IV. The superior excellence of a Religious Conception, evidenced by the results.
 - (1) A calm, and fearless, and unsparing, comparison of its tenets with those of every other Conception, Past, Present, or dimly visioned in the Future, when purified from the degrading survivals of previous Religious Conceptions of the race.
 - (2) The unconquerable desire of those, who believe in it, to extend it to other races, and the whole of mankind, by peaceful argument, unselfish sacrifice, and inducements wholly free from carnal advantages.
- V The Philosophical aspect of the Idea of Metempsychosis.

 I.

THE DAWN OF A RELIGIOUS CONCEPTION.

1. Exordium.
2. Indian.
3. Mesopotamian.
4. Egyptian.
5. Conclusion.

1. *Exordium.*

In the last generation many things were fondly assumed upon very insufficient data, and upon traditional authority, which refused to be brought to the usual literary tests. A hazy, legendary, atmosphere enveloped the origin of all mankind, whether cultured, or barbarous. To the numerically small tribe of the Hebrews was attributed a superiority in things material, as well as spiritual. The people of Egypt, and Mesopotamia, were hardly thought of,

except with reference to the very prejudiced character given of them in Hebrew story. We have got beyond that Epoch now without claiming even now any finality, we see enough to convince us of certain facts :

- (1) That the races of mankind, white, yellow, black, brown, and red, did not come from one common ancestor.
- (2) That the Languages of mankind did not spring from the same, but very different, and totally distinct, seedplots.
- (3) That the Earth was created and peopled by the Human race at a period infinitely in excess of the Four Thousand years conventionally received, as preceding the great Anno Domini, which is the basis of all present calculations.

Nothing is stated, or implied, in this Essay, which would throw doubts on the received tenets of any Religion: they lie entirely outside the present discussion: indeed, the Epoch included in these remarks is thousands of years anterior to the Christian era. Two volumes have during the last year been published, which throw light upon the dawn of Religious Conceptions in three countries far distant, and with no intercourse with each other at the remote period, which is described: these books are feelers on scientific principles into the mist, which has originally surrounded the cradle of the Human race: there is no object on the part of the Authors to make false statements, or conceal truths, as is sometimes the case in discussions relating to Religious Conceptions, which still hold sway. In all three cases centuries have elapsed since belief in the Religious Conceptions alluded to, only as a matter of History, has passed away. As a fact, it is only through Religious Legends, and Inscriptions, that we are able to form any opinion of the Conceptions, and ideas, of the Human race in that far-away Epoch. We see clearly, that, however much we may be justified in declaring, that the Hamitic Egyptian, the Non-Arian and Semitic Chaldaeans, and the Arian Indian, did not spring from the same parent, and that their Languages are so totally distinct in principle, as well as structure and vocabulary, as to render a common Linguistic origin impossible; yet we see unmistakably, that these three illustrious races, who have left their indelible footprints on the sands of time, were of the same category of created animals, the genus *Homo*, with the same capacities, tendencies, greatnesses, and weaknesses, the same desire to leave records of themselves to be studied by future ages, the same desire to feel after their Creator, for they had all been endowed with the two congenital gifts of a "Religious Instinct," and "Language-making faculty," differentiating them from the lower animals, because they had an innate conviction of the existence of

“Self,” “the World,” and an “Unknown Superior Power outside the World.”

As a fact, no tribe, however barbarous, has been discovered without the “Language-making faculty,” which enabled the “Self” to communicate with his contemporaries, “the World,” which the slightest acquaintance brought into evidence, as a feature of daily life: and no tribe, however Savage, which is a degree lower in the scale than barbarous, has not revealed to the inquirer the fact of his having a Religious Instinct, however gross, and undeveloped. But these three great Nations, who form the subject of this Essay, had in the course of centuries advanced far beyond Barbarism, and had learned to erect architectural structures, which will last as long as the great globe lasts, to communicate with all succeeding generations by means of the art of expressing sounds by symbols, which each of the three effected in a totally different way: by means of Ideograms in the case of the Egyptians, of Cuneiform Syllabaries in the case of the Chaldaeans, and of an Alphabet in the case of the Indians. They had conceived out of their own consciousness (waiving, for the sake of this argument, the possibility of a superhuman Inspiration) the most exalted and holy sentiments, the consciousness of a Creator, the idea of a Future State beyond the grave, to which Knowledge the pre-Exilic Hebrew never attained; and they have left behind them, to the admiration and for the instruction of future ages, a flow of ideas of imperishable beauty, and a combination of words which will never die, or cease to charm.

The order, in which the three branches of the subject are treated, has no relation to the question of the earlier, or later, date with reference to each other, which has provisionally been assigned to them: the reader is conducted from the East to the West: from the Doab of the Rivers Ganges and Indus, to the Mesopotamia of the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates in Asia, and the basin of the River Nile in North Africa.

By the word “Ancient” in this Essay a period is assumed anterior to:

- (1) The appearance of Gautama Buddha in North India as regards India, say 600 B.C.
- (2) The call of Abraham as regards Chaldaea, say 1900 B.C.
- (3) The thirteenth Dynasty as regards Egypt, say 1900 B.C.

It has already been stated, that their Languages totally differed, in structure as well as vocabulary, and it is a fact that the principles, upon which their form of script was based, were diametrically opposed, and, as if to evidence the great versatility of Human powers of invention, the materials, on which the ancient documents have come down to later ages, were totally different.

(1) In India the Veda have come down to us in Manuscript, written by a reed upon perishable material, the leaves of plants, and the date of the oldest survivor of copies of copies is not much anterior to the Norman Conquest of England: there has been room for forgery, intercalation, and emendation of the text.

(2) In Mesopotamia we can handle the original documents in baked clay-bricks in precisely the same state, in which they left the hand of the scribe: there is no room here to doubt the genuineness of the ancient document, however much the correctness of the interpretation of the modern Scholar may be questioned.

(3) In Egypt we can handle the original papyri, and pass our hands across the engraved stelae: if later generations of Monarchs have attempted in some cases to manipulate such documents as the latter, detection is easy: it is not a copy of an original document, but the original document violated by later corrections.

Still more wonderful is the History of these three Nations since the periods, which above have been fixed as the limit of the inquiry:

(1) India remains to this day with the same dominant race, to a certain extent intermixed with immigrants from other parts of Asia, and survivals of races of an earlier settlement in India than themselves. A population of 280 Millions occupies the Regions of Nearer and Further India, and the Indian Archipelago, to which the Culture of Vedic India extends: this makes up nearly one-fifth of the population of the globe. The Religious conceptions of two-thirds of this mass are based on the Veda, and from its bowels have gone forth the first great propagandist Religious Conception of the World, of which Buddha, a Native of India, was the sole founder, and which embraces three hundred additional Millions in the Extreme Orient: thus, fully one-third of the population of the World received its idea of Religion from India.

(2) Of the Culture, the Language, the Religion, of Mesopotamia, the very name had died, and was absolutely extinguished before the time of Alexander the Great; it left no successor to its great inheritance, and no trace of its existence, until the present century had excavated the remnants of its greatness. The supercilious Greek, and Roman, and Arab, knew nothing even by Legend of their great predecessor in Arts, Science, and Arms. It cannot even be said with certainty, that there are any racial descendants of these Mighty Men, who ruled in Mesopotamia, and founded Babylon before the birth of the progenitor of the Hebrew tribe, which has occupied hitherto a place in History so unduly proportioned to its really insignificant existence from a material point of view.

(3) The Individuality, the Religion, the Language, of Egypt, died out gradually a few centuries after the Christian Era; but her name, and her gigantic Monuments, secured to her through all ages a mysterious place in History, and the undefined influence of her

Culture was felt, if not acknowledged, by the races in Europe, springing into existence.

One more distinctive feature in their fate may be laid stress on : our knowledge of India cannot be carried back so far as those of the other two countries, but that knowledge has always been above ground, on the lips of men, and in unbroken continuance up to the present hour. Our knowledge of Mesopotamia can *now* be carried back to an unfathomable antiquity : but there has been an interval of suspended life for centuries ; the voice, which now calls to us across the void, sounds like that of a telephone from a distant country. The Greek and Roman marched over the remains of great cities without knowing even their names ; yet these cities have now given out of their depths vast libraries. Our knowledge of Egypt can be carried back to a date as remote, but, though little was known of the treasures concealed in her tombs, yet its name and reputation had survived the extinction of the kingdom, Language, and possibly of the race.

We must never lose sight of the fact, that a vast amount of ancient Literature has hopelessly perished. It might be a good argument against the truth of an event, alleged to have taken place in modern times, that there is no allusion to it in contemporary History ; but this does not apply to those ancient times, and we must always bear in mind, that the priceless treasures, which haughty Time has spared to us, may be only an inconsiderable fragment of what once existed. We know that several books of the Hebrews have been lost to us, and it is a constant check to our over-confidence to recollect, that more may still be revealed by later excavations. Still, new theories should be cautiously advanced ; and those, who now lay stress on the great antiquity of Arabian Inscriptions, and claim for it the honour of being the Parent of Alphabetic writing, as Egypt and Mesopotamia are unquestionably the Parents of Hieroglyphic and Cuneiform respectively, had better hold their breath for a while, and marshal their evidence, for, as a fact, Arabia is not credited with playing any great part in Ancient History. But all things are possible, if we have but the grace to wait.

2. *Indian.*

An interesting volume has lately appeared with the title of "Vedic India," one of the series of the "Stories of the Nations," as embodied principally in the Rig Veda, by Madame Zenaide A. Ragozin, M.R.A.S., author of the story of Chaldaea, Abyssinia, and Persia in the same series, 1895. The Veda, in an archaic Dialect of the Sanskrit Language, is the sole authority : there is no other contemporary Literature. The Science of this subject has been

created in the last half-century, and the authoress of "Vedic India" has boiled down the accumulated knowledge of a series of illustrious Scholars into a convenient size.

The old theory of an Arian race is well-nigh exploded: there is unquestionably an Arian, or Indo-European, Family of Languages, but Language is only one, and not the most important, type of a race, and it is quite possible for the same or similar Languages to be used by totally distinct races, distinct in colour, hair, and physical structure. The Arian-Language-speaking Indian race may be considered as a separate race, with strong affinities, to its Iranian neighbour.

The Veda have been always, and are still, emphatically held to be a direct verbal Revelation, communicated to men by the Creator and Ruler of the world. Of their genuineness, and considerable antiquity, there can be no doubt, but there are no materials for carrying back their date to anything like Egyptian or Chaldaean Antiquity. There is no room for fraud or deception in the compilation of the Veda: students may take a different view of the meaning of passages, and of the inductions to be thence made, but this is a matter of scholarship, not of prejudice, partiality, or interested traditional interpretation: there is no room for Higher Criticism here: there is no class, whose stipends and social position in life depend upon the scientific question as to particular documents being written at particular periods by particular men.

For many centuries these volumes, both poetry and prose, were handed down to successive generations orally. At length the time came, at an uncertain period, before the Christian era, but modern when compared to Egyptian or Mesopotamian Records, say 400 B.C., when they were conveyed to Alphabetic writing on perishable materials, subject to all the incidents of errors of copyists. These Books speak for themselves, as they reveal the piety, the intelligence, the poetical genius, and the logical powers, of that ancient race, which found its way across the Hindu Kush into the Panjáb in North-West India, at some remote period.

The number of persons who nominally accept the Brahmanical Conception exceeds two hundred Millions, and with the exception of a few, who are absent in East Africa, or Further India, they all dwell in the vast Region of Nearer India: they speak upwards of one hundred Languages, have created in times past a wondrous Literature, are in the front rank of Commerce, Agriculture, Manufacture, and Science. Strange to say, there is an annual addition to their Religion by voluntary adhesion of Nature-worshipping tribes, and an annual increase of their numbers by the process of generation. There is an infinite number of subdivisions of Castes, and Sects, rendering all intercourse by way of commensality and intermarriage impossible: they represent one-seventh of the population of the round World, and it is impossible to treat them as

a negligible quantity, on account of their compact Nationality, their enormous numbers, their wealth, and intellectual capacity.

People in Europe may imagine, that the precise Ritual and dogma of the Veda are believed by the common people now : those, who think thus, forget that Religious Conceptions are Progressive, and are modified and contracted, or develop and expand, according to the influences of the Period, and Environment. We have witnessed in England the birth and progress both of Ritualistic and Evangelical tendencies : the people of India are as far from the tenets of the Veda, as the worldly classes of the people of England are from the Doctrines preached in Galilee. The Hindu has been always tolerant and receptive; and modern Hinduism, like Topsy in the famous Novel, "grew," absorbing much from Non-Arian races, in whose midst it developed. A Book lately published at Allahabad, "Introduction to the Religion and Folklore of North India," by Mr. W. Crooke, confirms this view, which I had long entertained. As regards the common folk, such as those whom the Pharisees in the New Testament cursed as ignorant of the Law, they are quite free from the charge of knowing anything whatsoever of the Veda, Vedanta, Bhágavad Gíta, Purána, etc., etc.

In the Greek Cosmogony, Demeter represented the rich bounty of Nature in bringing out of the Earth abundant Harvests, by which Life was sustained : what greater Miracle than the Annual Crop springing from the tiny seed? So Dionúsos represents the annually returning clusters of grapes to make glad the heart of man. But to all things belonging to Earth there are limitations : the Sun, Moon, and the Elements are phenomena of the whole World, but the fruits of the Earth are localized, and to Millions the idea of the vine and crops of wheat are unknown. A Primitive People thanked God for annual blessings, but they could only see the Near Horizon.

It is generally asserted, that the Deity created the Human race : the Veda tell us another story, that the Human race evolved the Conception or the existence of a Deity, from their own observation of the features of Nature. The first Triad consisted of Váruna (*Oúpanos*), who represented the expanse of Heaven ; Agni (Ignis), the Sun, Lightning, and Fire ; and Indra, the controller of the Atmospheric Elements. Man in his simplicity beheld the Sun, the Moon, and the Planets, who seemed in their course to influence, or at least regulate, the Seasons : they represented a sublime exhibition of Power and Motion. Their regularly recurring orbit seemed to infer the existence of an overruling Power : if that Power could be benevolent to Nature in its entirety, as it clearly was, could it not be so to individuals, and it was therefore deserving of thanks for the Past, prayers for the Present, and hope for the Future, as being powerful to save or destroy. In these Vedic hymns there is a simplicity of thought, the first sobbing and

plaintive cry of a Human family in their childhood to their great Author and Controller. It has been well said, that the study of the Sacred Books of each Nation is a Revelation of God to man, and the cultivation of Prayer, real Prayer, constitutes the Revelation of man to God.

Another general belief has grown upon us, that the Deity was immortal, while all that belonged to man passed away: the Veda teach, that the Deity, or groups of Deities, have their day, and pass away, while the Conceptions of the Human race, committed to writing, are practically immortal.

As time went on, the great Hindu race multiplied, and grew strong and wealthy, and their Conception of the Divinity varied with their advancing experience: there has been no interruption in the great stream up to the present year. Another Triad, Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, has long since occupied the highest place, very much as Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, pushed aside the elder Deities, and so it must be, till the end comes to the Hindu system, as it did fifteen hundred years ago to the Graeco-Latin Conceptions. Education, Intellectual expansion, contact with other Nations, and unlimited Tolerance, are the sure agents of dissolution of old Conceptions, which are out of touch with the spirit of the age. From their ashes some new Phoenix will arise, for no Religion starts on a *tabula rasa*, but rests on some previous Religious stratum, which can only be reached by Tradition, and is a legacy to younger races from races, which have had their day. In the Sixth century before the great Anno Domini, from the Schools of Brahmanical Philosophy, there came forth from his mother's womb a man, who gave birth to three new Religious elements.

- (1) That Theology must be accompanied by the highest possible Morality, and self-denying Purity: the Hebrew up to the time of the Captivity, had not reached that point immoral kings are but a type of immoral people.
- (2) That the "Egoism," the selfish desire to find Salvation for yourself, and let perish all the rest of mankind, must give way to Altruism, and that the greatest virtue and joy were to do good to others, and that the very thought of self was evil.
- (3) That Religious Conceptions were no longer restricted to one race, or Nationality, but were Universal, good for all the Human race, and that it was a Duty to publish the Message.

This was a wonderful advance, to which the Egyptians and Mesopotamians had never arrived: it is true, that their existence was cut short about the period, when Buddha came into existence, and that as a fact, the worship of Isis did, to a certain extent,

become a propagandist Religion during the years of the decay of the Graeco-Roman system.

We must not rest on the notion, that in the long Vedic Period there was no advancement of Thought, no development of ideas: quite the contrary: the World of Intellect expanded there as elsewhere. There was a greater wealth of Religious sentiment in the time of Antoninus Pius than in the time of Pericles. The Bhágavad Gíta far surpasses the Veda in exalted thought, and even in certain passages in the Bhágavad Purána we detect signs of advancement with the advance of the age.

Nor can it be said with certainty, that nothing preceded the Veda. Among the Books of other Ancient Religions there are portions always of an older date, nearer to the "*Juventus Mundi*," with a more archaic appearance, for there are unmistakable traces of artificial refinement, and of corruption, in some lines of the Veda: it is an after-delusion to place them in the Aurora of Human Thought. Such is the opinion of a very competent authority (Barth, "*Revue de Religions*," iii, 8, 9).

3. *Mesopotamian.*

I pass into a totally distinct and Semitic World. Here we have a wealth of information, garnered during the last quarter of a century: not theoretic speculations, but positive facts: our treasure is positively in the earthen vessels of burnt clay-bricks, intact, and as they came from the hand of the man armed with the steel stylus: during the last 2,500 years no one would have cared to erase, or add, or alter: would that we had the monuments of Hebrew Literature in the same authentic, and unadulterated form! Oh! that Hosea and Amos, when first the art of Alphabetic writing came into free use, had entrusted their utterances to indestructible clay material, instead of to perishing parchment and papyrus. Job cries out (xix, 23, 24), "Oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a book! That they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!" But he was not a Hebrew, and the date of the Book is scarcely before the Exile.

Maspero, in the three Chapters (VII, VIII, IX) on Chaldaea in his epoch-making "*Dawn of Civilization*," 1894, collects and tabulates all, that was known of Chaldaea up to the Thirteenth Egyptian Dynasty, at which date the first volume of his Monumental work closes. He was not himself a Cuneiform Scholar, but a labourer in a different field; still, he was able to appreciate, and criticize, and affirm, the statements of the able Scholars, who have spoken *ex cathedrá* on the subject. We find ourselves drawn by a vortex into an Epoch far anterior to anything dreamed of in the Annals of India, or the Extreme Orient. His chapter VII

treats of the Creation, the Deluge, the History of the Divinities, the Country of Mesopotamia, the Cities, the inhabitants, and early Dynasties. His chapter VIII sets out the facts of the constitution, and revenues, of their temples; their popular Deities, and Theological Triads; Death and Hades. His chapter IX expounds the constitution of the family, and property, their commerce and industry.

He writes as an outsider, not as the man with a single idea: in fact, his interest is with Egypt, the making of which was accomplished as a kingdom in the Thirteenth Dynasty, including the whole Nile Valley, from the spot where the River received its last tributary, to the sea: Thebes was the Capital: a provisional date may be accepted of 1900 B.C. The period of Isolation was coming to an end: the Nomad tribes were showing signs of restlessness on the frontier: the Power, seated in Mesopotamia, was coming into evidence in Central Syria, and Chaldaea, had imposed her Language and form of script upon West Asia up to the confines of Egypt: the time was approaching, when the Basin of the Nile was to come into collision with the Basin of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Not as yet had Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees to settle in Syria, and found the Hebrew race: it is well to lay stress on this, as owing to the ignorance of our ancestors, the tiny tribe of the Hebrew has been elevated to an importance in History and Geography to which it had no claim.

The Cuneiform Written Character differed materially from Hieroglyphics in principle, and in detail: the same may be said of the Languages used in Chaldaea: the most ancient documents are in the Sumerian or Akkadian of the Ural-Altai Family, with the agglutinative method; and the later documents are in the Semitic, with the inflective method. The absence of pictorial tablets, as in Egypt, prevent our following the Chaldaeans in their daily avocations and recreations; but the inscribed tablets, having been interpreted by the aid of impartial, unprejudiced Science, free from theological traditional bias, which obscures other fields of research, has revealed the ideas of these ancient men as to the origin of their Deities, and the Creation-story, how Bel Merodach defeated Tiamat, or Chaos, and refashioned the World, earth, sea, and heavens, and created man and animals. Had the tribes of Judah and Benjamin disappeared after the Babylonian Conquest of Judaea, as their cousins of the Ten Tribes disappeared after the Assyrian Conquest of Israel, or had Ezra on the return of the Captives, which event was fraught with the Religious History of the World, after their seventy years at Babylon, not carefully arranged such fragments of the Law and the Prophets, as had survived the destruction of Jerusalem, when temple and tower went to the ground, these Chaldaean documents would have had the monopoly of knowledge of the Human Origins, now ascribed to the Hebrew people.

These Chaldaean records do not fail to give account of everything, that happened since the Creation, and calculate the number of centuries betwixt their own time and that great event. Miracles are not wanting. To a wonderful creature, Oannes, they are indebted for the germ of their Civilization: great cities came into existence: one king, Aloros of Babylon, reigned for a period only to be computed by thousands of years, and the reign of his two successors were even longer: 691,200 years are thus accounted for: Berósus, who lived in the Third century before Christ, some fragments of whose History has survived in quotation by other authors, gives us these details, and justifies the sharp criticism of the Roman on Greek authors:

“ Quicquid Grecia mendax
“ Audet in historiâ.”

As to the relation, which some of these legends bear to Old Testament History, I pass them by, as not suitable to the present discussion: but they are of extreme importance.

The Triads of Deities were:

First. I. Anu, the Heavens.
II. Bel Merodach, the Earth.
III. Ed, the Ocean.

Second. I. Sin, or the Moon.
II. Shamsh, or the Sun.
III. Ramman, or the Genius of the Tempest.

The five planets were Merodach or Jupiter; Ishtar or Venus; Nimb or Saturn; Neigal or Mars; Nebo or Mercury. It is noteworthy, that the names of the days of the week, as used to this day, are derived from the Sun, Moon, and these five Planets. Of the Planets two descended to Earth.

- I. Nebo, who became a Soothsayer and Prophet: he invented clay-tablets, and the art of writing upon them.
- II. Ishtar, the Morning and Evening Star, the Goddess of Love, who attracted the sexes to each other: she had most incongruous characteristics.

The Chaldaeans had not the clear idea of a Future State, possessed by the Egyptians: the tomb, and the mummy, were the engrossing subjects in Egypt. The Chaldaean texts are silent as to the condition of the Soul: the living had no further concern with the dead but to get rid of them: the body must, however, not be left without sepulture: but that was all. Still, there was a “double” analogous to the Egyptian Ka, called Ekimmu, for

whom provisions and clothing, ornaments, and arms, had to be supplied: he would then be a guardian to his children. If abandoned, or forgotten, he returned to his home, and tormented his relatives: if not buried, he became a danger to the entire city. At the present day, after the lapse of 5,000 years, the Chinese have not got beyond this stage of Eschatology. Heavy sentences, and frightful punishments, await those, who sinned according to the then prevalent ideas of Sin. Homer and Virgil in their famous Poems caught up the echo of these ideas, and the descent of Orpheus to get back his wife from Tartarus has an analogy in the descent of Ishtar to fetch back Tammuz, or Adonis, which recalls portions of Hebrew and Greek Mythology. It is noteworthy, that the Chaldaean scribe never used the Papyrus, which he could easily have imported from Egypt, nor skins of beasts. Clay-tablets were his only material, whether for home, or foreign, business, as is evidenced by the records lately discovered at 'Tel al Amarna, or Arsinoe, in Upper Egypt: he had clay-slabs always ready, and a stylus with fine points: later on the end of the stylus was used in the shape of a wedge; hence *cuneus* and "cuneiform."

The two great Basins of the Euphrates and the Nile contained the germ of the Civilization of Western Asia and Europe: they each had their Heaven-appointed spheres, with unlimited power of unopposed expansion, and no bone of vital contention. Neither of them had up to a certain date ventured into the sphere of the other: they had no lack of friendly intercourse, and any chance collision led to no serious results: they were not near enough to hate each other. Ignorance was the great charm against Ambition. In due course of time they did come into a death-struggle, which eventuated in the absolute extinction of the independence of both: Persia, Greece, and Rome, swept their power off the map.

Between these two great Powers, Egypt and Chaldaea, was a miserable buffer-State, destined centuries later to be the most remarkable in the World. Its political position was somewhat analogous to that of Afghanistan at the close of the Nineteenth century, a miserable buffer betwixt the Powers on the Basin of the Oxus, and the Indus. Like Afghanistan, Syria was devoid of Culture, but full of Egoism, and Fanaticism: strange to say, some visionary Ethnologists have found a home for the lost ten tribes of Israel amidst the Pastu-speaking Afghans. The late Bishop of Lahór, Dr. French, distinctly asserted it, but gave no good reasons.

The buffer-State of Syria before Abraham left Haran in Mesopotamia, and crossing the Euphrates founded the Hebrew name, race, and Religious Conception, was a poor country 1900 B.C., and when I traversed it from North to South, nearly 1900 A.D., it was still a poor country, and ever must be so in the eyes of those, who have been trained to recognize the features of a fat country, teeming with the prolific gifts of Nature, and watered by gigantic streams.

It contributed nothing to material Knowledge, the Arts and Sciences of the World, but we now know how much we, the heirs of all the ages, owe to Chaldaea and Egypt: they have, as it were, been roused from their deep slumber: before Greece and Rome came into existence even they were on the warpath of every Human Science, were digging into the virgin soil of Human Knowledge. But, though they flourished for centuries, they were not destined to hand on the lamp in uninterrupted succession to Nations, who came after, at least not ostensibly so: the waters of Lethe closed over them: each had their Chronicler during the Grecian Epoch, Berósus and Manétho, but of their works only fragmentary quotations survive: both countries came under the observation of the Father of History, Herodotus. It was reserved to the Nineteenth century to make known what manner of men they were.

4. *Egyptian.*

I pass from Asia into Africa. Wiedemann writes in his late work on the "Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of Immortality," 1895, that "as far back as Egyptian History has been traced, the people appear to have been not only in possession of written Characters (Hieroglyphics), but of National Art and Institutions, and a *complete system of Religion*: we cannot trace its beginnings. In the earliest glimpses afforded of it by Egyptian Texts it appears as perfect in all its essential parts; nor were after-times able to effect much change in it by the addition of new features." In the two previous countries it is admitted, that the early Arians migrated into India from the Regions beyond the Hindu Kush, and that the Chaldaeans received their Civilization from the direction of the Persian Gulf. Of the parent country, whence Egypt derived her knowledge and Culture, we are not informed. A kingdom called Punt, probably Ethiopia, or Arabia, is darkly alluded to, and at one time was the object of her ambition: the Nile flowed to her from those mysterious Southern Regions never destined to be reached until this century.

Maspero remarks, that the oldest Monuments scarcely transport us further than six thousand years before the great Anno Domini, but he postulates a date for the first appearance of the race in the Basin of the Nile of at least eight or ten thousand years. When Abraham, the founder of the Hebrew race, went down into Egypt it had already a History of 4,000 or 6,000 years. There is an extraordinary resemblance of the present inhabitants of Egypt, after the lapse of so many centuries, with the pictures of their ancestors painted on the Monuments. I myself remarked this on my first of many visits to Egypt in 1843.

The Egyptians never arrived at the idea of one, impersonal, yet omnipotent, Ruler of the whole World, and not only of the petty

Basin of the Nile, which made up the whole World to them. Such indeed, owing to their ignorance of History of the past, and of comparative Geography of the contemporary World, was the intellectual position of all the elder Nations before 800 B.C., when the Hebrews ceased to be Monolatrists, and became in very deed Monotheists. Egypt did, indeed, arrive at a most complete Conception of a Future State, and a certainty of Rewards and Punishments after Death. Care was taken of the body of the deceased; his double, or Ka, had to be provided for; his Soul, or Ba, had not to be lost sight of. The dryness of the climate, and the nature of the soil, have preserved all these funereal treasures to our day. It is a solemn sight to look at the very features and the body of the reputed Pharaoh of the Exodus in the Museum at Cairo, and still more solemn is it to wander among the excavated remains of places of sepulture of the honoured dead, who were prepared to appear before the Judge, and had a confident hope of everlasting happiness.

From the teaching of their divine and benevolent Ruler, Thoth, the Egyptians learned Astronomy, Astrology, Music, and Drawing, and the art of Writing, by help of which they immortalized themselves, their manner of life, their Moral and Religious views, their notions of History, Geography, and Politics. Their Language is distinct from any Asiatic Language-Family, and has left only a feeble representative in modern times, dead for oral purposes, but living liturgically in the Koptic. Their form of script is the Hieroglyphic, passing in the course of centuries into Hieratic, and Demotic: it is one of their earliest inventions, one of the greatest wonders of the World, and the great ancestor and exemplar of all the Alphabetic systems, which have made Asia and Europe what they are.

There were two cycles, or systems, of the Egyptian Divinities, representing the opinions of the learned men of Memphis and Thebes, the successive great Capitals of Egypt, and marking the progress, as time went on, of the Human Intellect. The two systems were but variations of the same central idea: there were male deities, with most of whom were associated female deities, holding inferior place, except in the case of Isis: one group may be called that of Osiris, one of Ra: the latter group was wholly Solar; the Osiris group consisted of Osiris, his consort Isis, and his opponent Seth. Horus was the child of Osiris and Isis. As in India and Chaldaea, the Egyptian Deities were frequently associated in Triads. Osiris was essentially the "good principle," and in perpetual warfare with the "evil principle." For a time he was vanquished and killed, but came again to life: Horus, his son, avenges his father: the power of the evil principle is destroyed, but not annihilated. Osiris thus became the type of Humanity, its struggles, its sufferings, its temporary defeat, and its final victory: the dead were identified with him, and under the name of Osiris, whether male or female,

passed into Amenti, the Divine World below. Here we touch on one of the secrets of Human life and death, and after the lapse of thousands of years have still to walk by faith, not by sight. Moses, though learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, was either ignorant of, or purposely reticent on, the subject of a Future State, in those Laws, which are attributed to him, and which he enacted 2,500 years later: much of the Decalogue appears in the famous "Book of the Dead" of the Egyptians, which is of a much earlier date than the Exodus.

No thoughtful person can think lightly of the Religious Conceptions of these great races: they felt after God, if haply they could find Him: if success crowned their efforts in War or Peace, they thanked their Deities, Ashur, or Amen Ra, for his assistance. They were indeed deficient in many essentials of Religion, which after ages taught their successors; but the Eschatological Conceptions of the Egyptians from the earliest time were indeed wonderful. We have only to compare the questions, which the dead were prepared to reply to, and the answers inscribed on papyrus Rolls in Hieroglyphics, which were placed in the Mummy-cases with the dead body, with the sentiments of contemporary and later races, to feel how superior were Egyptian notions upon this material point. Supposing that no portion of the evidence alluded to in this Essay had escaped the rude hand of Time, and come under our eyes, how imperfect would our opinion have been of the moral and intellectual state of our predecessors in the work of Civilization of Mankind!

5. *Conclusion.*

We must think gently of the elder World, of our predecessors in the great progress of the Human race. God's poor children were ever what their environment made them: if we doubt this, we in our Nineteenth-century arrogance, and the narrow orbit of our Theological Shibboleth, question the Wisdom and Love of the great Creator, who hates nothing, that He has made. The early occupants of the great Globe, scattered on vast plains, or herding together in great forests, saw the Sun, and the Heavenly Host, and bowed down to them: they were insensibly conscious of the revolution of the Seasons: they saw the war of the elements, and mighty trees torn up by the winds, and great streams blocked up by ice and snow. Around them was an environment of majestic wonders, and they surveyed it sometimes with feelings of thankfulness, sometimes in fear and agony, for the unknown Power seemed to their limited understandings as very capricious: they knew nothing of the unchanging Love of the great Creator, and, when they writhed under famine or pestilence, or the spoliation of men and beasts, they thought, that the great Power was angry, and tried in their weak way to conciliate Him. Not as yet were men

congregated in cities; not as yet had they come under the great curse of a Priesthood living by the Sacrificial altar, and in the name of God preaching lies, and setting an example of Pride and Self-will, justifying the scathing line of Lucretius, when he commented on the fact that Agamemnon sacrificed the life of his own daughter under the compulsion of Priests:

“Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.”

Intolerance, Persecution, Egotism, Fanaticism, and Superstition, caused the Conception of the Relation of the Soul to God to be converted into one of the great curses of the Human race.

Nature-Worship, or as it is now scientifically called the Animistic Conception, or Spirit-Worship (miscalled Devil-Worship by the ignorant Missionary), was the first round in the great ladder, by which the Soul of man, in fear and trembling, in deep debasement and hopeless ignorance, felt its way to the acknowledgment, and Worship, of the great unknown Power, to which it felt, that it owed its existence, its preservation, and its Future. The heart of man, even in his deep degradation, turns to its Maker as the sunflower turns to the Sun.

All Human affairs exist only by the force of Evolution and Development. In the absence of this onward influence they die. So in its appointed time in a tribe of Nature-Worshippers there appears a man, greater than his contemporaries, with the power of looking forward into the Future. He collects and arranges all the oral legends of his tribe: if a power of writing exists in his Epoch, he commits them to writing: he dares to legislate for the Future. Among such men were Moses, Zoroaster, Confucius, the Hindu Sages, and Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato.

II.

THE DECAY OF A RELIGIOUS CONCEPTION.

1. Exordium.
2. Egyptian.
3. Mesopotamian.
4. Gracco-Latin.
5. Conclusion.

1. *Exordium.*

Everything relating to men is subject to the inexorable Law of Decay and Death: their bodies, their material constructions, their intellectual aspirations, their customs, their form of speech, their mode of writing, and lastly their Conceptions as to "Self, the World, God," which make up their environment, varying from century to century, and Region to Region. Our thoughts on this occasion are restricted to the last of the three features of "*la pauvre Humanité*": it is the one, in which they appear to the highest advantage, and also in the deepest degradation.

In my contribution to the International Oriental Congress at Geneva, 1894, published in the English and French Languages, I stated in detail the Religious Conceptions of the Ancient World before the great Anno Domini, both those that have perished, and those that still survive. It is a subject to be treated with solemn reverence, for those ancient men were feeling after God, and the great Creator had not forgotten His poor Children. In my Volume published in 1895 on the "Common Features of all Religious Conceptions," I pointed out the identity of the superficial structure of all, for all sprang from the same innate goodness, and congenital weakness, of the Human race. God looked down from Heaven on all, and was present in all the ages and in all places. Let me now approach philosophically and impartially the causes, which lead to the changes of a Religious Conception. It is too obvious a feature in History to doubt, that changes do take place. The Religious Conception of a people becomes degraded into a spider's web spun by gross and ignorant men for the purpose of hiding God from the community, by Human inventions, and Human word-spinning: by His Grace they have passed away like the clouds in the Sky, and will continue to pass away, while the Sun still remains in the heavens.

Let me clear away prejudices. In the dawn of a Religious Conception men were isolated; in the decay they have come into contact with their neighbours: I boldly state, that it is the same God, by whatever name known, in whatever fashion worshipped, who created the whole World, and all that dwell in it. I thank Paul for quoting, and making his own and ours for ever, the words of two Heathen Poets, Cleanthes and Aratus:

“Τοῦ γὰρ γένος ἔσμεν.”

He does not love one race more than another, and He hateth nothing that He hath made, whatever Egotistic Hebrews, or ill-instructed so-called Christians, may assert.

He never sanctioned Crime, such as Abraham proposed, and Jephthah and Agamemnon believed, that they were ordered to commit. He never sanctioned spoliation, and wholesale slaughter, such as the Hebrews committed in the invasion of Palestine, or the slaughter of the Priests of Baal by Elijah. He never leaves immorality unpunished, such as that of Solomon or David: in fact, He was all-Wise, Good, Powerful, Holy, Everlasting, Universal, Just, Merciful: all Nations and Tribes have recognized the same invisible Power, and rendered to Him Worship, however imperfect, insufficient, and absolutely wrong, and mistaken, and under different Names. A change of Conception, and Cult, did not entail a change of God. Men in their foolishness, yet piety, in their weakness, yet strength, saw dimly, yet they desired to see and understand the dealings of God, and men in the Nineteenth century see dimly still.

For it is merely opinion supported by Faith, the Πίστις of the New Testament, the Ἐλπίς of Socrates, the Emún of the Hebrew, the Bhakti or Biswas of the Hindu, the Imán of the Mahometan, entirely unsupported by external or material Proof, sufficient to satisfy the Intellect, though all-sufficient for the Soul: the receiver of the new Conception can give no reason for it: *it is there, and he will die for it.* We must clear away the barnacles, which cling to the decaying vessel of the old Conception, however venerable: the evil inheritance of ancestral Traditions, which have obscured and shut out of sight the Divine Message, given in the appointed place, at the appointed time, and for the appointed season; the curse of a Priesthood, whether hereditary, or co-opted, whose means of existence depend on the maintenance of an effete and corrupted Shibboleth; the foolishness of National, Tribal, or even Family, Monopoly-Conceptions; the slavery to Words, meaningless Words, which have caused, and may cause again, the wicked shedding of blood of God's poor creatures: whatever may be the errors of the early Conceptions, they were tolerant, if themselves left alone, or expanded peacefully. To Christianity the World is indebted for

the idea of Intolerance, Persecution, Propagation by force: Islam succeeded to the baneful inheritance.

It is obvious, that there were survivals of the old Conception in the layers of each new Conception, some of the sad, yet Human, practices of the previous and defunct one. When the time of decay comes, it is found, that there remain important survivals, based on the carnal hopes and ideas of the whole Human race: they passed from the old Epoch, and the *nidus* of the old Nature-Religion, though it had developed into a Book-Religion of Ritual and Liturgy, and passed on into the later and presumably the Spiritual Conception of a more advanced Epoch; for there is no possibility of a retrograde step in the process of Human development. Fetishism and Totemism found their way into the Egyptian Conception, and the Hindu system, an inheritance from African and Pre-Arian races: thus, in the practice of European Christian Churches there are gross survivals of Graeco-Roman Paganism and Judaism. Human customs and dominant ideas become blended with quasi-Religious, so-called Religious, sanctions. The daily pressure upon mankind of Life and Death, Food and Hunger, in the narrow environment of a tribe of low Culture; the low designs of crafty Priests, who live by their altar and its offerings: all these things shut out the believers, the sincere believers, from a clear view of the great Problem working out before their eyes in the gradual intellectual advancement of the Human race, and the full appreciation by the Soul of its relation to the Creator and Preserver of its life. My subject is:

- (1) The approaching decay of Religious Conceptions, good for past days, when the round World was partitioned off into Regions entirely separated from each other, with a population in a low state of Culture.
- (2) The development of new Religious Conceptions, suited to the Epoch, universal, yet speaking to each individual Soul, based on universal Laws of Morality.

Every period of History has its own perplexities, every generation has its own problem to solve, for the affairs of men disperse, shift, and rearrange themselves, like the bits of glass in a revolving kaleidoscope: things, although familiar enough *in situ*, present themselves in a new aspect when *in motu*. Take for instance into consideration the view of sacred things held in the first year of the Nineteenth century A.D. and contrast it with the view taken now: who would venture in the pulpit of the current year to preach a sermon of that period? From generation to generation the point of view varies even in the case of the most ordinary Religious Conception? Reform, and fresh adaptations, are called for, and meet the necessity, but in the elder World the whole of the ancient

machinery had to be swept away, generally by violence, and place made for a new structure.

The Roman Empire openly and avowedly admitted the Religious Conceptions of all subject Nations into their cities, on the condition, that they respected each other, that, being allowed to live, they let others live: but this is just, what the Christians of that period never would do: they were ever committing some sacrilegious act, or refusing to comply with some purely municipal requirement, in order to obtain Martyrdom. No sooner had they got the upper hand than they came out as intolerant persecutors: the Temple of Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans, as an accident of a siege for political purposes, but the Temple of Serápis at Alexandria was deliberately destroyed by Christian Intolerance. Nothing of this kind has taken place, or could take place, in British India. This marks the total difference of the environment, and places a new problem before our eyes.

It is so seldom, that a Religious Conception has been allowed to die away by a natural death: its last moments have ordinarily been troubled by the fanatical advocates of the new Conception, as instanced in the last years of the Graeco-Roman System, and the treatment of Animistic Conceptions everywhere. It will be a new incident in the History of the World to watch the peaceful decay, or gradual transformation, of the Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Confucian, Conceptions, while the Powers of the World stand by, and keep the lists open.

But even though the arrogant intolerance of the Persecutor is restrained, there are more powerful antagonists in the field, who were formerly quite unknown: (1) Education, (2) Civilization, (3) Contact with other Nations, (4) Commerce and Travel. It was the absence of every one of these four factors, that made the Hebrews before the Captivity such a peculiarly odious and priggish fourth-rate Nation, objects of scorn to the professors of the Egyptian and Babylonian Conceptions, although both of them had certain extinction coming upon them at the hands of the Persian followers of Zoroaster, and the Greek Disciples of Aristotle and Plato.

Then, again, if the agents of Conversion were content to offer the pure simple tenets of the Founder of the new Conception, the transformation would have been easier, but down to the present Epoch the new doctrine is always presented in a deformed, and hardened, exterior, rendered distasteful by the local accretions of some particular Nationality. The words of the Teacher of Galilee were good for, and acceptable to, all mankind, in all climes, all degrees of Culture, every variety of environment; but the folly of mankind elects to present it to the Hindu and Chinese in the disguise of an English middle-class specific, or an American, or German, newly invented Prescription.

When a Religious Conception is in decadence, as the consequence of its own emptiness, like an exhausted volcano, supposing that there is an entire absence of the Arm of the Flesh, and Intolerance, phenomena are generally found of the following kind: Those, who are advanced in life. or conservative in temperament, or grossly ignorant, or fanatically devoted to the expiring Conception, or really and truly believing in it, or dependent on it for their daily bread, such as Priests and Ministers, generally divide themselves into three factions .

- (1) Those, who attempt to elude notoriety, and conceal their Religious convictions, playing the part of hypocrites.
- (2) Those, who in theory respect their ancient Beliefs, but being hopeless conform to some new one, and thus preserve their social position.
- (3) Those, who retire from the world into voluntary exile for the sake of their Faith, and resign all outward practice of the old Cult.

We can imagine something of this kind at the time of the Reformation in England until all the old Romish Priests had died out, or left the country. Even then many a decaying old man or old woman must have clung to their last hour to their "Ave Maria" and the husk of a Religious Conception, which was all that the Romish Priest had taught them. And as time goes on, and the contemporaries of the great Transformation die out, the thoughts of the new generation widen with the lapse of years. We should look at the matter with a practical and philosophic eye. Does the stupid conservative not feel, that it is the same God, who rules all the World at all times, and that the great intellectual, and spiritual, movement of the Nineteenth century is as much His gift, or as much permitted by him, as the imperfect Physical, Intellectual, and Spiritual, half-knowledge of the Third century, or the over-bearing dogmatism of the Dark Ages. The great Truth in Christ does not require the support of Anathemas, or Pulpit-exaggerations, or "My-Doxy" assumptions; nor does Faith in Christ necessitate the hiding of the believer's head like an ostrich in the sand.

The marks of a decaying Religious Conception are :

- I. Leaning on the Arm of the Flesh, and Intolerance.
- II. Clinging to the original or Translation of some Book of elder ages: Worship of the letter instead of the Spirit.
- III. Maintaining an intolerant, unsympathetic, and ignorant Priesthood, whose bread would be jeopardized by any change.
- IV. Abstaining from all attempts to convey the so-called Truths, and Precious Promises, of their Conceptions to the outer World.

V. Enforcing strict Rules of Caste as regards Marriage and Commensality.

VI. The Arts of Sculpture and Painting are dangerous allies to a pure Spiritual Conception of the Infinite and Indescribable. They are the sure forerunners of a secret Idolatry: the old man in the Clouds represents the Creator; the beautiful young woman in a purple dress with an infant represents the Virgin Mother; the Dove represents the Holy Ghost. The poison of Anthropomorphism clings to a falling Conception.

2. *Egyptian.*

It is placed beyond doubt, that at a period of its Natural life so remote that it is difficult to state it, as it is totally prehistoric, the Egyptian settlers in the Basin of the Nile possessed a Religious Conception of a most elaborate, exalted, and spiritual, nature. The Soul of man was recognized as totally distinct from the body: the latter might perish, but the former never: and there was a Day of Judgment, and those, who had passed good lives, were not only in the presence of Osiris, but were identified with Osiris. The Sovereigns and their subjects had the strength of their convictions, and raised up mighty structures, which exist to this day, and tell their own story. The art of writing, as the name "Hieroglyphic" indicates, was invented for sacred purposes, and made use of to an extraordinary extent. Great and Holy Thoughts, and everlasting Truths, were committed to these writings, and haughty Time has been just, and spared them. The same leading phenomena developed themselves, the Conception of a Trinity of the three great Deities, of the death of a son, Osiris, for the benefit of mankind: there came into existence Sacred Books, Priesthoods, Ritual, Belief in a Judgment after Death, and Rewards or Punishments. In the last generation the Egyptians had the reputation of having been savage idolators, who behaved shamefully to the worthy and excellent descendants of the Hebrew shepherd Jacob, who condescended to dwell in their country. A different view is entertained now. Still, the singular fact remains, that a period was fixed by the Most High to the Religious Conception of the Egyptians: there were no seeds of permanence: they lasted three or four thousand years, then fell into decadence under the rule of the Persian Conquerors, and disappeared under the rule of the Macedonians, leaving no successor to inherit their accumulated Wisdom, and their developed Ritual, for by a freak of fortune the whole Religion, Language, and Form of Writing, were enveloped in a sudden darkness, and buried out of sight in the bowels of the earth, leaving no trace in the worship of those who succeeded them.

It died, and left no influence on the Religious Conception, which succeeded it.

It is remarked by a thoughtful writer that "Egyptian Civilization (including the Religious Conception) was complete and fully developed, but, like that of China, was not on the main line of Human Progress, and consequently left little or no influence on future centuries." (P. Gardiner, "New Chapters in Greek History," p. 193.)

Another writer remarks with regard to the Egyptian Religious Conception in its latest form, when Serapis had become an object of Worship to Greeks and Romans as well as to Egyptians:

"All my reading convinces me, that a satisfactory exegesis of Pagan Religious Conceptions is given only by those writers, who believe, that the earliest Religious ideas of the Human race were derived from man's daily observation of the awe-inspiring cosmical phenomena. The primary notion was, that the life-giving, light-bearing Sun, was the greatest of Natural and Divine things, 'the One Great over All.' He was the Boat, that conveyed the Dead to the next World, the Ruler of the Day, the Ray-crowned King of the World." (Palestine Exploration Quarterly, Oct., 1896, p. 338.)

It is obvious that increased knowledge of the Universe, and contact with other Nations, would dissipate this idea, and the Religious Conception built upon so unsolid a base would disappear: this is too simple an explanation. Mystery is required, Legends, Glamour (shall we say Falsehood?) are required, to maintain a Religious Conception, for the Human race is so foolish on such subjects, that it lends faith to any solemn well-compacted Lie.

3. *Mesopotamian.*

They were but one branch of the great Semitic Family. The course of the Egyptian Religious Conception had been, like their own River Nile, a solitary one, receiving no affluents from other Nations, pouring itself into no great sea. The same may be said of the Mesopotamian Religious Conception. The great Persian and Graeco-Latin Conceptions crushed out its life, and after the lapse of twenty-four centuries we can only dimly trace out what was the belief of those ancient men, and this has been described in the preceding Essay. It had no influence on succeeding ages: it left no great successor to occupy new ground, in the way in which the Brahmanical Conception gave birth to the Buddhist Conception, and the Hebrew Conception to the Christian and Mahometan Conceptions.

4. *Graeco-Latin.*

It may be asserted with truth, that under the Roman Empire a total eclipse took place of the Religions of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The waters of Lethé passed over them, and not by violent oppression, or Missionary teaching, but by their own weight they sank, unvalued, forgotten, despised. Such was not the case of that beautiful Conception, which prevailed in Greece and Rome during the Epoch of their greatest glory. Though in the Languages of the two Nations every god and goddess had a different name, yet they were clearly identical, and made up a great part of the Greek and Roman life, appearing in their Literature, in their customs, in their words, in their statuary. The veriest schoolboy knows all about the great Trinity of the Graeco-Latin Religious Conception :

- (1) Zeus or Jupiter : the Father, the Creator, the Controller.
- (2) Phoebus Apollo : the Son, the Lord of Light, and Healing.
- (3) Athene or Minerva : the Holy Spirit, who sprang from the brain of the Father, and who was ever at the side of her worshippers.

The great oath of the Greeks was :

“ *Ναὶ μὰ Ζεῦτε πατέρα, καὶ Ἀθηναίη, καὶ Ἀπόλλων.*”

HOMER'S *Iliad*.

Demeter or Ceres, Dionúsus or Bacchus, Ares or Mars, Hermes or Mercury, Aphrodite or Venus, all are familiar to every schoolboy, and their names live after they have been deposed, for Poetry and Sculpture have cast an everlasting halo round them.

Why did they die? They were merely deified mortals, with like passions, lusts, hatred, envy, jealousy, as men, and they were crushed by the common-sense of the two most intellectual races of mankind : it was not by the arm of the intolerant persecutor, but by the weight of their own spiritual inadequacy, that they fell. The great Dramatists of Athens, the Philosophers of the different Greek Schools, the wisest and greatest of Roman Philosophers and Poets, all contributed to their downfall. It is not sufficiently dwelt upon, how exceedingly opportune as regards place and time was the appearance in the midst of the Human race of the Son of God, for three short years, *three short years only*, and yet the environment of Culture, and Human politics, was ready, as it has never been before or since, to receive Him. No reader of the poetry of Lucretius, of Horace, Virgil, and Juvenal, of the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, and Epictétus, can fail to remark, that there was a change coming over the minds of men of the Latin race, that they had outlived the Religious Conceptions of their ancestors. The stupid conservative of that period, just as the

same stamp of men at other periods, attributed the downfall of Rome to the neglect of the worship of the gods, who had made Rome great, but we know well, that the rise and fall of Nations does not depend on their Religious Conceptions.

Still more marked were the circumstances of the Greek people. The Oracle of Delphi was ceasing to be trusted. Education, and the diffusion of Literature, were having the same powerful effects in Greece, which they are now having in British India. The legendary tales, which had satisfied past generations, did so no longer. The great dramatist, Euripides, lived at an Epoch, when the Olympian gods were preparing to depart: after the death of Socrates *they did depart*. The legends of Hellas were brought to the crucible of the wit, the inuendo, the suggestion, of the free-thinking Dramatist. Consider the plot of such a Drama as that of "Alcestes": can anything be conceived more ridiculous than that of a woman after her death being dragged back from her grave by a strong hero such as Hercules, who seized Death, while he was eating the funeral offerings, and compelled him to surrender his prey? If the legends of King Arthur were treated in this Human fashion, or the legends of the Old Testament, would they outlive the ridiculous *impasse*, at which they had arrived? There was no public Press in Greece, as there is now in India; but the Theatre and the Schools of Philosophy did the work of public inquiries: they asked the reason why, and compelled the reader and hearer to ask themselves, whether what was stated could be true. A fabulous legend translated into the facts of contemporary life, prosaic life, composed of the incidents of life, sickness, and death, must shrivel into nothing, like a bladder that is pricked.

The Drama was not only a part of the Annual Festival, but it was an advertisement of it: the subject of the Drama became the staple subject of the current Literature of a public beginning to indulge in private reading: it was only at the close of the Fifth Century before Christ, that the rapid growth of intellectual power, taught the public the advantage of private reading, or reading aloud, and this proved one of the dissolvents of the age. A similar process is going on in British India now. Reading led to conversation, discussions, and the desire to hear something new. Thus the Greek World was unconsciously preparing itself for the reception of a new Idea, a new intellectual and spiritual environment. Philosophy, and Ridicule, and Common-sense, had stamped out the supernatural myths of an earlier age. Something newer, fresher, more suited to the Epoch, was required: and in the fulness of time it came.

There was a *stupid* party there as elsewhere, and they would have liked to go on believing in the legend of Alcestes, as in the miracle of some mediaeval Saint; but the impetus of the spirit of the new age was too great, and the whole visionary fabric disappeared

like a dream. Such will ever be the fate of any Religious Conception, which is allowed to fall behind the Epoch, and the intellectual standpoint, of the worshipper. Such was it when, centuries later the degraded Christian Churches in Western Asia and North Africa fell before the lofty Monotheism of Islam.

An illustration of the above I quote passages from Bishop Boyd Carpenter's "Narcissus":

"The conversation would turn upon the faith, which Drusilla held, and upon the gods, to which the mother of Felix still clung with a reverent fondness. Her temperament was that of one, who fears to let slip her faith; her whole heart was bound up in her home; she dreaded the wrath of the gods, because she feared lest any change should rob her of what she prized so highly, her little Felix and her husband. Her pleasant home and its warm love were to Valeria her all in all; and she would have embraced any faith, which would secure the favour of any deity, and so preserve her household happiness." (pp. 6, 7.)

"There [at Athens, Felix] had learned to look with broader thought upon these beliefs; for he had met with various faiths, and all, in a measure, had something to commend them, and the gods of Olympus were at least deifications of truths, powers, and qualities, and, if he could not worship them, he could admire the qualities and powers; and, perhaps, it was as well to let the weaker and more ignorant go on in their worship of the gods themselves. Indeed, for anything he knew, there might be something of truth in their worship. At least, he would hardly like to let go the poetry of paganism." (p. 61.)

Here opens out the great problem of Religious Conceptions: it seemed to be a question of the Epoch of the individual.

5. Conclusion.

A time surely comes, when men learn the art of Intercomparison; and the worshippers of what appeared to one particular tribe unique, learn to their surprise, that the Religious Conception, which they thought was made for them and them alone, really was the property of the Human race, that all mankind was equally endued with a desire to find, and a power to search for, the great Author of their existence. The Hebrew race talked, and still talk, of *their* Jehovah: they were at first monolatrists, not monotheists, but they gradually rose to the conviction, that Jehovah was Lord of the whole of creation, including the few thousands of Israel.

It is all very well to build for eternity, and to keep repeating the words "for ever," but it is a truth, that old forms wear out, old ideas become obsolete, old words lose their meaning. We may thank God, that the progress of the Human race is ever onward, and upward, and that there is progress all down the line. In the

decay of a Religious Conception, the Priests are generally in fault : they live by their altar ; they cannot see that the environment, and the point of view, are changing and expanding. As a rule the conservative party is stupid, selfish, incapable of self-sacrifice, and impotent to mark the progress of the Human Intellect. The Priests encourage esoteric Worship : they place stress on Ritual, observance of times, places, seasons, and old-fashioned ideas of the great Kosmos : they, in fact, become themselves carnal, ignorant, intolerant, and ready to appeal to the Arm of the Flesh. It is clear, that in a certain stage of every Religious Conviction degeneracy sets in : the height of lofty Conception has been theoretically attained, but there is a limit. Then carnality sets in : Myths obscure the Truth ; words are used for the purpose of hiding rather than expressing meaning ; cruel and even immoral rites take the place of old simple forms. As in the trees of the forest, so in the individuals of a great race, we can watch the progress of the birth, youth, maturity, senility, decay, and death : so is it with Religious Conceptions ; they have their day and disappear : the reason is, that the wave of progress is always in motion : we see the face of Nature always changing ; we see generations of men pass from the cradle to the grave, we cannot expect to find permanence in what by nature is so fickle and mobile as the ideas of man with regard to things totally invisible, intangible, and inconceivable. In a book published at Calcutta, "An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism," by Guru Prosád Sen, I read the opinion of the author, "that Hinduism is not, and never has been, a *Religious* organization : " it is a purely social system, exacting from the Hindu the observance " of certain social forms, and not the profession of a particular " Religious Belief : the Hindu may choose to have a faith and " creed, if he wants one, or do without one : so long as a man holds " to his Caste he may even accept the doctrine of Christianity." Has not conventional Christianity fallen to this level also ? Christianity has become a social association, entirely free from any speculative thought, or rational belief : is it not in both a sign of decay ?

Only let the transition be gentle, and not marked by cruelty : let us consider the lesson read to us by the treatment of the temple and image of Serápis at Alexandria, and the conduct of Christian Emperors, Bishops, and the savage, ignorant monks of Alexandria. Let the idol fall by its own weight from its pedestal, and the temple disappear in ruins by natural decay, or stand like the Parthenon, and the temple of Balbek, as an architectural voice from the Past. Let us only imagine the Missionary Societies, and the crafty religious fanatics of the middle-classes in great Britain, getting the upper hand in Banáras or Amritsar, and the streets flowing with blood, and the Brahmins slaughtered by a new crop of Elijahs, in the name of the Message of Peace, Forgiveness of Sins, Pity, Pardon,

and Love. What a much higher triumph it would be to see the miracle-working statue, the Holy Coat, and the bones of departed Saints, transferred voluntarily to the Museum of Antiquities, and to leave the bats in the possession of the deserted temple!

The decay of a Religious Conception is indeed not Death, but Transition to some higher Form of Belief in the great Controller of the Universe, some sweeping away of empty Forms, and attempt of the poor worshipper to approach nearer to the object of his Worship. When a Religion of the elder type, attached to some particular Region, built up on Legends, supported by assertions of Visions and Miracles, symbolized by Sacrifice of Beasts and Birds, has run its course, or fallen into deep degradation, ever and anon there comes a man like Hosea (800 B. C.) crying out: "Come, and let us return unto the Lord, for I desired mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings" (vi, 1, 6). We see through all the ages since that initial date a succession of such men, dauntless, eloquent, reasoning with their countrymen: Buddha, Socrates, Paul, Mahomet, Luther, Calvin, Kabír, Nának, Wesley. God has not left Himself without a witness. He has been immanent in all the ages, rising up early, and calling, here a little, there a little. Sometimes there came a partial refreshing, and a hand pointing backwards or forwards, according to the period in the History of Man: once in all the ages in the fulness of time the Son of God Himself appeared for three short years out of all the centuries of years before and since, and drew a dividing-line between the Past and the Future. All the old-fashioned paraphernalia of Worship disappeared, such as Oracles, Prophecy, Miracles, Signs from Heaven, Theophanies, and man was taught to worship God in spirit, and be content with the Invisible Presence of the Holy Spirit in each one of us, who does not drive Him from our hearts.

It must be an awful struggle for a conscientious person to change his views on a subject so solemn, to annihilate all the feelings, hopes, fears, loves, hates, of his childhood, and adopt new ones; to feel the pain of family-feuds, and lost friendships: but the great mass of mankind did not believe *much* formerly, nor do they believe *much* now: they merely change an outward garment, seen by the eyes of men, and hiding the nakedness below. In the first period the Religious Conception has come unconsciously: it has grown with the growth of the tribe. In the second period, when one Conception is taking the place of another, there is a struggle, a fierce conflict, a disruption of families, a civil war, and martyrdom. Much is said about Martyrs, as it is about Faith: we must learn always to ask the speaker to tell us for what cause the Martyrdom is undergone? In what invisible Saviour is the Faith?

And too much should not be made of Martyrdom: much depends upon the character of the Martyr. From a book called "Rome and the Early Christians," I select the following extract: "In

“ comparison with Labour and Duty it is easy to suffer : compared
 “ to lifelong labour and duty it is a light service : perhaps in many
 “ a conflict with temptation and sin, a harder conflict has been
 “ fought, a harder victory won, than when the flames consumed
 “ him and the beasts tore him limb by limb. Suffering and dying
 “ for a Faith is no evidence of the Truth of that Faith. Many have
 “ died for what others deem *false* Religion : it is a proof, not of
 “ the Truth of the cause, for which the man or woman died, but of
 “ their sincerity and dogged determination. Some of the meanest
 “ characters have made the best martyrs ; some most noble have
 “ shrunk from infirmity of temperament from the trial.”

Again, when a Nation has risen to greatness under what they deem the protection of their National Deities, their poor weak hearts cleave to them : the Worship may be wrong or even injurious, still it is the Religion of themselves, their ancestors, and the *Religio loci*. The feeling is not an unworthy one : the thoughts are raised from low material wants to the Invisible Power, and the inscrutable Future.

Those, who are in middle life, may well ask : “ is the new Conception a better one ? ” Those, who are low in Culture are scarcely fit judges of what is right : they cannot open out the great question, “ Why was I born ? whence do I come ? whither do I go ? for what purpose did I come into life ? ” They received the precious gifts of life, and reason, and Language, and a desire to seek after a Power greater than themselves. One thing only is certain, that, as men advance in Culture, they advance in power to appreciate what is holy and right in itself, and to feel sure, that the Divinity must be holy and pure. They unconsciously approach nearer to God.

Even a confessedly imperfect Religious Conception is better than a plunge into Atheism, Agnosticism, Materialism, casting off all idea of a Divine Power. It is well, that men should not change their views on Divine Things without thought, searching of heart, and inquiry. We know too well how an African tribe, like the Ba-Ganda, or the Maori of New Zealand, may be tempted by a sudden impulse, and the prospect of material advantage, to accept a new Idea, and then, when another wave comes over the land, it is found, that their convictions have no firm rest in the heart : they changed once, they are ready to change again : hundreds of so-called Christian converts disappear, or join some other herd, some new wind of doctrine, the enticements of some new Preacher. Where there is a great light, there must be of necessity a great shadow. “ *Quieta non movere,* ” may be a good maxim in Human affairs, but in Divine matters there must be always a sound of motion, for stagnation is fatal to spirituality.

It has fallen to the lot of some to witness, or share, the grief of Parents, whose child has joined the Church of Rome, or become a Mahometan, whose daughter has fallen so far as to be the

additional wife of a Mormon ; or to openly deny the Atonement, as being unaware of having sins to be atoned for, refusing to be married by any Religious ceremony, or to bring their children to the Baptismal font. It is singular, but the fact is, that even nominal Christians shrink from such conduct, as there is a certain social fashion in favour of certain ceremonies connected with birth, marriage, and death.

All men to a certain extent are on the same platform as regards things spiritual. Religion in modern days is no longer a matter to be controlled by physical force, like a conquered kingdom, or as a scientific problem, such as the discovery of a new planet, or as a matter of evidence such as a case in a Court of Law ; for in very deed it is a matter of Faith, the evidence of things not seen, and *δῶρον Θεού*, the gift of God. Paul was the first and greatest of Missionaries. He announced himself to be by divine appointment Apostle to the Gentiles. He had not been set apart by the Lord as an Apostle, or co-opted by them as the twelfth apostle. He declared his own Commission, and gave no proofs but his own word. Without the formality of Council or consultation he set at naught the so-called Law of Moses : he admitted the existence of a Religious feeling, the groping after God, in all mankind. Being fluent in the Greek Language, and a member of the Diasporá in a no mean Greek city in Asia Minor, we might have expected that in arguing about fundamentals, the existence of one sole God, Lord of the whole World, the plan of Salvation through a Mediator, the last Day of Judgment, the Beauty of Morality, he would have fortified his argument by quoting largely from the Dramatists and Philosophers of Athens, showing that Him, whom they ignorantly worshipped, He preached : but he contents himself with one quotation each from Cleanthes and Aratus : he could never forget that he was a Hebrew, though a Hebrew, who deliberately set aside the Law of Moses, quoting from the Scriptures, of which his Gentile hearers had no knowledge whatever. The Modern Missionary in India and elsewhere does just the same : he quotes the Christian Scriptures ; he ignores the Sacred Books, and the centuries of Civilization of the people of India, treating them intellectually as South Sea Barbarians.

There was the same reason in both cases : Paul and the Modern Missionary were, with exceptions of very few, totally ignorant of the intellectual, spiritual, and moral, environment of the Religion, into which they were penetrating. God is no respecter of persons : he had not left the Greek race at the time of Paul without a clear conception of Right and Wrong, of sorrow following sin, knowledge of a Future State, and the great mystery of Holiness. No one can read the Immortal Survivals of Greek Learning without feeling that the Hellenic *Σόφια* was *παιδαγωγός* to Christ. And Augustine of Hippo, and his contemporaries, recognized Plato as a great ally.

Paul in his nescience ignored the Greek Schools of Philosophy the New Testament did not exist in his time: so he depended entirely on such portions of the Old, as it seemed good to him to make use of.

If rightly handled by the Missionary the great principles of Morality, Holiness, and Faith in a superhuman Power, submission to a Divine leading, might be enforced by quotations from the Hindu Sages, Zoroaster, Confucius, and Buddha. The Missionary is tempted to consider the learning of past ages, anything beyond the Shibboleth of his Training College, and the orbit of his reading, to be the work of the Devil, and to condemn the great races of Ancient Days to unconditional Hell Fire.

Some young Hindu youths in the year 1893-4 acted the Play of "Sakóntala" in the English Translation from the original Sanskrit, and one of the actors remarked in a letter to the Translator dated May, 1893, as follows:

"Our object in acting Hindu Plays is to bring home to the Hindu the good lessons, that our ancient authors are able to teach us. If there is one lesson in these days more than another, which forces itself on our minds, it is that our age is turning its back on Creeds and Dogmas. We are hurrying forward to a Chaos, in which all existing Religious Conceptions, and even the great principles of Morality, may in the end be submerged, and as the general tenour of Indian thought is to reject what is old, and absorb all that is new, it becomes an urgent question, whether a great Intellectual and Moral Revolution, which has no foundation in the Past, can produce lasting benefits to the people." (Williams' "Sakóntala," 7th edition.)

The Brahmanical Religious Conception has lasted about three thousand years, among a population of two hundred millions: it may be about to expire, leaving no capacity in the intellects of the highly educated Hindu to admit the supernatural element as a factor in his spiritual inquiries. The last state will be worse than the first, and the Epoch of Theosophy, Mormonism, Comteism, Agnosticism, Unitarianism, and Theism, will have arrived.

Such may be the lot of the educated: as regards those who are totally devoid of Culture, I quote the following story:

I heard an open-air preacher describe the case of an old China woman, good, moral, devout, who daily on her rosary pronounced the name of Buddha: this was her way of Salvation. A young female Missionary tried to explain to her, that she should substitute the name of Jesus Christ for that of Buddha: she replied that she had found Buddha sufficient for 73 years, and could not change: she could no more have comprehended the reason suggested by the Missionary for taking Jesus Christ, than she could have explained to her the reason why she took Buddha. Such must be the intellectual position of Millions, passing through Life into Eternity.

III.

THE USELESS PROLONGATION OF THE LIFE OF A RELIGIOUS CONCEPTION
BEYOND THE EPOCH, FOR WHICH IT WAS INTENDED.

A. Zoroastrian.

B. Hebrew.

IN looking back in the History of Mankind we mark a Progress, or at least a change, in everything Human, the result of wider knowledge, greater experience, intellectual growth, and enlarged vision. The sports of children satisfy the child: a tribe of men is but the expression of the concentrated personality of each individual: he is not exactly like his grandfather, nor will his grandson be exactly like him. Any one of us, who has lived to know five generations of men, two older, one contemporary, and two younger, know this, and an old-fashioned person, who has lost step with his own generation, is usually deemed the survival of the least fit. So is it with every Human Branch of Knowledge. Ptolemy the Geographer would scarcely hold his own in the Royal Geographical Society, or the great Greek Astronomers at the Greenwich Observatory. So is it with the Conception of God, and the duty of Man: there are unhappy survivals, who have outlived their Epoch, and the great difficulty is to bring home to them in their semi-blind state a sense of their intellectual and spiritual position: any person, who still believed in the rotation of the Sun, would be a scientific phenomenon. In life we meet with old men and women, who try to hold their heads above their fellows, because they have known better days. So is it with the moribund Religious Conceptions of the Parsi or Zoroastrian, and the Hebrew, whose position as regards Past, Present, and Future I now pass under review with rigid impartiality. In the History of Man they are interesting Phenomena. How I should have enjoyed a conversation with a devout believer in Jupiter, Apollo, and Minerva, or a votary of Horus and Isis, and Amen Ra, or one who placed his implicit trust in Asher, the great God. I have had the opportunity of sweet converse with a Parsi Dastúr who believes in Ahriman, and exposes the lifeless corpse of his Parents and child to be torn and consumed by Vultures, and with a Hebrew, who still circumcises his males, and believes, that he is on a higher spiritual platform in his relation to God than the rest of mankind. It is an interesting, and not uninteresting, study, and an additional proof of the hopeless folly of mankind, when the mind is darkened by isolation and prejudice.

A. *Zoroastrian.*

About one hundred thousand most respectable subjects of the Empress of India, known as Parsi, resident in the Bombay Presidency, are all that survive of the Religion, which Zoroaster has the credit of having founded. They are wealthy, educated, and monogamists. Their Sacred Books in Zend, and Pahlavi, have been translated into English. Their Conception is purely Monotheistic, and there have never been temples, images, or altars. They reverence Fire, as the refulgent symbol of God, but it is not correct to call them worshippers of Fire. The assertion, that they admit a Dualism of two independent and hostile Spiritual Powers, is a mistake. Their idea of the Evil Spirit is identical with the Hebrew idea of Satan. They believe in the Immortality of the Soul, a Life to come, and Rewards and Punishment hereafter. Their Moral System is: "Good words, good thoughts, good deeds: think nothing but the Truth, speak nothing but the Truth, and do nothing but what is proper."

They unquestionably came into contact with the Hebrews at the time of the Hebrew Captivity in Babylon. Cyrus the King must have recognized a resemblance of the Religious Conception of the Hebrews, to the Persian, and to this may be attributed his wonderful kindness. As far as can be judged from pre-Exilic writings, the Hebrews had no knowledge of a life beyond the Grave until after their return from the Captivity; and even in the time of our Lord it was an open question, for on this subject the Pharisees and Sadducees differed. The name of Satan appears only three times in pre-Exilic Books: hence it is inferred, that the Hebrews borrowed these two ideas from the Zoroastrians. It is noteworthy, that the Hebrews returned from Babylon uncompromising Monotheists: possibly contact with the Zoroastrians led to this change also, for when the Hebrews went into Captivity they had fallen very low in their Idolatrous tendencies (Ezekiel, viii).

However 2,400 years have passed since then, and this great Religious Conception has shrunk into this insignificant survival. As a rule there were no Proselytes sought for or received: it is stated, that this policy has been lately suggested. No halo surrounds this remnant: they are hopeless exiles from their ancient country, have abandoned the Languages of their forefathers and adopted an Indian Vernacular; they still preserve a peculiar headdress. They have given birth to no new Religious Conception. For what possible advantage to the Human race do they survive?

B. *Hebrew.*

The Hebrew is scattered in every Christian and Mahometan country, but rarely beyond. They have abandoned their ancestral

dress, and not only lost their own ancient Language, but speak twenty or thirty mutually unintelligible forms of speech ; still, they possess their Sacred Books in the original Hebrew and Aramaic. Among their number in this century are some of the most illustrious Scholars, and wealthiest Merchants. It is necessary to describe them in fuller detail :

- (1) Exordium.
- (2) Population, Country, Language, party divisions, absence of race, or Nationality ; the only link a Religious Conception.
- (3) Legal customs : circumcision, food. Ritual : absence of all Spirituality.
- (4) Sacred Books, modern Creed ; desire to return to Palestine, and recommence Sacrifice of Animals.
- (5) Assertion that all Virtue and Morals come from them, and that God only cares for them, while no exertions have ever been made by them to propagate their Religious views to their fellow-creatures.
- (6) Idolatry having ceased, their *raison d'être* has disappeared ; cruel treatment in the Middle Ages, entire Liberty now.
- (7) Conclusion.

The Hebrew Diasporá is but a drop in the Ocean, when the population of the World is considered, nor is it by many centuries the most ancient. As regards Human Science and Art, the Hebrews contributed nothing to the common stock of Human Knowledge : as regards Divine things, they contributed a Library of Books in two Languages, the Hebrew and the Aramaic, the earliest of which could not have been committed to writing in an obsolete form of the Phenician Script before 800 B.C., and the latest, the Wisdom of Sirach, about the Christian era. The Christian Religious Conception came into existence at the time of the destruction of the Hebrew Nationality, confessedly from Hebrew sources.

The Hebrew race has maintained its own Religious Conception to this day, but in a mutilated form, having lost its essential features and its local base.

Volumes have been written on this subject, but rarely, if ever, has it been treated impartially : partizans on both sides have embittered ; enthusiasts have obscured. I desire to accept facts, as admitted by both parties, and discuss philosophically the problem of the cause of the prolongation of a Conception and Ritual suitable to the Nineteenth century B.C. into so different and unsympathetic an Epoch as the Nineteenth century A.D., and the attempt to maintain Institutions, originally adapted to a semi-barbarous tribe of released slaves in a very low round of the ladder of Culture, by

a community transplanted far from their original homes and scattered in small companies in many and distant lands. Let us reflect on the gross ignorance of Solomon, or his exaggeration, when addressing God (II Chronicles, i, 9): "Now, O Lord God . . . Thou hast made me king over a people like the dust of the Earth in multitude." At the outside there could have been but four Millions, if so many: the area would not have supported more, and there was no Diasporà then.

Some write, as if the existing Hebrew population amounted to twelve Millions, but a more careful study reduces it to ten Millions, scattered in every country ruled by Christian or Mahometan Governments, China being the only exception. From the point of view of the Ethnologist the Hebrew has ceased to be a Nation, as the scattered fragments have become portions of at least twenty Nations; and it is doubtful, whether they are a "race" in the Endogamist sense, of which the Hindu is a specimen, where there is no admixture of foreign blood by marriage out of the particular Caste. From the time of the twelve sons of Jacob marrying alien wives down to the present date there has been a constant accretion of Gentile wives, Gentile slaves purchased, and incorporated, Proselytes of the Gate, and the absorption of smaller tribes like the Gibeonites and the Kenites, and the Idumeans, who were forcibly circumcised. So we are dealing, in fact, with the holders of a peculiar Religious Conception, and the believers in certain Sacred Books, and nothing more. "Abraham's seed" is thus by a figure of speech converted into a great multitude. We can scarcely for one moment suppose that the Jews of Abyssinia, India, and China, are descended after the flesh from Abraham.

And this great Diasporà is rent into divers sections, differing very considerably from each other, the rift being much greater than the one, which separates the Roman Catholic from the Protestant or Greek Churches. In no one case are they in enjoyment of political independence: they are as strangers in different countries, and speak totally different Languages. If the word race or tribe be applied to them, it is only as a phrase: their only real link is their historical Religious Belief.

The modern Hebrews are divided among themselves into categories:

- I. The Talmudist or Conservative, who differ little in kind, though in degree, from the Pharisee of the time of our Lord: they give tithe of anise and cumin, and have not the least perception of the nature of true Worship or true Religion, not for the Jews only, but for all Mankind. Among them are many holy individuals blameless according to the Law, and waiting, like old Simeon, for the consolation of Israel: clearly such persons, whether

German, English, or Russian, are anachronisms in the Nineteenth century.

- II. Next to them come the Chasídím, founded by a Rabbi in the Eighteenth century : they turn from the Talmud to the Kabála mysticism : they go in for asceticism, purity, holiness, rather than Knowledge : they feel that the Holy Spirit operates through certain chosen men of their number, Zađíkin, and who are in a humble sense mediators between God and His believing people. They make pilgrimages to visit such holy men, and seek their blessing : they interpret Scriptures, not according to the letter, but the Spirit : a vast mass of Literature has sprung up around them : as Swedenborgianism is to Christianity, so are their tenets to the ordinary Belief and Practice.
- III. Reformed, Advanced, Liberal. Moses Mendelssohn (b. 1729) was the founder. This division ranges from those, who only reject the Traditions of the Rabbi, to those who threw overboard the Old Testament, and are rationalists.
- IV. Those who are neither renegades nor agnostics, but are intellectually estranged from orthodoxy, and yet unassociated with any Reform movement within the fold : they are critics towards every School of thought presented to them, and yet stand outside those Schools.
- V. The nominal Hebrews, occupied with things of this world, with no sense of Religion in them.
- VI. The Karaite of the Krimea, few in number. They have never accepted the Talmud, and hold to Moses and the Prophets alone : their name means "written," because they keep to the written Law, and reject the oral Law of Tradition ; in fact, as regards Talmudic Judaism, they are Protestants.

There are signs of a movement ; the slumber of centuries has been disturbed. The young and educated Hebrews have become convinced, that they have outgrown the Rabbinical Laws of the last generation : they have a lofty ideal in striving to promote a Spiritual Life in a moribund Community : they wish to simplify their Ritual, and remove formal Prayers, no longer in consonance with modern ideas. It is in struggles of this kind, that passionate aspirations are generated, and new Epochs created. It is by such means, that Nature gives birth to new forms, and the Human Intellect develops new possibilities.

The modern Jew fondly believes, that the Law, as the mediating link between God and Man, fulfils something of the same office as the person of Christ in the various phases of Christianity : but is it so ? Is it possible, that ceremonial observances, particular meats,

washing of cups and platters, can hold the same influence over the mind of the Nineteenth century as they did in elder days? for the Person of Christ remains an everlasting ideal from generation to generation; yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

Deep-seated particularism, puerility of large portions of their Law, egotistic self-righteousness, unrighteous contempt, and heedlessness for the Souls of contemporary Millions, are the features of their Religious life. The very absence of all social persecution, their admission to all the privileges of Gentiles, must undo them. They feel, that their armour of defence or offence is not suited for the present form of battle; that it is a husk, of which the kernel is gone, the stock of a tree of which the branches have been cut off. Development is the very lifeblood of Religion: it is part of the great burgeoning, the great harvest, of the Soul and intellect of each generation. The Jewish Synagogue represents a glass receptacle for Gas, but the supply of Gas has been cut off, and there is no Light.

If a Religion feels, that its very existence depends upon its Morality, how can it tolerate the existence side by side of two such precepts, as

“Thou shalt not wear a garment of mixed stuff of divers sort,”
and
“Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.”

It is only now that the amazing *idealization* of the Law is breaking down, when it is forcing itself upon the minds capable of valuing historic Proof, that the Pentateuch must be weighed in the balance of actual *historic* worth, and, subjected to the scalpel of Criticism, robbed of its supernatural glamour, that the modern Hebrew feels the want of a dominant and consistent Doctrine, adequate and comprehensive, Soul-satisfying and rational, which can set forth in its entire compass the relation of the Individual to Society and to God.

It seems, as if it were impossible for the Hebrew to burst the bonds of Legalism and Particularism, and remain a Hebrew still. The great World has been revealed, and the great Nations have passed, and are passing over, the stage of Humanity; and it seems ridiculous for a petty tribe of a few Millions, a tribe broken up into fragments, on different levels of Civilization and speaking different Languages, to claim to be the special people of the Almighty. Such a claim may have been intelligible centuries before Christ, but is no longer so at this Epoch: the very fact, that it lays stress on the mutilation of the body of males, indicates how far behind it has been left in the Religious development of worshipping a God, who is a Spirit. How can a Religion, which does not put itself forward as Universal, and which does not make efforts

to propagate itself, hope to maintain its existence in an Epoch of progress, and World-embracing enlightenment?

Three attempts were made to reduce the oral Law to system and order in writing: the last succeeded. Rabbi Jehudah, 200 A.D., completed the work after immense exertion, but as soon as it was completed it was obsolete in many parts by the lapse of time, and change of environment. The Temple was gone; Rome had cut short the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin; Palestine and its Agrarian Laws had disappeared: however, the Code was kept, to be in use in the dim and remote period of the Restoration of Israel.

But, as stated above, the written Mishnah became the subject of development and discussion: new Traditions sprang up, new methods were invented, and the Gemára ensued in a twofold form, for the Jews were hopelessly scattered:

- (1) Redacted at Tiberias about 390 A.D., expressing the view of the Palestine Schools, and written in the Eastern Aramaic Language.
- (2) At Syra in Babylonia, 365-427 A.D., which was finally closed at the end of the Fifth century. This is written in the Language of Western Aramaic.

They have not come down to us perfect: the Babylonian Talmud (for so the two parts were called) is four times as large as the so-called Jerusalem Talmud. During the persecution of the Jews by the Persians, the Schools were closed for eighty years: all further development was stopped, and the Talmud, thus built up, obtained supreme authority.

The Mishnah is in as pure Hebrew as can be expected in those days: the people spoke a corrupt Aramaic, mixed with Greek and Latin loan-words: the Mishnah itself could not exclude such terms. The Gemára was in Aramaic, the Language of the common people.

The Talmud may be said to embody the Civil and Canonical Law; it comprises, in addition, Philosophy, Medicine, History, Jurisprudence, and practical duty; it is a supplement to the Pentateuch, and it took 1,000 years of Natural life to produce it, from the return from exile to the end of the Fifth century A.D. (Deutch.)

Let us think out the rite of Circumcision. Nothing can more fully illustrate the unfitness of the Hebrew Ritual and Religion for the present Epoch: it is indecent, unseemly, carnal, by the necessity of Nature restricted to one sex, a survival of the practices of savage races, such as caste-marks, mutilation of the body, extraction of teeth; it is even akin to castration. In the newspapers of the Jews we read of Circumcision by chloroform, and appointments to be made: let us think of the relations gathered together in some place of Worship, to attend the initiation of a child,

as in the time of Moses and Zipporah (Exodus, iv, 25); it is a bloody operation: in the case of an adult proselyte it can scarcely be conceived, that an inquirer would submit to it. The Hebrew Prophets in their time suggested a circumcision of the foreskin of the heart. We read of the ceremony taking place surrounded with ceremonial in Mahometan Courts; of the Sultan paying the expense of the circumcision of the son of one of his Ministers by way of compliment. In the Memoirs of Gordon of Khartúm, we read how he circumcised two boys: we can only trust that they were Heathen, and not Christian, boys. The rite of circumcision is practised by the lowest and most barbarous African tribes, and the naked statues of the early Egyptian Dynasties reveal unmistakably, that the men of those remote days were circumcised, but not as a Religious rite. Only imagine a new Religion being started, of which the symbol should be the cutting off of the thumb-nail, which at least would be decent, manifest to the outer world, and apply to both sexes, and the followers of this new craze being so infatuated as to use as a term of reproach the words, "uncut thumb-nail"! and yet we read that the Hebrews twitted the tribes in their neighbourhood as "uncircumcised," because they had not adopted this indecent and barbarous practice, and in many cases they forcibly imposed the rite upon tribes defeated in battle. (Josephus, Book xiii, cap. 9.)

The idea of atonement for sins by the slaughter of cattle, or birds, is a frightful anachronism, and practically among the Hebrews has ceased to exist. Centuries ago, their Prophets told them, that the sacrifice of God was a contrite heart, yet the Hebrew in his Synagogue still prays for the restoration of bloody Sacrifice: it was the common feature of all the elder Religions, but the wheels of the chariot of Civilization passed over it.

The idea of particular food comes next: why should particular classes of the Animal-Creation be called unclean, and unfit for Human consumption? in what way are swine, bred in European farms, more unclean than the sheep, or the ox? Is not this prejudice of the Hebrew against swine something analogous to the prejudice of the Gentile against the Hebrew? What right have we to call anything common or unclean?

I quote an extract from a Hebrew Periodical: "Do our Institutions show such an attachment? For weeks already, the unleavened cakes required for consumption on the approaching Easter, have already been in preparation, to supply the 70,000 Jews residing in London, and also those in the Provinces and in the Colonies. But it is from Holland or Germany, that those must get the Matzoth or Paschal cakes, who are anxious to have them done according to strict legal requirement. And yet the Matzoth-bakeries are under the supervision of the Chief Rabbi and his assessor. The shortcomings in the preparation of the

“ Matzoth are an open secret. The Chief Rabbi knows them, the
 “ assessor knows them, and every (oral) law-abiding Hebrew knows
 “ them. Do we not give the lie to the Memorial, where it says
 “ that we cling with all devotion to our ancient faith? or does it
 “ refer to our brethren in Russia, and not to us? The Gentile
 “ reader will have much difficulty in comprehending the point of
 “ the impeachment.”

The penalty for eating leavened bread is exclusion from the
 community of Israel: “ That Law has been universally accepted
 “ as divine, and necessarily so; for, if the Law of Moses is still
 “ binding, it cannot possibly provide for all the contingencies, that
 “ must arise in the course of centuries, and under conditions radi-
 “ cally different from those under which it was given. Any neglect,
 “ therefore, of its provisions, is an act of rebellion against the God
 “ of Israel; and if persevered in, must lead to the total refutation
 “ of Judaism, and that is what it is actually and rapidly coming to.”

When I visit, as a Magistrate, the prisons in the neighbourhood of
 London at Easter-time, I find long sticks of unleavened bread, sent
 in by some pious Hebrew for the food of his brethren, who are paying
 the penalty of their crimes, very often crafty, unrepenting, villains.

Then comes the Law with regard to slaughtering animals. No
 uneducated Hindu can be more ridiculous than a Hebrew, residing
 in London, and boasting of the spirituality of his Religious Belief.
 “ ‘ Shechita ’ is the method of slaughtering animals. The Law
 “ prohibits the eating of blood. Every precaution, therefore, has
 “ to be taken in the killing of Jewish meat to draw off the *maximum*
 “ of blood from the body. First, the animal’s hind-feet are bound
 “ together; then, by means of a pulley-arrangement the animal
 “ is ‘ cast ’ upon its back. The left fore-foot is now secured to
 “ prevent its rising from the ground, and in this recumbent position
 “ its throat is cut by a broad long knife, which has been previously
 “ sharpened to perfection. The trachea, jugular veins, and carotid
 “ arteries, are completely severed, so that the system is effectually
 “ drained of blood. A special training is required for those, who
 “ practise as slaughterers, a feature of which is to learn to sharpen
 “ the knife skilfully and detect the slightest notch on the blade.
 “ ‘ Shechita ’ has the further advantage of being most humane. It
 “ is practically painless. The severance of the windpipe by a
 “ faultlessly sharp instrument has the effect of depriving the animal
 “ of sensibility in somewhat less than a minute. The movements
 “ it continues to make for some time afterwards are purely reflex.
 “ Poleaxing, on the other hand, or strangulation, is a longer and
 “ less refined process, besides that its stunning effect is less certain
 “ in the case of a tough and vigorous animal.”

No Buddhist or Jain community can exceed the Hebrew in the
 precautions taken lest, that which entereth the man should defile
 the man: this indicates how low in the scale of Religious Beliefs
 the Hebrew has fallen.

“KOSHER-MEAT.—The Hebrews of Birmingham, not satisfied with the present ‘Kosher’ meat-supply, want to establish a co-operative association of their own. Every week between 5,000 and 6,000 lbs. of ‘Kosher’-meat are consumed in Birmingham, and about 300 head of ‘Kosher’-poultry. In order that the requirements of the Jewish faith in respect to the method of killing and the freedom from blemish of the animal may be faithfully observed, an officer, called Shochet, is appointed, whose duty it is to see to these matters. Before he is qualified for the office he has to undergo a severe examination, and the appointment carries with it a good salary. When he has placed his seal upon a joint, there can be no question that it is sound and wholesome meat. This circumstance explains why many Christians buy ‘Kosher’-meat. In a neighbouring town, about one-eighth the size of Birmingham, there are about a dozen Hebrews, but they are obliged to have their Shochet, who receives a salary of 25s. per week, and their regular ‘Kosher’ butcher. Sometime ago the congregation made a change in their butcher, and with the transfer of the Jewish custom went a not inconsiderable portion of the Gentile trade, showing the Christian appreciation of ‘Kosher’-meat. The 15th of this month is the New Year’s Day of the Hebrew calendar, and just prior to that occasion, as is the case at our festive season, there is a very brisk trade in the ‘Kosher’-poultry and meat-shops.”

Men of the ancient days were more than ready to refer extraordinary appearances, marvellous discoveries, sublime teaching, and writings on metal, clay, skins, or papyrus, to the direct intervention of the Deity. Gross ignorance prevailed, and everything was swallowed; but, when variations in the Text of the writings came into existence, each party tried to support their own Text by anathemas, and violence, and this delusion prevails to the present day. The orthodox Hebrew will pin his faith to one particular Text, and rejects all argument. In 1851, at Nablus, a Samaritan Rabbi produced a copy of the Torah on parchment for inspection, and assured Mr. Finn, the Consul at Jerusalem, and myself, that it was written by the pen of a son of Aaron: he had no difficulty in believing such a monstrous assertion.

I quote the following remarks, made by a speaker at an Islington Conference, 1892:—

“Scepticism, which is such a marked feature of our time, is making inroads upon the ancient faith: old Rabbinic customs are being discarded; the yearly festivals, the Tfillin and the Tsith, are no longer observed with the same scrupulous care. It has been proposed more than once to transfer the Sabbath-Worship to Sunday, that thus an additional day might be secured

“ for the pressing requirements of secular life. Recent criticism
 “ upon the Old Testament has made a deep impression. There is
 “ a prevalent drifting from the old landmarks. Many feel, that the
 “ Mosaic ritual is an impossibility, and that the hopes concerning
 “ the Messiah have proved a failure; and some are wildly asking,
 “ ‘ Have we any Future?’ Or does it not seem, as if it had served
 “ its purpose, and was no longer applicable to the requirements of
 “ modern life? Rationalism is eating its way into the very heart.
 “ But this disintegration must sooner or later be followed by recon-
 “ struction; for the Hebrew, with his history and traditional
 “ associations, cannot live without God, and so many are being led
 “ in their weary search for the God, whom their forefathers knew,
 “ to embrace Christianity, or some form of Unitarianism.

“ But it may be said, that these sceptical influences are only felt
 “ by a certain section. This is in part true, but it is also true, that
 “ even amongst the so-called orthodox there is a spirit of restless
 “ dissatisfaction. Many feel, that the hopes of the Old Testament
 “ have resulted in failure, and the drift towards Christianity is very
 “ marked. They imitate Christian methods, come to services and
 “ sermons in our churches, read the New Testament, and recognize
 “ the noble qualities in the life of Jesus of Nazareth; and when
 “ the revised translation of the New Testament appeared, they
 “ spoke of it in the highest terms as a book, of which the race
 “ might be justly proud. M. Debré, Rabbi of Neuilly, near Paris,
 “ writes in the *Jewish Quarterly*, that now newborn children are
 “ brought to the synagogue to receive the blessing of the Rabbi,
 “ just as Christian children are brought to Baptism. There is also
 “ a ceremony of initiation for boys and girls of twelve and thirteen
 “ years, at which the boys appear in black and the girls in white,
 “ very much like Confirmation, and for which they are carefully
 “ prepared by the Rabbi. The Rabbi is now summoned to the
 “ bedside of the sick and dying; the coffin is strewn with flowers
 “ as amongst Christians; the Hebrew prayers are replaced by others
 “ in the vernacular; the organ and choir have found a place in the
 “ synagogue; sermons are frequent; and an afternoon service is
 “ provided for the ladies; the Rabbi dresses very much as the
 “ ordinary clergyman.”

It is necessary to state what the Hebrew does believe.

Maimonides laid down the following thirteen articles as constituting the Creed:

1. The belief in the existence of a Creator.
2. „ „ His Unity.
3. „ „ His Incorporeality.
4. „ „ His eternity.
5. All Worship due to Him *alone*.

6. The belief in Prophecy.
7. „ „ that Moses was the greatest of all Prophets, both before and after Him.
8. „ „ that Torah was revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai.
9. „ „ in the Immutability of the revealed Torah.
10. „ „ that God knows the actions of men.
11. „ „ in Reward and Punishment.
12. „ „ in the coming of the Messiah.
13. „ „ in the Resurrection of the Dead.

(Schechter, "Studies in Judaism," p. 199.)

The *Messenger* describes thus what it is to be a Hebrew .

It is to be in sympathy with whatever is pure and ennobling.

It is to translate into life the golden texts of our sages.

It is to be faithful to the Hebrew ideals, which indicate the loftiest Humanity.

It is to hold fast to the essentials and to breathe into form and ceremony all the spirituality and beauty we can.

It is to lead a modest life, to avoid extravagance and exaggeration, to be prudent, economical, and thrifty.

It is to cultivate the home-virtues, to sanctify the dwelling by home-Worship, to promote kindness and charity.

It is to join in any movement for Human betterment, to avoid dissension and bitterness, to cherish the brightest ambitions, and do our utmost to swell the choir of Human adoration of the One Only God.

The Doctrines of the Resurrection of the Dead, a Judgment-Day, Rewards and Punishments, Life Everlasting, require separate notice. Had the Hebrew before the Captivity in Babylon any knowledge of these Doctrines? The argument of the Book of Job seems to indicate, that the idea was unknown to the writer of that Book. However, Moses, who is credited with a knowledge of all the wisdom of the Egyptians, must have known of that important feature of the Egyptian Religious Conception, and yet he is silent on the subject, and makes no use of this potent lever to secure the obedience of his hearers. Even to this day, the prospect, or threat, of Hell Fire hereafter, is the only argument, which tells on the drunken and profligate Christian. The Sheol of the Hebrew does not represent the idea. In I Samuel, xxviii, 19, we read that good and bad all go to the same place. Contact with the Zoroastrians at Babylon must have given the Hebrew the first idea: the Hebrew Diasporà at Alexandria must have heard of the Immortality of the Soul, as distinct from a Body reduced to ashes, in the writing of Plato, and it is obvious, that in the centuries preceding the great Anno Domini, the idea was current, though an open question: it

represents a great development of Hebrew thought since the time of Moses.

Claude Montefiore, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1892, writes on the effect of Biblical Criticism upon the Hebrew Religion :

“ Far more emphasis is laid on Hebrew rites than on Hebrew
 “ dogma: the practical execution of the written and oral Law is
 “ the essential characteristic: some are ready to give up all the
 “ dogma, if they may retain the rites and ceremonies, retain
 “ them, emptied of all Religious value, bereft of all Religious
 “ life. Theoretical heterodoxy is thus united with practical
 “ orthodoxy.”

Then, again, I quote the following :

“ There is one narrow dogma, which, because it is not touched
 “ by criticism or philosophy, it is open for the “ Unitarian ” to add
 “ to his total store. That dogma is the Mission of Israel, and that
 “ dogma we still retain. We do believe, that the Divine Ruler and
 “ Educator of mankind chose out the Nation of Israel for a peculiar
 “ religious task, and we do believe, that even now, when the Nation
 “ has been changed into a Community, that task is not concluded.
 “ Between Agnosticism upon the one hand, and Trinitarianism
 “ upon the other, the Hebrew steers a middle course. His Theism is
 “ opposed alike to a wonder-working superstition, and to a soulless
 “ Deism. Who can say that a historical faith of such a nature may
 “ not even exercise a certain influence for good by the very fact of
 “ its existence? And as it becomes more and more sensible of the
 “ unique position, which it might claim among the Religions of the
 “ civilized World, who can say that that silent influence may not
 “ gradually be exchanged for direct teaching and admonition? So
 “ believing, may we not still regard ourselves as Hebrew, though
 “ we disbelieve in miracles, deny the unity and Mosaic authorship of
 “ the Pentateuch, and *consequently* do certainly not observe ‘ the
 “ inherited law in *all* its details ’ ? ”

The idea of Restoration to Palestine, and of Sacrifice in a new Temple on Mount Moriah, is visionary, carnal, and unpractical. The Hebrew community of the Nineteenth century includes the enlightened statesman, the profound philosopher, the gifted Scholar, the eloquent Christianized ordained convert, as well as the degraded keeper of low inns and brothels, and the scavenger class in South Russia: they speak different Languages, are on different rounds of Human Culture, with no sentiments in common, but the repute of being descendants of Abraham nearly 4,000 years ago, which again is very doubtful, as an ethnological fact, and quite incapable of proof. Their numbers, even in the lowest quotation of seven

Millions, far exceed the limited resources of the petty Province of Palestine.

In the office of the Royal Geographical Society, I have had the area of the Promised Land, exclusive of the Dead Sea, and Sea of Galilee, scientifically measured, and the area amounts to twelve thousand square miles, slightly in excess of the area of Belgium: but there is this difference: the area of Belgium is nearly entirely culturable, that of the Promised Land is chiefly mountainous and unculturable, as I know by experience in two tours at long intervals, with all the experience of an Anglo-Indian Land-Revenue official. The population of Belgium is six Millions, and it has the largest population to the square mile in Europe. The Promised Land will hardly support a population of Four Millions.

Must a fresh slaughter of women and children and peaceful inhabitants accompany the second Hebrew Invasion? We have only to imagine the Maori trying to play this game on a small scale in New Zealand, or the Hindu on a large scale in India. They might proclaim, and with truth, that their ancestors possessed the land, and assert that the Creator gave it to them for "*an everlasting possession,*" and, as it is a matter of pure sentiment, if they were strong enough, it would be difficult to disprove.

It is time to take the Hebrew down from the pedestal, on which mediaeval ignorance has placed him, and to assure him, that he belongs to one of the ordinary races of mankind, by no means the first in the classification of Human greatness, and that he must behave as such.

In the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for January, 1893, appears an article by a Mr. Oswald John Simon on "Authority and Dogma." The Synagogues are constituted under a certain Act of Parliament, 1870, and the Chief Rabbi of the United Congregations of the British Empire lately inhibited a minister for the following reasons:

- (1) His objection "to offer prayer for the restoration of the sacrificial rite."
- (2) His published utterance contains matter, which is surmised to be at variance with tradition.

Mr. Simon's strictures apply to the first reason: he remarks, that belief in the restoration of sacrifices has never been held in the present generation to be an essential article of his creed. It has no place in the Thirteen Articles, which are found in the orthodox Prayer-book. The rite of sacrifice is one, which is characteristic of an age not only bygone, but necessarily incapable of living over again by reason of the ordinary law of cause and effect. The ancient rite of shedding the blood of cattle (shared with all the heathen world) was nothing but a means to an end, and essentially

of a temporary character. The Human mind is incapable of reverting in the long order of progress: if it were true, that a peculiar "ism" or system is stationary, Human character is not, nor is it possible to stop the growth and the change of ideal in the long march of countless generations: a social or religious practice, after having been obsolete for nearly two thousand years, cannot re-establish itself. Prayer has been substituted for slaying of cattle. Even if it were possible, that they were restored to Canaan, it is not conceivable, that their return would take place without the advantages of Science; there might be again a gorgeous temple, but it would be fitted with electric light. Ancient Judea would not be restored without railways and a printing-press; the culture of the age, and the environment, would accompany the returning Hebrew; there would necessarily be a library of literature of the World in Jerusalem, but there would be no butcher's *abattoir* for killing calves and lambs. This line of argument applies equally to the Sacerdotalism of modern Christianity. Religion can never mean stagnation, but development. The attempt to limit the progress of Religious thought is futile; to choke Religion by the practice of the Middle Ages or the early centuries of Christianity, seems analogous to praying for the restoration of Temple Sacrifice.

Dr. Herzl, in his Pamphlet on a Hebrew State, argues as follows: that the Hebrew cannot assimilate with other nations: so much the worse for the Hebrew, as well as the Gypsy; in that case he must retire into a corner.

"We are one People. We have honestly striven everywhere to merge ourselves in the social life of surrounding communities, and to preserve only the faith of our fathers. It has not been permitted to us. In vain are we loyal patriots, in some places our loyalty running to extremes; in vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow-citizens; in vain do we strive to increase the fame of our native land in Science and Art, or her wealth by trade and commerce. In countries, where we have lived for centuries, we are still cried down as strangers; and often by those, whose ancestors were not yet domiciled in the land, where Jews had already made experience of suffering. Yet, in spite of all, we are loyal subjects, loyal as the Huguenots, who were forced to emigrate. Oh that we could only be left in peace!"

He then asks for a portion of the Globe large enough for the requirements of his so-called Nation, which has ceased to be so for 1,800 years.

It goes without saying, that Hebrew emigrants have as much right to as large an area of other people's land as they can lay their hands on. Nothing prevents a Hebrew Company, under men such

as Barnáto, annexing another Ma-Shónaland, slaughtering the indigenous inhabitants, and founding a new Palestine by the same unscrupulous methods, which Joshua used at the time of the Exodus. What is insisted upon is, that this has nothing to do with Religion, or the benefit of the Human race, Present or Future. The Hebrew cannot at this Epoch be deemed to have a Mission to civilize alien races, and bring the souls of the Heathen to God, which is the only Mission worthy of notice. They might have done so in the centuries preceding the great Anno Domini: Jonah set them an example; their Prophets pointed out this Duty; they were ahead of the races of mankind at that period in their Conception of the Divine: it was possible to do so in Asia, as in 550 B.C. Buddha had preached a Universal Gospel of Altruism as opposed to Hebrew Egoism; and in the great Anno Domini a Light to lighten the Gentiles, and a Power to turn the World upside down, came unmistakably from one born of a Hebrew Mother in a city of the tribe of Benjamin. But they lost their opportunity: they forfeited the great title of the "Chosen People," and assumed the situation of the "Rejected People," as they had forfeited all claim to God's Promises, and come, in spite of knowledge, under all the penalties detailed in Deuteronomy upon disobedient children.

Even supposing, that by a marvellous stroke of Fortune, the French Nation were willing to surrender their claim to Syria, inclusive of the Holy Land, in the event of the much desired disappearance of the "Unspeakable Turk": is there in the Hebrew race a power to constitute an administration of the country? Imagine a Senate consisting of a Rothschild, Baron Herz, and some of the leading Hebrew politicians of each of the European Nations: add to these representatives of the great Hebrew Scholars, and men of Science, totally unversed in political affairs: add to these Hebrews from Houndsditch and from the back streets of Paris and Vienna, Karaites from the Krimea, keepers of brothels and gambling-houses, from South Russia, and the veriest scum of Poland. It is possible, that in the lowest ranks of this heterogeneous mass some one might assert, that he was of the lineage of David, and claim to be the King of this Restored Nation. A new Temple would have to be erected, and the Mosque of Omar destroyed, which would rouse the Mahometan World to fury. The Butcher's Shop of Sacrifice of Animals would have to be reopened, and pigeons and turtle-doves have their throats cut; while the male infants were having their bodies operated on under chloroform to prevent cries of anguish. It is of no use talking in a pious, romantic, sensational, goody-goody way of the restoration of the Hebrews to the Holy Land without remembering the possibility of all the incidents of extermination of the present Gentile inhabitants, with which it must be accompanied.

More than one author has attempted to elaborate a Philosophy

of Hebrew History, and no doubt there is ample room for reflection whether:

- (1) The Hebrew race were ever on a different platform from the rest of the races of mankind, as they even to this day pretend to be.
- (2) Whether they were intellectually, spiritually, worthy of the position, to which European Theologians have raised them. Asiatic Nations such as the Persian, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, would of course totally refuse to place them except in the lowest class of tribes.
- (3) Whether their entire failure in the time of the Judges, the Kings, and their Sacerdotal Rule, to fulfil the most elementary principles of the Law, which they vaunted themselves about, does not lead to the impression, that the so-called Hebrew Dispensation was an entire failure, and not from God, *for God's plans can never fail*. It was not only, that they went after false gods in spite of their Law, their Priests and Prophets, but they failed grossly in Moral Character from the time of Hosea to the Captivity, as evidenced in Jeremiah, v, 7, 8.

Is not Islam the true representative in modern days of the old Hebrew of the Palestinian period? the same proud self-righteousness, the formal repetition of prayers in an unknown Language, the genuflexions as of a drilled regiment, the denial of any need of a Mediator, as the poor sinful man so many times a day bandies words with his Creator with no consciousness of sin. The murderer, the robber, the adulterer, repeat the formal Prayer with the same complacency as the Godfearing, holy worshipper, whose daily thoughts, words, and acts, are offerings on the altar. Then comes the degraded rite of circumcision, and the tolerated Polygamy and Divorce. The Mahometan Faith stands so far a step higher than the Hebrew as it is universal, not confined to the so-called sons of Abraham, though the physical differences of the Sephardim and Ezkanázim show that a common ancestry is problematical. Both call their Sacred Books "Kalam Illah," the Word of God; both, when they have a chance, are frightfully intolerant, one in persecuting professors of other Faiths, the other in resisting any secession from its own; both are unworthy of the Nineteenth century in the essential feature of a Religious Conception, *Spirituality*.

It can be remarked in ordinary life that, if anyone clings to an idea whether of his own importance, or his talents, or his lineage, it at last assumes to him the aspect of Truth: so is it with the Hebrew race: it really was a most unimportant one, during the time that it existed as a Nation, and filled a ridiculously small part in Ancient History: yet they have managed to get up a kind of

glamour, composed partly of their discreditable Past, and partly of the prospect of a dim and remote Future, never likely to come, the nature of which is not spiritual, but grossly carnal and material, a return to the chief city of a petty little Province, which they entered 3,000 years ago by violence, and from which they were expelled by violence, as if the Worship of the Great Creator, or His precious Promises, or his Ubiquitous Presence in every part of His Great Creation, were localized in one petty Island, or one insignificant Region.

Israel, during the last two centuries, used to be in History a single mountain peak; all around was darkness; the mist has now cleared away, and we see a great range of Nations, and Israel assumes its proper insignificant proportion: it was a mere pawn in the great political game of Egypt and Assyria. It pleased the early Christian centuries to surround the Hebrew History with a halo: the contemporary Nations recognized no special merit; they knew the country and the people as a very common clay to tread upon.

We know, that it was very like every other Nation of its Epoch, and environment, like them in its lawful Worship and its Worship of strange deities, in its successes, in its unjustifiable attacks upon its neighbours, and in its defects: it had ordinary contact with other Nations, and ordinary commercial relations, and employed Tyrian idolaters of the grossest type to build the Temple: it joined in leagues and conspiracies against other tribes, and whatever it thought of itself, it was not thought of by its neighbours as a holy tribe. I quote the following from a Hebrew periodical in the United States: *The Peculiar People*, vol. vi, No. 3, p. 67:

“ Devout Jews protest against the audacity of Gentiles in their attempt to convert them, as in the field of Religion they were the Masters, the witnesses of God, and the World sat at their feet. Let benevolent people turn to the Heathen, if they want to have converts. For the Jew to renounce Monotheism, a belief in one sole God, and accept a Triune God, is a step backwards; it is the last surviving remnant of Paganism.”

Let us consider the Heavens and the Earth as a wonderful exhibition of Divine Wisdom, unchanged and unchangeable from the day of Creation; the return of Day and Night, the Revolution of the Seasons, the alternation of Life and Death, and the lessons, which they teach, and the gradual attainment of Knowledge by the children of Men. Can we suppose that the great Controller of the World would have condescended to teach one petty Semitic family, one unworthy tribe, amidst the Millions of His children, the details of ceremonial washing, and the mode of slaughtering beasts, while He failed to teach them, that the Sun did not revolve round the

Earth, and that their life in this World was as nothing compared to the Everlasting Life hereafter? If such petty Laws as the consulting of Ephods, the mutilation of the body, and empty ceremonial, were from the Lord, would they not have been universal to the Human race, and immutable, like the Laws, which regulate the rotation of the Globe? Does not the surface of that great Globe belong to Him? Can it be credited that he has a prejudice in favour of Banáras, or Mekka, or Jerusalem? Is not the History of Mankind one of stately Progress from Savagery to Barbarism, from Barbarism to Civilization, as Men advance from Childhood to the Adult Stage, and thence on to Fulness of Knowledge, and the reception of the greater Gifts of the most High?

The Hebrew of Palestine, as recorded in his own Sacred Books (for no other History alludes to him), was a hopeless creature, devoid of all idea of Philosophy, History, or Reason. According to him, like the Plymouth Brothers of modern days, he alone was to be saved: his Egotism appears at every page of his Annals: the Almighty cared for him *alone*: he was to judge and rule the World: he alone realized what God was, and what Morality was: all the rest of the world was unclean, ignorant, enemies of God, and *hated by God*. Some of the Protestants of the Middle Class at this day consign in the same way all, who do not look eye to eye, and thought to thought, with them on matters spiritual, to the uncovenanted mercies of Satan and Hell. But the Colony of Hebrews settled at Alexandria started a temple of their own at Leontopolis, and adopted the Greek Language and Customs. To their astonishment they found that Plato and Aristotle, by unassisted Reason, and that Holy Spirit, which comes from God to all pure and devout natures, had arrived at very much the same platform of thought as the Hebrew, but with an infinitely wider horizon, and supported their views by Λόγος, "Reason," mistranslated "Word," for Word is only the vehicle of Reason. Philo caught up the echo of Plato's sayings, and thence it found its way to the Gospel of John.

Nothing more marks the progress of the Human Intellect, and the expansion of Divine Government, than the Hebrew and Christian Dispensation, regarded solely from the Human standpoint. Nineteen centuries before Anno Domini Abraham left Ur in the Chaldees, and founded the Nation. Nineteen centuries after Anno Domini is the standpoint, from which we of this generation regard it.

The Christian Dispensation is *Universal* as regards mankind, and yet *Individual* as regards each Soul: it has no limitation of race, Language, Country, Time, Stage of Culture; it has no Temple, no divinely appointed Ritual, no National Feast-Days, Fast-Days, no fetters of the free Soul except those inspired by the acknowledgment of a common Father, a Universal Saviour, and an abiding Holy Spirit. The desire of the Christian is to convey what he deems the greatest of earthly treasures to others: nothing is to

him common and unclean: the slaughter of Beasts and Birds has no relation to his views of Religion; the cleaning of pots and pans, the incidents of dress and personal cleanliness, are nothing. Moreover, his views of things spiritual develop as Time goes on, and embrace Humanity in its fulness, Past, Present, and Future. It allows of difference in interpretation, and in practice: it looks forward to no future Dispensation, but to a Resurrection, a Day of Judgment, and Everlasting Life beyond the Grave.

The Hebrew system is narrow, and never extended beyond a few Millions: the whole World with its Millions might perish for all that the Hebrew cared: they were common and unclean. The uneducated Hebrew was, in the eyes of the Priest, *accursed*. Their hopes were limited to a miserable little Province, about the size of two Districts of British India, a tiny town, and a Temple infinitesimally small in area compared with the Temples of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India. They cling hopelessly through long dreary centuries to a dead Language, an obsolete Ritual, a ruined Temple: their prayer is to be restored to a small country only able to support four Millions, while they count to nine Millions, the restoration of the anachronism of the sacrifice of Beasts, and a temporal Kingdom.

A remarkable paper by Claude Montefiore on the Misconceptions of Judaism and Christianity by each other appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, of January, 1896. Serious philosophical thinkers are, of course, free from the prejudices of either party in favour of their own intrinsic excellence, and against the obvious shortcomings of the other party, but the writer does not dwell sufficiently on two points.

I. The Hebrew Dispensation was for one petty tribe only, amidst the Millions of God's poor creatures: that tribe was in a very low state of Culture, in an early period of the Education of the World: the tribe had been for more than one century in the house of bondage: it knew nothing of the great Universe, or of the outer World of the Human race. The leader of the movement promulgated, as from God, a code of Laws, conspicuous among which were:

“Thou shalt not commit murder,”

“Thou shalt not steal,”

and yet held out to his followers as their great and everlasting reward possession of a land, which was to be purchased by wholesale slaughter of the unoffending occupants, very much as Ma-Tabéle-land is occupied in this century by the Land Pirates of British Commercial Companies. Their Worship was Ritual in its grossest form, and was restricted to themselves.

II. The Christian Dispensation arrived at a period of great enlightenment of the Regions of West Asia, and the Basin of the Mediterranean: Greek Philosophy and Roman Rule had made their

mark: the new Conception was literally to be worldwide: the reward was to be in the next World.

The writer of the above-mentioned paper remarks that: (A) to the Hebrew belonged the following Conceptions: (1) God, His Love and Justice; (2) Morality not Ritual, but Conduct; (3) a desire to repress social wrongs, and develop social rights; (4) the ideal of Social Life; (5) simplicity of Doctrine; (6) Religion in every-day life. (B) To the Christian belonged: (1) the idea of the blessing of adversity; (2) the idea of Self-Sacrifice; (3) the duty to love and do good to one's enemies; (4) the idea of the Fatherhood of God; (5) freedom from ties of race; (6) subordination of Ritual to Conduct.

It is not correct to suppose, that with the History of the Hebrews commences the History of Mankind, for it is only part of the History of the elder world, and an unimportant part, when the great chart of History is unfolded. The Hebrews allowed themselves to use gross exaggeration, arising no doubt from ignorance: they talk of their Prophets as being "since the World began." But the actors on the Hebrew stage comported themselves very much as men of like passions as ourselves in a different stage of Culture: they were not prophets pulled by a string; if that had been the case, they would not have been examples for our learning.

Schopenhauer, Part I, p. 137, remarks, that the Religion of the Hebrews was the rudest of all Religions, as it had no trace of the Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul. Bishop Warburton argues, that Moses designedly kept all reference to Life after Death in the background, that he might wean the minds of the Jews from the worship of the dead, of which they had seen so much in Egypt. Such a motive would have been a low one, and a suppression of Truth, *if he believed it to be true*. Can we suppose that if sent from God he was ignorant of this fundamental Truth, at which Zoroaster, and the Hindu Sages, had long before arrived? We know that up to the Christian era it was an open question, and the Sadducees did not believe in it.

The tendency of the Hebrew character was not so much to Idolatry, as to the entertainment of low ideas about the true God. It may have suited the Hebrews to talk about the God of Israel, as a private property, or the God of gods, as if the very existence of others than the great one God was conceivable, but we must realize, that there was a divine purpose in the existence of the Gentiles in contiguity to the Hebrews. Clement of Alexandria admits that there was a dispensation of Paganism. Bishop Westcott draws attention to Deuteronomy, iv, 19: "And lest thou lift
" up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the
" moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldest be
" driven to worship them, and serve them, which the Lord thy God
" hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven." Centuries

later, Paul, though a Hebrew, remarks that God did not leave Himself without a witness. It is inconceivable arrogance for the Hebrew, then, to suppose that the World was created for him, and rank folly now to imagine, that he is the heir of any peculiar privileges.

What right had Dr. Graetz to assert, that to the Hebrew race the great round World, with its fourteen hundred Millions of inhabitants, was indebted for the very conceptions of Virtue and Honour? Had he ever read Plato, or the Greek Tragedians, or Juvenal, or Seneca, or Marcus Aurelius, or Epictétus, or Zoroaster, Confucius, Buddha, and the Hindu Sages? What can exceed the line of Juvenal:

“ Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallecere culpâ ”?

for, after all, Conscience is the ground-root of Virtue; or the lines of the Hindu Sages:

“ Ahinsam paramam dharmam ”

(“ The greatest Religion is not to injure anyone ”)?

Had he ever read the “ Noble Way ” of Buddha, which consists of Altruism, or the law of Purity in those famous Sanskrit lines:

“ In youth regard every woman as your mother, in middle life as your sister, in old age as your daughter ”?

Did David or Solomon do so? Did the Hebrew race in their very best period conform to these elementary Laws? Their entrance into Palestine was by Murder and Robbery: their practice was Intolerance and Lust (Jeremiah, v, 8). The crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and the stoning of Stephen, were merely a continuance of their treatment of their own Prophets. Is the old Hebrew Religion in its present attenuated and maimed form still a Missionary Religion in itself, independent of its political surroundings in a free country like Great Britain? Does it embody such Spiritual Truths, absolute Truths, and such ethical Conceptions, as are adapted to the needs of the whole Human race?

Mr. Simon, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1893, p. 664, writes

“ He would put aside all the distinctive rites of the Hebrew, “ such as circumcision, Sabbath-day, unleavened bread, etc.: they “ may be important to the family of the Hebrews, but there are but “ two things of universal application, (1) Almsgiving, (2) Worship “ of God. Those, who lay stress upon ordinances as divinely “ ordered, do not believe them to have been enjoined to any but “ the people of Israel. The Synagogue is restricted practically to “ the Hebrew. A new place of universal Worship should be opened “ out, and in it should be set forth in what has consisted the con- “ ception of God, of Worship, of Moral Responsibility, which has

“ sustained the Hebrew for two thousand years during deep affliction. Experience is something: no people can speak of God, of Faith, of Prayer, with greater authority and deeper knowledge than the people of Israel. The time is ripe for a definite Theistic movement. The Hebrew represents the Necessity, and Efficacy, of a Life with God. There is no barrier in prayer betwixt an individual Human conscience and our Father. There is an unspeakable love on the part of the infinite Creator to His poor creatures. The new movement should be neither connected with Hebrew Ritual, nor be identical with Unitarianism. Those, who believe strongly, naturally wish to extend their conviction to others. Belief and Conversion logically involve the thought of a Mission.”

The great reformer Mendelssohn lays great stress on the fact, that Judaism is for the *Jews*, and for no other Nation. “The Religion of my fathers *does not wish* to be extended. We are *not* to send Missions.” “Our rabbis enjoin us to persuade, by forcible remonstrances, everyone who comes forward to be converted.” “Whoever is not born conformable to our Laws, has no occasion to live according to them,” he writes; and in his “Jerusalem” he presses over and over again the same idea. In point of fact, his theory seems to be, to use his own words, “that manifoldness (in Religion as in everything else) is the design and end of Providence”; and he even goes so far as to say (in reply to Laváter) “that the remote people of the Indies and Greenland are in our Religious estimation an *enviable* race.”

If the Religion of the Hebrew were not meant to be extended, in what way could Israel be a benefit to the World?

One of the evidences of the vitality of a Religious Conception, is the desire to propagate it by lawful means. If the Hebrew believes, that his Religious Conception is in the right, if he admits the great principle, first introduced by Buddha into Human Morality (550 B.C.), of “Altruism,” why does he not out of his great wealth organize Missions to preach to the poor Gentiles these good tidings? Has he ever done so? is not the gross right of circumcision quite sufficient to stop any attempt at spiritual conversion? Here and there I read of a poor woman being converted: can an educated man, whether Christian or Pagan, be produced, who after studying the Scriptures has accepted the Hebrew Conception, and submitted to a mutilation of his body? No doubt in the Middle Ages there was one great tribe, the Khazar, who accepted it, 740 A.D.; and a Law was passed in Russia making conversion to Judaism a penal offence, which implies that converts were made, and forbidding them to circumcise forcibly their Christian Slaves under pain of death. This Law was passed A.D. 815. When we speak harshly of forcible conversions to Islam, we must recollect these facts: and from the position, which the Hebrew pretends to

occupy, he would do the same again, if he found himself strong enough to do so with impunity. ("Israel," *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th edition, vol. xiii, p. 430.)

Philo of Alexandria is credited to have held a great desire to win converts to his Religion: perhaps he was unconsciously more Hellenized than he would have liked to admit.

Now, if the Hebrew believes the Old Testament, he ought to do something to propagate the precious Truths of those Scriptures: if they are indeed the depository of God's promises, and to the Gentiles as well as the Hebrews, how can he justify his silence? Either the Hebrew race, in his opinion, was chosen as the representative of a true Religious Conception, or it was not.

In a late number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Mr. Simon, a most distinguished member of the Liberal Hebrews, boldly proposes to inaugurate a Mission-policy on the part of the Hebrews to the Gentiles of London. The subject is too long to treat of here, but it seems, as if the Hebrews ought to have thought of this duty earlier in their career, and the opportunity seems to be past now: however, the experiment would be welcomed.

Intermarriage between Christian and Jew is not uncommon: some very notable cases have occurred. Hebrew writers assert that a change of Religion on the part of a Gentile universally follows marriage with a Hebrew: we can understand, that a person totally indifferent to things spiritual, merely a nominal believer, might change his or her nominal Religion without difficulty; but it is difficult to follow out the process, by which a thoughtful man or woman of ordinary Religious training, having married a Hebrew, can be persuaded to change his Religion, and adopt Liberal Judaism. The New Testament must be given up: Theism and Unitarianism must be avoided, though really they resemble Liberal Judaism very closely, the historical antiquity of the latter being the only difference: Jesus, no longer Christ, must take His place as the noblest teacher, that the world ever knew, but nothing more: feasts and fasts will have to be kept, and prayers studied in the dead Language of Hebrew. When the question of Belief is considered, it is difficult to define accurately, what the Liberal Hebrew does believe, for he must feel, that the so-called Mosaic Dispensation, so far as he is concerned, has been played out, and has failed absolutely: the promises of the Prophets have not been realized, and in his Scriptures the Hebrew finds no sure and certain prospect of a future Life: it is difficult to say on what he rests for support in discharge of his duties in this World, and what hope of reward in the next. The *Jewish Quarterly Review* informs the public, that young women accept Judaism on the occasion of marriage: no one can take a serious view of a spiritual conversion as the accompaniment of matrimony. I make the following extract from a Periodical:

“ **CONVERTS TO JUDAISM.**—An announcement has just been published to the effect, that the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities, the Beth Din, will in future permit the induction of Christians, and others, in the Jewish faith. It is among the things not generally known, that from the admission of the Jews into England during the Commonwealth to the present time not one Gentile of either sex has been received into the Anglo-Jewish community by English rabbis or Jewish ministers resident in this country. Englishmen have, of course, embraced Hebrew doctrines from time to time; but conversion does not necessarily mean submission to rites. Every year, however, a considerable number of Christian women have gone over to Holland, Belgium, and France, and have there renounced Christianity in favour of the more ancient faith, the rabbis in these countries being under no obligation to refuse to induct proselytes. These converts are generally young women, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred they change for matrimonial reasons. Not many care to marry out of their pale at all, and when they do they naturally wish their wives to be formally received. The reason why the spiritual chiefs of the community have declined up till now to receive proselytes can be traced to the time of the Commonwealth, when it was imagined by the ignorant and the bigoted, that the Hebrew sought admission to this country in order to gain adherents to their Religion. To banish this delusion the rabbis of the time engaged themselves, under heavy penalties, to refuse admission to the synagogue of any Christian. And this rule, enacted by Israelites for Israelites, has remained in force from the time of Menasseh Ben Israel to that of the Rev. Dr. Adler. That the Hebrew in our own day do not wish to begin the business of conversion, we may be well assured. The truth is, that some of the most influential members of the Hebrew community have during the last three or four years taken unto themselves Christian wives; some noble Jewesses have made themselves happy with Gentile husbands; and it happens, that Hebrews rarely maintain the rites and obligations of their faith after they have married out of it. The readiness of Dr. Adler and his coadjutors, therefore, to save intending proselytes the expense and trouble of a journey to Holland or Belgium, may be traced to mixed marriages.”

And when attempts are made to bring to their notice the tenets of another Religion, not by force, not by temptation of worldly profit, but simply from motives of unselfish benevolence, and in the way of friendly argument, the Hebrew draws up, and is offended, and assumes the airs of a rich man, to whom a penny by way of Charity is offered.

In a lecture in the Temple Israel, apropos of the movement to convert Hebrews, Dr. Harris remarked :

“ To send Missionaries to convert us, is an insult to our faith and
 “ to us. We are not barbarians; we are not besotted revellers;
 “ we know what Duty is, none better. Come to us to learn
 “ Religion, if you will, but not to teach it. In the field of
 “ Religion we are the masters, ‘the witnesses of God,’ and the
 “ World has sat at our feet.

“ I say, that Christians insult us more, when they patronize us,
 “ than when they persecute us. Let them kill us, if they will,
 “ as they are doing in Russia, but let them not send their
 “ Missionaries to save us. I say that we are being perpetually
 “ humiliated, and more by our would-be friends than by our
 “ open foes.

“ I hold that to disturb a man’s faith is about the most awful
 “ thing that man can do. To tell him that his soul is lost, cursed
 “ of God, because he believes in the faith of his fathers, I would
 “ shrink from it.

“ What have they to offer for this? What do they know that
 “ we do not? Our people are temperate. Drunkards are not as
 “ numerous as among Christians. The sanctity of the home is
 “ maintained. The Jews love home; they are a thriving people;
 “ they have the energy to make valuable citizens. Will the
 “ Missionaries be able to make them any better? Compare two
 “ congregations, one of Jews and one of Christians, in sobriety,
 “ industry, and morality.

“ We must insist, that our Christian neighbours treat us with
 “ equality. We must insist, that they cease to treat us, as if we
 “ were African barbarians. We must insist, that they treat us
 “ as their fellow-citizens. We ask simply, that they treat us with
 “ such dignity, as we are entitled to.

“ It is hard enough to be blackballed at the clubs, but then
 “ to be defended in the Christian pulpit on the following Sunday,
 “ and to be informed, that we are quite respectable people, that is
 “ intolerable. Some of us, unfortunately, have not sufficient self-
 “ respect, and feel flattered, when we ought to feel indignant.

“ Therefore to our friends, as to our enemies, I say, ‘Let us
 “ alone.’ Let us train our children to understand that, wherever
 “ they may go, their presence confers honour quite as decidedly as
 “ it receives it. To those amiable but narrow partisans, who,
 “ anxious about our souls, contribute liberally toward Jewish
 “ Missionaries, let me say: ‘Devote your zeal and your purses
 “ to more worthy and less thankless causes.’ For the Jew to
 “ renounce Monotheism, a belief in one sole God, and to accept
 “ a belief in a Triune God, is a step backward. Even progressive
 “ Christianity, in its latest and highest development, Unitarianism,
 “ has gradually dropped this last remnant of Paganism.”

The African Barbarian has a common ground with the Hebrew,

which Dr. Harris omits to notice. Both mutilate their bodies under the idea, that it is an index of the relation of their Soul to their great Creator. But is the discoverer of a mine of gold to be blamed, if he publishes the good news, and invites the whole World to share the benefit of his discovery? The Hebrew is not compelled by the Arm of the Flesh to change his time-honoured Conceptions: all that is done is, to lay before his educated Intellect, and his awakened Spirituality, a new way of seeking for God, if haply He can be found; and, if the Hebrew undertakes in the same spirit to publish the tenets of his ancient Faith, and to expound the merits of his practices, e.g., Sacrifice of Animals, Restriction of the Mercies of the common God to one petty race, Prayers in an unknown Language, Mutilation of the male body, Slaughter of cattle in a manner, which causes unnecessary pain to the poor animals for a reason, which it is ridiculous to state, eating unleavened bread, etc., his arguments will receive respectful attention, and perhaps, as often happens to the Christian Missionary, while expounding his doctrines to others, he will more fully realize the nature of the doctrines and practices of the Elder World, which he is expounding, and ask himself: "Are these things true? Is it possible, that our eyes are blinded, and that we do not see the presence of God everywhere during all the ages, and the progress of the capacity of the Soul of Man to understand Him."

It would appear, that the very *raison d'être*, and prime motive, of the Hebrew Dispensation has passed away: no one can doubt, that its first and great object was to enforce the principle of Monotheism, and denounce the Worship under any pretence of graven Images, with which the Hebrews became so familiar in Egypt. No one can say, that at the present Epoch Polytheism, and Idolatry, are the prevailing spiritual evils. The great majority of mankind, thanks to Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Confucianism, have outgrown this weakness, which survives in the Brahmanical Conception, and was notorious in the old Semitic Religious Conceptions, the Graeco-Roman, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian, Conceptions and Cults. The Human race is now not in danger of serving many gods, but in denying the existence of any God.

But such is the weakness of the Human race, that germs of this old primeval error crop up, notably in the Greek and Roman forms of Christianity, in Buddhism and Confucianism, and, strange to say, in the Hebrew Dispensation. The cultus of the Temple in the Post-Exilic Period became to the Hebrew a kind of Worship, *an end in itself*: the idea obtained, that a perpetual maintenance of Temple-Worship would secure the favour of a satisfied Deity: it was performed as much for God's glory, as for the spiritual benefit of the sinful worshipper. The Temple became a perpetual Divine Manifestation, a place, where the Deity actually resided, and in

its utter destruction we read the lesson, that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands. The destruction of the Hebrews as a Nation showed, that their Mission had been performed.

Other Religious Conceptions have no Geographical limits assigned to them, notably the Buddhist, Christian, and Mahometan: they are universal in place and race. The great Brahmanical Conception is absolutely localized in India, and limited to the inhabitants of that vast Region. A thoughtful Hindu remarked to me with an expression of satisfaction, worthy of a Hebrew, that he could become a Christian, whenever he liked, but that no earthly power could enable me to become a Hindu. I had to be thankful for small mercies, and was grateful for this disability. At any rate, the Hindu-Sthan, and Arya-Dés, or "place of the Hindu," is still occupied by them in 200 Millions, but the very *raison d'être* of the Hebrew has disappeared for eighteen centuries: one of their promises was not Everlasting Life, but "that their days might be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee." Their great Lawgiver never saw the Promised Land except by a far-off view from Mount Pisgah. Over and over again they were warned, that their tenure of the Land was dependent on their maintenance of Monotheism, and the sole Worship of Jehovah; and yet they went whoring after other gods, the miserable abomination of neighbouring tribes. It is clear, therefore, that, when their day of reckoning came, they lost their Land, and their Dispensation, as far as Human eyes can see, has come to an end.

How different would have been their effect and influence on the Graeco-Roman World in the dawn of its greatness, if within the Holy Land there had been a Holy People, strictly adhering to their Holy Law, not the letter only, the anise and cumin, but to the Spirit, Purity of Soul, Obedience to the Law, and a Desire by Human Love to extend this Blessing to their fellow-men. The Hebrew had a distinct Mission then, both in Palestine and Egypt, and Babylon, and in every place, where Moses was read on the Sabbath. A blindness came upon Israel. Had the new Dispensation been made by a Greek, or a Roman, or an Egyptian, they might have resisted it from mere Chauvinism, but it came from a Hebrew of the line of David, with the Hebrew Scriptures on His lips: and they refused to hear Him.

The Hebrew race has been hardly dealt with by everyone, with whom they came into contact since the time that Jacob went down into Egypt. They were led to believe, that they were somehow or other the chosen people of the Creator of the Universe, though they knew Him only as the God of their own Nation, and quite admitted the (to our notions) inconceivable idea of there being gods of other Nations: Psalm xcv, 3, places this beyond doubt: "For the Lord is a great God, *and a great king above all gods.*" In any other Nation of antiquity, and in Christian parlance, He would

have been called, and is called, the God: but to call him "the king above other gods," who never existed, means nothing: Zeus might have been called so, but Yahveh never.

I have dwelt upon the insignificance of the kingdom of David. All the stories of Solomon's wisdom and wealth are mere exaggerations: his wealth is far exceeded by that of Rothschild; as to his wisdom, it is exceeded by Spinoza, and a row of learned Israelites of modern days. The Hebrew Nation achieved greatness in nothing. India, China, Japan, Persia, Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, looked on them with scorn; some of them had never heard of their name. In those days they could not cope with the Greeks in Philosophy, or with the Romans in organization, or even Morals. Mordecai sold his niece to be a member of a king's Harem: Virginius preferred to slay his daughter to save her from a life of shame.

With all this they were habitually false to their God Yahveh. Jeremiah v places this beyond doubt: they were fearfully immoral, exceptionally cruel, terribly unfaithful, going after the so-called gods of neighbouring tribes: one king went one way, his son another: they were intolerant to a degree, and yet always expected toleration for themselves. They were swept into exile; a few, a very few, counting by hundreds, came back, having lost their Language, and their independence, whatever they understood by Prophets, had ceased: a volume of written Law had been got together, to which they gave a servile obedience, to the letter, not the spirit. They were transferred from the rule of the Persian Monotheists to the Greek Polytheists, and from them to the Roman Polytheists. They insisted on the interpretation of Ancient Prophecies, that a temporal Redeemer would come, but twenty-five centuries have passed away, and a temporal Redeemer has not come: they fondly anticipated a restoration of the petty kingdom of their Shepherd-King David in his little town of Jerusalem, as if it had been an ancient Monarchy and a vast city, which had ruled other Nations for centuries, like the great Dynasties in Egypt or Mesopotamia.

The migration of the Hebrews from Egypt has its parallel in the great migration of the Mongols from the country round the mouth of the Volga into Central Asia, or the migration of the Mormonites into the Salt Lake Region. Centuries later the return of the Hebrews from Babylon was an epoch-making event in the History of the World, and its outcome was advantageous to the whole Human race. It was not only a solemn event in the History of the Hebrews, but the solution of a question of Life and Death to future generations. Had a portion of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin not returned from captivity, their fate would have in the course of time been that of their brethren of the Ten Tribes: they would have disappeared in the quagmire of conquered Nations; their individuality would have faded away: Christianity would never have come into existence, as the Hebrew Books would have disappeared;

and later centuries would have known nothing of those strange Hebrew legends, which have charmed and consoled so many generations of men. The little caravan, which crossed the Desert 535 B.C. from Babylon to Jerusalem, carried with it the Future of the Religions of the World, and laid the foundation of the greatest Spiritual Conception of the Human race.

It must be an additional aggravation to the Hebrew to hear, how the Precious Promises made to his race to Israel by name, are appropriated through a poetic license and a daring figuration, by Christian Gentiles. It has been well said, that the Prophecies, Promises, and Prayers, of the Old Testament teach us, that the fundamental purpose of the Election and Preservation of Israel was, that it should become a channel and instrument of blessing to the entire World; but the Preacher should discontinue the practice of spiritualizing all Promises to Israel, and appropriating them to Christians, while literalizing all threatenings, and applying them to Israel alone. If Israel be indeed a type of God's dealings with the whole World, it is so both for Punishment as well as Blessing. Israel's place to the reflecting and thinking World is not what the Hebrew himself presumed to think in the time of the Kingdom, nor what our forefathers in their ignorance were taught to believe. The present generation knows, that all mankind since the day of the Creation of Man are God's children, made in His Image, and God has loved them all, and hated nothing that He has made. If He chose the Hebrew out of the rest of His poor children (passing by the learned Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians, and Chinese, who even then were great, and powerful, and learned) to be the custodians of His Oracles, and the channel of His Grace to the World, as through one of their race the great Incarnation was to take place, their faithless, rebellious, and idolatrous, conduct before the Exile, and their unspiritual ritualistic Worship after the Exile, show how little worthy they were of the high honour conferred upon them. When they are weighed in the balance with the great Nations, who were their contemporaries, they are found to have left no contribution to the sum-total of Human Knowledge, and only a darkened view of Divine Knowledge.

At the time of our Lord the number of Hebrews and Proselytes, dwelling outside the limits of Judea, far exceeded the number of those, who had access to the Temple Sacrifice, or went up to the Annual Feasts. If any of the Diasporà went up to Jerusalem, it was as great an effort in their time as a Pilgrimage to Mekka is to a Mahometan dwelling in India. It follows, that to the majority of the Diasporà the rite of Sacrifice had practically ceased: many passed through life, even in the days of Paul, without ever making a Sacrifice: the Synagogue-Ritual and Prayers had, by the slow process of events, replaced the Temple-slaying of Beasts, and, when the Temple was destroyed, it made no difference to the Worship of the Diasporà.

Spinoza remarks, that the Jews maintained their independent social position not only in spite of, but in consequence of, the persecution, which they most unjustly met at the hands of Christian Gentiles: what possible connection could the millions of the Diasporà in every city of the Roman Empire have with the Crucifixion at Jerusalem? Yet it was the hatred, which arose falsely from this event, which preserved their individuality: they never disappeared and melted away like the Ten Tribes in Mesopotamia. It is possible, that their present so-called emancipation, and the levelling hand of Civilization and National Culture, may lead to their absorption, when the process extends beyond the Political to the Social sphere. We have an indication of this in what we see around us in the higher classes of Hebrews in Europe. In 1500 A.D., when Reuchlin, the first European Hebrew Scholar, wished to lecture on that Language at Heidelberg, the Priests of Rome objected on the ground, that the Hebrews were an accursed people, who had crucified the Lord, and anyone, who made use of their Language, was a heretic: when they were reminded that the Old Testament was in Hebrew, they retorted that the Latin Vulgate was the only Bible of the Church. Things are changed now.

Conclusion.

Our plain duty is to do our best to bring the simple doctrine of Christ Crucified, and Christ Risen, to the hearts of the survivors of His race: this is not the place to describe this policy, but merely to state it: it is no new idea, but as old as the time of Paul of Tarsus. *But there our Duty ends.* We are not in the least called upon to admit any superiority in Grace and Election of the Jew to the Gentile: the two terms in this special significance have ceased to exist. And really, the obsolete customs, and insignificant History, of this petty tribe should no longer be introduced into the serious discussion of the most important problems of Human Life. The Sacred Books of the Hebrew were written by individuals, and for a people, in a state of Barbarism, without Science, or Arts, Commerce with Foreign Nations, or any knowledge of the History, Geography, or even existence, of the outer World: there were none of the checks on the writer of a public Press, or an educated critical class: there was most conventional phraseology, grossness of expression, and wild utterance. We accept those Books gratefully; they have a charm of their own. We love the utterances of the Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, writers for the same reason: we seem to hold converse with the great and wise men of old, and bow our heads to them across the abyss of centuries. But all that the Hebrews wrote is totally out of the environment of modern argument, and has no practical relation to the stream of modern life: it is mere pulpit-euphemism, or rhetorical

flourish, and should be abandoned, when the discussion is serious, on the relation of God to the Souls of His poor creatures, the whole Human race, as I wish this discussion to be.

It has never been given to any other Nation but the Hebrew to express openly and unreservedly, during a long series of years, their conviction in the coming in some dim and remote period of a great Personage of their own race and Nation, who would restore their fallen fortunes; and in the fulness of time that Personage arrived. No other Literature presents so striking a phenomenon. No prophecy foretold the coming of Buddha, or Socrates, the only names, which can be mentioned in the same breath with Jesus of Nazareth. The most superficial reader of the Old Testament cannot fail to mark the golden thread, which entwines itself throughout the texture of ancient Hebrew Literature. The Hebrew thinks, that the promised Messiah has not yet come: Nineteen centuries is a long time to wait, especially as the Country, the Nationality, the Language, the local customs, have all passed away. Can we doubt, that through all the pages of these Ancient Books from the time of Abraham, there is a finger pointing to the time of appearance of some one? The indication is indeed not clear, and the truth is concealed by fanciful interpretations. Since a certain date, a date, from which all Modern History counts, there has been a deep silence, and certain Prophecies have been unmistakably fulfilled. How does the Hebrew explain this fact away?

Let anyone, who really has accepted the Christian Dispensation, and has *a personal Knowledge of Christ*, and his precious Promises, close his eyes, and reflect upon what I have written *ex animo* in these three Essays, and then open his eyes again, and imagine the mere possibility of that one great central Figure, the object of the Faith, Hope, and Love, of countless millions, having disappeared from the Picture of Human affairs in the same way as Asher, Amen Ra, and Zeus, by the lapse of time, and the widening of Human Knowledge, have disappeared. Can the Conception of the Son of God, who assumed Human Form, and died for the sins of all His Human Brethren, and reconciled them to His Father, and their Father, be surpassed in Fulness, and Sufficiency, in Universality, and Opportuneness, in Suitability to the weaknesses and wants of the Human race, by any, Past or Present, Religious Conception? The Future is with God.

The end of the matter, is this: any rights, that a citizen of the great Nations of Europe and America possesses, should be, or have been, conceded to a Hebrew without any possible exception, and the most entire Tolerance to their peculiar Religious views or customs, so long as they are not in antagonism to the Moral standards of the Nineteenth century. When we recall the cruel wrongs done to their forefathers in past centuries, we should be disposed to render more kindness, restitution, if possible, of buildings

torn from them, compensation for confiscations, every possible Educational, Constitutional, and Social, Privilege, and something beyond in token of Regret for the Past, and in atonement for the sins of our Ancestors.

As regards attempts to bring to their notice the Gospel of Jesus Christ, it is the duty of Christians in every lawful way to do so, and the Hebrew is quite at liberty to press upon his fellow-citizens his own Religious views in any way, which may appear desirable to him. By maintaining such a base custom, as mutilation of the male body, as a token of spiritual Conversion, killing animals for food in a way calculated to increase suffering, and observing a different day of weekly rest from his fellow-citizens, he must feel, that he is in a miserable minority, and must put up with the consequence of being out of harmony and touch with the lawful and unobjectionable practices of his Epoch, and place of habitation.

If he has hopes for the Future, after nearly two thousand years of expatriation and denationalization, he is perfectly at liberty to entertain them, but they are outside of practical consideration; and by putting them forward he only makes himself an object of pity, and to the thoughtless of ridicule. The men, who uttered and committed to paper those Promises, on which he founds his hopes, were men utterly ignorant of Geography, History, the physical Laws of the Universe, which were the same then as now; they were devoid of all Culture, all sense of responsibility; they spoke to contemporaries more ignorant than themselves; they partook more of the character of Preachers than Predictors. No such utterances in modern times would be listened to by the most ignorant. All the great Truths, which they promulgated, of Monotheism, the duty of man to his Creator, and Morality, are admitted on all sides. The existence of the petty tribes of the Hebrews may have had some motive, some part to play, in the progress of the World *then*: *it has none now*. The great Religious Conceptions, in the midst of which they came into existence, with all the old-world paraphernalia of Sacrifice, Prophecy, Miracles, Auguries, Dreams, Signs from Heaven, Visions, have passed away: I do not stop to discuss, whether there was Truth, or a *raison d'être* in them *then*: they have passed away *now*, and yet the same God rules the World now as then, and is worshipped in Spirit and Truth, and the presence of His Holy Spirit cannot be denied as immanent in all His poor creatures.

The *μύθοι*, or myths, of the early periods of a Nation are not necessarily false: they appear to have been the modes, in which in the early stage of Human Culture great Truths were enunciated, and recorded, and we can safely admit, that they were to that extent from God (Gore's "Lux Mundi," 5th edition, pp. 356, 357, and Preface, pp. xxviii, xxix), but there is a limit of time to their value, for the centre of action of Human environment has been changed:

the Earth is no longer the most important feature of the Universe, Nor is the Hebrew race in any possible sense the pivot, on which the development of mankind ever turned, or does now turn: these fond and foolish notions must be abandoned.

To assert, that the Hebrew has a Mission still unfulfilled, except as to his own Conversion to a more intelligent Faith, cannot be admitted: to assert, that his Morality was at any period of his existence higher than that, which was promulgated by the great Seekers after God, and Teachers of Mankind of Ancient and Modern Time, cannot be admitted by those, who have studied the Sacred Books of all Religious Conceptions, and the History of the Human race. In all the writers on the Hebrew Nation, a marked ignorance is evidenced of the History of the Ancient Nations of Asia, North Africa, and Europe, and an absence of the study of their Sacred and Philosophical Books, though they are accessible in the three great Languages of Europe, English, French, and German.

Of what possible use is the prolonged existence in isolation of the Hebrew people, who realize, as stated in Section I, the conditions neither of Nation nor race? Are they the leaven of a new and higher Religious Conception in any of the countries, in which they have obtained the position of citizens, honoured, wealthy, learned in every branch of Science, and every Art? In the Senate, in the Courts of Law, in the Universities, in Commerce, in the Halls of the Scientist, they represent a great Power as regards things of this World; there are among them some of the greatest, the best, and the sweetest, of men, whose genius and acquirements claim the highest admiration, and obtain it; but, still, their Religious Conception is a survival of a Dead Past, with no promise of a Living Future.

Did, then, no profit to the Human race arise from the Hebrew Conception? Much every way, chiefly because to men of their race were revealed in a most unmistakable manner the Counsels of God: and their voices are still heard. Still, to the Hebrew alone was committed those writings, called by one of the greatest and wisest of men, Paul the Hebrew, "the Oracles of God."

And so long as Human hearts beat, love must be extended to that one family among the families of Nations, of which came Jesus of Nazareth in the fulness of time. Just at the period, when the parting of the ways was about to take place, the existence of the Hebrew was of unique and overpowering advantage.

I quote words from one of my former volumes, "Common Features which appear in all forms of Belief," 1895, p. 65:

"The Palestiuian Hebrew in the century preceding Anno Domini had fallen to the lowest level of empty Ritual. The destruction of the Temple, and the cessation of the Mosaic form of Worship, were at hand. In the meantime, the Hebrew of the Diasporá was supplying the leaven of Progress to all the races,

“ and Nations, with whom he came into contact. He had no
 “ Temple, no Priesthood, no Ritual; but he had a high Ideal, and
 “ he was unconsciously preparing a platform in every city of
 “ West Asia, North Africa, and Europe, on which the new
 “ Religious Conception could rest: the kingdom of Israel, and the
 “ old Jerusalem, were ready to disappear. The shadow of the ‘King-
 “ dom of God’ [and of ‘Heaven’ (for it is called by both names)],
 “ and the New Jerusalem, fell on the slide of the great Lantern of
 “ the Universe. Moses was read in every Synagogue every Sabbath.
 “ A few years later Christ was to be read also, for it may roughly
 “ be said, that where there was a Synagogue, there would soon be
 “ a Church. Primitive Christianity sprang up in a soil prepared
 “ by two or three centuries of Hebrew Culture. The Jew of the
 “ Diasporà, deprived of means of access to the outward centre of
 “ his hereditary Worship, arrived at the conviction, that his call
 “ was to serve God in a pure manner, and observe the principles
 “ of his Religion, since he was hopelessly debarred from the
 “ Ritual.”

Nothing apparently was more destructive of the spirituality of the Hebrew Religion than the Deuteronomic precept of there being only one place of Worship for the sons of Abraham in the petty town conquered by David from the Jebusites, and in which his son had by the help of Heathen workmen from Tyre erected his little Temple, for we have only to compare the extent of its area, which can be traced with certainty, with that of the temples in Egypt, and Baelbek in Syria, to be convinced how small and unimportant as a building it was. Yet the centralization of Ritual led to the extinction of local and family Worship: there were no Synagogues then; there could be no family, or parochial, altar: once a year those, who were strong, and had the means, could make a painful pilgrimage to the solitary place of Worship of a country as large as Belgium, and amidst the excitement, suffering, and exhaustion of the journey sacrifice their beast, and troop back. We can see how it was in the time of our Lord’s childhood, when He was lost in the crowd. We in India all know what a Pilgrimage is, and how many never live to get home, and how the modern Railway nowadays helps a pious heathen to get with his family to his Idol-Temple. Religion would have died out in Palestine, had it not been supplemented by the Synagogue, and in the Diasporà the Synagogue was the centre of the Religion, free from Sacrifice, or debased Ritual. Other Nations are glad to forget the events connected with their barbarous and often cruel infancy. As a fact the existence of a Nation is built on the blood and bones of the one, which preceded it, just as in the Syrian Tell at Lachish the layer of each superimposed town unmistakably, though silently, tells of the slaughter of the inhabitants by force or treachery of the layer next below. All the cruel details elsewhere are forgotten; but the

Hebrews delight to record all such atrocities committed by their forefathers, and thousands of years afterwards to read them aloud, as a form of Worship in their Synagogue. Moreover, the shocking cruelty of killing all men, women, and children, of an inoffensive tribe, and reserving all the adult virgins for the convenience of the conquerors, is attributed to the commands of the Great Creator of all mankind, who loved the whole World. It is often forgotten, that the tribes, whom they thus slaughtered, were their near kinsmen on the side of their maternal ancestors, as eleven of the sons of Jacob had married women of Canaan, and the Language, which they spoke, was called the Language of Canaan (Isaiah, xix, 18).

I quote from Eber's "Only a Word," p. 85, the expressions of a learned, gentle, and persecuted Jew, as putting the matter of giving up their ancestral Religion in another light, one in which we can all sympathize :

“ Christ's love embraced all Nations : He loved all mankind : my
 “ Soul thirsts to help my fellow-men, but they have never ceased
 “ to crush me and my people in our efforts to be good in the fullest
 “ sense of their own Master's teaching : the Christian refuses this
 “ to the Jew : if I dare to treat a Christian as a fellow-creature
 “ what would my fate be ? The Jew is not to be good : the men,
 “ who lay that burden on their brethren's shoulders, incur such
 “ guilt as I know no pardon for : if Jesus Christ were to return to
 “ the World, and see the pack, that hunts us down, He would open
 “ His arms wide to embrace us.”

The atrocious conduct of Christian Governments, peoples, and individuals has done a wrong to the Hebrew, which can never be expiated. How has it happened, that it seems part of our nature to be averse to the very race, of which the Lord of Life came ? We feel it, though we would not injure them, and pity those of our fellows, who have Hebrew blood in their veins. No wonder the Hebrew feels it more deeply, and, when he accepts Christ, he still is unwilling to enter into any Gentile Association. We hardly lay sufficient stress on the influence of this feeling, that, though they become Christians in Religion, they have not ceased to be Hebrews in race, as if it were a great inheritance : they are proud of an origin, which unconsciously seems to the Gentile anything but a cause of pride.

How much greater would have been the image of the Hebrew in the page of History of after ages, if it had died away after giving birth to the great Universal Religious Conception, which now fills so large a part in the spiritual life of the sons of men ! It might, indeed, have lived in its unbroken and annually increasing Millions in its own country, the place of its birth, like the Brahmanical Religion of India, which, after giving birth to the great Universal Religion of Buddha, still retains one-seventh of the population of the Globe in its fold : but the Hebrew has been ignominiously

driven out of the petty Province, which was given, according to his story, to him by the Almighty as an everlasting possession. His great form of adoration by Sacrifice of Beasts has ceased for 1,800 years: the last Passover-Lamb has been slaughtered in the Holy of Holies; the last bullock in the outer court of the Temple. The Hebrews were chosen to be the servants of the Lord, but their Dispensation has proved an entire failure: they *have nothing to show to justify their existence* since the time of the Maccabees. Fallen as the Greeks are, they still retain their Cities and their Language: no one has superseded Plato and Aristotle: the very words uttered by their great Dramatists still ring in our ears; the very words, which entranced an Athenian audience seated in the Theatre of Bacchus under the hill of the Parthenon, where the Temple of Athens still looks down in its serene beauty; it was 400 years older than Herod's temple at Jerusalem, every stone of which is gone. The Greek Religious Conception has passed away, because its work was done, and the minds of men have passed to higher things. But, like the remnant of the Religion of Zoroaster, which still survives in India, a remnant of the Hebrew Religion, which came under the patronage of the Persian King at Babylon, still maintains a moribund, profitless existence, appealing to a Past, but with no hope for a Future; and what profit is there in a Religious Conception, so devoid of the Spirit of Altruism, so wrapped up in Selfish Egoism, that it cares not for the Millions outside its miserable fold, and takes no part in stemming the inroad of Atheism, and Agnosticism, and the back-tide of Paganism, which threaten to overwhelm the World?

August, 1897.

IV.

THE SUPERIOR EXCELLENCE OF A RELIGIOUS CONCEPTION, EVIDENCED
BY THE RESULTS.

- (1) A calm, and fearless, and unsparing, comparison of its tenets with those of every other Conception, Past, Present, or dimly visioned in the Future, when purified from the degrading survivals of previous Religious Conceptions of the race.
- (2) The unconquerable desire of those, who believe in it, to extend it to other races, and the whole of mankind, by peaceful argument, unselfish sacrifice, and inducements wholly free from carnal advantages.

SECTION I.

In this series of Essays we are weighing Religious Conceptions on their own fundamental merits, quite apart from the accretions of Ritual and Dogma, which have clung to them, and the evil customs and habits of those, who profess to believe them, though these two features are, rightly or wrongly, imputed to the Religious Conception.

We ask ourselves dispassionately, philosophically, and, as far as we can, truthfully, without prejudice, without partiality, what did our forefathers, in the History of the World, have presented to them as to,

- (1) The relation of the Soul to the Great Creator.
- (2) The Conception of this Creator, as far as limited Human Thought can deal with the Infinite.
- (3) The whole duty of Man, during the term of mortal life, to Himself, his fellow-men, and his Creator.
- (4) The spirit, in which he should patiently bear the ills of life, and temperately enjoy the pleasures.
- (5) The submissive feelings, in which Death is to be met, and the degree of certainty of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments beyond the Grave.

On these subjects, taking them chronologically,

- (1) What did the Egyptian profess? (See Essay I.)
- (2) What did the Assyrian profess? (See Essay I.)
- (3) What did the Hindu Sages profess? (See Essay I.)
- (4) What did Moses profess? (See Essay III.)
- (5) What did Zoroaster profess? (See Essay III.)
- (6) What did Gautama Buddha profess? (Well known.)
- (7) What did Socrates and Plato profess? (Well known.)

To those, who complacently ignore the Spiritual History of the World, and in their deep ignorance consider, that the great Creator had been for long centuries out of possession of his own Creation, and had left the millions of His poor creatures for fifty generations of men to the unconditional control of Satan, we have only one reply :

“ God so loved the World (the whole World) that He sent His only Son,” etc.

“ God hated nothing, that He had made.”

“ God does not willingly afflict the Children of Men.”

We recognize His presence in all the ages, at all times, in all circumstances. By a breath of His will, He could have made all men Christians on Creation's dawn, and given them the true Knowledge, just in the same way, that He gave them the gift of Language to communicate with their fellows, and a Religious Instinct to enable them to feel after God. Men are very much the same in their natures, but their peculiar characteristics are formed by their environment. We Englishmen would have thought, spoken, and acted, very much as the Egyptians and Assyrians, if we had come into the World at that Epoch of the World's History, on that round of Human Culture, in that degree of Ignorance of Things Physical, and Things Spiritual. We must stand apart from our Nineteenth-century arrogant environment, and not only consider the circumstances of other Nations in past ages, but try humbly to

“ Justify the ways of God to man.”

From the point of view, from which some modern Missionaries regard the present state of three-fourths of the Human race, the Wisdom, the Justice, and the Love, the inexhaustible Love, of the great Father, are called into question. Can the Ruler of the earth act without a plan in the control of the destiny of His poor creatures, whom He has condescended to make, with a Soul in His own image, and a body only somewhat physically above the beasts that perish. It was all very well for the ignorant Hebrews at the time of the Exodus to imagine, that the great Creator only cared for them, and hated the Egyptians. We know better now. Every good and every perfect gift is from above : all that Science, and Art, and Genius, can produce, are emphatically “ *δῶρα Θεού,*” “ the gifts of God.” Consider the part in ancient History played by the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Indian, and the Greek, and contrast with it the miserable example, set by the tiny tribe of the Hebrews, self-condemned by their own History, called a generation of vipers by John the Baptist, condemned in the most scathing terms by the Son of God, and utterly swept out of the list of Nations by the Romans 1,800 years ago.

In the fulness of Time came that Son of God. It would seem, as if the Divine Plan had been to educate the Nations of Asia, Europe, and North Africa by sending at different times different Messengers, Παιδάγωγοι, to lead them to a just appreciation of the great problem of Existence. We have now in our Libraries the concentrated Wisdom of the elder World, "The Sacred Books": we can judge, how far Mankind had advanced in the great School, in which they were to learn the Nature of God, and the Duty of Man. We pity the intellect and spiritual deficiency of the person, who can read the words of Plato, of Buddha, of Zoroaster, of Confucius, and of the Hindu Sages; who can spell out the Papyri of Egypt, and the baked bricks of Mesopotamia, all of which have been marvelously preserved, and not feel that by a great Miracle a silent voice is heard through a Telephone from the grave, calling out, that there were men of wisdom, of worth, of power to appreciate the Divinity of God, centuries before the self-sufficient, narrow-minded, Theologian of Mediaeval Europe came into existence.

If the Mediaeval Christians had known of their existence, they would have condemned them to the same fate, to which Pagan Emperors in past ages, and Romish Priests in modern times, condemn the Christian Scriptures when circulated in the Vernacular, and the Church of Rome condemned the writings of all who presumed to differ from them, creating the great "My Doxy" or "Orthodox" party; but the "Your Doxy" or "Allodox" party are now able to get a hearing, and students of the Nineteenth century humbly think, that they are able to take a wider view of the dealings of God with the Human race than was possible to the limited opportunities of obtaining information available to the Bishops of Carthage and Hippo in North Africa, and of Rome and Constantinople in Europe. To this generation the whole World is thrown open, and we doubt not, that the Twentieth century will sit in severe judgment on our failings and errors.

I have lately, in an Essay presented to the International Oriental Congress held at Geneva in 1894, gone over in detail with cold impartiality all the Ethical or Book-Religious Conceptions of the Elder World before the great Anno Domini: this Essay is reprinted in my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, pp. 408-431.

Of the Religious Conceptions of the World Past and Present we know something, and can class them from different points of view.

Three of these are Universal and Propagandist, and admit into their fold all God's creatures, without reference to race or Nationality, and on perfect equality:

- I. Buddhism, 550 B.C.
- II. Christianity, the great Anno Domini.
- III. Islam, 622 A.D.

Two of the Ancient Religious Conceptions gave birth to a mighty offspring greater than themselves, and totally opposed to their Parents :

- I. The Hindu Religious Conception gave birth, B.C. 550, to the Buddhist.
- II. The Hebrew Religious Conception gave birth to the Christian at the Christian era, and from both sprang (indirectly) Islam, 622 A.D.

Two of the Ancient Religious Conceptions of the World deny the existence of any God, and are practically atheistical :

- I. The Confucianist of China, 550 B.C.
- II. The Buddhist, 550 B.C.

This appears to me to disqualify them absolutely from being acceptable to Mankind in the Nineteenth century; at any rate, they lie outside the scope of my inquiry.

Four of the Ancient Religious Conceptions of the World are dead :

- I. The Mesopotamian.
- II. The Egyptian.
- III. The Graeco-Roman.
- IV. The Teutonic, Keltic Slavonic.

Two of the Ancient Religious Conceptions seem but miserable, and profitless, survivals, of what was great and influential in former centuries, but entirely out of touch with the environment of Modern Culture, and not likely to advance the Salvation of Mankind :

- I. The Zoroastrian or Parsi.
- II. The Hebrew.

There remain, therefore, but three Theistic, and effective, Religious Conceptions :

- I. The Brahmanical.
- II. The Christian.
- III. The Mahometan.

It is unnecessary to notice the Animistic Conceptions of Savage, and Barbarian, Tribes, nor does it lie within the scope of this Essay to notice the Sectarian Subdivisions of each of these great Conceptions. I also omit, as unworthy of serious notice from my point of view, Jainism in India, Taouism in China, and Shintoism in Japan.

There is no subject, on which mere Religionists, as distinguished from impartial inquirers into the facts evidenced by History, lose all sense of impartiality and justice, as in their opinions formed of the characteristics, merits, and demerits, the strong and weak sides, of Religious Conceptions of other people. If Christians, they take the lofty standard of their own Books, and compare it with the lamentable and degraded *practice* of the followers of other Conceptions, forgetting that the comparison should be of (1) the Precepts of the one with the Precepts of the other, and (2) the Practice of Christians with the Practice of non-Christians.

In modern Missionary Reports the story is always told from the Christian point of view: no mercy is given to the characters of those, who will not listen to the Message; they are classed as idiots, profligates, obstinate atheists, fanatical Mahometans, debased Polytheists. I once read a Persian account of a war in Upper India, describing the dead on one side (the writer's side) as "all going to heaven," and the dead on the other as "going to hell": so in Missionary Reports, all, who become Christian, are angels, pure from sin, free from vice. This gives an absence of reality to a Human story, and does infinite mischief to the Great Cause. There is indeed an amount of Good in all. No one can have lived for years amid Hindu and Mahometans without respecting their practical excellences, and regretting their Religious errors. No one can have read the Veda and Korán without a recurrence of the same feeling, which came over him, when he read the Dialogues of Plato, viz., that the influence of God's Spirit was not entirely absent from good and holy men in all ages and climes. And no one, who has considered the practices of the nominal Christian, his gross Immorality, his utter contempt of Divine ordinances, his godless life, his unrepentant Death, his recklessness of the lives and welfare of inferior and weaker races, without feeling, that whatever may be the high standard of the Christian Conception, it has in the Nineteenth century entirely failed, practically as regards the masses, either to bring them to Christ, or to live lives of Morality.

I quote the words of a Bishop at the Nottingham-Church-Congress, on "Religious Indifference":

"The Bishop referred to the increasing Religious indifference amongst those 'who are to be found in all our churches, who are not communicants, and never exhibit any interest in vital religion.' The size and rapid growth of the school of indifference was one of the most dangerous signs of the times at the close of the Nineteenth century. The multitude, who belong to this school, are not open opponents of the Faith of Christ's cause; but they simply sit still, and do nothing for Religion at home or abroad. Ask any clergyman, who works his parish, and visits his people, and knows their characters, which is the chief difficulty

“ he has to contend with. I am certain he would tell you, that it
 “ is neither Romanism, nor extreme Ritualism, nor Erastianism,
 “ nor Broad-Churchism, nor systematic scepticism, nor any other
 “ ‘ism,’ but a half-dead, torpid, indifference about any sort or kind
 “ of Religion.”

The Bishop closed his address with the sorrowful remark: “ ‘If
 “ open sin, and dissipation, and drunkenness, and love of the world,
 “ are ruining thousands of Churchmen, I am sure that utter in-
 “ difference about Religion is ruining tens of thousands.’ Was
 “ there no remedy for that state of things? Could nothing be
 “ done to check the progress of Religious indifference, and restore
 “ health to our Sion? Nothing, in his opinion, could do it but an
 “ outpouring of the Holy Spirit. For that let them all pray, and
 “ besiege the Throne of Grace continually. The early Christians
 “ of the first six centuries turned the World upside down; yet they
 “ had none of our many advantages. They had, however, that which
 “ we seem to lack in 1897, the real presence of the Holy Spirit in
 “ their work, their preaching, their characters, and their lives.
 “ This was the secret of their power. This was what they wanted
 “ amongst them at the end of the Nineteenth century, more prayer,
 “ closer union with Christ, more of the real presence of God the
 “ Holy Ghost. For that Presence, when they left the Conference,
 “ let them resolve to pray, and never to cease praying.”

And there is another painful feature, which has disfigured all
 Religious Conceptions in all periods of the History of the World,
 viz., the degradation arising from Priestcraft, and Interference of
 Worldly Rulers for their own political purposes. Take Christianity
 in the last Nineteen centuries, as it is more widely known, and
 consider how different is the present form, which it assumes, from
 the Teaching in Judaea. Consider the blemishes and the causes:

- I. The survivals of Paganism and Judaism.
- II. Wicked and Cruel Intolerance.
- III. Spirituality lost in the outward form of Ritualism.
- IV. Anthropomorphism: not only in the words but in the
spirit.
- V. Dense formality.
- VI. Entire inability to keep the majority of mankind moral
and holy.
- VII. State-Interference for passing worldly motives.
- VIII. Money-seeking, dignity-seeking, Priestcraft.
- IX. Scriptures denied to the Laity, or read in unintelligible
Languages.
- X. Entire unreality of Worship in State-ceremonials, so-
called Religious.
- XI. Sensational misinterpretation, and misquotation, of Scripture.
- XII. Dogmatism of an intolerable character on a subject not
susceptible of legal proof, and resting entirely on Faith.

Symbolism appears to have been always the extreme weakness of the Christian Conception, and is so to this day. Why cannot God be worshipped, and prayer offered, in the same straightforward and truthful way, in which other Human affairs are conducted? What merit, or charm, is there in forms, and ceremonies, words which have lost their meaning, antiquated observances, and obsolete customs? Is there not a danger in these of formal surface-worship?

After a study of the tenets of all dead, or existing, Religious Conceptions of the World, and stretching out my hands across the abyss of centuries to the men of ancient days, who had Spiritual power given them to speak and write, and whose utterances have come down to us, to Zoroaster, Confucius, the Hindu Sages, Buddha, Socrates, Plato, and the writers of the Old and New Testament, whose breathing of blessed thoughts, clothed in immortal words, ring in our ears in the day, and dwell in our thoughts at night, the Soul seems to see, that God has been immanent in all the ages, and in all climes; dimly seen, imperfectly understood, in the form of Triads, or Avatáras (God born in the form of man). The Holy Spirit was dimly shadowed in the Paramátma, until, in the fulness of time, all was made clear by the Incarnation of the Son of God, and the new Dispensation to all Mankind; and I humbly submit that man, by much seeking, can hardly find a way of Salvation more simple, more complete, more universal, than what was preached in Judaea in Anno Domini, viz. •

- I. Guilt of all mankind, with no single exception.
- II. Repentance possible to all, without exception.
- III. Faith in One powerful to save.
- IV. Pardon through the Mediation of the Son of God.
- V. Peace, as the result of Pardon, in this World and the next.
- VI. Holiness through His Holy Spirit, without which no man can see God the Father.

Yet these precious Truths were not made known to the wise of that period, the Hebrews of Alexandria, the Greeks of Athens, trained in the Schools of Plato, the thoughtful men of Rome, such as Juvenal, Séneca, Epictétus, and Marcus Aurelius, but to a rural Asiatic population in dense ignorance, and a bigoted Priesthood, who laid stress on Sabbath-observances, eating with unwashed hands, giving tithes on every trifle, amputating the male body, men sunk in an intellectual state lower and more dangerous than that of their own ignorant peasantry. It was so ordained, and we can say no more, and by the time, that it became current in Europe, the Divine Truth had become again incapsuled, and again concealed in new veils of Human Ritual Superstitions, partly Judaic, and partly Pagan.

Let us now turn to the Future. I contributed to the International Oriental Congress held at Paris this year (1897) an Essay on the Modern Religious Conceptions, which have come into existence since the great Anno Domini, and which are therefore openly avowed enemies of the Christian Conception. This Essay is reprinted in my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, in the English Language at p. 475, and in the French Language at p. 827. There are two Categories :

- I. The old Conceptions purified and adapted to the environment of a Civilized Society.
- II. Modern Conceptions formed from the blending of the old Conceptions with the Christian Conception, either consciously or unconsciously.

The first Category comprises

- A. Neo-Judaism.
- B. Neo-Hinduism.
- C. Neo-Zoroastrianism.
- D. Neo-Buddhism.
- E. Neo-Confucianism.

The second Category comprises ·

- A. Islam, with its latest evolution, Bábíism.
- B. Brahmoism.
- C. Theosophy.
- D. Hau Hau, etc., of New Zealand.
- E. Mormonism.
- F. Positivism or Comteism, or the Religion of Humanity.
- G. Agnosticism.
- H. Unitarianism.
- I. Theism.

The study of these new Spiritual Phenomena is one of deep interest. Morality of the highest stamp is professed by all : so far the World has advanced. At any rate those, who pass into any one of these new forms, know what they are doing : what they are abandoning, and what they are adopting. They are deliberating upon a matter of paramount importance to their Souls ; they are making an election ; they are secure of entire Tolerance. Some of them are desirous to propagate their views : they are bound by no ties of race, or Nationality. No one can say what the Future has in store.

In these days it is fairly argued whether,

- (1) The same Religious Conception was suitable to all periods of the existence of the Human race, the earliest as well as the latest.

- (2) Whether in these last days the same Religious Conception is uniquely suitable to the scattered races of Mankind, in all their varying circumstances of climate, and environment, in all their stages of Culture.

As to the first point, I submit that a judgment cannot be pronounced: we have the great fact, that the Message was never communicated to Man before Anno Domini. As to the second, Experience seems to teach us, that the Doctrines taught in Judaea, free from the contamination of the Middle Ages, and Europe, are suitable to the Human race in every stage of Culture, under any possible environment, and that no other Conception so suitable has been suggested by the wit of man.

But the end is not yet: one only Kingdom, the British Empire, includes three hundred and fifty millions of population. An American periodical has this year brought out the facts strikingly I quote it

“ On a vast plain, the 350,000,000 subjects of Queen Victoria
 “ are assembled before her throne, and on a table near the throne
 “ are the five Sacred Books of the East: the Bible, the Veda, the
 “ Korán, the Tripítaka, and the Zend-Avesta. Rising from her
 “ throne, the Queen says: ‘ Let all those, who believe in the divine
 “ inspiration of the Veda, take their sacred books and pass out and
 “ away,’ and 200,000,000 go out, while but 150,000,000 remain.
 “ Sadly the Christian Queen again speaks: ‘ Let those, who believe
 “ in the Korán, now leave.’ Her grief increases, as 60,000,000
 “ more go out, and but 90,000,000 remain. Again she speaks, and
 “ again there is an exodus of those, who believe in the Tripítaka,
 “ the sacred book of the Buddhists, and in the Zend-Avesta of the
 “ Parsi, 40,000,000 more. Out of 350,000,000, only 50,000,000
 “ remain, who accept the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments,
 “ and only a part of these are heart-believers. This parable shows,
 “ that the disciples of Jesus still have much to do before it can be
 “ said, that the glad tidings have adequately been made known to
 “ every creature.—*The Advance.*” (“ Missionary Review of all the
 World,” Boston, 1897.)

It has been wisely remarked (Max Müller, “ Science of Mythology ”), that the Human mind passed through four spheres of activity, from the earliest period within the reach of Knowledge, to the present day:

- I. Language: there is nothing more ancient.
- II. Myths: the first attempts at translating the phenomena of Nature and Thought.
- III. Religion, or the recognition of Moral Power, and in the end of *one* Moral Power behind and above all Nature.
- IV. Philosophy, or an exercise of the power of reason and thought, based on the data of experience.

Another thought presses on the mind, "the Silence of God," since the appearance in Human Form of His Son. In the elder centuries before the great Anno Domini, He was reported in the Legends of all the Ancient Religions, to be always speaking, and making Himself manifest as a seen and evident Agent in the affairs of men, each race thinking that they only were the object of His care. Thus grew into existence the Paraphernalia of the Ancient Conceptions, Theophanies, Visions of Angels, Miracles, Auguries, Dreams, Prophecy, Signs from Heaven, Divine Voices. In the latter part of the First century A.D., they ceased, ceased absolutely: the Fortune-teller, the Thaumaturgos, the beholder of Visions, are laughed at. We feel insensibly, that we are in a new Dispensation, and that the great God does not interfere directly, or indirectly, in Human affairs. We know not why unexplainable events happen: perhaps we may know hereafter, but each one of us at the close of his life, if a long one, knows, whether it has been Sunshine or Shade, that his affairs have been managed by an unseen Power in the best and wisest way possible.

Happy are those, who have found a resting-place in One, whom they can trust, the result of meditation, not of conventional acceptance. But we must not think arrogantly or hardly, or superciliously, of others: they are feeling after God, if haply they could find Him. The Neo-Judaist, the Brahma-Somájist, the Bábi, the Comteist, the Unitarian, the Theist, are deserving of the highest respect, as far as we can judge from the utterances of their great and holy leaders. They are advancing, and understand the great Problem, but have not, according to our views, and their own admission, reached the Solution. They are Progressive in the right direction: leave them an open field. The Neo-Hindu, the Neo-Zoroastrianist or Parsi, the Neo-Confucianist, still appear to be unable to come out of their old bondage: the Neo-Buddhist, the Mahometan, the Agnostic, deserve that sympathy, which can hardly be extended to the Theosophist, the Hau-Hauist, and the Mormon, who are distinctly retrograde in the path of Spirituality.

Still, the state of the Human race spiritually seems to be more hopeful than it was in the centuries preceding the great Anno Domini, and the dark period of Romish Supremacy, something worse than Judaism and Paganism. "*Corruptio optimi pessima.*"

SECTION 2.

“ The unconquerable desire, and manifest duty, of those, who
 “ *really* believe in a Religious Conception, to extend it to other
 “ races, and the whole of mankind, by peaceful argument, unselfish
 “ sacrifice, and inducements, wholly free from worldly advantages,
 “ and the Arm of the Flesh.”

- (1) Exordium.
- (2) First period, up to 400 A.D.
- (3) Second Period, up to the Reformation.
- (4) Third Period, up to the end of the Eighteenth century.
- (5) Conclusion.

All Historical details with regard to the Conversion of each country of Europe are omitted : they are fully stated by competent authors : my motive at present is to draw attention to :

- (1) The continuity of the enterprise.
- (2) The spirit, in which the work of Evangelization was attempted.
- (3) The Methods employed.
- (4) The good and bad features of these Methods.
- (5) The totally different circumstances of the present Epoch.
- (6) The lessons and warnings to be gained from the consideration of the terrible errors of the Past.

(1) *Exordium.*

One object is, to show that, under the impulse once given and the Command, there has been during the last eighteen and half centuries a movement, varying in speed at different times, sometimes indeed stagnant like a glacier, that is impeded, sometimes flowing like a stream, sometimes percolating under the soil. The story of the Conversion of Europe is not one, that reflects credit on the Human race : the Methods made use of were most erroneous, and foreign to the principles of Christianity : the intolerance, and wickedness, of some of the Evangelizers exceeded in atrocity anything attributed to the followers of Mahomet. The doctrines of Christ were not presented to the Non-Christian World in a Christian spirit, mainly on their own merits, unassisted by the Arm of the Flesh, or the influence of Power, or Worldly Temptation.

Another object has been to show, that the real Method of Evangelization is by,

- (1) Preaching and teaching in the Vernacular of each country.
- (2) Translating the Bible, and circulating it among the people.

There has been a continuity of this Method, though progressing at a different degree of speed, and in a more or less complete manner.

I do not describe work done, or praise, or blame, but show coldly what has been the Method, although grievously disfigured by the admixture of bad ingredients, and point out, that the stream of Evangelization now flowing at high tide, has sometimes sunk so low, because unholy Methods were used, and holy ones abandoned. Dr. Maclear well says: "The force of Missionary enthusiasm was not quenched; its ardour was not extinguished: it may have been overlain with worldliness and fanaticism, *but it existed*: the line of contact was not broken; the succession of the heralds of the Cross was maintained." (Ely Sermon, p. 11.)

Just about the time when the Hebrew, after his return from Babylon, had discovered, or seemed to have dreamed of, the universal suitability of the Religious Conception entrusted to him for all mankind, the several National forms of Worship of the adjacent Nations, West of the Euphrates, shrunk into nothingness: their notions, suitable to the infancy of mankind, could not stand before the scorching light of the Schools of Philosophy: they disappeared, while the several Conceptions of the Nations East of the River Euphrates, not being exposed to the same Rationalistic test, have survived to our time in undiminished strength as regards the Millions of their followers.

If we were not historically certain, that it is the same Christianity, which was taught by the Apostles, and which is now taught in Christendom, we should scarcely recognize the developments, as exhibited in England, Russia, Spain, and France, as having possibly sprang from the same germ in Palestine, so totally different is the whole of their externals from the Gospel delivered by Christ. It took 350 years to stifle the dying Paganism of Greece and Rome. Six hundred years more were required to bring to Christ the chief of the barbarian races, which had pressed into Europe, Kelt, Teuton, and Slav; but it took another 800 years before the work of Conversion of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America, was undertaken in earnest. And this is scarcely stating the full truth, for, if Christendom had been newly established in Europe, it had been trodden out in Asia and North Africa. There seemed to be a retrograde movement, for, while the Christian Missionaries in a desultory manner were making a few converts in Europe, the Mahometans were converting thousands of Christians to their new Faith in West Asia, North Africa, Turkey, and Spain. This, indeed, is an awful phenomenon for Christians to reflect upon.

It must not be supposed, that the Idea of propagating a new Religion was a new one: it is true, that all the Religions of the old world were National, and it was an understood thing, that each Nation had its established Religious Conception, and neither was able, nor desired to be able, to bring others to their view. Imperial Rome was content to tolerate all Rituals and Dogmas, so long as the Roman Religious Conception was respected. The ancient Hindu Sovereigns acted in very much the same way. However, five hundred years before Christ, Gautama Buddha had sent out emissaries to disseminate his peculiar Ideas, and form new Associations. People were willing to listen to them, and be converted, although no hope of a Future Life, or worldly advantage, was promised to adherents. The "Noble Way" of Buddha was Universal, for all mankind, and in that respect it differed from all other previous Religious Conceptions, which were strictly National. But, on the other hand, it was only for this World: there was no principle of a new Life both here and hereafter, such as was conveyed in the unique Conception of Repentance, Faith, Pardon, Peace, Holiness, through the Mediation of the Crucified and Risen Christ. It was the Conception itself, not the Idea of Universal Propagation of that Conception, which was the novel feature of Christianity.

"Slow was the rate of progress of the Conversion of Europe; "there never was a period, when the flood was not really rising, "though a casual glance would not detect it. In the darkest hours "there was ever some streak of light: it is not God's Method of "Rule to give at once great results." (Maclear's "Gradual Conversion of Europe," p. 12.)

I quote another thoughtful passage:

"But it is indeed an idle speculation to consider, what would or "would not have happened, had God ordered the World's History "otherwise than He has done. One weighty utterance is sufficient "for us: '*When the fulness of time was come*, God sent forth His "Son.' If, therefore, the World required preparation for that "cardinal turning-point, if a certain condition of ripeness was "required for the proper acceptance of the Gospel by man, then "the History, which I have written in this volume, is probably "a most vital and important step in that preparation, perhaps "hardly less important than the Law, 'which was our schoolmaster "to bring us unto Christ.' For that Law affected only the chosen "people, whereas Hellenic culture affected the world." (Mahaffy's "Greek Civilization.")

As regards Translation of the Scriptures, only twenty-one versions existed before the Reformation: there were about half a dozen weak attempts at other Languages, which came to nothing, but indicated the spirit of the time: with the exception of two or three very dark centuries, the work of Translation has never

been suspended for more than a hundred years together, and then only by the interference of the Arm of the Flesh. In almost every period of the long succession of years from the Ascension to the present century, there has always been a special *χάρισμα*, not coming from the laying on of hands, but falling upon heart, intellect, brain, and hand, of some chosen servant to transfer the Scriptures from Language to Language, for the saving of Souls.

One feature characterizes the Biography of all great Missionaries : they were great students of the Scriptures, necessarily in the Latin Vulgate, as for one thousand years no other was available ; but in Museums are exhibited interlineal glosses in the Vernacular, such as the Irish Glosses at Bobbio, and St. Gall, and the Anglo-Saxon in Great Britain, showing that some worthy men were not content with the mere melodious sound of the chanted Latin, but were desirous, that the new story should be understood by their people in their Mother-tongue. We have a singular illustration of this. Boniface stopped for the night at a monastery near Treves. A promising boy, aged 15, named Gregory, after the blessing given at supper, began to read aloud out of the Latin Vulgate. When he had finished Boniface remarked : “ You read well and clearly : do you understand the meaning of the words ? ” The boy said, that he was quite sure that he did, and read the Latin over again. Boniface said : “ I want you to tell me in German what you have just read in Latin ” : the boy admitted, that he could not do so. Boniface then translated it word by word, and preached on the subject : it made such an impression upon Gregory, that he left all and followed Boniface, to learn from him how to understand the Holy Scriptures. Later on the time of Monks was wasted in idle processions, and liturgical chants, and the meaning of Scripture clean forgotten.

(2) *First Period, up to 400 A.D.*

By the Edict of Milan the Christian Religious Conception became a “ *Religio licita*.” This does not at the present Epoch seem a great favour to grant, but the same intolerant cries have at all times come up from an ignorant populace, backed by an interested Priesthood, who lived by the old Ritual. Let us consider for a moment how wonderfully the sense of Justice has developed, since 313 A.D. I have been stationed at Banáras in North India, a city full of Temples of the Hindu, and Mosques of the Mahometan. By the Laws of British India there is absolute Tolerance, so long as the necessary Police-Regulations are observed, and the Sixth Commandment is not broken, which forbids Murder under any possible pretence. “ *Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους,*” was the cry of the Roman populace in the time of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. There was at that time no outward show of Temples, Statues, Processions, and Ritual,

for the new Faith started on the principle that "God was a Spirit, to be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth"; and the absence of outward show gave the appearance of Atheism. When Protestantism arose against the Paganism of the Church of Rome, the same charge was brought against the so-called Heretics, that they were Atheists.

Blameable as was the policy of that great and wise Emperor Marcus Aurelius in ordering the New Religious Conception to be opposed, how much worse was the conduct of Theodosius in the destruction of the Temple of Serápis at Alexandria! How frightfully wicked was the conduct of the Christians of that period! Some of them had undergone persecution in their youth from the Pagan Romans, and yet in their old age they were active in persecuting the Pagans, and destroying their Temples. They were the legitimate ancestors of Torquemáda and the Inquisition.

The Emperor Julian has always been unjustly spoken of: he was disgusted by the servile conduct of the Christian Clergy; he had been educated at Athens, and was acquainted with some of the most celebrated Bishops, who had been taught there. In the life of Basil (I, 285) we have the famous letters which passed between him and Julian on the subject of some document. Julian wrote ·

“ Ἀνέγνων, ἔγνων, κατέγνων.”

Reply of Basil ·

“ Ἀνέγνως, οὐκ ἔγνως εἰ γάρ ἔγνως, οὐκᾶν κατέγνως.”

(“ Thou hast read, but not understood : for if thou hadst understood, thou would not have condemned.”)

Julian is called the “Apostate.” He was not more so than Constantine, or any other person, who changes his Religion. A Hindu who becomes a Christian is called so in India. At least Julian was tolerant. If he made an attempt to reintroduce Paganism, it was not the old Paganism of the degraded Roman Empire, but, as he was a thoughtful Philosopher of the School of Athens, he desired to reintroduce the Worship of the Great Gods of Greece and Rome with something of the reality of Christian Worship, and the purity of Christian life. The great figure of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God, did not in those days stand forth so conspicuously as it does now.

With the death of Julian, Paganism died as a ruling Power: it was not a compact body of Doctrine: it had no Sacred Books, but it had become a kind of *alluvies* of all the dying Theogonies of the Elder World. In the tombs of the Roman Legion, buried under the Roman wall of Northumberland, are found Inscriptions to Isis, Bona Dea, the Great Mother, etc., but they were all impregnated with the dry-rot of Philosophy, Agnosticism,

and Atheism. Let not the Christian Religion fall to that state. Still, Literature remained in the hands of the Pagans in the Schools of Athens and Alexandria. It never occurred to the Roman Emperor to found purely Secular Institutions. The rural population (Pagani) clung to their local Shrines, their hereditary Religious ideas: they still climbed the mountain, or worshipped at the fountain; the mother still called Lucina to her throes; the dying man still sacrificed the cock to Aesculapius. They attributed the dreadful calamities of Rome to their own neglect of the Ancient gods, who had made Rome what it was, but who had now departed and left the city to its fate. If the Emperors called themselves Christians, some of them were still as cruel and vicious as Nero: if the Priests were Christians, they had introduced intolerance, and allowed no Religious Conception to exist but their own.

The nominal Christians used to bring sheep, oxen, and pigs, to sacrifice at the altar of the new Saint, just as they had done before at the altar of the deposed god: they remained Pagans in heart though not in name. They were convinced, that their Saint could do what they wanted, *if he chose*. There was a sort of contract in their minds between the God of the Christians and the Saint to take care of the individual Worshipper, and they had reason to be angry if the Saint took the offerings, and did not grant the favour asked. They had not got further than the Patriarch Jacob in their view of the great Controller (Genesis, xxviii, 20-2): "*Do ut des.*" If the Saint did not grant what they wished, they abused him, ill-used him, and beat him. The Human race is more true to its own grovelling, selfish, self, than is generally supposed; and in their gross, carnal hearts, the same sentiments survive the change of form of Ritual or Dogma, and exist among so-called Christians to this day.

Augustine of Hippo remarked, that the Idols, driven from the Temple, still dwelt in the heart:

"Magis remanescent in cordibus idola quam in locis templorum."

They could not find it in themselves to think ill of what their Ancestors had done for so many centuries without suffering any bad consequences, and what they themselves had done in innocent childhood: the Past, the Glorious Past, of Rome weighed on them. Their idea of Tolerance was to crave it, when conquered, and to deny it, when in power. It was as difficult in the Roman Empire, as in British India, to wean an ignorant herd in a low state of Culture from Pagan Worship: they were never converted in the heart, and they adapted the old Temple, old Ritual, old phraseology, to the new Religious Conceptions, forced upon the base populace by official influence, and which was more suitable to the advance of the age. Development is of the very essence of the Religious Conception of the poor foolish Human race. Great Pan was clearly

dead: Nature-Worship had passed away. The gods of Rome no longer satisfied the aspirations, the lazy desires of a *canaille*, which must have some place to resort to, and acknowledge some Power, or Personality, greater than themselves, to whom they could appeal.

We can here appreciate the exceedingly great value of the Protestant theories of Religion, which place the Conversion of the individual by peaceful and holy argument in the front, and we cannot value too highly that great Christian Free-Thinking Element, which guarantees the existence of Religious Liberty, Entire Tolerance, and Absolute Equality.

Bishop Lightfoot, in his Sermons on Christianity and Paganism (p. 66, 1890), writes:

“The source of the superiority of Christianity over Paganism was fourfold:

- “ (1) A more enlightened faith in the will of the Unseen.
- “ (2) A heartier devotion to the cause of Humanity.
- “ (3) A more reverential awe for the Majesty of Purity.
- “ (4) A greater readiness to Do and Suffer.”

A Neo-Platonist and a Mahometan would dispute this superiority: a Buddhist would claim, as his own, all these characteristics. The Bishop says at p. 80:

“Though Constantine, and his son Constantius, reigned 55 years, Paganism was by no means disestablished; Christianity was only tolerated. Both Emperors were only baptized *in articulo mortis*: both were called Supreme Pontiff of the Heathen Cult, which was still the Official Religion: both dead Emperors were added to the Divinities of the Pantheon; coins place this fact beyond doubt.”

Then came Julian, A.D. 361, who tried to restore the old Religious Conception, but with a reformed Cult. Gratian, in A.D. 383, refused to be Supreme Pontiff, and Paganism was disestablished, and disendowed. The Temple of Serápis at Alexandria was destroyed A.D. 391. With the fall of the Empire Paganism perished outwardly, though still kept up in secret. Augustine's “City of God” reads like a Paeon of triumph over its fall.

If the chance of war left British India at the mercy of a Hindu, or Mahometan, Potentate, it is possible, and probable, that they would, each in their own way, do something to restore the dignity and wealth of their ancient Religious Conceptions, but it would be found in practice, that the Neo-Hinduism, and Neo-Mahometanism, would be something essentially different from the old forms, for new ideas have been absorbed into the old body. Education, and contact with other Nations, and the general softening influences of Civilization, have done their work. Christianity would not be

expelled, and its influences would still be felt. The Tolerance of the British Rule in India for more than a century has left its indelible mark on the character of the population.

Besides, there is a Development of the Religious idea always going on, though with different degrees of force with Nations on the different rounds of Human progress. "Two thousand years ago
" there loomed through the mists of earlier Greek Thought the
" consciousness of One God: it came with the sense of the Unity
" of the World; it came with the sense of the Order of the World."
(Hatch: Bampton Lectures, p. 173.)

Plutarch writes ("De Iside et Osire," p. 378): "There are not
" different gods among different people, nor foreign gods, nor
" Greek gods, nor gods of the South and North, but just as Sun,
" Moon, and Sky, Earth and Sea, are common to all mankind, but
" have different names among different races, so, though there be
" one 'Reason,' who orders these things, and one 'Providence'
" who administers them, there are different honours and appella-
" tions among different races, and men use consecrated symbols,
" some of them obscure, and some more clear, in this way leading
" their thoughts on the path to the Divine. But it is not without
" risk, for some men, wholly missing their foothold, have slipped
" into Superstition, and others, avoiding Superstition, have fallen
" into Atheism."

How Missionaries should ponder over these lines! The idol is nothing, absolutely nothing: to exhibit it at Missionary Meetings, or even in a Museum, unless done reverently, is an insult to the Human race. The piece of wood or stone represents the Religious Conception of one of the poor uninstructed Children of God, "who felt after God if haply he could find Him." Both Hindu and Romanists have said to me, that it was not the image, which they venerated, but the idea personified in that image. By looking intently at the image, and for the moment forgetting all the World besides, they tried to fix their Souls upon the Infinite. Perhaps shutting their eyes would have the same result to Souls habitually living close to God.

It is not sufficiently dwelt upon, how in the 400 years preceding Anno Domini, the whole civilized World was entering on a new realm of thought: Confucius in China, Buddha in India, Socrates, and the School of Plato, in Greece, were leaving indelible marks on the minds of men. Great Pan was dying: an incurable wound had been inflicted on the old National Religions, by Reason and Ridicule: the Jews, even the most rigorous, were advancing, in spite of their Thora, along the same path. Civilization is as infectious as Cholera, and travels from town to town; and parties, susceptible of the intellectual and spiritual infection, are found everywhere.

In no one particular were the eyes of men more open than this: What is the reward of Virtue? what profit has man in keeping the

Law of God? The Hebrew before the Exile had no thought beyond this World; temporal blessings were the only reward, and yet clearly the good suffered, and the wicked triumphed. It is of no use for the Psalmist to say, that he never saw the righteous begging their bread (xxxvii, 25): facts were against him.

When the Hebrew Kingdom was entirely destroyed, and the Persian and Greek ruled, when Antiochus Epiphanes defiled the Temple, it then came upon them, that the reward was not in this World, and that there was a Future State. Homer and the Greeks had arrived at this earlier; the Latins knew all about the next World; the Hindu and Buddhist solved the problem by Metempsychosis.

The early death of Josiah was a crushing event. Of what use was it to serve God? The explanation in the Psalms of what was seen in the Temple did not cover the problem: the wisdom of the Son of Sirach is at fault to explain it.

Another point of view has to be considered. The elder World, including Greece and Rome, looked upon the State-Religion, the Local Deity, as part of the Constitution, part of the ethnical, local, and moral, prospects of the Nation, which could neither be questioned, nor changed. Plato and Cicero clearly admitted this fact. The man, who doubted, or left his National Faith, was declared to be "Impious," to have committed a crime against the State, and deserving of Punishment.

Christianity, following Buddhism, and preceding Mahometanism, introduced a new principle, that Religion was Universal, and not limited to this or that Nation. While the Christians were down-trodden, they pleaded for Tolerance on the ground of National Law, and that the Divinity required the service of the Heart. The Edict of Milan provided, that each person should be allowed to worship his own Deity, in order that that Deity might look favourably on the Empire. This admits the existence of other Deities, and proves, that the Edict could not have been drafted by a Christian, who could not make such an admission. The Hebrews may have been up to the time of the Prophets Monolatrists, and not Monotheists, admitting that Moab and Ammon had their gods, but that their God was a stronger one; but the Christian and the Mahometan were never so.

When the time came for the Teutons to give up the Worship of their Divinities, whose names still survive in the days of the week, the lower classes did little more than obey orders, and debase the New Religious Conception to the level of the old by changing the terminology, not the idea. With the usual ingratitude of Perverts, while the Priests of the new Conception took credit for the abundance of the Harvest, the cessation of illness, victory in battle in reply to their prayers, when opposite events occurred, they were attributed to the wrath of the insulted Teuton Gods. I have not

remarked this intellectual phenomenon in India, for in fact the Worship of the old gods has not diminished, and the erection of new Temples, and repair of old ones, in a time of Peace, and a realm of Law, are conspicuous.

Of those, who opposed Christianity in the fourth century A.D., there were distinct groups:

- (1) Those who would make no compromise: the stupid old conservatives, who exist at all periods, who know nothing, understand nothing, and remain in their ignorance.
- (2) Those who, from a desire of a quiet life, kept silent.
- (3) Those who, being moderate in their views, and thoughtful in their natures, dreamed of some union and compromise between the old and new Idea.

All the above were firmly attached to the old Religious Conception, as would be natural with persons of low Culture; but the worldly people, indifferent to anything spiritual, went over blindly to the new Religious Conception of those in Power. The greater the amount of Paganism, that clung to the new Ritual, the more staunch these adherents were: but the eyes of the generations of mankind were being opened to the folly of Polytheism, the frightful moral impurity of the Olympian gods, and a conviction grew upon the thoughtful, that there did exist a great Eternal Universal Power, known as Numen Divinum Divinitas, the author and sustainer of the World. We may expect something like this in the expiring Religious Conception of the Hindu and Buddhist.

The Biography of one man of that period of change has come down to us, which is characteristic of the Epoch. In the last generation of real Paganism there lived a man named Praetextátus. He died 384 A.D., before Alaric appeared before Rome. He was a tolerant, wise, genuine, man, well skilled in all the learning of the time. He not only knew the history of his own Gracco-Roman Cult, but of the other contemporary Conceptions, such as those of Mitra, Isis, the Great Mother, etc., and he tried to unite them all, so as to resist lawfully and with dignity the new Christian idea. He was a contemporary of Jerome and Augustine.

When the Christians quarrelled among themselves, and actually killed each other in a dispute about the election of a new Pope, Praetextátus interfered, exiled one of the candidates, and supported Dámasus. He gave Christians the cynical advice, that they should love each other more: he rallied them on their luxurious living, and large Revenues. The Inscription on the tomb of his wife Paulína has come down to us: "You, my husband, by teaching' me have saved me from the arm of Death: you took me to the Temple, and under your eyes I was initiated into all the mysteries. I should

“ have been happy, if the gods had allowed me to survive you. “ I am still happy, because I die thine, as I lived, and as I shall “ still remain after my Death.” This is coming very near Christianity. The moderate Christians and Pagans might have united: but just as in former times the Pagans had persecuted the Christians, so later on the Christians persecuted the Pagans, and so it would be again, if the Church of Rome, which learns nothing, and forgets nothing, got into power.

(3) *Second Period: Conversion of Europe.*

Many excellent Books have been written on this subject; they are all partizan-books. I wish to regard the progress of the new Idea from a philosophical point of view. If any enlightened Mahometan, like Saiyad Ahmed Ali, of Aligarh, North India, were to write a Book on the Conversion of Asia to Islam, and to narrate with satisfaction, how Christian Churches were destroyed or turned into Mosques, and the Priests slaughtered, and their lands confiscated, we should pass a severe judgment upon him. The end does not justify the means. We ought to recollect, that the Powers of the Earth are only instruments in the hands of the great Controller of Human events. We look with equal disgust on the Methods adopted in past ages to make Nations Christian, or to make them Mahometan.

Europe to this day is not entirely even nominally Christian: there are Millions of Mahometans in the European portion of the Turkish Empire, and thousands of Hebrews scattered over Europe. As a fact, portions of Lithuania were not converted to a Nominal Christianity until the Thirteenth century A.D., and then by the most violent and abominable Methods. Up to 1230 A.D., Human Sacrifices were offered in Lithuania, and male and female slaves were burned with their Master and Mistress. Moreover, Millions are only Census-Christians. The Unitarians can scarcely be classed as Christians for any practical purpose, any more than the Hebrew.

There was a marked difference in the mode of Conversion. In the early centuries the spread of the new Idea had gone upwards, springing sometimes from the words, and example, of a Christian slave, male or female. The first Christians were essentially men of low degree, not many wise, not many great, nor were the tenets of the new Idea formularized, nor were the Ministers instructed, nor was there any Literature of any kind. There must have been a very difficult two centuries, when the new Idea rested on its own innate strength, and Divine impulse.

The political state of Europe was changing. Powerful and ignorant Pagan races had spread over North Europe from the East,

the Kelts, the Teutons, and the Slavs: they were the vehicles chosen by God for the reception of the new Idea from the worn-out Roman and Greek races. They were followed by the Huns. The Roman arms had penetrated to Britain in the North, that isolated race,

“*Penitus totâ divisos orbe Britannos*”;

to the South in the African Sahára, to the East to the shores of the River Tigris and beyond. Greek Philosophy had shaken the blind confidence in the Supernatural. The common herd had not much of the Religious Instinct to get rid of, and they did not take in much beyond the externals of the new Religious Conception.

From one point of view the whole Christian community in the first two centuries had the functions to discharge of a Missionary Society, and had the opportunity also. They were strangers and sojourners in the midst of a great mass of Paganism: there was no standing still, or making compromise. They had not to go out of their street, or their town, to find persons worthy of Conversion: there were their slaves, their neighbours, their fellow-townsmen. The very words which they used, their every action, if they were indeed Christians, betrayed them. The Christian mistress could not ill-treat her slave; the Christian man could not give a free rein to his low appetites; the soft answer, the abstention from returning a blow, the putting up with injuries, betrayed a something, which made an impression, disarmed an enemy, and perhaps attracted an inquirer. The meeting for family-prayer, the Psalm-singing, the pure life of chastity, must have made Pagans feel, that there was some new element in life, that there was a Beauty in Holiness, a Power in self-control. Such exhibitions in the Nineteenth century would have the same effect. In Rome, at that time, the masses, who took lessons in Cruelty in the Flavian Amphitheatre, had lost all sensibility to Pity, all capacity for Mercy.

Of course, those, who opposed the spread of Christianity in the three first centuries, get no quarter from an Ecclesiastical Historian. Clearly, like the Hindu conservatives in India, they did not understand the movement: it was clearly a *destructive* one; of that there was no doubt, and destructive of something, which had been valued by them. They were good old conservatives, who were content with things as they were: the Olympian gods would last their time, and they had no stomach for martyrdom.

And it has been acutely remarked by a great author, Dr. Arnold, that in all great moral movements there are two motors, belonging to totally different classes: (1) the serious reformer, (2) the libertine anarchist. The Apostles had to warn their flocks against the wild licentious doctrines, which had fastened like limpets on an imperfect Christianity. The neo-Christian, both then and now, fell far short

in practice of the doctrine, which he preached. Those, who persecuted Socrates, called him an Atheist: that was according to the prevailing opinion of the time. Those, who persecuted the Christians, called them Atheists; and, when the Christians got the upper hand, and the Arm of the Flesh was on their side, the Christians called the Heathen Atheists. It is the old story: orthodoxy means "my doxy," and atheism means the non-recognition of "my gods." We have to get to the standpoint of the speaker to understand the argument.

The problem of the Conversion of Europe seems to resemble the problem of the Conversion of India at the present moment: but how different is the environment! While, on the one hand, the preacher of the new Idea has entire Toleration, and liberty, so long as he does not injure others, and has no fear of incarceration by the Authorities, or of being stoned by the Mob in a Realm of Law, yet, on the other hand, he dares not touch, or insult, a place of Worship of others, and, if such an incident had occurred as that of the deaths of Ananias and Sapphira, while I was Magistrate of Banáras, I should have placed Peter and John in the Police Lock-up, and inquired into the cause of death. Had Hypátia been killed by the Bishop and Clergy of an Indian Diocese, I rather suspect, that the parties concerned, including the Bishop, would have found their way to the Gallows.

Whether by the connivance of the Christian Priests or not, somehow or other the converts in Europe, notably in Friesland, connected the abundance of the Harvest, and the success of the Fishery, with the arrival of the Christian Missionary: this is the very lowest form of Superstition. When will the enlightened Christianity of the Nineteenth century disconnect the solemn order of the Seasons, and the laws, which regulate the abundance and scarcity of the Seasons, from Prayer and Temple-Worship? In India to this day Prayers are being offered simultaneously in adjacent temples for more Rain, by those who have Cotton-cultivation, and for no Rain at all, by those, who cultivate the Sugar-cane on irrigated land. Why not leave the Clerk of the Weather to manage his own affairs?

So when, by use of medical knowledge, or some lucky chance, in fact by the Providence of God, and His all-seeing Wisdom, men recovered from sickness, the converts in the Early Missions in Europe were taught to attribute this healing to the new Religious Conception: how the Deaths were explained away we know not. But it is a low form of Conversion to retain such notions. Possibly such stories may belong to the lying legends of an over-credulous age. It must be admitted, that out of Palestine no consideration is shown by the most devout Christian to a Miracle. The modern Missionary should stoutly disclaim all sympathy with any Reports of occurrences out of the ordinary evolutions of Nature. The

medicine-man, the *Θαυματουργός*, or the Faith-healer, should be sternly denounced. The spiritual Conversion of a Soul is the greatest possible Miracle. The saving of a Soul from well-merited Punishment by Faith in one Powerful to save is the greatest of all possible Human Conceptions.

Not only was it deemed to be right, but a duty, to compel the Heathen to come in to the Christian Church, and to punish severely any, who after joining the Church, altered their mind and left it; but this right is asserted still by no less an authority than Cardinal Vaughan: "Occasions are not wanting for the employment of the Civil sword in defence of the Church. Neither the Church nor the State, whenever they are united on the basis of Divine Right, have any knowledge of Tolerance. The Peace of Christ goes hand in hand with Unity, not with Division. The Church has the right, *in virtue of her Divine Commission, to require of everyone to accept her doctrine*: there can be no tolerance of error in matters of Religion." (Cardinal Vaughan, "Essays on Religion," p. 402, 1867.)

The influence of a Queen was made use of to convert a King. We have the notable instance of the King of Kent in the time of Augustine of Canterbury. Great indignation would be felt, if a Mahometan wife persuaded a Christian King to accept Islam. A whole Regiment of Soldiers entered the stream *en masse* to be baptized under orders of their Chieftain. Three thousand French warriors were baptized then and there with King Clovis. The Russian peasants were driven by whips into the River Dnieper, and baptized by force. They would have become Mahometans under similar influences brought to bear upon their bodies. Cases of individual Conversion under the influence of argument and prayer were rare.

In those days there was not such a wide abyss of social habits between the Missionary and the Natives, to the Conversion of whom he was delegated, as there exists now. The hardship, to which the Missionary was exposed from climate and entire deprivation of social necessities, was much less. As a set-off to this, in a Realm of Law like British India there is no personal danger from arbitrary violence, and unfailing means of communication with the mother-country, which were entirely wanting in the days of the great English Missionary Boniface.

Alcuin (A.D. 780) insisted on the worthlessness of Baptism without Faith and conviction of Sin. He did not regard Baptism as an *opus operatum*, and he did not scruple to inveigh against the tendency at his time to identify Conquest by force of arms with the Conversion of the Soul. We stretch out our arms to bless this mediaeval Christian, who could see and speak so clearly.

Let us read what happens in our own Epoch. A thousand of the troops of the newly converted King of Kent and his French

wife had indeed walked into the River and were baptized: not a word about Soul-Conversion. In modern times Tippu Tib, the great Slave-dealer, sells to the emissaries of Cardinal Lavigerie, a complete village of slaves captured with the usual accompaniments of rapine, rape, murder, and arson, men, women, and children, in the proper proportion, and all are baptized and started in a Christian Church: what an outcry there would be, if the Mahometans had done the same, and had circumcised Christian Boys!

The Bishop at Loanda used to baptize all the slaves forcibly deported for the Portuguese West African Colony from South America.

There was an ebb and flow in the tide of Missionary zeal. Gregory the Great seriously and justly blamed the French Churches, which had obtained an early Christianity, for not caring to carry the Gospel to their Pagan Neighbours. The same slackness was evidenced by the British Church, which actually refused to take any steps to convert the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain. Somehow or other the Pagan Northmen, who had settled in North France, reappear to History as Christian Normans.

Still more remarkable is the absence of any desire of the great Protestant Reformers of Europe, though they had studied the Scriptures and were devoted to Christ, to carry the Gospel to Regions Beyond. Even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth no effort was made. It cannot be said, that at that Epoch the Duty was unknown, as Erasmus, not a Protestant, but whose voice was heard in his Missionary treatise, pp. 115, 116, recognizes the Duty.

Boniface's Methods were thoroughly bad, exceptionally bad from the standpoint of his own Epoch. He used the Arm of the Flesh unscrupulously to overcome the inhabitants of another country (he was an Englishman and the people were Germans), who had different views from his own of the relation of the Soul to God. He might by kindly reason and argument have shown them the better way: but where was his authority in the Scriptures to destroy their objects of reverence, appropriate their property to his own use, and while getting rid of Idol-Worship with one hand, introduce the still more degraded fetish-Worship of relics with the other? He erred greatly in another direction. He strove by force or chicanery to force into obedience to Rome the independent Christianities founded on the Continent by Columbánus and Gall: he is reported to have baptized thousands: how many individuals had he tested as to their knowledge, elementary knowledge, of Christ? He was not a hypocrite: he never pretended to work miracles: he wrought according to the limitation of Human powers, with an inflexible will and entire devotion to Rome and the Frank King, who supported him.

Charlemagne attempted to introduce Christianity by blood and

sword into Germany; he beheaded in one day 4,500 Saxons, who opposed him. One of the main causes of the irruption of the Northmen upon Great Britain, Ireland, and France was to avenge the wrong done by Charlemagne. (Stoke's "Keltic Church," p. 264.) He did not scruple to destroy idols, and appropriate the Temples to the new Idea: a greater wrong than this to Human Nature can scarcely be imagined. Cardinal Vaughan, in his address this year (1897), seems to allude to this with satisfaction at the Ebb's Fleet celebration. The Pope ordered that the Temples of the idols were not to be destroyed, but sprinkled with holy water, and furnished with altars, on which Worship could be offered to deified mortals, such as the Virgin Mary.

Still, the Missionaries of that period were devoted men, and did what they could: there were no "Missionary Intelligencers" published monthly to cover them with undeserved praise, and chronicle the illnesses of their wives, and the prolific birth of their children. Their names have become mere shadows. We have the outlines of good and devoted men, who made it their life's occupation in a rude and barbarous age, with no support from rich Associations, no Salaries, or Pensions, or Allowances, no motive but to serve their Master, no instructions but the promptings of the Holy Spirit to spread the gentle civilizing precepts of the new Religious Conception.

If not of the same race with the men, amidst whom they settled, they were on the same round of Human Culture, in the same environment of customs and prejudices, and under the same cloud of ignorance as to Geography, History, and Astronomy. There was no superb Albocracy then as now, and they dealt tenderly with the usages of the people, as they could sympathize with them, pitied their superstitions, from which they had so lately emerged themselves, and if permitted became fathers of their new flock. Boniface started from Exeter, Columbánus from Glasgow, Aidan migrated to the Holy Island: let us think of their material outfit, and contrast it with that of the modern Missionary, who is outfitted by a Missionary Society. Let us reflect on the comfortable homes of the modern Missionary, his carriages, and the dress of himself and his wife, and how he holds his head above the Native Pastors, and would scorn the idea of his daughter's intermarriage with one of them: he rails against Caste, and in matters matrimonial and social practises it: perhaps the converted Hindu, like the late Nehemiah Nilkant, a Brahman, has a pedigree of hundreds of years; while the white man has sprung from behind the counter into the pulpit.

The Missionary of that period craved of the Ruler the gift of a petty island, or some valueless land, and practised Community life, as distinguished from Monasticism. In his humble way he exhibited the new Christian life, analogous to the "Noble Way"

of Buddha, and he went about preaching the new Idea of Human Life, and the Promise of Life beyond the grave. Sometimes the Chiefs threw in their lot with him. In Iona the Abbot was head of the Community, and the Bishop was one of the Community. Such servants of Christ did not seek personal comfort: they did not allow themselves the blessings of Family-life: they were celibates, and their food, raiment, and roof-tree, were of the same pattern as that of the people, whose hearts they came to win. They employed Natives as their assistants: they laid the foundation of Secular Instruction: they all spoke the Language of the People: they studied and translated the Scriptures, and with their own hand made copies for the new Churches. There were no Printing-presses then. Patrick, Columba, Columbánus, and Boniface, had all studied the Scriptures, and loved to read and meditate upon them, and made them their rule in life: if asceticism could be imputed to them, it was only external. "True Religion," said Columbánus, "consists not in the humiliation of the body, but of the heart: the external observances are not the end, but the means."

On the subject of the Language to be employed in Public Worship, Augustine of Canterbury was blind: he chose to assume, that Latin was the Sacred Language. Ulfilas, Cyril, Methodius, had their eyes opened: his were shut. Latin was dead, dead even in Spain and Italy, and had never been understood in Great Britain; but the Anglo-Saxon, and Welsh, Languages were entirely banished from the Churches, over which he had control, and no attempt was made to translate the Scriptures. The Priest kept to himself the prerogative of oral explanation. It was not so in North Britain, where the Missionaries from Iona had influence. Cædmon (A.D. 680) burst forth with a poetic Bible: this was followed by a Translation of the Psalms, and Bede left to us the precious legacy of the Gospel of John.

Twice this little island of Great Britain has had the privilege of being called to Evangelize the World. The names of Aidan, Paulinus, Chad, Cuthbert, Benedict Biscop, Wilfrid, Willebrod, Winefrid *alias* Boniface, can never be forgotten.

(4) *Third Period.*

The time came, when the Gospel was conveyed to countries out of Europe. The efforts, that have been made during the Nineteenth century by the Protestant and Romish Churches, are too well known to require mention. Allusion is now made to the efforts made on a very limited scale in previous centuries. We must recollect that locomotion then was difficult: Geographical Knowledge was scant and inaccurate. In Mahometan countries, both to the Missionary and Convert, change of Faith meant Death, and in barbarous Regions

fearful sufferings had to be counted upon. We must not be hard on previous generations, because so little was done. It is true, that they did not even do what they might have done, but the magnificent opportunities of modern days were absent. Of course the same Duty existed; but the means were wofully deficient, and the Methods had not been worked out by experience. The countries, in which some efforts had been made, were :

- I. Asia : India, China, Japan.
- II. Africa : Abyssinia.
- III. Oceania : nothing.
- IV. America : Mexico, Paraguay.

The prospect of the same Gospel being preached in the same country (say British India) by twenty or thirty different Organizations, in differing forms, sometimes violently hostile to each other, is not encouraging : it is a melancholy phenomenon.

Foremost, but by no means the originator, among Missionaries of this Period stands Francis Xavier : he landed in Goa 1542 A.D., and died aged 46, 1552 A.D., after service of only ten years in Goa, Travancór, Ceylon, the Indian Archipelago, and Japan : he died of want and neglect in the little island of Sancian, near Hongkong. His Methods were decidedly sensational, and spasmodic. In the *Illustrated Catholic Missions of London*, Dec., 1890, in a short notice barely exceeding a column of half-page, it is deemed of importance to record, that at Goa he “went about the streets ringing a bell to draw the little children after him” : in Ceylon he “evangelized the poor and oppressed” Pearl-fishers, “baptizing *tens of thousands*” : in Travancór “God first gave him the gift of tongues without learning them.” In describing his Methods the writer says, that his life was not merely that of a great “thaumaturgus,” miracle-worker, “but first and foremost a life of self-denial, mortification, penance, and humiliation, combined with heroic love of God, and consequent zeal for souls; and wherever Missionary work has succeeded, is succeeding, or will ever succeed, it is only by these Methods, the Methods of the Apostles, Patrick, Boniface, Xavier, and all who are animated by his spirit, and hope for his reward.” Oh that the Missionaries of the Church of Rome would be content with these last attributes, omitting the thaumaturgy ! Oh that the Protestant Missionaries would take up a life of self-denial, and be ready to die at their posts, not saddling the Missionary Society with the education of Missionary children, and abandoning their posts, just, when after a useless and expensive apprenticeship, they have become useful, for the sake of a sick wife ! Can such be called Apostles ?

Xavier’s merits were : absence of Ambition, and Vanity ; undaunted energy ; entire self-consecration ; no idea of leaving his Field ; very bold ; the same to all men ; sympathy and tenderness

for all his fellow-labourers; a peacemaker always; great nobility of character; very full in his reports; good for dispatch of business; great purity of life; great endurance and patience.

His faults were: leaning entirely on the Arm of the Flesh; ignorance of any foreign language; not truthful; impulsive and constantly meddling in Worldly Politics; revengeful against all, who opposed him; totally indifferent to the Translation of the Bible; worshipper of Saints and Angels; encouraging his Missionaries to flatter and act as spies; requiring no preparation before baptism; an ascetic; desirous to be an autocrat; crave for Romance; baptizing young children *in articulo mortis*; never making any attempt at individual Conversion of the Soul.

It was found, that in the South of India, in Travancór, there was an ancient Syrian Christian Church: the date of the foundation of that Church is disputed: it is not probable, that it existed before the Sixth century A.D., and there is little evidence of Christian life during ten centuries; but it did exist, and maintained a certain Ritual, ruled over by an Abúna from the Syrian Patriarch at Mardin, in Mesopotamia. Francis Xavier, in 1545, tried to induce a spiritual submission to the Pope by offering a salary to this Abúna from the Portuguese King: this is a sample of the Missionary Methods of the Period. Strange to say, the Syrian Church preferred its independence, but there was a secession of a portion, who called themselves the Syro-Romanists, under the Bishop of Goa. When they first came into contact with Western Christians, they were Nestorians, and had been so from the commencement; but in 1665, when all communication with the Nestorian Patriarch had long been effectually prevented by the Romanists, they came under the Patriarch of Antioch of the Syrian Church. (“Syrian Church of Malabar,” 1873, p. 7.)

It is interesting to record, that a small section of the Romish Missionaries tried the expedient of a certain fusion of Romish and Indian practices, if not of dogma: it failed, as the Vatican rejected the notion with scorn. The Phenomenon is possible in the present dissolving state of the Indian Intellectual Kaleidoscope. The Salvation-Army supplies a quasi-Christian ingredient, which might combine with a branch of the great Hindu Tree.

This is one of the Problems of the Twentieth century. Missionary Societies of all Churches and Nationalities have, in spite of warning, persistently determined to convey to the inhabitants of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and North and South America, the Gospel of Christ in a European, or American, capsule, so that the converts not only become Christianized but Europeanized. There will be an intellectual revolt on the part of the ancient races of Asia: they were civilized, when the people of Europe were still savages. They have Legends, ancient Ritual, time-honoured Customs, Sacred Books, National Pride: will they not submit the precious

ore of the Gospel to a new crucible, and refuse to occupy the position of Middle-class Europeans and Americans ?

(5) *Conclusion.*

We must not suppose, that God's witnesses are at any time entirely absent from any great assembly of Human creatures. Amidst the Hindu, Buddhists, Confucianists, and Mahometans, there have at all times been some, who tried to see God face to face, or attain that spiritual state, which was closest to God, or partook of the elements of the highest Virtue conceivable by their limited intellects. So amidst those dark ages of Christianity, when Religion was being propagated by the sword, false miracles, lying legends, and unworthy expedients, amidst this wilderness of true Religious Conceptions, amidst these dry bones of Ritual observance, the cruel oppression of the poor non-Christian, the destruction of time-honoured shrines, which had been the only ideal of Religion to countless Millions for centuries, ever and anon we come upon the track of true Saints of God. Some sparks from the Divine Workshop illuminate the whole Region : wiser counsels are uttered, if not attended to : the faults above described were the faults of the Messenger, not of the Message. Something whispers in our ear, that the matter was from God, and not from Rome, or Gaul : that this was the Method deliberately ordained for the Conversion of Europe, for the object was to advance the Kingdom of God, not the transitory Kingdom of Roman, Kelt, Teuton, or Slav. The work was painfully Human ; the workers poor miserable men ; the object was essentially divine, *to convert the heart*. Some think, that this spiritual operation can be performed by Ritualistic Symbols, brought to bear *en bloc* on families, tribes, and Nations ; others think on Scriptural grounds, that Conversion is the sole work of the Holy Spirit working on individual consciences. We sadly remark the absence of charity in what was done : let me take heed, that there is no lack of charity in the mode of describing it : the treasure is given to us in earthen vessels ; but it is given, and it is there : let us condemn the fault, but speak lovingly of the offender. Perhaps, if we had been placed in their environment, we should have done the same : perhaps in Heaven the desire to do His Will will be some excuse for the shockingly defective modes of doing it.

A narrowness of vision is evidenced in many writers ; their environment was practically limited by the Roman Empire, the orbit of Greek and Roman Literature with the conventional knowledge of the Hebrew race. The knowledge of Eastern Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America was limited, and yet the four great pre-Christian Religious Conceptions had come into existence, Brahma, Buddha, Zoroaster, Confucius, influencing hundreds of millions even to this day. The English theologian discusses the work of the Great

Creator over *the whole World*, the round orb circumnavigated by our ships, and described by our Geographers, and yet he restricts his arguments to the comparatively small Roman Empire, or the insignificant Hebrew race, as if they represented the whole World. Luke the Evangelist set the example by telling us that Augustus Caesar issued a decree "that all the World (*ἡ οἰκουμένη*) should be taxed," and that "devout men out of every Nation under Heaven" were present on the day of Pentecost (Acts, ii, 5). This has led insensibly in Religious treatises to the use of exaggerated and lax expressions, which would never be used in the description of the affairs of ordinary life. A kind of poetic glamour is thrown over the whole subject, and things are deemed to be possible, which are in ordinary life impossible. And yet the subject discussed is of such paramount importance to the Soul, that the strictest accuracy of expression should be maintained.

For Luke, the Gentile Physician, Buddha had lived in vain; for him in vain had Asóka two hundred years before the great Anno Domini erected the tablets, which still exist in different parts of the vast Indian Empire, preaching Peace, and Mercy, and Holiness. "A completely new idea in the History of the World had been started in the third Buddhistic Council in the Third century before the great Anno Domini under King Asóka, the idea of conquering all Nations by the sole Power of Truth. A resolution was carried at that Council to send Missionaries to all Nations to preach the Noble Way, the new Gospel of Altruism. Such an idea had never entered into the minds of the ancient Egyptian, Babylonian, or Brahman, or Hebrew, not even of the Greeks: it presupposed quite a new conception of the World; it assumed a belief, that the different Nations of the World, however separated from each other by language, colour, custom, and Geographical distribution, formed one united family; that Humanity was not an empty name." (Max Müller, Oriental Congress. September, 1892.)

We have no right to attribute Universality to the experiences of the tiny Nation of the Jews, or to claim a monopoly of moral goodness to the Nineteenth century nominal Christian. The great Asiatic Nations up to the time of Alexander the Great had maintained an isolated existence: they had neither borrowed ideas, nor lent them: they created, each of them, their own Philosophy, developed their own form of Ritual, and gave birth to their own gigantic Literature. Buddha first broke the silence and the isolation of past centuries: Buddhism, driven from Nearer India, took refuge in Further India, and the Extreme Orient.

The interference of the Civil Power with the work of the Missionary is quite legitimate, if his conduct be such, as is likely to cause a breach of the Peace, and loss of life. I myself in the Panjáb ordered the Chapel of a Missionary to be pulled down, which he had

erected on the edge of a sacred tank, regardless of the feelings of the Hindu worshippers. The French Government in Algeria is always in anxiety, lest the unguarded words of the Missionary should rouse the indignation of the people, and cause political trouble. The only remedy is, to expel the Missionary, if he attempts to turn the world upside down. The Government of British India may be compelled to do so also, if the Missionary will continue to interfere with the Laws Regulating the Sale of Alcohol, the Opium-Trade, and the internal administration of Military Cantonments, forgetting the Lord's words: "Render unto Caesar the things, which are Caesar's, and unto God the things, that are God's."

The advantages and disadvantages of high European Civilization are pretty equally balanced. The European Missionary considers himself so socially superior to the Natives, that his influence for good is diminished. The Press, if a blessing on one side, is a cause of boundless evil on another: the power of locomotion, and the entire Toleration of all forms of Worship, are not without corresponding drawbacks.

We are gradually freeing ourselves from the notion, that the Nicene Fathers were inspired, or better informed, and wiser than those, who happened to be born centuries later: it is admitted now by Roman Catholic and Protestant, that our Lord's great Commission is binding on all, and that it has never been fulfilled.

What said the early Fathers? Setting aside those, who adopted Millennium-ideas, it does not appear, that a universal reign of the Gospel was anticipated before the end of the World. Chrysostom considered, that the Prophecies of the preachers of the Gospel had been adequately fulfilled before the taking of Jerusalem. Jerome considered, that the whole of Isaiah xi had reference to the first advent of our Lord. Basil and Cyril entertained the same view; they applied the Prophecies to the spread of the Gospel, that had been already witnessed. Augustine wrote on the signs of the approaching end: the Gospel was to be preached *for a witness* in all lands: that the accomplishment of this would be a sign of the coming end: the result of the Preaching would be, not that *all* would believe, but some only, and that the rest would be unbelievers, and opposed to the faithful.

“ εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι: καὶ τότε ἤξει τὸ τέλος. καὶ σχεδὸν ὡς ὀρώμεν, ὁ κόσμος ἅπας τῆς περὶ χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας πεπλήρωται.”

Cyril of Jerusalem thought the Preaching of the Gospel to *the whole World* so nearly complete, as to show that Christ was coming:

This gives us a measure of their strange Geographical ignorance, an ignorance often evidenced by modern Preachers and Writers. Augustine states:

“ *Omnes enim gentes promissae sunt, non omnes homines omnium gentium: non enim omnium est fides.*”

We cannot in these days rest satisfied with the opinion of Jerome and Augustine, that it is enough for us to preach the Gospel, and that it will be woe to those, who do not listen to it. We cannot quote the words used in the Parable of the Marriage-Feast, that "*we must compel them to come in*" with the Arm of the Flesh, murder, tortures (the advice of Augustine of Hippo), and the confiscation of property, all for Christ, as was the practice of Charlemagne, Olaf of Norway, or the Spanish Inquisition.

Jerome writes: "*Signum Domini adventûs est Evangelium in totâ orbe prædicari, ut nullus sit excusabilis.*" Fifteen hundred years have passed away and the Lord has delayed His coming. We cannot conclude with those old Fathers, that the Prophecies, and the Great Commission, have been fulfilled. There are *no longer any ends of the round World*: we know approximately the area and the population of the Globe, and the fact, that in 1,900 years only one-third of that population has been converted, the large majority only nominally, and a large portion to false and degraded forms of the Teaching in Judæa. We cannot, therefore, comfort ourselves, and sit still waiting for a Millennium, and the Conversion of mankind by a Miracle. The wheels of God grind very slowly, but they grind very fine.

The Kelts, Teutons, Slavs, each adopted a separate system of Theology, separate names of Deities, separate forms of Worship: to the eye of the Philosopher they may have been the same or similar, but they were looked upon as totally different: the Greek and Roman terminology was essentially different, though the same in substance. There were in those days tribes differing from all the great recognized forms, but the Missionary of those days had no power of discrimination, and called them all, as now, "enemies of God, and children of Satan," because the Gospel had never been explained to them, and therefore they had never comprehended it.

Oh that the preaching in Judæa had come down to us undefiled, accompanied by the Gospel of John, and the Epistles of Paul! To the first generation of Christians there were no Scriptures: they had been taught the precious Idea orally, and had accepted Christ in His fulness on the testimony of the Apostles and eye-witnesses.

In the second or third generation Legends, the story of Miracles, Symbolism, forced fulfilment of Old Testament Prophecies, Allegories, Exaggerations, Apocalyptic Visions, Ritual, the Conception of a sanctified body called the "Church," and the Judaical revival of a "Priesthood," darkened the original simple words of the great Founder of the new Dispensation. Later on Worldliness, Luxury, Temporal Power, Intolerance, the Pagan Arts of Statuary, Painting, and Architecture, the carnal policy of ambitious Prelates, the arbitrary Edicts of Emperors, altered the whole character of the pure and simple Doctrines of the New Testament.

My task is completed. The followers of the new Dispensation of Jesus Christ did what the Hebrews in their early centuries and their later Diasporà never did, preached their good tidings to the Gentile World, not always wisely, or well, but continuously. The followers of the Hindu Sages, Zoroaster, and Confucius, never did so. Their Religious Conceptions were meant for themselves, and themselves only: the rest of the World might perish for what they cared.

Buddha led the way with a Universal Propagandism. Our Lord's command, five centuries later, in the same sense was unmistakable. Mahomet adopted the same fundamental principle of his teaching six centuries later still. Those must think poorly of the Power, Wisdom, and Love, of the great Controller of Human events, who can assume, that Buddha and Mahomet acted without His Permission, or that their schemes were allowed to take root in defiance of His Veto.

“*Factum valet,*” even if “*Fieri non debet.*”

V.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT OF THE IDEA OF METEMPSYCHÓSIS.

The Idea of the Transmigration of the Eternal entity, called the Soul, or “Ψύχη,” or “Anima,” or Atma, or Ruh, into successive mortal substances, either Human, or Animal, or Vegetable, or Mineral, is neither new, nor unnoticed, in the History of Mankind, nor is it in itself unreasonable. I propose to treat it in detail :

I. EUROPE.

- A. Pythagoras and Empédocles.
- B. Homer.
- C. Plato.
- D. Virgil.
- E. Ovid.
- F. Lucan.
- G. Claudian.
- H. Irish Book of Balimote.

A. Pythagoras was born at Samos about 580 B.C., travelled in Egypt, and settled at Crotóna, in South Italy, about 540 B.C., the period of the return of the Hebrew from Babylon. He was the first, who adopted the title of Philosopher; started a School of Philosophy, and applied the word *Κόσμος* to the Universe, of which he knew so small a portion. Among others of the great Ideas, to which he gave birth, or perhaps only reduced from oral legends to writing, were these: (1) that the Soul, *Ψύχη*, was immortal, and it is obvious to the senses, that the body was only mortal; (2) that the immortal Soul passed from one body at its death into another. The idea was called by him *Μετεμψυχώσις* (Metempsychósis), or the Transmigration of the Soul from one place of habitation to another; perhaps the more perfect term would have been *Μετενσωμάτωσις* (Metensomatósis), as it was the body which was changed, not the Soul.

There is little doubt, that Pythagoras got his idea about the Soul from Egypt, which he had visited: that he derived it from India is out of all reason, as his Idea differs from the Indian Idea in important particulars, and from the Buddhist Idea *in toto*, while there is a resemblance of his Idea to the Egyptian Idea, both in essentials and details.

Empédocles lived at Agrigentum, in Sicily, 460 to 430 B.C. He was remarkable in his life as a thinker, and propounder of new doctrines at that particular Epoch, when the mind of man, both in

the East and West, was waking up from its torpor. He gave birth to germs of Truth, which were developed in succeeding centuries by Plato and Aristotle: he propounded the doctrine of Transmigration of the Soul, possibly deriving it from Pythagoras. His end was as mysterious as his life, for he disappeared, and it was reported that he had leaped into the crater of Mount Etna. Horace writes thus:

“ Deus immortalis haberi
Dum cupit Empédocles, ardentem frigidus Aetnam
Insiluit.”

Heráclitus Pónticus relates, that Pythagoras professed to have been once born as Athárides, the son of Hermes, and then to have obtained a boon from his father:

“ ζῶντα καὶ τελεύτωντα μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν
συμβαίνόντων.”

Consequently he remembered the Trojan War, when, as Euphorbus, he was wounded by Menelaus; and, as Pythagoras, he could still recognize the shield, which Menelaus had hung up in the temple of Apollo at Branchidae; and, similarly, he remembered his subsequent birth as Hermotímus, and then as Pyrrhus, a fisherman of Delos. It is noteworthy, that his was a unique experience in Greek History. Horatius Flaccus alludes to this in his Odes, I, xxviii, 9:

“ habentque
“ Tartara Panthoiden *iterum* Orco
“ Demissum, quamvis clipeo Trojana refixo
“ Tempora testatus nihil ultra
“ Nervos atque cutem morti concesserat atrae.”

The absence of all recollection of acts done in a former state of existence is explained by the Hindu Philosopher by the assertion, that at each death the Soul is divested of mind, understanding, and consciousness. Still, some men did recollect their former existences.

Plato, in the Dialogue of Meno, vol. I, p. 281, places the following words in the mouth of Socrates:

“ Certain wise men and women spoke of a glorious Truth, that
“ the Soul of man is immortal, and at one time has an end,
“ which is called ‘dying,’ and at another time is born again, but is
“ never destroyed. And the moral is, that a man ought to live
“ always in perfect holiness. For in the ninth year Perséphoné
“ sends the souls of those, from whom she has received the penalty
“ of ancient crime, back again into the light of this World, and
“ these are they, who become noble kings, and mighty men, and
“ great in wisdom, and are called saintly heroes in after ages.”

“ The Soul, then, as being immortal, and having been born again many times, and having seen all things, that there are, whether in this World or in the World below, has Knowledge of them all: and it is no wonder, that she should be able to call to remembrance all that she ever knew about virtue, and about everything; for as all Nature is akin, and the Soul has learned all things, there is no difficulty in her eliciting, or as men say *learning*, all out of a single recollection, if a man be strenuous, and does not faint: for *all inquiry and all learning are but recollection* (*Ἀνάμνησις*).”

If it be true that all knowledge is nothing else than reminiscence, it is surely necessary, that we must at some time have learned what we remember.

“ ὅτι ἡμῖν ἡ μάθησις οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀνάμνησις τυγχάνει οὕσα.”

But this is impossible: our Soul existed before it came within the Human form. Cicero, in his “Tusculan Disputations,” I, 24, writes, speaking of the Soul: “Habet primum memoriam, et eam infinitam rerum innumerabilium quam quidem Plato *Recordationem* esse vult superioris vitae.”

Following the order of Jowett's Edition of Plato's Dialogues, I pass on to vol. I, “Phaedo,” p. 443

Cebes answered: “I agree, Socrates, in the greater part of what you say. But in what relates to the Soul men are apt to be incredulous: they fear that, when she has left the body, her place may be nowhere, and that on the very day of death (of the body) she may be destroyed and perish. If she could only hold together, and be herself, when she is released from the evils of the body, there would be good reason to hope, Socrates, that what you say is true. But much persuasion and many arguments are required in order to prove that, when the man is dead, the Soul still exists, and has any force or intelligence.”

Socrates replied: “Whether the Souls of men after death are, or are not, in the World below, is a question which may be argued in this way. The ancient Doctrine affirms, that they go hence into the other World, and return hither, and are born from the dead. So our Souls must exist in the other World, for, if not, how could they have been born again? But as there is no evidence of this, other arguments will have to be adduced.”

Socrates then works out a long argument to prove, that not every thing living is born of the dead, and the Soul will exist after death as well as before birth: then comes the greater question to decide what becomes of the Soul which leaves the body *pure*, and the Soul which leaves the body *impure*. This brings out the terrible theory of Retribution, and at p. 459, Socrates tells us that the Souls of men who followed after gluttony, and wantonness, and drunkenness,

will pass into Asses, and animals of that sort, and the Souls of those, who have chosen the portion of injustice and tyranny, will pass into wolves or hawks; and the Souls of those, who have practised the civil and social virtues, which are called Temperance and Justice, will pass into some gentle social nature like their own, such as that of bees, wasps, and ants, or even back again into the form of man, and just and moderate men will spring from them; and he, who is a philosopher or lover of learning, and abstains from all fleshly lusts, and refuses to give himself up to them, is alone permitted to obtain the Divine Nature.

Socrates opens out, p. 457, another solemn delusion, which has preyed on the Human mind for centuries, and still maintains its grasp :

“ The Soul, which has been polluted and is impure at the
 “ time of her departure, and is the companion and servant of the
 “ body always, and is fascinated with the desires and pleasures of
 “ the body such a Soul is held fast by the corporeal
 “ element, and is depressed and dragged back again into the
 “ visible World, because she is afraid of the invisible World and
 “ the World below: prowling about tombs and sepulchres, in
 “ the neighbourhood of which are seen ghostly apparitions of Souls,
 “ which have not departed pure, but are cloyed with sight and
 “ therefore visible, and they continue to wander, until through the
 “ craving of the corporeal, which never leaves them, they are im-
 “ prisoned finally in another body. And they may be supposed to
 “ find their prisons in the same natures, which they had in their
 “ former lives.”

Milton, in his “ Comus,” re-echoes this idea (l. 463) :

“ But when Lust,
 “ By unchaste looks, loose gestures, and foul talk,
 “ But most by lewd and lavish act of sin,
 “ Lets in defilement to the inward parts,
 “ The Soul grows clotted by contagion,
 “ Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
 “ The divine property of her first being.
 “ Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp,
 “ Oft seen in charnel-vaults and sepulchres,
 “ Lingered, and sitting by a new-made grave,
 “ As loth to leave the body that it loved,
 “ And link’d itself, by carnal sensuality,
 “ To a degenerate, and degraded state.”

Plato, in his “ Phaedrus,” returns to the subject (vol. ii, pp. 125, 126). I quote Jewett’s “ Introduction,” page 80, as condensing the subject. Socrates is the speaker : “ The Soul is Immortal, for she
 “ is the source of all motion, both in herself and others. Her form

“ may be described in a figure as a composite nature made up of
 “ a charioteer, and a pair of winged steeds. The steeds of the gods
 “ are immortal, but the steeds of the Soul are, one mortal, and the
 “ other Immortal. The Immortal Soul soars up into the Heavens,
 but the mortal drops her plumes and settles upon the earth.

“ On a certain day Zeus goes forth in a winged chariot, and an
 “ array of gods and demigods, and of Human Souls, follows him ;
 “ the mortal steed of the Soul sinks down to the earth. Yet, if the
 “ Soul has followed in the train of her god, and once beheld Truth,
 “ she is preserved harmless ; but if she drops her wing and falls to
 “ the earth, then she takes the form of a man. The Soul, which has
 “ seen most of the Truth, passes into a Philosopher, or a Lover ;
 “ that which has seen Truth in a second degree, into a King, or
 “ Warrior, and so on to the ninth degree. In all these conditions
 “ the lot of him, who lives righteously is improved, and the lot of
 “ him who lives unrighteously deteriorates. At the end of every
 “ thousand years the Soul has another choice, and may go upwards
 “ or downwards, may descend into a beast, or return again to the
 “ form of man. But the form of man can only be acquired at all
 “ by those, who have once beheld the Truth, for the Soul of man
 “ alone apprehends the Universal, and this is the recollection,
 “ *ἀνάμνησις*, of that Knowledge, which she obtained when in the
 “ company of the god. Ten thousand years must elapse before
 “ the Souls of men in general can regain their first lot, and have
 “ their wings restored to them. But the Soul of a Philosopher,
 “ or a Lover, who has three times in succession chosen the better
 “ life, may receive wings, and go her way in three thousand years.”

In the “ Timaeus,” vol. iii, p. 624, we read : “ The great Creator
 “ considered, that a perfect World could not exist without mortals.
 “ If they were created by Him, and received Life from Him, they
 “ would be on equality with the gods: the inferior gods were therefore
 “ ordered to form animals, and the Creator would supply the divine
 “ and immortal part. Accordingly, Souls were created as numerous as
 “ the stars, and each Soul had a star, but was implanted in a body: they
 “ had certain passions, but, if they conquered, then they would live
 “ righteously ; and, if they were conquered by them, unrighteously.
 “ He, who lived well during his appointed time, was to return to his
 “ star, and there he would have a suitable existence ; but if he
 “ failed in attaining this, in the second generation he would pass
 “ into a woman, and, should he not desist from his evil ways, he
 “ would be changed into some brute beast, who resembled him in
 his evil ways, and would not cease from his lusts, and transfor-
 “ mation, until he returned to the form of his first and better
 “ nature.”

Again, at page 675 we read : “ Thus were created women, but
 “ the race of birds was created out of innocent, light-minded
 “ men, who, although their minds were directed towards Heaven,

“ imagined in their simplicity, that the clearest demonstration of the things above would be obtained by sight: these were transformed into birds and grew feathers instead of hair. The reason why quadrupeds and polypods were created is, that the Creator gave the more senseless of them the more support, that they might be attracted to the earth. The inhabitants of the water were made out of the most entirely ignorant and senseless beings.” This and much more is narrated, and Plato closes the Dialogue with the following words: “These are the laws, by which animals pass into one another, both now and ever changing, as they lose or gain wisdom and folly.”

Strabo, Book IV, writes :

“ Ἀφθάρτους τὰς ψυχὰς λέγουσι.”

Valerius Maximus, Book V, and Diodorus, Book VI, could also be quoted.

In the Introduction to the “History of Religion” (1896), is a chapter (xxii) on the “Transmigration of Souls,” by Dr. F. B. Jevons, of Durham, no mean authority on such subjects, and being lately published, it may be presumed, that it is an up-to-date view of the subject. The twelve pages of this Chapter go over ground not necessarily part of the argument, but a knowledge of which is necessary to arrive at an understanding of the germs, from which the Idea rose.

I. The general Idea of Barbarians was, that after death the individual “*Homo*” rejoined his “totem,” and assumed the shape of the plant or animal, which was worshipped as the “totem.”

II. As the Religious Idea of the Human race developed, more advanced Ideas came into existence, one of which was the Idea of “Retribution in a future state,” for acts done during life. These two Ideas in some communities existed side by side, notably in Egypt and India: this state of things may have lasted for a long period, but the two Ideas acted and reacted on each other, and at last the artificial combination of the “Retribution” theory with Totemism produced in Egypt a real theory of Metempsychosis, but an incomplete one: (1) it was only the wicked, who were doomed to Transmigration; (2) the Soul of a man migrated into animals, returning finally to Human form; (3) there was no escape from this cycle, but, when the Human form was again attained, the Soul had another trial and another chance of becoming Osiris, which was the Egyptian formula for Eternal Happiness.

In India the process was different: the Idea of Transmigration was extended to the virtuous, as well as the wicked, who passed into animals or men according to their deeds and knowledge. Here is the *genuine* theory of Metempsychosis, or Transmigration of Souls; and man has been introduced into the list of Metamorphoses.

All men were born again: the good had a good birth, and the bad a bad one, according to their deeds and deserts: there was no escape from this environment; whether the Soul behaved badly or well he had to be reborn.

Thus far the Brahman: the Buddhist went further; with him there was no god, no Immortal Soul, and there could be no Transmigration of Souls, but a transmission of Karma or Character (not Soul): the extinction of cravings for delights of the body, or Nirvána, was the object of the Buddhist: this will be described further on.

The accomplished authoress of an Article in the *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1897, "Sculptured Tombs of Hellas," makes the following important suggestions:

"At Athens and Delphi the doctrines of Orphism took strong hold; but it was in Lower Italy, owing to the teaching of Pythagoras, and Empédocles, that they developed most completely, and issued in a Totemistic Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls. Many a barbarian believed, that after Death he would pass into the shape of the sacred animal, who had been his token (Totem) in this world.

"The Inscription on one Greek vase from Apulia, and on golden tablets from Thurii and Peletia in Italy, suggest something more:

" 'Thou wilt feel a stream of cold water flowing from the mere of Mnemósyné: in front of it stand guards. Say: "I am the child of Earth, and starry sky:

" ' Γῆς παῖς εἶμι καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.

" ' I am of heavenly birth; I am parched and faint with thirst; give me cool water from the mere of Mnemósyné," and they will give thee the divine water to drink.' "

The Doctrine is clear: the initiated Soul may not drink of the oblivious waters of Lethé: it is reborn by remembering again, by virtue of the Divine Life in him: this is the Doctrine of Plato's *Ἀνάμνησις*. Immortality is but the reassertion of the Divine Life in Man.

In their groping after the Future, Men stretched out their hands into the dark abyss, and as they advanced in intellect, their speculations were more daring. We must speak and write humbly, for in this Nineteenth century A.D., we have no knowledge, only that Faith, the "evidence of things not seen" (Hebrews, xi, 1). The two Theories were:

- (1) The continuance of this life in another World.
- (2) Retribution.

In the first theory the Future Life was very much as the old

one: the Chief required his wives, his servants, his jewels, his armour, and his food; ancient Tombs reveal this. In the second theory the Future Life depended on conduct in the present.

Later ages struck out new Ideas:

- (1) Absorption of the Soul, and practical destruction of its individuality.
- (2) The Transmigration of the Soul into a new body.
- (3) The wandering of the Soul, free from its corporeal covering, in its old earthly environment.

Let us dispose of the last alternative first: it lies outside the limits of an Essay on the Transmigration of Souls from one Earthly tenement to another, such as was the case of these poor Souls, as described by Socrates in the "Phaedo," and Milton in the "Comus," quoted above at p. 956.

The following quotation from Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure," III, Scene 1

" and the delighted Spirit
 " To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
 " In thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice;
 " To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,
 " And blown with restless violence round about
 " The pendent world: 't is too horrible!"

In uncultured tribes the Idea was, that the Soul would not remain quiet unless proper funeral rites were performed to the poor body: this is brought out strongly in the Sixth Book of Virgil's "Aeneid," 337: the boatman Charon would not ferry across the Styx those, who had not been properly buried. Moreover, in some cases the Spirit came back, and vented its wrath upon its nearest relations. This is the real motive of the worship of Ancestors in China.

The Greek and Roman Poets, Homer and Virgil, reflecting the beliefs of their age, give us a most unphilosophical and unsatisfactory substitute for either of the three alternatives.

The Elysian Fields are certainly a somewhat higher type than the sensual Paradise of Mahomet, or the Purgatory of the Church of Rome. Some very bad cases lived in perpetual torture, though the story of Tantalus and Sisyphus both seem allegories of the result of particular vices; but the position of those, who were deemed good, seems the most unhappy. Dido still had her sorrows, from which she sought consolation from her dead husband, to whose memory she had been unfaithful. Achilles mourned the change from activity to hopeless idleness, but he retained memory of the past:

“ Quam vellent aethere in alto
Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores ! ”

VIRGIL: *Aeneid*, vi, 436.

“ Μὴ δὴ μοι θάνατόν γε παραύδα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ.
“ Βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἔων θητευέμεν ἄλλω,
“ Ἡ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.”

HOMER: *Odyssey*, xi, 488.

“ Scoff not at death,” he answered, “ noble Chief.
“ Rather would I in the Sun's warmth divine
“ Serve a poor churl, who drags his days in grief,
“ Than the whole lordship of the dead were mine.”

WORSLEY'S Translation.

When such were the conceptions in the time of Homer with regard to the future condition of the dead, even those who were conventionally deemed “ good,” there could have been no contemporary Idea of Transmigration of Souls. Centuries later, when Virgil handled the subject, the Idea as described above had crept in ; the World had advanced, and Pythagoras and Plato had spoken, opening out new vistas of thought.

Virgil, in the Sixth Book of the “ Aeneid,” writes (l. 735):

“ Quin et, supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,
“ Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes
“ Corporeae excedunt pestes : penitusque necesse est
“ Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
“ *Ergo exercentur poenis, veterumque malorum*
“ *Supplicia expendunt. Aliac panduntur inanes,*
“ *Suspensae, ad ventos : aliis sub gurgite vasto*
“ *Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.*
“ Quisque suos patimur Manes : exinde per amplum
“ Mittimur Elysium, et pauci laeta arva tenemus.
“ Donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,
“ Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit
“ Aethereum sensum, atque, aurai simplicis ignem.
“ Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
“ Lethaeum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno ;
“ Scilicet *immemores* supera ut convexa revisant,
“ Rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti.”

Anchises showed to Aeneas some of his descendants, who, having been freed from the stain of former lives, and having drunk of the waters of Lethé, were about to assume new forms, and enter the battle of life again : this called forth Aeneas' sad remark :

“ O pater, anne aliquas ad coelum hinc ire putandum est
 “ Sublimes animas, iterumque in tarda reverti
 “ Corpora ? Quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido ? ”

But Virgil, in the “Aeneid,” III, 20–40, describes the Transmigration of a comparatively innocent man, Polydorus, son of King Priam of Troy, into a tree overhanging his tomb, from the branches of which blood flowed, when they were cut with a knife, and the unfortunate Soul thus imprisoned had the power of recognizing those, who amputated his limbs, and speaking with an intelligible voice :

“ Gemitus lacrimabilis imo
 “ Auditur tumulo, et vox reddita fertur ad aures :
 “ Quid miserum, Aenéa, laceras ? jam parce sepulto ;
 “ Parce pias scelerare manus. Non me tibi Troja
 “ Externum tulit : aut cruor hic de stipite manat.
 “ Heu ! fuge crudeles terras, fuge littus avarum.
 “ Nam Polydorus ego : hic confixum ferrea textit
 “ Telorum seges, et jaculis increvit acutis.”

Ovid, in his “Metamorphoses,” about the date of the Christian era, naturally touches on this subject :

“ O genus attonitum gelidâ formidine mortis !
 “ Quid Styga, quid tenebras, quid numine vana, timetis,
 “ Materiem vatum, falsique piacula mundi ?
 “ Corpora sive rogos flammâ, seu tabe vetustas
 “ Abstulerit, mala posse pati non ulla putetis.
 “ Morte carent animae : semperque priore relictâ
 “ Sede, novis domibus habitant, vivuntque, receptae.
 “ Ipse ego, nam memini, Trojani tempore belli,
 “ Panthoides Euphorbus eram, cui pectore quondam
 “ Sedit in adverso gravis hasta minoris Atridae,
 “ Cognovi clypeum, laevae gestaminae nostrae,
 “ Nuper Abanteis templo Junonis in Argis.
 “ Omnia mutantur : nihil interit. Errat, et illinc
 “ Huc venit : hinc illuc, et quoslibet occupat artûs
 “ Spiritus, éque feris humana in corpora transit,
 “ Inque feras noster, nec tempore deperit ullo,
 “ Utque novis facilis signatur cera figuris,
 “ Nec manet, ut fuerat, nec formas servat easdem,
 “ Sed *tamen ipsa eadem est : animam sic semper eandem*
 “ *Esse.*”

(xv, 153–172.)

Lucan, in his “Pharsalia,” I, 454, A.D. 60, writes thus with regard to the Druids :

“ Vobis auctoribus umbrae
 “ Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
 “ Pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artûs
 “ Orbe alio: longae, canitis si cognita, vitae
 “ Mors media est. Certe populi quos despicit Arctos
 “ Felices errore suo, quos ille, timorum
 “ Maximus, hand urget leti metus. Inde ruendi
 “ In ferrum mens prona viris, animaeque capaces
 “ Mortis, et ignarum rediturae parcere vitae.”

Julius Caesar, in his “De Bello Gallico,” Book VI, Section xiii, writes about the ancient Druids of Britain:

“ In primis haec volunt persuadere, non *interire animas*, sed *ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios*: atque hoc maximé ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto.”

It is clear, that it was impressed on the thoughtful Philosopher, that some explanation must be found of the caprices of Human fortune, for the holy and good are subjected to unmerited suffering, while good gifts are showered upon most unworthy recipients. Claudian, A.D. 400, remarked this phenomenon, and marvelled:

“ Saepe mihi dubiam tenuit sententia mentem,
 “ Curarent Superi terras, an nullus inesset
 “ Rector, et incerto fluerent mortalia casu:
 “ Nam, cum dispositi quaesissem foedera mundi,
 “ Praescriptosque maris fines, amnisque meatus,
 “ Et lucis, noctisque, vices: tunc omnia rebar
 “ Concilio firmata Dei:
 “ Sed cum res Hominum tantâ caligine volvi
 “ Aspiciam, laetosque diu florere nocentes,
 “ Vexarique pios, rursus labefacta cadebat
 “ Religio.”

And the same uncertainty prevails to the present hour.

There is a curious Irish Legend recorded in the “Book of Balimote,” 1400 A.D., which certainly reads as if the notion of Transmigration was held at some previous period:

“ Tuan, son of Cairill, as we are told,
 “ Was freed from sin by Jesus
 “ One hundred years complete he lived,
 “ He lived in blooming manhood.

“ Three hundred years in the shape of a wild ox
 “ He lived on the open extensive plains:
 “ Two hundred and fifty years he lived
 “ In the shape of a wild boar.

“ Three hundred years he was still in the flesh
 “ In the shape of an old bird :
 “ One hundred delightful years he lived
 “ In the shape of a salmon in the flood.

“ A fisherman caught him in his net,
 “ He brought it to the king’s palace :
 “ When the bright salmon was there seen,
 “ The Queen immediately longed for it.

“ It was forthwith dressed for her,
 “ Which she alone ate entire :
 “ The beauteous Queen became pregnant,
 “ The issue of which was Tuan.”

2. NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

- A. Egypt.
- B. North American Redmen.
- C. The Hebrew.
- D. The Manichean.
- E. The Mahometan.
- F. The Hindu.
- G. The Buddhist.

A. *Egypt.*

Herodotus, B.C. 470, and therefore anterior to Plato, writes (II, 123): “ The Egyptians were the first to broach the opinion,
 “ that the Soul of man is Immortal, and that, when the body dies,
 “ it enters in the form of the animal, which is born at the moment,
 “ thence passing from one animal into another, until it has circled
 “ through the forms of all the creatures, which tenant the earth,
 “ water, and air, after which it enters again into a human frame,
 “ and is born anew. The whole period of Transmigration is three
 “ thousand years. There are Greek writers, some of an earlier
 “ date, some of a later, who have borrowed this doctrine from the
 “ Egyptians, and put it forward as their own.”

It is unnecessary to state here any further details with regard to the Egyptian Idea; it is sufficient to refer to the standard authorities on the subject of Egyptian Antiquities.

B. *North American Redmen.*

With a view of showing the universality of the Idea, I merely refer to the "Golden Bough" of Mr. Frazer (i, 39, 61; ii, 97), in which mention is made of the Idea of Souls of dead animals occupying trees, and the Soul of a man in a turtle. The Red Indians believed, that the Soul animating the body of an infant was the Soul of some deceased person.

From Tylor's "Primitive Man" we gather, that enslaved Negroes have been known to commit suicide, in order that they may revive in their native land.

The aborigines of Australia hold white men to be the ghosts of their own dead, in the simple formula: "Black fellow tumble down, jump up white fellow."

With regard to this last view, it may be well to quote Henry Stanley's account of his meeting with four white men, who had come out from Embomma, on the West Coast of Africa, to welcome him at the close of his journey through the Dark Continent: "The sight of the pale faces of the Merchants gave me the slightest suspicion of an involuntary shiver. The pale colour, after so long gazing on the rich black, and richer bronze, had something of an unaccountable ghastliness. In fact, they looked like the ghosts of dead Africans." (Vol. ii, p. 462.)

C. *The Hebrew.*

The Idea of the Hebrew on the subject of Eschatology was exceedingly elementary previous to the return from exile. Their World was a three-storied house: they dwelt on the first floor; above them in the clouds was the second story, the Heavens, to which only two men had ever reached, Enoch and Elijah; in the ground-story was the Sheol, or Hades, in which all dwelt promiscuously, for Samuel, when he was summoned up to the first floor, told Saul, that on the morrow he would be down with him in Sheol: good and bad, without difference.

There is little doubt that some of the Hebrew Sects held the Idea of Transmigration of Souls. We come across the Idea in the Christian Scriptures of a possible existence of a former life. We know, that a Future State was not a Hebrew dogma at the time of our Lord, as the Sadducees openly denied it. Now when the Sadducees, tempting the Lord on the subject of the Resurrection, asked Him whose wife would the woman be of the seven brothers, our Lord rebuked them: "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures"; and yet it does not appear an unreasonable question from their point of view, and many a Christian tombstone records the wish of a bereaved husband, possibly a husband of two wives, to be united to the lost companions of his life.

But when the Pharisees, pointing to a man who was born blind, asked him: "Master, who did sin, this man or his Parents, that he was born blind?" our Lord did not rebuke them, nor did He point out, that the question was a foolish one, as no man could possibly sin before his birth, but He replied: "Neither *has this man sinned*, nor his parents, but that the works of God might be made manifest in him."

Bishop Lightfoot of Durham notices the speculations of the Rabbis on this subject in his Commentary: one was, that sin was possible already in the womb, since the embryo in its later stages was possessed of consciousness. This seems hard on the newborn babe, who, by the theory of Augustine of Hippo, is already saddled with the "*peccatum originale*" of his reputed ancestor Adam.

It is anyhow clear, that this question on the part of the Pharisees implies the Idea of Metempsychosis, or they would never have propounded such a problem, and our Lord, in His Wisdom, did not satisfy their curiosity. The question is left an open one.

I am informed by a very competent authority, a Medical man, who lived among the Hebrews many years in Palestine, that the common Idea of the modern Hebrew is, that at the moment of a child's birth, an Angel strikes it on the mouth, causing it to forget all that it knew in a previous existence, and the dimple on the upper lip is the result of the blow." I add a quotation from Shechter, "Studies in Judaism," 1896, pp. 345-347:

"These legends with reference to the embryo period in the life of a child, are chiefly based on the notion of the pre-existence of the Soul. . . . Care is taken to make the child forget all it has seen and heard in these upper regions in its state of pre-existence. Before it enters the World an angel strikes it on the upper lip, and all its knowledge and wisdom disappear at once. The pit in the upper lip is a result of this stroke, which is also the cause why children cry, when they are born."

Clearly children do inherit some of the results of the sins of their parents in diseased bodies: it may be possible, that they inherit the results of their own sins in a former existence. Those eyes, which once glanced lustfully, cruelly, or enviously, are now closed to the outer world. This is a mere hypothesis, but it is right to consider it. There is nothing inconsistent with, nor opposed to, Revealed Religion in the Idea, that to an individual Soul the opportunity should be given of repeated incarnations. Gradually, in this way, defects of character of individual Souls would be subdued, and they would be more fit for the Kingdom of Heaven. Had the very root-conception of the matter been wrong, and fundamentally wicked, our Lord would have condemned it. Notoriously by Mosaic Law the sins of the Parents were deemed to be visited on the children: one portion of the argument of the Pharisees was sound, though contrary to elementary modern ideas of Justice, and condemned by

Ezekiel (cap. xviii) at the time of the Captivity: if the other portion had been wickedly wrong, or ridiculous, our Lord would scarcely have failed to condemn it, as He never spared those, who tempted Him by improper questions.

If there had not existed among the Hebrews of that time an Idea of the possibility of a Soul returning to a new body after an interval of more or less length, how is it that our Lord was identified as Elijah or one of the Prophets, since whose death centuries had passed? and, still more markedly, what could have induced Herod to suppose, that Jesus was identical with John the Baptist, whom he a short time before had himself beheaded?

In truth, Nature exhibits unlimited examples of decay in the works of Creation, and regeneration: there may be a channel of compensation for unmerited (as far as Human eye can see) suffering, and a vengeance taken upon neglected opportunities, abused privileges, and intolerable tyranny of lustful Power.

It may be part of the Divine discipline (as it was, that the Soul of Dives in torments should look across an abyss, and see the Soul of Lazarus in bliss) to suffer such sinning Souls to assume in a second birth the very reverse of their previous lot, with the possibility of atoning for their gross sins.

The Apocalyptic writings betray the yearning of the heart of man to know something of the Future. The Revelation of John has not helped us much to pierce the veil: at any rate, in the Nineteenth century after Christ we know with certainty as little as was known in the First, but the World has lasted long enough to prove, that Paul's anticipations of the early coming of Christ were vague and unsupported by fact. Millions have passed away to their unknown home, but the Lord has delayed His coming, notwithstanding that Wickedness does abound.

I approach with reverent reserve the Miracle of our Lord, by which an evil spirit passed out of a man, and at its own petition entered the bodies of a herd of swine; that is to say, it subdivided itself by the occupation of many bodies of the herd, while, although consisting of many individualities, as a Roman Legion, it had dwelt in one Human frame. This is one of the difficult portions of the New Testament. It does not necessarily follow, that the population of Gádara were Hebrew: the presumption based on Geography, and the fact that they kept herds of swine, which were unclean to the Hebrew, is, that they were not. In their Pagan minds they had conceived the Idea, that malignant demons could take possession of the bodies of living men, and impel them to frantic movements. At any rate, this story also is based on the existence of an Idea at that time prevalent in Syria, that Souls and Spirits could migrate from one mortal tenement to another. The very notion of such a thing in modern times would be rejected without argument: not the Miracle, but the Human circumstances, which preceded and followed the Miracle.

The references in the late work called "Zohur" to the Idea of Metempsychosis, are collected by Gratz ("History of the Jews," vol. iv). We get some clue to the thoughts of the Hebrews on this subject from the following quotations from Josephus, whose date, and means of information, are so well known :

I. ("Antiquities of the Jews," Book XVIII, cap. i, § 3.) "The Pharisees believe, that Souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards and punishments according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life ; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have *power to revive and live again* : on account of which doctrines they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people."

II. ("Wars of the Jews," Book II, cap. viii, § 14.) "The Pharisees say, that all Souls are incorruptible, but that the *Souls of good men only are removed into other bodies*, but that the Souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. The Sadducees take away the belief of the Immortal duration of the Soul, and the punishments and rewards in Hades."

III. ("Wars of the Jews," Book III, cap. viii, § 5.) "Do not you know, that those, who depart out of this life according to the Law of Nature, and pay that debt, which was received from God, when He that lent it is pleased to require it back again, enjoy eternal fame : that their homes, and their posterity, are sure, that their Souls are pure and obedient, and obtain a most holy place in Heaven, whence in the revolution of ages they *are again sent into pure bodies* ; while the Souls of those, who have acted madly against themselves, are received by the darkest place in Hades."

In an article by Dr. Ginsburg, in Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Biography," vol. I, p. 361, word "Kabbalah," we read as follows :

"It is an absolute condition of the Soul to return to the Infinite Source, from which it emanated, after developing on earth the perfections, the germs whereof are implanted in it. If the Soul, after assuming a Human body, and its *first* sojourn on earth, fails to acquire that experience, for which it descends from Heaven, and becomes contaminated by sin, it *must reinhabit a body again, and again*, until it is able to ascend in a purified state. This transmigration, however, is restricted to three times. If two Souls on their residence in Human bodies are still too weak to acquire the necessary experience, they are united, and *sent into one body*, in order that by their combined efforts they may be able to learn that, which they were too feeble to effect separately."

Paul, in the Romans, ix, 11, writes: "For the children *being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil*," to justify the Doctrine of Election.

D. *The Manichean.*

The Manicheans held the Doctrine in various forms, as detailed in "Acta Martyrum," 1748 A.D. (Syriac and Latin): it is stated at page 203, that they supposed that the Souls of men entered ants. Neander, in his Church History, II, 218, alluded to it.

E. *The Mahometan.*

We should scarcely have expected to find traces of the Idea in a Religion so modern, so universal, and free from the old-world Ideas, as the Mahometan; yet they are found. Arabian writers allude to three forms of Transmigration. The shifting of Souls into green birds was recognized (Baidawi, Commentary on "Súra," III, 165) as coming near to this Idea.

A scholarly friend has helped me to the following quatrain from Omar Khaiyyam:

ان سادۀ كہ قابیل صورہات بذات
گاہی حیون میشود و گاہی نبات
تا ظن نبیری کہ نیست گرد ہیات
وصوف بذاتست اگر نیست صفات

"That essence, which is inherently fit for form,
" Sometimes is an animal, and sometimes a plant:
" Think not, that form becomes non-existent;
" It is known as existing, although there may not be any shape."

I am indebted to my friend, Professor Edward G. Browne, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, so well known for his Mahometan studies, for the following important communication.

"The question as to the prevalence of the doctrine of Transmigration of Souls in Mahometan countries is a difficult but very interesting one. Although the belief appears to be held, and to have been held, by many sects in Islám, especially the ultra-Shi'ite sects of Persia, it is a fact, that they mostly repudiate it formally, i.e., they will not admit that they hold the *tanásukh-i-arwáh* (تناسخ ارواح), which is the technical term in Arabic for this doctrine. But they believe in what they call the 'Rij'at' (رجعت) or 'Return,' which is to us almost undistinguishable. The Bábí, for instance, speak of the 'return' in this 'Manifestation' or dispensation of the saints and

“ sinners of former dispensations. I saw at Kirmán, in Persia,
 “ a Bábí woman, who believed herself to be a ‘return’ of Kurratu’l-
 “ ‘Ayn, the martyr-poetess. And I have cited in my Translation
 “ of the *New History* of the Báh (Cambridge, 1893, pp. 334-338
 “ and 357) instances of this belief, especially one (p. 338), where
 “ a *dog* is declared by a Bábí saint to be the ‘return’ of a certain
 “ unbeliever. These heterodox sects generally fight shy of
 “ admitting, that they hold the doctrine of *Metempsychosis* under
 “ its ordinary name, *tanásukh*, but, under the name of *rij‘at*, hold
 “ a doctrine, which it seems impossible to distinguish therefrom.
 “ In the next number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
 “ I hope that a paper will appear, which I have written on
 “ a little-known sect called the *Hurúfí*, which flourished in the
 “ Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries of our era in Persia and
 “ Turkey, in which paper I discuss this matter more or less.
 “ In Mahometan philosophical works, even modern ones, such as
 “ the *Asrár-i-Hikam* of Háji Mullá Hádi of Sabzawár, a chapter
 “ is generally consecrated to the formal refutation of the doctrine,
 “ which is therefore recognized as existing in Mahometan countries.
 “ My impression is, that nearly all the extreme Shi‘ite sects,
 “ which had their origin in Persia, really hold the doctrine. There
 “ are some well-known lines in the *Músnavi*, which look like an
 “ enunciation of the doctrine, though orthodox Mahometans try
 “ to explain them away. They run •

“ ‘ I died from the Mineral, and became a Plant: I died from
 “ the Plant, and reappeared as an Animal.

“ ‘ I died from the animal state, and became a man: why, then,
 “ should I fear? when did I ever grow less by dying?

“ ‘ Next time I shall die from humanity, that I may clothe
 “ myself in wings with the Angels.

“ ‘ Beyond the Angels, too, must I rise: *all things shall perish*
 “ *save His Face!*’

“ This is the general sense of the lines, and there is a very
 “ similar passage in Ibn Yamín. I have discussed the way, in
 “ which they interpret the doctrine in my ‘Year amongst the
 “ Persians.’ ”

F. *Hindu.*

The Hindu Sages, with their speculative Genius, will find a cause for everything, or at least invent one. How came the necessity of Transmigration into existence? They had the undoubted fact, that men did die, and the strong conviction, that the Soul did not die. I quote the following from the Satapátha-Bráhmana :

“ The gods live constantly in fear of Death,
 “ The mighty Ender, so with tedious rites
 They worshipped, and repeated Sacrifice,
 “ Till they became Immortal. Then the Ender
 “ Said to the gods : ‘ As ye have made yourselves
 “ Imperishable, so will men endeavour
 “ To free themselves from me : what portion, then,
 “ Shall I possess in man ? ’ The gods replied
 “ ‘ Henceforth no being shall become Immortal
 “ In his own body : this his mortal frame
 “ Shalt thou still seize : this shall remain thine own
 “ This shall become perpetually thy food ;
 “ And even if he through religious acts
 “ Henceforth attains to Immortality,
 “ Shall first present his body, Death, to thee.’ ”

(“ Indian Wisdom,” p. 34.)

Transmigration became the terrible nightmare of Indian Metaphysicians : all their efforts were directed to getting rid of this oppressive scare. As the embodied Soul, says the Bhágavad Gíta, moves swiftly on through boyhood, youth, and age, so will it pass through other forms hereafter. The one engrossing problem is : How is a man to break this iron chain of repeated existences ? how is he to shake off all personality ? how is he to return to complete absorption (*sayujga*) into pure unconscious Spirit ? or, failing this, is he to work his way through successive births to any of the three inferior conditions of bliss ?

- (1) Living in the same sphere with the personal God (Sálókya).
- (2) Close proximity to that God (Sámípya).
- (3) Assimilation to the likeness of that God (Sárupya).

Professor Rhys Davids, in his “Hibbert Lectures,” p. 80, expresses his opinion, that the Arians, when they entered India from the North-West, did not bring the idea of Metempsychosis with them. It is not mentioned in the Veda. In one of the earlier Upanishads, 600 B.C., we read : “Those, whose conduct has been good, will quickly attain some good birth, birth as a Bráhmaṇa, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya.”

In the Kaushítaki Bráhmaṇa Upanishad we read : “All, who
 “ depart from this world, go to the Moon : in the dark fort-
 “ night the Moon sends them forth into new births : they are born
 “ either as a worm, or a grasshopper, or a fish, or a bird, or a lion,
 “ or a boar, or a serpent, or a tiger, or a man, or some animal,
 “ according to their deeds and their knowledge.”

It is possible that the Arian immigrants, long after their entry into India, derived the idea from the Non-Arian occupants of the Gangetic Valley, whom they found in possession on their arrival.

The Hindu, being essentially of a more dreamy temperament, gives evidence of this Idea of the Soul having recollection of something, that has happened in a previous state of existence. That a man should in his new Birth recollect the circumstances of his previous incarnation, is a common feature in Legends, but Manu (IV, 148) specially notices this capacity as the reward of a self-denying and pious life. I quote a poetical translation from a passage in the Vishnu Purána, which I made at Banda, in North India, as far back as 1853:

THE HINDU NOTION OF A FUTURE STATE.

[*From the Sanskrit.*]

MAITRÉYA (the Pupil).

- “ Parásura, you’ve told me
 “ All that I wished to hear,
 “ How out of chaos sprang this
 “ God-made hemisphere.
- “ How zone on zone, and sphere on sphere,
 “ In ever-varying forms,
 “ The wondrous egg of Brahma
 “ With living creatures swarms.
- “ All great and small, all small and great,
 “ On their own acts depend:
 “ All their terrestrial vanities
 “ In punishment must end.
- “ Released from Yáma, they are born
 “ As men, as beasts, again;
 “ And thus in countless circles still
 “ Revolving still remain.
- “ Tell me, oh! tell me what I ask,
 “ What you alone can tell:
 “ By what acts only mortal men
 “ Can free themselves from Hell?”

PARÁSURA (the Teacher).

- “ Listen, Maitréya, best of men :
 “ The question you have brought
 “ Was once by royal Nákula
 “ Of aged Bhisma sought.
- “ And thus the hoary sage replied :
 “ Listen, my Prince, this tale
 “ A Brahman guest once told me
 “ From far Kalinga’s vale.
- “ He from an ancient Múni too
 “ The wondrous secret gained,
 “ In whose clear mind of former births
 “ The memory remained.
- “ Never before had human ear
 “ The tale mysterious heard :
 “ Such as it was I tell it you,
 “ Repeating word for word.
- “ As from the coil of mortal birth
 “ Released the Múni lay,
 “ He heard the awful King of Death
 “ Thus to his menials say :
- “ Touch not, I charge thee, anyone,
 “ Whom Vishnú has let loose .
 “ On Madhu-súdan’s followers
 “ Cast not the fatal noose.
- “ Brahma appointed me to rule
 “ Poor erring mortals’ fate,
 “ Of evil and uncertain good
 “ The balance regulate.
- “ But he, who chooses Vishnú
 “ As spiritual guide,
 “ Slave of a mightier lord than me,
 “ Can spurn me in my pride.
- “ As gold is of one substance still,
 “ Assume what form it can,
 “ So Vishnú is the selfsame power
 “ As Beast, as God, or Man.

- “ And as the drops of watery spray,
 “ Raised by the wind on high,
 “ Sink slowly down again to earth
 “ When calm pervades the sky,
- “ So particles of source divine
 “ Created forms contain :
 “ When that disturbance is composed,
 “ They reunite again.
- “ But tell us, Master, they replied,
 “ How shall thy slaves descry
 “ Those who with heart and soul upon
 “ The mighty Lord rely ?
- “ Oh ! they are those, who truly love
 “ Their neighbours, them you’ll know,
 “ Who never from their duty swerve,
 “ And would not hurt their foe.
- “ Whose hearts are undefiled
 “ By soil of Kali’s age,
 “ Who let not others’ hoarded wealth
 “ Their envious thoughts engage.
- “ No more can Vishnú there abide,
 “ Where evil passions sway,
 “ Than glowing heat of fire reside
 “ In the moon’s cooling ray.
- “ But those, who covet others’ wealth
 “ Whose hearts are hard in sin,
 “ And those, whose low degraded souls
 “ Pride rampant reigns within ;
- “ Whoever with the wicked sit,
 “ And daily frauds prepare,
 “ Who duties to their friends forget :
 “ Vishnú has nothing there.
- “ Such were the orders, that the King
 “ Of Hell his servants gave :
 “ For Vishnú his true followers
 “ From death itself can save.”

I now quote from the well-known play of "Sakóntala," by Kalidása. I give the English translation, and then the original:
 "When a being, in other respects happy, becomes conscious of
 "an ardent longing on seeing charming objects, and hearing sweet
 "sounds, then in all probability, without being aware of it, he
 "remembers in his mind the friendships of former births firmly
 "rooted in his heart."

रम्याणि वोच्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान

पर्युत्सुको भवति यत्सुखितोऽपि जन्तुः

तच्चेतसा स्मरति ननमबोधपर्वे

भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि

Even in Manu's time it was an accepted dogma, that the Souls of men, popularly regarded as emanations from the Deity, might descend into the bodies of animals and trees, or rise to those of higher beings. It was therefore an easy expansion of such a doctrine to imagine the "Divine Soul" itself as passing through various stages of incarnation for the delivery of the World from the effect of evil and sin, and for the maintenance of order in the whole cycle of Creation. ("Indian Wisdom," p. 336.)

Thus began the great series of the Ten Avatára, or the Deity born as an animal, or a man, for the benefit of mankind:

Three times as animals.

Once as half man and half animal.

Five times as man.

Once still to come, when the World has become wholly depraved, seated on a white horse in the skies, with a drawn sword in his hand.

Manu, the great codifier of existing oral Law, occupying a position analogous to Confucius, Zoroaster, and Moses, writes (XII, iii, 40, 54, 55):

"An act, either mental, verbal, or corporeal (thoughts, words, or deeds), bears good or evil fruit. The various Transmigrations of men through the highest, middle, and lowest stages, are produced by acts." This triple order implies the passage of the Soul through (1) Deities, (2) Men, (3) Animals, or (4) Plants, according to the dominance of one or other of the three Guna: (1) Goodness, (2) Passion, (3) Darkness: and each of these three degrees has three sub-degrees. Those, who have committed great crimes, pass

through terrible Hells for a long series of years, and then pass through various bodies. A Brahman-killer's Soul enters the body of a boar, or an ass: the violator of the bed of a Guru migrates a hundred times into the form of grasses, shrubs, plants, etc.

It is clear from this that, as in all Religious Conceptions, the purest and most modern, the Priesthood had their own way, and maintained their authority of Terrorism of the most debased kind over an abject and ignorant community. The Hell-fire Sermon is not a new, or a local, invention.

G. *The Buddhist.*

I quote the words of Gilbert's "Mikado": "Buddhism makes the punishment or reward fit the crime or merit. A niggard is reborn either in a state of suffering, or, if into mankind again, into a state of abject poverty. A liberal man is reborn rich. A man, who takes away life, is reborn with a short span of life. One, who abstains from taking life, is reborn with a long span."

Thus the Soul has to bear the consequences of its own acts only. It is tossed hither and thither at the mercy of a force set in *motion by itself alone*, but which can never be guarded against, because its operation depends on past actions wholly beyond control and even unremembered. Even great genius, and congenital excellence, are not natural gifts, τὰ δῶρα Θεοῦ, but the result of habits formed, and powers developed, through a succession of previous existences. So, again, sufferings of all kind, and moral depravity, are simply the consequence of acts done by each Soul of its own free will in former bodies, which acts exert upon that Soul an irresistible Power, called very significantly Adrishtá, because felt and not seen. ("Indian Wisdom," pp. 68, 69.)

When the chief Lama of Tibet dies, it is presumed, that his Soul has passed into some body, and that body must be looked for, and placed on the throne of the deceased. A search is made for a body with certain marks, which are presumed to indicate the presence of the late Lama, and when found he is hailed as successor. The same thing happened, when the Sacred Bull died in Egypt: the Priests had to look out for another Bull, with marks indicating its fitness. The mode of election of the Pope of the Romish Church is something in the same way, but meaner motives there exercise their influence. In the "Cariyá Pitaka" of the Páli Sacred Books the principle is laid down, that the qualifications necessary for making a Buddha cannot be acquired during, and do not depend on the action of, one life only, but are the last result of many deeds *performed through a long series of consecutive lives*.

Although the Idea, that every man had passed through many existences before his birth on earth, and will pass through many more after his death, was distinctly borrowed from Hindu writers,

yet the honour of first and solely employing the stories of previous births for educational purposes, and to inculcate great lessons of Morality, must be attributed to Buddha and his followers. This fact was always known to the limited circle of those, who cared for this Branch of Science; but in 1895 the first volume of a work was published by the Cambridge University Press, which introduces the subject to the general public. The volume is entitled "The Játaka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births," translated from the Páli by various hands under the Editorship of Professor E. B. Cowell of Cambridge.

Now unquestionably the date of these Stories can be carried back to the date of the Council of Vesáli, 380 B.C.: this is important, as it places them anterior to, and independent of, any Christian influence. The art of Alphabetic writing no doubt existed in India at that period, as testified by the Rock-Inscriptions of Asóka, so that date, if arrived at on literary grounds, can be accepted on Palaeographic grounds; but a material corroboration has also been supplied by the sculptures on the carvings of the railing of the shrines of Sanchi, Amaraváti, and Bharhut, where the titles of the Játaka are clearly inscribed on some of the carvings, and the date of the erection of these shrines has been arrived at on independent grounds. And a remarkable confirmation is found in the Travels of Fah Hian, who, when he visited Ceylon, 400 A.D., saw representations of the 500 bodily forms assumed by Buddha in his successive births, and these legends were habitually made use of to illustrate the teaching of Buddhist Doctrine.

It is quite uncertain, when they were collected into a systematic volume like the present Játaka: no doubt they were first orally delivered from time to time; then gradually they were copied into one volume. Probably the Christian New Testament came together in the same manner. They are all in the Páli Language. The first volume of the Edition contains 150 Birth Stories, partly prose, and partly verse; and each consists of (1) a Preface, which is the story of the Present, detailing how it happened that Buddha was led to tell the story; (2) the story of the birth; (3) a short Summary, in which Buddha identifies the actions, for to Buddha is attributed the power claimed by Pythagoras of remembering on a gigantic scale all the transactions of his previous existence. Every story is illustrated by one or more poetic couplets, or Gatha, uttered by Buddha, to point the moral of the tale. The Language of the Gatha is much more archaic than that of the story, and some might think, that they were the kernel of the story; however, in the opinion of others the Language of the Stories may indeed be later, but they are merely the redaction into writing of materials handed down orally from the earliest period: the Stories were necessarily anterior to the Gatha, though not necessarily in the same words.

Professor Fausböll, of Copenhagen, is the sole Editor of the Páli Text, five volumes of which have appeared. The Translation is conducted by a band of friends, who employ a uniformity of technical terms and transliteration, and certain common principles of Translation.

But it is not the first attempt, for the first volume is dedicated by the author to Professor Rhys Davids, his friend and preceptor, and in the Preface we learn that in 1880 the Professor published one volume containing the "Nidhána-Katha," or complete History of Buddha, both before and during his last birth, and 40 stories: his work ceased there, and it has been since taken up by his friends and pupils. The 40 stories of the earlier volume appear retranslated in the later work as the first 40 of the 150, which it contains.

But the Introduction to Professor Rhys Davids' work above alluded to, entitled "Buddhist Birth Stories," in Trübner's Series, is well worth noticing: it occupies pp. i-lxxxvii of the volume.

He calls attention to the fact, that the fairy-tales, parables, fables, riddles, and comic and moral stories, of the Buddhist Collection bear a striking resemblance to similar ones current in West Asia or Europe. Now, in many instances this resemblance is due to the fact, that they were borrowed from the Buddhist ones. A second fact is, that these stories contain the oldest, most complete, and most important, Collection of Folklore extant. I merely mention these facts, but they have no relation to the subject-matter of this Essay, which is confined to the consideration of the great Problem of the Transmigration of Souls, and the power to recollect the events of previous lives, indicating a continuity of thought from one life to another. The chief Collections of Stories of this kind, which grew out of this fundamental source, are:

Játaka-mala (in Sanskrit),
 Pancha-Tantra, alias Hítopadésha (in Sanskrit),
 Kálilag and Dámanag (in Syriac),
 Kálilut and Dámanat (in Arabic),
 "Arabian Nights" (in Arabic),
 Aesop's Fables (in Greek),
 Phaedrus (in Latin),

and the great crop of modern European Folklore, and Beast-Stories.

Professor Rhys Davids gives us in his Preface the accepted theory as to the mode, in which the Páli Játaka Book came into existence. Their origin is due to "the Religious Faith of the "Early Indian Buddhists, who not only repeated a number of "fables, parables, and stories, ascribed to the Buddha, but gave "them a peculiar sacredness and special Religions signification "by identifying the best character in each with the Buddha "himself in some previous birth." The parables and fables, for

they were no more, became their *Játaka*, a word invented to distinguish the stories thus sanctified. We find the word in the Inscription of the Buddhist Tope at Bharhut, and it clearly must have been a long recognized term to be thus honoured. Gradually came the time for collecting the scattered *Játaka* into a volume, and this probably took place before the Council of Vesáli, 380 B.C. A tradition as to the time and occasion, at or on which they were uttered, may have given rise to the earliest Introductory Story. They were written in the Páli Language, carried to Ceylon about 200 B.C., and, with the exception of the verses at the close of each, translated into Sinhalese. About the Fifth century A.D. an unknown Author retranslated them into Páli, and compiled the volume now translated into English.

It is a remarkable and incontestable fact, that Buddha taught by *Parables*, but no *Miracles* are imputed to him.

Professor Rhys Davids, at page lxxv of his Preface, and in his "Hibbert Lectures," pp. 88-109, lays stress on the real meaning of Transmigration to the Buddhist. It is not the passage of a Soul from one body to another, for the Buddhists do not admit of the existence of a Soul, or of a God. The Doctrine is somewhat intricate, and is fully explained in the "Manual of Buddhism" by the same author, pp. 99-106; and perhaps what does take place, may better be described as "Transmigration of *Character*," for it is entirely independent of the Idea of the existence within each body of a distinct Soul, Ghost, or Spirit. The Bodhisat is not supposed to have a Soul, which on the death of one body is transferred to another, but to be the inheritor of the *Karma*, or *Character*, acquired by previous Bodhisats.

The insight and goodness, the moral and intellectual perfection, which constitute Buddhahood, could not according to the Buddhist theory be acquired in one lifetime. They were the accumulated result of the continued effort of many generations of successive Bodhisats. The only thing, which continues to exist, when a man dies, is his *Karma*, the result of his words, thoughts, and deeds, literally his "doing"; and the curious Idea, that the result is concentrated in some new individual, is due to the older Idea of Soul.

Professor Rhys Davids, at p. 114 of his "Hibbert Lectures," 1881, sums up the Philosophy of the Idea as follows:

"Predestination is the logical expression from the Monotheistic point of view of the weight of the Universe arrayed against the Individual. Pre-existence, or that part of the Transmigration of *Karma*, which is insisted upon in the early Buddhism, is an ethical meeting of the same difficulty.

"The fact, underlying all these theories, is acknowledged to be a very real one: the history of an individual does not begin with

“ his birth. He has been endless generations in making, and he
 “ cannot sever himself from his surroundings.

* * * * *

“ A great American writer says, that it was a poetic attempt to
 “ lift this mountain of Fate, when the Hindu said: ‘Fate is nothing,
 “ but the deeds committed in a previous existence.’ Schelling
 “ writes: ‘There is in every man a certain feeling, that he has
 “ been what he is from all eternity.’ We may put a newer and
 “ deeper meaning into the words of the poet

“ ‘ Our deeds follow us from afar,
 “ And what we have been makes us what we are.’ ”

3. THE MODERN ASPECT.

It is no longer a question of Religious Dogma or Philosophy, but a mere sentimental, or intellectual, mystery, yet somehow or other it exists, and there is more in it than appears at first sight. The Poets throw around it a halo of unreality. I have gathered the following thoughts either in print or conversation :

“ The Soul sojourning in the earthly body has been likened to
 “ a current of air drafted through an Aeolian harp, and passing on
 “ again into the great air of Heaven, but for ever resounding an
 “ individual chord. So some portion of the Eternal Soul of the
 “ Universe, dwelling for a while in an earthly body, takes identity,
 “ and passing onward joins once more, but is not absorbed into the
 “ Universal Soul, so as to lose absolutely its own identity.”

Let me quote Wordsworth’s celebrated Ode on the “Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood.” The idea of Metempsychosis underlies the whole Poem.

“ The sunshine is a glorious birth ;
 “ But yet I know, where’er I go,
 “ That there hath past away a glory from the Earth.

* * * * *

“ But there’s a tree, of many, one,
 “ A single Field, which I have looked upon,
 “ Both of them speak of something that is gone :
 “ The Pansy at my feet
 “ Doth the same tale repeat :
 “ Whither is fled the visionary gleam ?
 “ Where is it now, the glory and the dream ?

“ Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting :
 “ The Soul, that rises with us, our Life’s Star,
 “ Hath had elsewhere its setting,
 “ And cometh from afar :
 “ Not in entire forgetfulness,
 “ And not in utter nakedness,
 “ But trailing clouds of Glory do we come
 “ From God, who is our Home :
 “ Heaven lies about us in our infancy !
 “ Shades of the prison-house begin to close
 “ Upon the growing Boy,
 “ But He beholds the Light, and whence it flows,
 “ He sees it in his joy.

* * * * *

“ Earth fills her lap with pleasures of her own.

* * * * *

“ And no unworthy aim,
 “ The homely Nurse doth all she can
 “ To make her Foster-child, her Inmate Man,
 “ Forget the Glories he hath known,
 “ And that Imperial Palace whence he came.

* * * * *

“ But for those first affections,
 “ Those shadowy recollections,
 “ Which, be they what they may,
 “ Are yet the fountain-light of all our day

* * * * *

“ Our Souls have sight of that Immortal Sea,
 “ Which brought us hither,
 “ Can in a moment travel thither.”

I follow with a quotation from Tennyson’s “ Two Voices ”

“ It may be that no life is found,
 “ Which only to one engine bound
 “ Falls off, but cycles always round.

“ As old mythologies relate,
 “ Some draught of Lethe might await
 “ The slipping through from state to state.

“ As here we find in trances men
 “ Forget the dream, that happens then,
 “ Until they fall in trance again,

“ So might we, if our state were such,
 “ As one before, remember much,
 “ For those two likes might meet and touch.

“ But, if I lapsed from nobler place,
 “ Some legend of a fallen race
 “ Alone might hint of my disgrace ;

“ Some vague emotion of delight
 “ In gazing up an Alpine height,
 “ Some yearning toward the lamps of night.

“ Or, if through lower lives I came,
 “ Tho’ all experience past became
 “ Consolidate in mind and frame,

“ I might forget my weaker lot,
 “ For is not our first year forgot?
 “ The haunts of memory echo not.

“ Much more, if first I floated free,
 “ As naked essence must I be
 “ Incompetent of memory :

“ For memory dealing but with time,
 “ And he with matter, could she climb
 “ Beyond her own material prime ?

“ Moreover, something is or seems,
 “ That touches me with mystic gleams
 “ Like glimpses of forgotten dreams :

“ Of something felt like something here,
 “ Of something done, I know not where,
 Such as no language may declare.”

This will find an echo in the Souls of many. Do we not seem, in our musing hours, to have heard something long before, to have thought some thought, to have uttered some word, to have seen some landscape, in a previous existence, or under different circumstances? This happens to fresh young minds oftener than to the jaded intellects of those in middle life or old age. Have we not sometimes felt, that we have fallen from a higher intellectual and spiritual age somewhere, that we understood things better once, which seem now a puzzle? Of course, Dreams develop these feelings, specially Day-Dreams, where the direction of the thoughts are guided by the will, which is not in the torpor of sleep : and sweet Music helps it.

In Charles Dickens's "Dombey and Son," p. 210 of the original Edition, we come unexpectedly on the following words: "an undeveloped recollection of a previous state of existence."

There is a ring of pathos in the lines by that charming writer George Eliot:

" Oh may I join the choir invisible
 " Of those immortal dead, *who live again*
 " *In minds made better by their presence*: live
 " In pulses stirred to generosity,
 " In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
 " For miserable aims that end in self,
 " In thoughts sublime that pierce the night-like stars,
 " And with their mild persistence urge men's search
 " To vaster issues
 " This is life to come."

Professor Rhys Davids admits, that there is some analogy between this beautiful sentiment of the modern Positivist and the Buddhist doctrine of Karma; but the modern Poet is thinking of the Future, the ancient Prophet dwells on the Past.

In Archbishop Trench's "Day of Death" occur the following lines:

" Or the Soul long strives in vain
 " To escape with toil and pain,
 " From its half-divided chain":

which I fifty-five years ago, at Naples, rendered into monkish Latin:

" An se demum curâ plena
 " Expedibit multâ poenâ
 " Semiruptâ Mens catenâ?"

We recollect the Emperor Hadrian's address to his Soul:

" Animula vagula blandula,
 " Hospes comesque corporis,
 " Quos nunc abibis in locos?
 " Pallidula rigida nudula
 " Nec, ut ante, dabis jocos".

rendered so nobly by the Poet Pope:

" Poor little pretty fluttering thing,
 " Must we no longer live together?
 " And dost thou prune thy timid wing,
 " And take thy flight, thou knowest not whither?"

I finally quote one living Poet, Mr. Lecky :

“ So in our dreams some glimpse appears,
 “ Though soon it fades again,
 “ How other lands, or times, or spheres,
 “ Might make us other men.

“ Now half our being lies in trance,
 “ Nor joy, nor sorrow, brings,
 Unless the hand of circumstance
 “ Can touch the latent strings.

“ We know not fully what we are,
 “ Still less what we might be,
 “ But hear *faint voices* from the far,
 “ *Dim lands beyond the sea !*”

Some thoughts rise in my mind. Can it be, that such a Divine Creation as a Soul can only be used for one brief life, perhaps a very brief one indeed of a few summers, perhaps the tenant of a Human form unworthy of it, owing to want of Culture, or absence of Virtue ?

“ Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid
 “ Some Soul once pregnant with celestial fire :
 “ Hands that the rod of Empire might have swayed,
 “ Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre.”

GRAY'S *Elegy*.

Would not a Soul be strengthened for the daily combat of life by undergoing different conditions of its poor mortal place of temporary habitation, different environments of the mortal coil, different experiences of Human vicissitudes ? On the other hand, would not a Soul, having left a pure and holy tenement, be defiled and degraded by contact with some base Human embodiment of Carnality, Vice, and Degradation, which the Holy Spirit, which deigns to dwell with Man, has abandoned in despair and anger ?

What becomes of the accumulated Millions of Souls, if after the accomplishment of one brief term of service, they are never employed again ? Do they fade like the leaves of the forest in Autumn, having done what they were created to do ? What is the meaning of absorption into the Divine Essence, or, as the Christian Minister fondly puts it, “being with Christ” ? The whole subject is a mystery.

What is the Soul ($\Psi\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$, Psyché) ? Can it die ? Some say that it can, and quote the New Testament : “Fear Him, who is able to destroy both Soul ($\Psi\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$) and Body ($\Sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$) in Gehenna.”

It is vain to argue on such a subject: the intellect is finite, and the subject of this question is infinite.

But there is a third indwelling part of the "*Homo*," which appears before us: the Spirit (*Πνεῦμα*). This comes of God, and is God, and can certainly never die, and can certainly leave the body; but this lies outside the subject of this Essay, which is restricted to the opinions formed by men at different periods, and in different countries, and degrees of Culture, as to the Transmigration of the Soul (*Ψύχη*) from one Body (*Σώμα*) to another.

Sometimes we come into contact with a young creature, whose Soul seems fresh from Heaven, and fit for Heaven. Having been blessed with the tenement of a docile body, the two entities, Soul and Body, move in unison: they ripen fast, and are soon removed. Sometimes we meet, or hear of, persons, who seem devoid of Soul altogether. Again, we come upon persons, who seem to have inherited an evil Soul: some are fierce and bitter in temperament, who, if they have not inherited these characteristics, are qualifying at the next birth to enter a tiger; some are gross and carnal, who are qualifying to pass into swine at the next opportunity.

Again, there are instances of mysterious attraction betwixt Soul and Soul (I do not allude to the attractions of carnal Earthly Love): there exists sometimes a wonderful feeling, that creates a link between two Souls, though they occupied their brief earthly span two or three centuries apart; yet there seems to be a mysterious union, the "*idem sentire de rebus Humanis et Divinis.*" Has not some one unexpectedly come upon passages in some book, which existed before his birth, but never heard of till lately, which reveal to him his own hidden thoughts, passing under review the mysterious Problem of Self, the World, and God, suggesting solutions, long before revealed to him in his musings by day, or his waking hours by night? Still more wonderful is the solution of hard problems, which he has striven for in vain, sought for from his contemporaries without success, but revealed to his astonished eyes in a book of the last century. There must surely be some affinity of that portion of us, which is Divine, with that which existed, or exists in others. I do not ask for sensational common-form expressions of the ignorant formularist, whether Hindu, Buddhist, Mahometan, or Christian, who has not even thought out the problem, but the reverential humble expressions of thought of one, who

“extra

“Processit longè flammantia moenia mundi,

“Atque omme immensum peragravit mente animoque.”

LUCRETIUS.

Then clearly there are sins peculiar to the body, in which the enlightened Soul can take no pleasure, carnal appetites, low and

evil desires, envy, hatred, and malice. A man's "better self" loathes such things, but has to endure them in an ill-assorted union. The great Soul will not condescend to profit by the loss of his neighbour, will not sell its purity for gold, will not utter a lie even for its own advantage, is ready to sacrifice itself for the benefit of others, looks on the world around with a pitying eye, but willing to continue in its mortal tenement, if it can benefit the poor and suffering. "Altruism," not "Egoism," is the Law of its Nature, following the example of Gautama Buddha, who was the first to propound the noble Idea of "Loving others better than one's self," and the precepts given Five centuries later by One Greater than the Buddha. On the other hand, in a comparatively innocuous, quiescent, body, there are grievous sins of the Soul, of which the Body has no cognizance, such as Denial of the Lord, who bought us, Worldliness, Lust for Power, such as Satan offered to the Lord at the Temptation, Lust for Wealth, such as that of the Rich Man in the Parable, whose Soul in the midst of his enjoyments that very night was required.

It is necessary to draw one line absolutely: a Soul is a Soul, a body is a body; the Soul is an eternal entity, the body is a perishable atom: and in that last particular all creatures having life are on the same level. When the breath of life departs, the poor clay-tenement returns to dust. But the incidence of death was not written for the Soul. Now we know, as a positive fact, that there is an ineffaceable division between the "genus *Homo*," and the rest of the Animal-Creation. The Sacred Books of every Religion may not affirm it, but it is a fact, which is written in clear letters in the History of the World, that the intelligence of animals, such as the Elephant, the Horse, the Dog, and the Cat, though most worthy of note, is limited, and no degree of Culture would carry it beyond certain limited boundaries, or prolong it from generation to generation; while the intelligence of the "genus *Homo*" is unlimited: even now it is only in the course of development. Things are known to us at the close of the Nineteenth century absolutely unknown, and undreamed of, at the close of the Eighteenth century. To the "genus *Homo*" alone has been conceded the two great congenital gifts of (1) Articulate Speech, (2) a Religious Instinct. Therefore Transmigration of a Soul into the body of an animal, not calculated to be the tenement of a Soul, is a thing impossible.

The gist of the matter is, that in all speculations of men of the Nineteenth century, and in all reverential communings with the Soul as to its future destiny after its parting from the mortal tenement, in which it is now included, there are but two alternatives:

A. "To be with Christ" in a mysterious, indefinable, state of existence, and yet non-existence: this is the fond vision of holy men. The reply to the inquirer is an illustration of "*Obscurum per obscurius.*"

No one ever came back, and revealed the mystery beyond the tomb. The Old and New Testaments are silent. The sad lines of the late Poet Laureate come back to us:

"When Lazarus left his charnel-cave,
 "And home to Mary's house return'd,
 "Was this demanded, if he yearn'd
 "To hear her weeping by his grave?"

"'Where wert thou, brother, those four days?'
 "There lives no record of reply,
 Which telling what it is to die
 "Had surely added praise to praise.

"Behold a man raised up by Christ!
 "The rest remaineth unreveal'd:
 "He told it not; or something seal'd
 "The lips of that Evangelist."

TENNYSON: *In Memoriam*, xxxi.

B. To transmigrate into another individual body of the "genus *Homo.*"

The theory of Purgatory is not only unscriptural, but a mere intellectual delusion. If sins are to be purged after death, it seems more reasonable, that they should be purged under the same conditions as those, in which they were committed in this mortal life: in practice it appears to be only a machinery for bringing money to the Priesthood.

My thoughts pass from the dying ejaculations of the great Roman Emperor, quoted above, who was denied the opportunity of knowing Christ, to the Soul of the young man of our own time, who had been chosen from his boyhood, had been consecrated in the bloom of his youth, to the service of his Master; to whom the gift had been conceded of an ingenuous countenance, on which the word *Ἀγάπη*, not *Ἔρως*, was written, from whose lips flowed words that burn, the reflection of thought, that breathed; whose life represented the simplicity, the holiness, the self-sacrifice, the high desire, the very Christ, whom he preached; whose Soul, having found a mortal tenement worthy of the habitation of its Divine Essence, rejoiced in the discharge of holy duties, the daily something accomplished, something done. Many the poor sinning brother and sister were by

him brought to Christ on the dying bed in the Hospital; the happy Soul of the Teacher lending itself in deep sympathy, and pure aim, to the poor distracted, trembling, hopeless, Soul of the unhappy sinner. No pride there: but for God's Grace the Soul of the saved one would have been in the same plight as the Soul of the all but lost one; for with God there is no προσωπολήψις, and the poor Human race are all on the same level, the certainty of condemnation but for the Saviour.

Him, the tenement of such a Soul, a fever acquired in his holy visiting of the sick, laid low, and the term of his days was accomplished; there was no murmur on his part. He had done what he could, and filled up the little space, for which he was ordained to glorify God; the ministration of his Master only lasted three years, was not that sufficient for him also? The example of his death is even more precious than his life: he has his reward. Better to die thus.

“ὄν ὁ Θεός φιλεῖ θνήσκει νέος.”

But for the poor Soul, for it there is no death: of it may be said:

“ It hoped that with the brave and strong
 “ Its destined course might lie,
 “ To toil amidst the busy throng,
 “ With purpose pure and high.”

ANN BRONTE.

“ *Hei mihi! quid feci? unde lapsus sum?* ”

It does not die like the poor clay-tenement; it is still for ever with the Lord: in its deep humility it pleads nothing in its own favour, for it had only done its duty and is content. But still it pants for new opportunities to save Souls: it pines for re-embodiment in another weak vessel: it thinks of the hospital fever-struck patient with no fellow-Christian near to whisper words of Repentance, Pardon, and Peace: it is ready: can we believe, that Aeons of unemployed happiness will satisfy the inexhaustible desire of the *Ψύχη* and *Πνεῦμα* to do their Master's work. Can Idleness be bliss to a Soul, which during its short period of embodiment was in ceaseless holy activity, doing the Lord's work among his fellow-creatures?

Another point of view is the comforting one, that being allowed to tread the Earth again, a great unrepenting sinner has a chance of escaping the awful penalties, whatever may be the correct rendering of the word *αἰώνιον*, “for a season,” as in Philemon, 15, or “everlasting,” “age-lasting,” as in Matthew, xviii, 8. The idea, that a life of a few summers, or of a few days, decides the fate of a poor

Soul for Eternity, is too awful to be entertained. To what an extent the preponderant weight of a mere dogma of a man in the Middle Ages can influence good holy weak men, is evidenced by the two following stanzas in the "Day of Doom," by Michael Wigglesworth, which is still read in Christian New England. "Reprobate" (in the technical sense) Infants are in his poem summoned to judgment.

" Then to the Bar they all drew near,
 " Who died in infancy,
 " And never had, or good or bad,
 " Effected personally."

The little children cry out, pleading their innocence, but are rebuked as sinners ; every sin is a crime.

" A crime it is : therefore in bliss,
 " You may not hope to dwell :
 " But unto you I shall allow
 " The easiest room in Hell."

Cases are frequent of men repenting in middle life, or in advanced years, and passing from Death unto Life, because the chance was given them. There is no limit to the Mercies of God ; but Justice must be combined with Love. In India fifty years ago, two very young officers were driving home from the Regimental mess in a state of intoxication ; they had not counted twenty summers, and were still in the blind folly of youth, and had commenced a life of profligacy. Their vehicle was upset, and one was cast out dead ; the other was taken to the hospital with a compound fracture of both legs : there he lingered under the blessed influences of a Sister of the Hospital, an angel in the form of a woman, and eventually came out a changed man, lived a long life of holy benevolence, and then entered into his rest. Let us think of the poor lad, the thread of whose life was snapped in the midst of his sins. " Nobody ever spoke to me," a poor dying lad once said to a kindly visitor in India, who came to soothe his last repentant hours. He had had previously no chance given him, no opportunity of recovering his self-control. Setting aside as impossible the idea of Everlasting Torture in such, or in any, case, perhaps in a new environment a better life might be spent : and the Soul of the poor lad, whose body perished while still in his teens, in a new incarnation might have been blessed with a fresh Revelation of Christ, and, if needs be, suffer, but be patient and strong, and try to atone for past errors.

As long as the heart beats with Human affections, as long as the Soul gives birth to Divine aspirations, this wondrous speculation will be entertained.

- “ Πῶς γενόμεν; πόθεν εἰμί; τίνος χάριν ἦλθον; ἀπελθεῖν;
 “ Πῶς δύναμαι τι μαθεῖν, μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενος;
 “ Οὐδὲν ἐὼν γενόμεν· πάλιν ἔσσομαι, ὡς πάρος ἦα,
 “ Οὐδέν, καὶ μηδὲν, τῶν μερόπων τὸ γένος.”

Anthologia Palatina, viii, 118.

The poor vile body is indeed mortal; but the Soul is Immortal. Shall we not say with Walter Pater (“Plato and Platonism,” p. 64): “The teaching of Pythagoras, like all the graver utterances of primitive Greek Philosophy, is an instinct of the Human mind itself, and therefore a constant Tradition in Human History, which will ever recur, fortifying this or that Soul, here or there, in a part at least of that old sanguine assurance about itself”?

To many, much that has been written in this my last Chapter may appear as a dream, and it may please those, who are narrow-minded, and incapable of reflection on the History of the Past, and unsusceptible of Reverential Thought as to the Future, to describe Chapters I and II as “the teaching of Satan,” which is the general description in certain Religious and Missionary circles of the Religious Convictions of the Elder World. Be it so!
 “*Sursum corda.*”

November, 1897.

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- F. Peek: "Aeonian Metempsychosis" (*Contemporary Review*).
 "Encyclopaedia Britannica," 9th Edition.
 Monier-Williams: "Religious Thought in India."

THE ELEVENTH
INTERNATIONAL ORIENTAL CONGRESS ·

HELD AT PARIS, SEPTEMBER 5-12, 1897.

It was decided at the Geneva International Oriental Congress, that the next meeting should take place at Paris in the year 1897. The Scholars of Paris took all the necessary steps, and the Congress was held: it is proposed now to state what was done.

As far back as May, 1896, notice was given by a circular, and the names of those, who proposed to be members, were asked for. The dates fixed were September 5-12, 1897. A scheme of organization was propounded as follows:

SECTION I.

Arian Language and Archaeology, with three Subsections:

1. Indian.
2. Irán.
3. Linguistic.

SECTION II.

Languages and Archaeology of the Extreme Orient, with
two Subsections ·

1. China and Japan.
2. Inde-China, Malaysia, Polynesia.

SECTION III.

Mahometan Languages and Archaeology.

SECTION IV.

Semitic Languages and Archaeology, with two Subsections

1. Aramaic, Hebrew, Phoenician, Ethiopian.
2. Assyrian.

SECTION V.

Egypt, and African Languages.

SECTION VI.

The East; Greece; Relation of Hellenism with the East;
Byzantium.

SECTION VII.

Ethnography, Folklore of the East.

In February, 1897, a second circular was issued, and notice was given, that the President of the French Republic was Protector of the Congress, and the King of Sweden, the Prince of Wales, and Archduke Renier of Austria, had accepted the office of Presidents of Honour. The names of Members of Honour were mentioned. It was notified, that Committees had been appointed in every European country, and that the Government of British India had consented to send Delegates. Members of the Congress were invited to communicate the titles of the papers, which they proposed to present to the Congress; and it was determined to prepare a summary of the progress of Knowledge of the subject in each Section, which had been achieved since the Geneva Congress of 1894. Notice was also given, that a permanent Commission was occupied in revising the Fundamental Statutes, under which these Congresses were held. The facilities offered by Railways and Steamboat-Companies were notified.

In July, 1897, Circular No. 3 was issued, with important details, not necessary to mention here. Full lists were given of the Presidents of Honour, the Members of Honour, the Delegates from Foreign Governments, the Delegates from Learned Societies. It was announced, that the Meetings would be held in the College of France, and the Sorbonne; that there would be a certain number of receptions and banquets; and lastly, a list was published of the Communications to the Congress, which had been notified.

When the Congress met on September 5th, a Provisory Project, No. 4, for the emendation of the Fundamental Statutes, was placed in the hands of every member, that he might be prepared to decide upon this important subject before the Congress closed.

There were about 700 Members, and more than 400 were present in Paris. In each branch there were the leading Orientalists in their speciality. There were a few *bonâ-fide* Orientals also, from Algiers, Turkey, China, and Japan. M. Rambaud, the Minister for Public Education, presided at the opening Meeting, and M. Schefer, the President of the Congress, delivered his opening address.

I here notice the names of the illustrious Scholars, who formed the Commission of Organization :

SECTION I.

1. MM. Barth, Breal, Senart, Vinson.
2. MM. Carrière, Dieulafoy, Drouin, Blochet.
3. MM. Boyer, Henri, Specht.

SECTION II.

1. MM. Cordier, Deveria, Guimet, De Rosny, Specht.
2. MM. Aymonier, Bonet, Marré.

SECTION III.

MM. Barbier de Meynard, Derenbourg, Houdas, Schefer.

SECTION IV.

1. MM. Berger, Rubens Duval, De Vogüé.
2. MM. Heuzey, Oppert, Quentin, Thureau-Dangin.

SECTION V.

MM. Guieyesse, Hanoteau, Lefébure, Loret, Maspero, Pierret.

SECTION VI.

MM. Bikélas, Legrand, Schlumberger.

SECTION VII.

MM. Prince Roland Bonaparte, Hamy, De Rialle.

Many old Scholars and Students, who had attended several of the previous Congresses in the different Capitals of Europe, were proud to inscribe their names as Members of the Paris Congress, but owing to illness or infirmity were unable to attend. Among their number was the writer of this Report, who, however, sent two daughters to represent him, as full members.

The President, in his address on September 6th, notified the following additional names to the list already given of Presidents of Honour :

1. The Shah of Persia.
2. The Grand Duke Constantine of Russia.
3. Prince Kan-Wu of China.
4. The Khedive of Egypt.

He dwelt with satisfaction on the vast progress, which had been made in Oriental Knowledge since the first of the eleven Congresses met in Paris nearly twenty-five years ago, and, though his name was not mentioned, the Scholar, who suggested the idea, and was President of the first Congress held at Paris, Professor Leon de Rosny, was present, and Science owes him a special debt of gratitude. The idea seems so simple now, but it was a novel, grand, and difficult, conception then, as I well recollect.

The first Section met and finally constituted its *personelle* : President of Section, Lord Reay ; Vice-Presidents, Hofrath G. Bühler Professor Pischel, and Professor Kern.

In the Indian Subsection M. Senart presented a paper by M. Foucher, who was absent in India, on the " Itinerary of Hiouen

Thsang in the Province of Gandhára." Professor Oldenberg, of Kiel, presented a paper entitled "Taine's Essay upon the Buddhist Conception." Notices were given of several papers for next day, Sept. 7.

In the Iranic Subsection M. Hubschmann, Professor of Strasburg, was elected President, and M. Esoff, of Russia, Vice-President. No business was transacted.

In the Linguistic Subsection, Count Gubernátis was elected President, and MM. Kretschmer and Oulianoff, Vice-Presidents.

In Section II, China and Japan Subsection, His Excellency Tching Tchang was elected President, and MM. Tomi, Schlegel, and Douglas, Vice-Presidents. No business was transacted, but notice given of papers for the following day.

In the Indo-China and Malaysia Subsection, Professor Kern was elected President, and General H. Brown, Delegate of Burma, and Professor St. John, of Oxford, Vice-Presidents. M. Aymonier made a communication on the subject of the date of a King of Cambodia, which led to a discussion, in which several scholars took part. M. Marré gave picturesque details on Malagási Songs.

In Section III, Professor De Goeje was elected President, and MM. Karabácek and Radloff, Vice-Presidents. A discussion took place, on the initiative of Professor Bevan, of Cambridge, on the meaning of the word "Zendib," supposed to mean in Arabic "Heretic." No other subject was discussed.

In Section IV, Subsection Semitic, Professor Ignazio Guidi was elected President, and Professor Kautzsch, of Halle, and Professor Lami of Louvain, were elected Vice-Presidents. One or two matters were brought forward, such as a Report on Syriac Studies, the exhibition of a fragment of the Ecclesiastes in Hebrew, and a Report on Ethiopian Studies.

In Subsection Assyrian, M. Tiele was elected President, and MM. Pinches, Hommel, and Haupt, Vice-Presidents.

In Section V, M. Ed. Naville, the late President of the Tenth Oriental Congress at Geneva, 1894, was elected President, and MM. Lieblein and Erman, Vice-Presidents. M. René Basset, of Algeria, read a paper on the Riff Language of North Africa, and M. Erman made a communication on the subject of a proposed Thesaurus of Egyptian words, which is in course of publication under the auspices of the German Government. This work would comprise all the words contained in Hieroglyphic, or Hieratic, Manuscripts. Demotic, or Koptic, words would only be admitted, when required for purposes of comparison. The Superintending Committee of this important work consists of the Academies of Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, and Munich; and it is hoped, that the material will be ready in 1904, the Text definitely settled in 1908, and the printing in 1913. Some discussion followed this communication. Notice was given of papers to be read on subsequent days of Meeting.

In Section VI, M. Bikélas was elected President, and MM. Krumbacker and Strzgowsky, Vice-Presidents. The President disclaimed any right to be called a Scholar, but he was a Greek, and, as Greece had often been a link of union betwixt the East and West, he willingly accepted the office, and hoped that some future Congress might be held at Athens. Two communications were made on the progress of Byzantine Philology.

In Section VII, M. Vambéry was elected President, and MM. De Gubernátis, Radloff, De Claparède, and Valdemar Schmidt, Vice-Presidents. The President read a Report on the Commission of Ethnography and Folklore, and dwelt on the importance of the subject. Dr. Kunos read a paper on the popular songs of the Osmánli Turks. Notice was given of papers to be read at future Meetings.

This closed the proceedings of Monday the 6th of September, and the Congress was now fairly launched.

On Tuesday, September 7, at 9.30 a.m., the following Sections met:

Section I, Subsection India.—Mr. Robert Sewell, late of the Indian Civil Service, read a paper, "Some points in the Archaeology of South India." MM. Ludwig, Bergess, and Bühler, discussed this subject, and a wish was expressed that Dr. Pope, a retired Missionary of South India, would publish certain interesting Essays, which he had prepared.

M. Geiger read a paper on "The Vaddas and their Language," followed by a discussion, in which MM. Wickremasinghe, Pischel, Ludwig, and Rhys Davids, and Lord Reay, took part.

M. Pullé made a communication on an ancient Map of India, followed by MM. Sylvain Lévi, Bühler, and De Gubernátis; and the Subsection decided, that a request should be made to the different Geographical Societies, and the India Office, to publish a chronological classification of the Maps, prepared at different dates, of the different countries in the East.

Subsection Irán.—M. Kirste offered to the Section reproductions of Six Alphabets of the Zend Language.

M. Jackson brought to notice the numerous resemblances between the Epic Legends of India, and Ancient Persia, especially in their Religious details.

M. Jackson then proposed a new interpretation of a portion of an Inscription of King Darius, which was vigorously disputed by M. Oppert. M. Casartelli presented a Photograph of a Pehlavi Inscription, not previously made known. M. Msériantz described the principal features of a book, which he had lately published on the Armenian Language spoken at Mouch.

The Indian Subsection met again the same day at 2.15 p.m.

M. Grosset presented the first volume of a critical Edition of a work called "Bháratiya-nátya-Shástra," which led to some discussion.

M. Hardy made a communication on certain Legends in Buddha-ghosa's "Monórathapúrani." This led to a considerable discussion, in which MM. Rhys Davids, Ludwig, Jackson, Kuhn, Leumann, Winternitz, Pullé, Sir R. West, and Lord Reay, successively expressed their opinions.

The Subsection expressed its regret at the absence from the Congress of the great Scholars, Weber of Berlin, Cowell of Cambridge, Ascoli of Milan, and Fausböll of Copenhagen.

Professor Rhys Davids introduced the subject of the Páli Text Society.

Subsection Linguistic. — M. Kretschmer described two new Phrygian Inscriptions. M. Breal pointed out, that from these Inscriptions no evidence could be produced of the alleged Indo-European character of the Phrygian Language. M. Kretschmer drew attention to more particular proofs in other Inscriptions.

MM. Gubernátis, Kuhn, Halévy, and Merllet, further discussed the subject of the Indo-European character of the different Languages of Asia Minor.

M. Breal brought before the Subsection the primitive meaning of the word *σώφρος*, which appeared to have been "sweet." M. Halévy remarked that in Hebrew the word *súph* was applied to the juice of a plant, and also to honeycombs. Several Scholars brought forward other considerations.

Section II, Subsection China and Japan, met on Tuesday at 10 a.m. M. Brucher made a communication on the subject of the Inscription of Si-an-Fu, and presented a pamphlet by M. Hanret on the subject.

M. Chevalier made a communication on the subject of a town in Korea.

M. Courant read a paper on Korean and Japanese Studies.

The same Subsection met at 3.15 p.m.

M. Courant read a paper on the Political Transformations of Japan.

Section III met the same day at 9.15 a.m.

M. Kampffmeyer read a paper on the Dialects of the Arabic Languages, comparing certain modern forms with the Himyarite, and suggested that a special Commission should be formed with a view of gathering information from the authorities in the different countries, where Arabic was spoken.

Section IV, Semitic Subsection.—The subject of Dr. Glaser's Inscriptions, found in South Arabia, was mentioned, but not fully discussed. Dr. Glaser claimed 500 B.C. as the date. On no one subject was there any discussion, but brief communications were made by several speakers.

Assyrian Subsection. — M. Hommel made a communication on the pictorial origin of the Cuneiform Written Character.

M. Halévy remarked on the perfect Semitic features of certain Texts, to which a date of 4000 B.C. is assigned. This led to

a discussion on the Sumerian subject, in which several great Scholars took part.

Section V.—M. Moret read his Report on the progress of Egyptian Studies since the last Congress in 1894.

M. Naville presented to the Congress the first volume of the Notes recorded by Professor Lepsius during his stay in Egypt, and expressed a wish, that an Index should be published of the Notices recorded by Champollion during his sojourn in Egypt.

M. Naville read a paper on the last lines of the Stela of Menepthah, in which occurs the name "Israel." He proposed an interpretation essentially different from that of the earlier Translators. MM. Lieblein and Daressy made remarks on this subject.

Section VI met at 9.30 a.m. M. Franz Cumont read a lengthy paper on the subject of the prevalence of the Religion known as Masdeism in Asia Minor. He traced its existence to Cappadocia, Lydia, Phrygia, and in Galatia. Its existence can be carried back to the time of the Achaemenian Sovereigns, and the Hellenic Conquest was not prejudicial to it. There were essential differences between the form, in which it appeared in Asia Minor, and the form recorded in the Avesta. M. C. Dichl read a paper on the ceremonial of the Court of the Byzantine Emperors. Other subjects were discussed of less interest.

Section VII met at 9.45 : there was no business of importance.

In Section III of the day under report, M. Goldziher read a Report on the steps taken to compile a Mahometan Encyclopaedia. M. De Goeje proposed, that a Commission should be appointed to examine this Report, which was distributed among the Members on the following day. I notice it once for all now.

At the London Congress of 1892 the late Mr. Robertson Smith expressed the general opinion, that the time had come to compile an Encyclopaedia to collect in one focus all that is necessary to know on the subject of the Mahometans in the East at the high level of our present knowledge. Something of the same kind did appear two centuries ago, known as the "Bibliothèque Orientale" of M. D'Herbelot, which, after passing through a succession of amplifying Editions, is now out of date. The want of such an Encyclopaedia was felt both by Scholars and the general Public.

At the Geneva Congress, 1894, the subject was again brought under consideration, and M. Goldziher was entrusted with the task of organizing the preparation of this work. He now reported progress :

- (1) The first point was to choose a group of collaborators, and this has been effected, or very nearly so.
- (2) The second point was to secure a Publisher, and M. Brill, the well-known Publisher at Leyden, has consented to discharge the task.

- (3) A Programme was formed, composed of seven Sections, in all of which the information will be recorded Alphabetically, and an Index has been formed of the subjects which make up the Sections.
- (4) The constitution of a permanent Commission, as the work must necessarily be spread over many years, and include one or two triennial Congress periods.

The Section decided to appoint a permanent Commission to arrange details for starting this work, and for superintendence of it during its progress, consisting of MM. Barbier de Meynard of Paris, Browne of Cambridge, Goldziher of Buda Pest, De Goeje of Leyden, Guidi of Rome, Karabácek of Vienna, Landsberg of Sweden, Rosen of St. Petersburg, Socin of Leipzig, and Stoppelaar of the firm of Messrs. Brill at Leyden, with power to add to their number.

Section I met at 9.30 a.m. on Wednesday, September 8th.

Indian Subsection.—M. Waddell made a communication on the subject of “The newly excavated Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures from the Swat Valley.” Attention was called by M. Senart to the perfection and novelty of the Photographical exhibits, which M. Waddell presented. A discussion ensued, and a resolution was carried to express the wish of the Congress, that the Government of India would take measures (1) to protect from ill-usage the Archaeological treasures, and (2) to publish an account of them.

M. Winternitz made a communication on the MSS. of the Maha Bhárata, and a discussion ensued on the necessity of a critical Edition being published in Europe.

Iranian Subsection.—M. Oppert discussed the names and the succession of the months in the Old Persian Calendar, deriving all his arguments from the Inscriptions, and rejecting all other methods.

M. Drouin described historically the discovery of the Pehlavi Inscriptions.

In the afternoon the Subsection India met again. Professor Gubernátis made a communication on the subject of the Hindu god Brahma, and the goddess Savitri.

M. Finot read an abstract of a work prepared for the Congress by M. Foncher, on the subject of the “Itinerary of Hionen Thsang in the Province of Gandhára.” MM. Stein and Bühler spoke on the same subject.

Subsection Linguistic.—Abbé Rousselet gave an account of the Research of Experimental Phonetics, and pointed out the service, which this discovery could render to the Study of Language. Count Pullé remarked, that similar researches were being made in Italy. M. Breal informed the Subsection, that the Phonetic

laboratory of the College of France was always open to students of all Nationalities.

Section II, China and Japan Subsection ; 10 a.m.—The Secretary exhibited the first portion of a Chinese Biographical Dictionary by Mr. H. Giles.

Subsection Inde-China ; 9 a.m.—M. Lemire presented an Annamite Grammar, prepared by a Native Professor of Languages at Saigon.

MM. Trung Vink Ry and Aymonier presented a volume of “Cambodia and its Monuments.”

M. Lemire read a communication from M. Petrusky, on “Indo China in Past and Present Years.”

Mr. St. John requested the Congress to urge upon the Government of British Burmah the importance of inquiry as to the location of the ancient cities of the Province, and to entrust with this duty competent persons. M. Kern warmly supported this proposal, and it was carried.

M. Bonet presented specimens of the Dictionary of the French-Annamate Language in the Chinese and Local forms of written character : this will be a most important work.

Subsection China and Japan ; 2.10 p.m.—M. Martin Fortris brought before the Congress certain propositions regarding the transcription of Chinese. The first article of his scheme was accepted ; the second led to a discussion, which eventuated in the appointment of a Commission.

Section III ; 9.45 a.m.—M. Machuel read a paper on the system of Public Education of the Mahometans in Algeria.

Si Mahmoud ben Mahmoud, Inspector of Schools in Tunisia, presented a paper on the advantages of Science.

M. Roy offered the Congress a portion of the new Edition of the Analytical Catalogue of the Library of the Great Mosque of Tunis.

The Section met again at 2.15 p.m. M. Rabbath read a paper on a new method of teaching Arabic Prosody. M. Rouhi el Khalidi presented copies of the “Review of Islam,” comprising his article on the statistics of Islam. A wish was expressed for a statistical detail of the Sects of Islam.

Sultan Mahommed Effendi delivered an address in the Arabic Language on the Inventions made by the Arabian race before the time of Mahomet.

Section IV, Semitic Subsection ; 9.30 a.m.—The Marquis De Vogüé exhibited ninety plates of the third portion (the Aramean) of the First Volume of the Corpus of Semitic Inscriptions. They included the Inscriptions of Petra and Mount Sinai.

M. Chabot, Member of the Council of the Société Asiatique, described the great service rendered by that Society in the Publication of Oriental works. Discussion took place on the subject of some of the other communications made by members of the Section.

Allusion was made to a proposed Supplement to the Ethiopic Dictionary prepared by the late Professor Dillmann, and the Section expressed its hope, that all the notes and lexicographical papers, left by that illustrious Scholar, should be made accessible to Scholars by being printed.

Subsection Assyriology; 2 p.m. — M. Haupt announced, that Mr. Cyrus Adler, of Washington, proposed to prepare a complete Bibliography of Assyriology down to 1890, and he asked for collaborators. Other communications were made.

Section V; 9.30 a.m.—Professor Naville produced a wooden box found in late excavations and covered with carvings, which differed entirely from the usual specimens of Egyptian art. M. Naville was of opinion, that it was a specimen of Phoenician workmanship, and was probably of the date of the Eighteenth Dynasty. MM. Pleyte, Erman, and Daressy, joined in the discussion.

Professor Lieblein made a communication on several points of Chronology. M. J. De Rougé regretted, that he could not accept the views of Professor Lieblein, and he remarked that the only reign, which by its length could correspond with that of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, was that of Rameses II.

The Section met again at 2 p.m. M. Textor de Ravisi read a paper on Egyptian Poetry. M. Naville urged the speaker to press M. Grebaut to complete his work on Egyptian Metrical Science, which he had had so many years in hand. M. Moret read his Report upon the work of Egyptian excavations. M. Naville congratulated him on the work achieved.

M. René Basset read a paper on African Studies.

Section VI; 9.30 a.m.—Nothing worth noticing.

Section VII; 9.45 a.m.—M. Hamy made a communication on the Stone Age in Indo-China, and described late discoveries: the interest being in the proof thence acquired of the relationship betwixt the ancient inhabitants of Malaysia and Indo-China.

A discussion arose, in which many members took part, on the origin of “jade,” and the opinion was hazarded, that, admitting, that jade-mines only existed in Europe, still there were deposits of jade in North Mongolia and South Siberia.

On Thursday, September 9th, the Sections met.

Section I, Indian Subsection; 9.30 a.m.—M. Senart detailed the circumstances, under which a Kharoshthi Manuscript of a version of the Dhammapáda had been found by M. Dutreuil de Rhins, a distinguished Scholar, who had succumbed under the fatigue of his explorations. The Manuscript was exceedingly important from the palaeographic, grammatical, and literary, points of view, and was apparently the most ancient, which had been found in India.

Professor Deussen presented to the Congress a copy of his newly published volume, “The Sixty Upanishads of the Veda.” He called

the attention of the Section to the influence, which, in his opinion, the ideas contained in these books must have upon the Religious, and Philosophical, Life of Europe. M. Reynaud spoke of the extreme importance of the Upanishads, and of their connection on the one side with the Rig-Veda, and on the other with the Theogony of Hesiod, and the fragments relating to the Kosmos of Orpheus. M. Oppert made a communication on the subject of the Bhárata, and a discussion ensued.

Language and Archaeology Subsection.—The following resolutions were adopted:

(1) “The Congress thanks the Government of India for the measures taken to preserve Buddhist Sculptures, found in the Swat Valley and its vicinity. It thanks also Sir Charles Elliott, late Governor of Bengal, for the exertions made by him to preserve interesting specimens in the Calcutta Museum. At the same time the Congress desires to impress on the Government of India the urgent importance of keeping a watch on the proceedings of tourists and amateurs, who by carrying away broken fragments injure the precious Monuments.”

(2) “It conveys its thanks to the officials in Swat for the care taken by them.”

(3) “Inasmuch as future excavations promise the most precious results, and considering how much private enterprise would assist the Indian Government, it suggests, that an International Association be formed, under the title of ‘Indian Exploration Fund,’ with its Headquarters in London, and a Committee be formed to arrange details.”

(4) “The Congress expressed its thanks to the Government of India for the measures taken with regard to the birthplace of Buddha, and its hopes, that during the coming Winter further explorations may be made.”

(5) “The Congress expresses its thanks to the Government of Nepál for the assistance rendered in the explorations of Kápilavastu and Lumbini, which are among the most important discoveries of the Century.”

(6) “The Congress expresses its thanks to the Government of Bengal for having in the time of Sir Charles Elliott opened an ‘Asóka Gallery’ in the Calcutta Museum, and thus made the Asóka Inscriptions, through the medium of a collection of plaster casts, accessible to Scholars.”

The Section then expressed its regret at the absence from this Congress of their old fellow-labourers, Professors Weber, Ascoli, Cowell, and Fausböll.

Subsection Irán.—M. Millet read a paper by Karkaria on the Parsi Religion, in which he dwelt on the resemblance between the tenets of Zoroaster and the Philosophical System of Comte.

There were other communications of less importance.

The India and Linguistic Subsections met again at 4 p.m., but there was nothing which required special notice.

Section II, Subsection China and Japan; 10.10 a.m. — M. Thomsen presented to the Congress his work, "The Inscriptions of Orkhon," and read a paper on the consonants of the Oigúr Language. A discussion arose, and a question was asked on the subject of the Phonetics of the Turki Languages, and a possible affinity to the Language of Koréa.

Subsection Indo-China; 10 a.m.—M. Lefevre Pontális expressed a wish, that the Monuments in Indo-China, whether Annamite, Chinese, or Cambodian, should be preserved. This wish was supported by MM. Lemire and Aymonier, and the Section recorded a resolution in that sense.

Section III; 9.15 a.m.—MM. Karabácek and Hondas made two communications on the subject of the Arabic Numerals, which led to a discussion of the greatest interest. Other subjects were brought forward.

Section IV, Semitic Subsection; 9.30 a.m.—Mrs. Lewis, of Cambridge, presented a Palestinian Syriac Lectionary prepared by herself, Dr. Nestle, and Mrs. Gibson, and her own work, "Some pages of the Four Gospels retranscribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest." Professor Margoliouth, of Oxford, presented a copy of his "Thesaurus Syriacus," Fasc. x, Part 1.

M. Halévy called attention to the important result, which the lately discovered text of the Ecclesiastes will have on the literary history of the Old Testament. Professor D. H. Müller, of Vienna, expressed his agreement with the views brought forward; and the two great Scholars, so often in bitter opposition, saluted each other in a friendly manner.

The Section, on the motion of MM. Guidi, Haupt, and D. H. Müller, renewed the wish expressed at the Seventh Congress, that a critical Edition of the Talmud should be published as soon as possible.

Assyrian Subsection; 10 a.m.—Unimportant communications were made.

Section V; 9.30 a.m.—M. Neteler read a paper on the Synchronisms between the tablets of Tell-el-Amarna and the Assyrian and Babylonian Chronologies.

M. Spiegelberg proposed a plan of a work on the administration of the Necropolis of Thebes, which could comprise an index of all the Monuments found there. A discussion took place on points of detail.

M. Valdemar Schmidt read a paper on the shape of the Egyptian Sarcophagi of a date later than the Twentieth Dynasty. This led to a discussion.

Section VI; 10 a.m.—The Section expressed in a resolution its great interest in the proposed publication entitled, "The Monuments

of Byzantine Art," and recommended the subject to the liberality of the French Government. Other communications of less importance were made.

Section VII; 9.45 a.m.—M. Hamy brought forward the very important subject of the Ethnographical relations of the Natives of Asia and America. By the help of Photography a closer study has been made of the ancient Monuments, and an analogy is traced between certain American Monuments, and certain Monuments in Indo-China and Java. Further study will be made of this subject by an expedition now being prepared by American citizens.

The Sections of the Congress met on Friday, the 10th September.

Section I, Subsection India; 9.30 a.m.—Professor Bendall made some remarks on the "Bibliotheca Buddhica," published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, and gave a list of the contributors and the works published in it. He offered to the Congress a copy of his own contribution, the "Sikshása mussaya," an important exposition of Buddhism. After discussion the Section directed, that thanks should be conveyed to the Imperial Academy for the publication.

A discussion then took place on the importance of the Inscriptions discovered in Cambodia, and the new light, which they threw on the Hindu people. It used to be the opinion of Scholars, that the first propagation of Indian Ideas to the outer world was due to the Buddhists. The ancient Inscriptions of Cambodia are found to be Brahmanical. Prof. Cordier announced, that he proposed to publish a new Edition of the Life of Marco Polo by the late Sir H. Yule. M. Stein, of the Lahore University, offered a copy of his new volume, the "Translation of the Chronicles of Cashmír by Kalhána." Some important maps accompany it. By his topographical studies on the spot he had identified several places mentioned in the Rájatarángini.

M. Leumann then started a discussion on Jain terminology: the notice is too brief to form an opinion. That the subject was of importance, is evidenced by the names of the members, who joined in the discussion. On the motion of Prof. Rhys Davids the Section resolved that "the publication of a critical Edition of the Sacred Texts of the Jains is a matter of urgency."

Subsection Irán.—No communication of importance was made.

The Subsection India met again at 2 p.m.

Mr. R. Sewell spoke about the advisability of a careful exploration of the extensive Buddhist remains at Guntapalle in the Ellore Division of the Godávári District, Madras. They are very important, are situated in a very remote tract, and have not yet received the full attention they deserve. There are over a dozen stupa; archaic sculptures; a pillared maṇḍapa; groups of vihára caves; a chaitya cave, of similar construction to, and apparently of

as great antiquity as, the Lomas Rishi cave in Behar; Inscriptions; detached pillars, fallen in the jungle; and other objects of interest. The Archaeological Surveyor, Mr. Rea, reported: "It would be a pity if such a fine group were to remain unexplored," and thinks that it would rival some of the groups farther north, if they were uncovered. His own explorations were stopped owing to the obstruction of the Zamindar, in whose land the remains were situated. The Section voted unanimously to send a communication to the Government of Madras, "expressing the hope that the extensive group of Buddhist remains at Guntapalle might be fully and scientifically explored by the Archaeological Survey Department of Southern India."

Dr. A. Grierson then reported to the Section how far the wish conveyed in 1886 by the Congress at Vienna to the Government of India, suggesting a systematic survey of the Languages of India, had been carried out. A plan had been worked out by the Government, and a preparatory list of the Languages and Dialects of the Northern Provinces had been nearly completed. After a lively discussion the Section, on the motion of Professor Bühler of Vienna, and Professor Kuhn of Munich, adopted a resolution, "That thanks be conveyed to the Government of India for what had been done, and describing the importance of the results, which this enterprise, if fully carried out, would produce."

On the motion of Baron Textor de Ravisi, a request was made to the Asiatic Society of Bengal to secure a correct copy of a mural Inscription of a Pagoda at Udeypúr, as an important contribution to History.

M. L. Feer gave an account of twenty-seven Stupa, mentioned in the Memoirs of Hionen Thsang, and bearing reference to the Játaka Stories. Professor Rhys Davids remarked, that the Members of the Indian Service could greatly advance the interests of Science, if they would in their leisure-hours collect any literary documents, that came under their notice.

The thanks of the Section were expressed to the Government of Ceylon for the encouragement given to the study of Archaeology by the publication of Archaeological Reports, and of the "Mahavamsa," and other ancient Records of that Island; and a hope was expressed, that the same policy would be continued.

The thanks of the Section were expressed to the Lahór University, and the Maharája of Cashmír, for the kind assistance tendered to Dr. Stein in his translation of the Rájatarángini, and his topographical explorations, as recommended by the Congress of Geneva.

Subsection Linguistic; 2 p.m. — After various Grammatical communications, Dr. Codrington, of the Royal Asiatic Society, read a paper by his brother, the Rev. Dr. R. H. Codrington, on the subject of the Languages of Melanesia. The writer

remarked, that the Word - Lore, and Sentence - Lore, of the Language of Barbarians had often arrived at a more complete Linguistic development than could be expected from their degree of social development. It was interesting to note the effect on such a Language caused by contact with European Civilization. Examples were given.

Section II, Subsection China and Japan; 9.40 a.m.—Certain Volumes were presented. M. Deveria notified, that an Inscription from Liang Tcheou, hitherto deemed to be in an unknown Written Character, had been traced to its source. Nothing else worthy of special notice.

Subsection Indo-China; 10 a.m.—M. Lemire presented to the Section his Volume on “The Lao of Annam,” with Photographs. He presented also his Volume of Siamese Tales. Great interest was expressed in these communications. M. Masset announced the publication of an important work, “Excursions and Inquiries in Inde-China.”

Later in the day the Section again met.

Subsection China and Japan; 2.20 p.m.—M. Diosi discussed the future fate of the Japanese Language, and the employment of Chinese loan-words. Other Scholars joined in the discussion.

Section III; 9 30 a.m.—Books were presented and publications announced. Nothing of particular interest.

The Section met again at 2.45 p.m.—M. Ray described the different Mosques in Tunisia. M. Saladin described the measures taken to study the Mahometan Monuments of Archaeology of Tunisia; and M. Gauckler stated, that the same steps would be taken with regard to the Christian Monuments. An interesting discussion took place on the subject of the Persian origin of certain Architectural forms, so-called Greek, of the Public Schools of Syria and Palestine.

Section IV, Subsection Semitic; 9 a.m.—M. Lagrange persuaded the Section to express a wish, that the Managers of the Biblical School of St. Stephen at Jerusalem should arrange for a Meeting of Semitic Scholars in that city, accompanied by excursions in Palestine, in the Spring of 1899.

An expression of regret was conveyed to Professor Nöldeke, who was involuntarily absent from the Congress. Many other communications were made.

Subsection Assyrian; 2 p.m.—Professor Sayce again drew attention to a so-called Hittite Seal: he rather thought that it was Syrian. Professor Hommel, who had made a prolonged study of the subject, considered that there was reference in the engravings of the Seal to Human Sacrifices, and he assigned to it a date of 2000 B.C.

A vote of thanks was passed to His Excellency Hamdi Bey, the Director-General of the Turkish Museum, for the eminent service,

that he had rendered to Semitic Archaeology in general, and Assyrian Archaeology in particular.

Section V; 9.30 a.m.—A few communications were made.

The Section met again 2 p.m. A few communications were made. Professor Naville made some closing remarks, and a vote of thanks was conveyed to him by the Section.

Section VI; 9.45 a.m.—M. Carl Schmidt read a paper on the Coptic Art. The origin of that Art was traced back to the Ancient Egyptian Art, but certain types had been altered in a Christian direction. In fact, the Coptic Art, though it utilized indigenous ideas and symbols, was really a branch of Byzantine Art. He expressed a wish, that a separate collection should be made of Coptic antiquities. Other communications followed, and after a vote of thanks to their President, the Section closed its labours.

Section VII; 9.45 a.m.—A certain number of communications were made, none of special interest, and the Section closed, with an expression of a wish, that in future Congresses their Section should be known by the name which it bore at Geneva, "Geography and Ethnography." This opens the question, whether such a Section is required for an Oriental Congress. I do not think that it is.

On Saturday, September 11, there was a special meeting at 11 a.m. of Section I, Subsection India. Final communications were made, and books presented. The President of the Section drew attention to the excellent service rendered to Oriental Studies by the University of Lyons, and the Schools of Oriental Languages established by the French Government. The thanks of the Section were conveyed to the President, Lord Reay, and the Section finally concluded its very important labours.

Section III, Section V, and Section VII met also for a few minutes.

Section V met in the afternoon, and cleared off all the notices still undisposed of.

All the Sections then closed finally.

There was a general meeting of the whole Congress, under their President, M. Schefer, at 10 a.m. Abderrahim Ahmed, the Delegate of the Egyptian Government, read a very suitable address in the French Language, expressing a hope, that some future Congress would meet at Cairo, as Egypt had supplied, and would continue to supply, so much to Archaeological Study.

In the name of Signor Guidi, the Representative of Italy, M. Maspero announced, that the next Congress would meet in Italy, under the Presidency of Signor Ascoli. Later on in the same day it was announced, that Rome would be the place of meeting.

One of the objects of the Congress at Paris was to revise the

Fundamental Statutes, under which the Congresses are held : a scheme had been devised, and copies had been circulated to all Members, and on the 9th September the following Statutes were agreed to in a Meeting of the whole Congress :

1. “ Congresses should be held once in every three years, but “ exceptionally, in the event of the convenience or the necessity “ of the country, which issues the invitation, the interval between “ two Congresses may be reduced to two, or extended to four, years.”

2. “ Each Congress shall be organized by a Committee, composed of “ the natives of the country, in which it is to be held. The Committee “ will be at liberty to increase or to diminish the number of Sections, “ into which the Congress is to be divided ; it will fix, as it thinks “ best, the date of the Meeting, the duration of the session, the “ order of the work, and all the material details of reception.”

3. “ When the Congress is assembled, a Consultative Committee “ is to form itself, which must be composed of the Presidents and “ Vice-Presidents of the Organizing Committee, and of a certain “ number of foreign members chosen by the Organizing Committee “ of the Congress. The Committee will decide on the questions, that “ may be put to the Congress.”

4. “ The Organizing Committee has to select one or more Lan- “ guages, which shall be the official Languages of the Congress, and “ which will be employed in the issue of the Proceedings. The “ use of other Languages in discussions will be optional, under the “ responsibility of the President of each Section.”

5. “ The President of each Section has to maintain order during “ the sittings ; he regulates the sequence of work, fixes the length of “ the communications, guides or stops the discussions, subject to “ reference, in case of dispute, to the Consultative Committee.”

6. “ Each Congress has to fix, at a General Meeting, the place “ where the next Congress should be held ; it has to make a choice “ from amongst those countries, which will have made their pro- “ posals through the channel of their delegates, or from those that “ the Consultative Committee may think itself able to designate “ provisionally. In no case can the Congress be held twice running “ in the same country.”

7. “ After the separation of each Congress, the Organizing Com- “ mittee will reassume its general powers, and will retain them up “ to the day, that it will have received the official notification of “ the constitution of the Committee appointed to prepare the next

“ Congress; after this date, they will only keep the local powers
 “ necessary to liquidate the duties of the Congress, at which they had
 “ presided.”

8. “ If, notwithstanding, a serious complication should arise, of
 “ a nature to compromise the very Institution of Congresses, and
 “ their perpetuity, this difficulty will be provided for by the con-
 “ vocation of an International Committee formed as follows :

“ (1) Of the Organizing Committee of the last Congress.

“ (2) Of a representative of each country, in which the Congress
 “ has already previously held its sittings. For each
 “ country this representative will be *de jure* the President,
 “ or failing him a Vice-President, of the last Congress
 “ which was held there. Failing the survival of the
 “ President and Vice-Presidents in that country, the
 “ Committee will complete itself by means of co-optation.

“ To the Committee thus constituted belongs (the duty) of regn-
 “ lating the difficulties and to cause, with the least possible delay,
 “ the convocation of a new Congress, which would have to approve
 “ of its decision.”

Finally, the President of the Congress, M. Schefer, made his parting address, expressing his thanks to the Delegates of Foreign States, and Foreign Learned Societies, and to the numerous Foreign Scholars who had enrolled themselves as Members, and personally attended. He hoped that they would retain pleasant recollections of the Meetings of this Congress, Meetings which cannot fail to advance the cause of Science. No one can entertain a doubt as to the value of the communications made to this Congress, and he himself anticipated that the harvest would be plentiful. There had been evidence of mutual respect and personal esteem entertained towards each other by the Members of this Congress, though of different Nationalities. He hoped that all, who returned to their respective countries, would remember the Congress at Paris.

The President then declared the Eleventh International Oriental Congress to be closed.

During the week there had been a sufficiency of entertainments and receptions to testify to the hospitality of the Residents of Paris, but not to turn the Congress into a junket. Everybody was satisfied, and there was no single *contretemps*. Museums, Libraries, and Galleries, were thrown open.

To enable the Daily Bulletin to appear punctually on the next morning, it was necessarily brief, and perhaps some things were omitted, or not sufficiently detailed. The value of the work done at the Congress will only be fully appreciated, when we have in

our hands the three Volumes of the full Report, which will be published simultaneously, and before the Meeting of the next Congress at Rome in 1900 A.D.

I have only this year made a Report of the preceding Ten Congresses at Paris, London, St. Petersburg, Florence, Berlin, Leyden, Vienna, Stockholm, London, and Geneva, at all of which I was present, with the exception of Paris and Geneva; though I was a Member of the last-named and contributed a paper. I pointed out faithfully the errors, into which previous Congresses had fallen, and the unwise tendencies, which seem ready to develop. I will not add any further remarks, but express my hopes, and my conviction, that these hopes will be fulfilled by Future Congresses, where Scholars can meet periodically as in a great Scientific Parliament, and exchange views as well as report Progress. Of course those who, like myself, are "all-round" Students in each and all of the Sections, derive the most entire satisfaction.

As a sample of the practical utility of the periodical Meetings of competent Scholars, I print a copy of the series of Questions in the Section of Ethnography and Folklore prepared by a Commission of that Section. It brings home to uninstructed readers the directions, in which local authorities or residents can carry out researches. I greatly regret that when I was placed fifty years ago in charge of a newly-conquered Virgin-District in the Panjáb, I had not a paper like this available: on how many a subject I could have made inquiries in my solitary camp-wanderings amidst my people!

QUESTIONNAIRE RÉDIGÉ PAR LA COMMISSION D'ETHNOGRAPHIE
ET FOLKLORE.

- I. Nouvelles découvertes relatives à l'existence d'un âge de pierre en Asie. Syrie et Mésopotamie. Inde. Indo-Chine et Malaisie. Japon et Sibérie.
- II. Étude des survivances de Pâge de pierre chez les différents peuples orientaux. Légendes et superstitions relatives aux instruments de pierre. Emploi persistant de certains de ces instruments, etc.
- III. Étude particulière de divers rites spéciaux se rapportant à la naissance, à l'initiation, à l'adoption, à la fraternisation, aux fiançailles, au mariage, aux funérailles. État ancien que l'étude de ces pratiques permet de restituer.

- IV. Recherches sur l'organisation de la famille et de la propriété. Relations de parenté. Aptitude à succéder. Clan et clientèle. Polyandrie. Matriarcat.
- V. Idées religieuses et pratiques qui s'y rattachent. Chamanisme. Dieux animaux et animaux sacrés. Culte des éléments. Culte domestique. Culte des ancêtres et culte des morts.
- VI. Totem et totémisme.
- VII. Tatouages et autres signes distinctifs.
- VIII. Manifestations primitives des arts du dessin.
- IX. Musique. Instruments de musique étudiés principalement dans leur distribution géographique.
- X. Ethnographie et folklore comparés de l'Asie nord-orientale et de la côte nord-ouest d'Amérique.
- XI. Légendes ethnographiques et géographiques dans la littérature orientale, spécialement dans les épopées, les contes, et les récits de voyage.
- XII. Témoignages matériels des relations commerciales entre les Chinois et les Arabes au moyen âge. Découverte de céramiques chinoises en Arabie, en Égypte, à Madagascar, etc.

MANUAL OF MAGISTRATE'S OFFICE.

دستور العمل سررشتہ فوجداری



فصل سوم ترتیب دفتر تہانہ	}	فصل اول منشی خانہ کی
فصل چہارم نسبت کارروائی		ترتیب
سررشتہ نظارت	}	فصل دوم ترتیب دفتر صدر



مولفہ رابرٹ دست صاحب مجسٹریٹ ضلع باندا

سنہ ۱۸۵۵ء

حال مطبوعہ ۱۸۵۸ء

سنہ ۱۸۵۸ء

مطبع پنجابی لاہور محلہ تارکشان متصل لاہوری دروازہ بمکان
منشی محمد عظیم پروپرائیٹرو مینجر کے باہتمام جیمس فرینسس
ولیم پرنٹر کے چھپا

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

A BOOK lies before me consisting of Seven Manuals, and Catechisms in the Urdu Language, and Arabic Written Character, prepared by me at Banda in the North-West Provinces of India in 1853, 1854, and 1855, for the instruction of the Native officials of the Magistrate and Collector of the Districts of Northern India. These men knew not one word of English, nor was it desirable, that they should know it, as the system *then* in force was to administer Justice, and rule Provinces, in the Vernacular of the People, which to the English Military officers and Civilians in the days of the old East India Company, was as familiar as their own Vernacular.

In each Civil office of the fifty Districts of Northern India, all of which I visited, as it so happened, that I had the unique honour of being at different times Chief Revenue-Officer of both Provinces, a thing impossible now, there were oral Laws, and Customs having the force of Law, well known to the Native officials, for the conduct of business, the keeping of village accounts, and the arrangement of Records: it occurred to me to codify them. I remember my dear friend, the late John Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, laughing at the idea of my employing my bachelor-leisure (as he called it) in training my subordinates in the legal mode of doing a legal act, by conducting in my garden, as on the stage of a Theatre, the attachment of the property of a defaulter, the arrest of a suspected criminal, or some other proceeding of administration of subject Provinces, the consequence of which would be vitiated by any irregularity of procedure.

Then came the Mutiny of the Indian Army in 1857: my home, my Judicial office, my Record-Room went to the ground, and my Records, as well as all my private books and papers, were destroyed.

When in 1858 order was restored, and I returned to my other Province, the Panjáb, as Commissioner of Lahór, I published a Second Edition of my Manuals at Lahór: the Preface of this Second Edition is reprinted.

The schoolmaster has been abroad, and Legislation has been busy, during the forty years, which have elapsed since the appearance of this Second Edition. It may have been superseded by something better: no matter; when it appeared, it superseded nothing, as nothing existed.

I reprint the first chapter on the office of the Magistrate, omitting the printed forms. I fear that the beautiful Urdu Language will be intelligible only to a few, but my object is to record what was done forty years ago to introduce an intelligent system of ruling a subject people.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST.

January, 1898.

PREFACE OF SECOND EDITION.

THIS Manual was prepared for the guidance of Native Officials in the Magistrate's Cutcherries, and as a test-book for Candidates for public employ. It was submitted for the opinion of the Court of the Sudder Nizámat Adálat at Agra, and an English Abstract circulated to the different Districts of the North-Western Provinces; a copy of that Abstract having found its way to the Sudder Nizámat Adálat at Calcutta, it was by their orders circulated to all Magistrates in the Lower Provinces.

The Vernacular Treatise was published at Agra by the orders of the Agra Court, and circulated; it was also circulated by the Judicial Commissioner of Oude to all Authorities in that Province. As nearly every copy perished during the rebellion in 1857, a new edition is now published at Lahore at the request of the Judges of the Agra Court.

It is not pretended, that this Manual contains the only method of arranging Records, and conducting business: where a good system is in force, it should not be disturbed.

But where there is no system, or a bad system, these rules may be worth the attention of a Magistrate, as they are the results of a long and close examination of the subject.

ROBERT CUST,
COMMISSIONER AND SUPERINTENDENT.

LAHÓR, *June* 30, 1858.

فہرست دستور العمل فوجداری



فصل پہلی در باب منشی خانہ اوپر نہ دفعہ کے

صفحہ	خلاصہ دفعات
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1025	دفعہ ۲ در باب تحریر رجسٹر کلیات
1026	دفعہ ۳ در باب نمبر رجسٹر
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1027	دفعہ ۵ در باب تنقیح تعلق کاغذات اہل مدان
1030	دفعہ ۶ در باب طریقہ ترتیب مثل و کارروائی اہل مدان
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1039	دفعہ ۹ نسبت ہدایت پروانہ نویس

دساحہ

مطلب اس دستور العمل کا یہ ہے کہ ہر ایک سررشتہ میں منشی خانہ و دفتر خانہ الگ ہو منشی خانہ میں مثل ترتیب ہوتی ہیں اور دفتر خانہ میں مثلین رکھی جاتی ہیں لیکن اکثر ضلع جات میں اسدات پر لحاظ اور بعض ضلع جات میں جیسا چاہئے تقسیم کام اوپر اہلمدون کے نہیں ہوتا ہی لیکن بدون تقسیم اہلمدون کے انتظام کبھی فرار واقعی نہوگا اور جب اس قسم کا انتظام ہوا تو ذمہ داری اوپر ہر واحد شخص عائد ہو سکتی ہی اور اگر کسی ایک شخص کے پاس زیادہ کام اوسکی طافت سے اور دوسرے کے پاس کام کم ہے تو کم و سمشی ہو سکتی ہی اس لحاظ سے یہ ہدائت لکھی گئی * ممکن ہی کہ بعض سررشتہ میں اب ہدایات بہتر جاری ہوں پس وہاں جاری کرنے اس دستور العمل کے کچھ حاجت نہیں ہی مگر اون اضلاع میں کہ جہاں ایسے دستور العمل جاری نہوں وہانکے واسطے کافی ہوگا اور واضح ہو کہ ہدایات واسطے ممالک مغربی و شمالی و ملک پنجاب کے کار آمد ہونگی لہذا یہ دستور العمل اوپر جار فصل کے مرتب ہوا فصل اول نسبت تقسیم مدات و کارروای اہلمدان مشتمل اوپر ۹ دفعہ فصل دوم در باب طریقہ ترتیب دفتر صدر مشتمل بر ۲۱ دفعہ فصل سیوم نسبت دفتر تہانہ مشتمل بر ۴ دفعہ فصل چہارم نسبت ترتیب سررشتہ نظارت مشتمل اوپر ۱۸ دفعہ کے * فقط *

فصل اول نسبت تقسیم مدات و طریقہ کارروای

اہلمدان متضمن اوپر ۹ دفعہ

دفعہ ۱

واسطے سررشتہ فوجداری بموجب حکم سرکلر صدر نظامت نمبری ۱۴۴ محررہ ۱۶ اگست سنہ ۱۸۴۳ ع مطبوعہ گزٹ محررہ ۱۹ ماہ ستمبر سنہ ۱۸۴۳ ع رجسٹر کلیہ (۲) رجسٹر جزئیہ (۶) رجسٹر محافظ دفتر (۱) رجسٹر فراریان (۱) حملہ دس رجسٹر ہین رجسٹر اول کلمہ برای عرائض مستغثان و رجسٹر ثانی کلمہ برای رپورٹ تھانہ داران یعنی روزنامچہ و چہ رجسٹر جزئیہ واسطے اندراج مقدمات و قسم کاغذات یعنی اول سنگین دوم خفیف سیوم مرافع چہارم تعمیل روبکارات موصولہ ضلع غیر پنجم مقدمات قانون ۴ سنہ ۱۸۴۰ ع ششم متفرقات و رجسٹر محافظ دفتر مین مقدمات منفصلہ سنگین و خفیف و رجسٹر فراریان مین مجرم مفور مندرج ہوتے ہین * چنانچہ منجملہ مدات بالا ایک مد متفرقات ہی کہ او سمین کاغذات اسی نہ کثرت اور ہر اقسام کے ہوتے ہین کہ خلط ملط ہونے ہر اقسام کاغذات سے جو مطلب اس تقسیم کا ہی حاصل نہیں ہوتا لہذا بنظر حسن ترتیب مدات کی مناسب ہوا کہ بطور تتمہ مد متفرقات کاغذات سب طرح کے اس مد سے چند قسم کاغذات بموجب لکھے ہوئے یاچے کے علیحدہ ہو کہ جدی

حدی مد قرار دیجاوین * لہذا مد متفرقات مشتمل اوپر پانچ قسم کے ترتیب دی گئی قسم اول متفرقات قسم دوم چوکیدارہ قسم سیوم ملازمان قسم چہارم مصارف قسم پنجم دیپازت چنانچہ اب کلہم چودہ مدین ہوئیں اور یہ چار مدات منقسمہ ضمیمہ مد متفرقات و متعلق بہ صرف زرہین ان مدات کے پیش و ملاحظہ کی اکثر حاجت پڑتی ہی علیحدہ ہونے ہر اقسام کاغذات سے تعمیل و تکمیل اوسکی بہ آسانی و بہ صفای ممکن ہی و نسبت رجسٹر فراریان ہر چند سرکار مذکور میں نسبت مفروران اضلاع غیر کچھ ذکر نہیں ہی صرف واسطے مرتب رہنے نقشہ فراریان حسب مندرجہ قانون ۳ سنہ ۱۸۱۳ع ہدایت ہی لہذا بمنشاء قانون مذکور و بنظر سہولیت نکلنی کاغذات رجسٹر فراریان تین جلد مرتب رہنا چاہئے ایک رجسٹر برای قمدیان مفروران محبوس خانہ دوم برای مجرمان مرتکب جرم سنگین سیوم برای مفروران اضلاع غیر اور جو متعلق رجسٹر کلمہ نمبر ۲ کے رپورت و عرائض تھانہ داران ہین اوسمیں اکثر کاغذات متعلق بہ تعمیل حکام ہوتے ہین اور بہت سی غیر قابل تعمیل یعنی داخل دفتر و شامل مثل کا حکم اونپر مندرج ہوتا ہی * چنانچہ بسبب آمد کاغذات بکثرت حمتک کہ حملہ کاغذات مندرج روزنامچہ نہو جاوین تب تک تقسیم کاغذات من ہرانک اہلمد کے پاس بڑی دیری ہوتی ہی لہذا مناسب معلوم ہوا کہ اوس رجسٹر کلیہ نمبر ۲ کا اسک رجسٹر اور بطور تتمہ ہوع تعمیلی کاغذات رجسٹر اصل میں وغیرہ تعمیلی کاغذات رجسٹر تتمہ میں مندرج ہوا کرینگ اس میں آسانی و جلدی بہ تعمیل احکام متصور ہی اور رجسٹر

مرافع سے یہ مطلب ہی کہ جتنے مرافع بحکم حکام تابع حکام اعلیٰ کے محکمہ میں گذریں وہ کاغذات رجسٹر مرافع میں مندرج ہوں مگر بنظر تفریق محکمہ حات مرتب رہنا دو رجسٹر کا مناسب ایک برای مرافع حکام تابع مجسٹریٹ و ثانی مرافع حکم صاحب مجسٹریٹ بہ محکومات اعلیٰ اونکے یعنی صاحب سشن جج و صاحب کمشنر و صاحب انسپیکٹر جیلخانہ و رجسٹر ثانی جو برای مرافع حکام صاحب مجسٹریٹ ہی وہ تتمہ رجسٹر مرافع نامزد ہوگا و نسبت رجسٹر تعمیل روبکارات بجز لفظ موقوفہ ضلع غیر کچھ تصریح نسبت خاص ضلع نہیں ہے اور محکمہ جات ضلع سے احکام تعمیل طلب بکثرت آتے ہیں علیحدہ ہونے ایک اور رجسٹر سے آسانی و سرعت نہ تعمیل اونکے ممکن لہذا بنا نامزد تتمہ رجسٹر روبکارات موقوفہ ضلع غیر ایک رجسٹر برای روبکارات موقوفہ ضلع خاص سمجھنا چاہئے چنانچہ کلہم اٹھارہ رجسٹر تجویز ہوی *

رجسٹر کلیہ یا روزنامہ رجسٹر جزئمہ یا مثلند رجسٹر فراریان

۱۲

دفعہ ۲

رجسٹر کلیہ سے مراد روزنامہ ہی جب کہ رجسٹر ہای کلیہ میں کاغذات اپنے اپنے موقع کے سماہ ہو گئے تب روزنامہ نویس کو چاہئے کہ جو کاغذ جس جس مد کے متعلق ہی اوسمیں اہلمد کو بعد لینے رسید کے دیوے * ایک رجسٹر کلیہ میں عرائض مستغیثان و وثائق ضمانت و مچلکہ وغیرہ جو بر کاغذ

اسٹامپ کچہری صاحب رجسٹریٹ گذرین و ثانی رجسٹر کلیہ
 میں رپورٹ و جواب ظہر پروانہ تھانہ داران و کل ملازمان مندرج
 ہونگے الا کل کاغذات معمولی مثل روزنامچہ و نقشہ پانزدہ روزہ
 یا ماہواری تعمیل و عدم تعمیل پروانجات ماسکمار ماہواری و سہ
 ماہی و ششماہی و سالانہ مندرج رجسٹر ہونا بمفائدہ ہی بلا
 مندرج رجسٹر سمدھی پاس اہلمد کے حایا کرین * کاش اگر کوی
 کاغذ معمولی کسی تھانہ سے نہ اویگا تو اہلمد اوسکا جسکے
 متعلق وہ کاغذ ہی فوراً اطلاع کریگا اسمین کچہر احتمال گم شدگی
 کا متصور نہیں ہی اور تخفیف تحریر سے تضيح اوقات روزنامچہ
 نویس کی نہوگی اور اہلمد رجسٹر کلیہ نمبر اول کو چاہئے کہ
 سواى کاغذ قابل واپسی دستاویز وغیرہ جسکی مہرکٹنے کی حاجت
 نہیں اور کاغذ اسٹامپ کہ جسکی مہرکٹنے کی ضرورت ہی مہر
 اوسکی ٹپہ سے کات دیا کرے کہ اس طریقہ سے کوئی کاغذ اسٹامپ
 مہرکٹنے سے باقی نہ رہجائگا *

دفعہ ۳

نمبر کل رجسٹرون کا سال وار ہونا چاہئے نمبر سال وار ہونے
 سے اول تعداد دائر مقدمات ہر اقسام بادی النظر میں معلوم ہو
 سکتی ہیں دو ہی کاغذ اسٹامپ کا نقشہ حو صدر میں حانا کرتا
 ہے اوسکی طیاری کیواسطے آسانی و صحت نہ کار آمد ہوگی مگر
 رجسٹر کلیہ رپورٹ تھانہ داران میں اگر ساعت بر فور نہ
 پہنچنے کاغذات تاریخ وار کے نمبر اوسکا ماہوارہ یا تاریخ وار
 ہوے تو کچہر مضائقہ نہیں ہے *

دفعہ ۱۴

نہونے ہر ایک رجسٹر کے ذیل میں لکھے جاتے ہیں واسطے در یافت ہر اہلمد کے اُنکو لازم ہی کہ بموجب عنوان مندرجہ اپنے اپنے رجسٹرون پر رول کشی کروا کر مقدمات کو بہ ترتیب نمبر و تاریخ و ماہ و سال مندرج کریں فقط عنوان رجسٹر محافظ دفتر فصل ۲ دفعہ ۲۰ میں درج ہے کہ وہ متعلق دفتر ہے*

دفعہ ۵

کاغذات ہر قسم جو باجلاس حکام گذرین اول پاس روزنامچہ نویس اوینگے اور بعد درج رجسٹرہای کلیہ ہر ایک اہلمد کے پاس حایکنگے چنانچہ اہلمد سنگین کے پاس وہ کاغذ آویگا جسکی بناد متعلق بہ جرائم سنگین ہو ویگی خواہ مقدمہ سبب حصول وجہہ ثبوت چالان و طلب ہوا یا عدم ثبوت دعوی مدعی یا سان مخبر و چوکیدار صرف عرضی اول پر خارج ہوا جب کہ سناش مدعی یا مخبری مخبر یا ریٹ چوکیدار یا اور کسی شخص کی تہانہ یا عدالت میں بناد اوس جرم کی قائم ہوئی گو وہ دعوی و بیان یا ضابطہ یا بے ضابطہ ہو ایسے سب کاغذات متعلق بہ جرائم سنگین ہونگے اور یہی طریقہ واسطے اہلمد خفیف کے ہوگا* اور اہلمد مرافع کے پاس جملہ کاغذات مرافع محکمہ جات آوینگے ایک مرافع بہ محکمہ صاحب مجسٹریٹ اونکے تابعین کے حکم کا اور دوسرا مرافع حکم صاحب مجسٹریٹ و محکمہ جات حکام اعلیٰ اونکے یعنی صاحب ششن جج صاحب کمشنر و صاحب انسپیکٹر اور اہلمد تعمیل روبکارات موقوفہ ضلع غیر

کے پاس کل روبکارات اضلاع غیر و ضلع خاص متعلق نہ تعمیل مراتب مستفسرہ یا اسامی و کاغذ مطلوبہ اوپینگے مگر جو روبکارات بجواب احکام ضلع اوپینگے وہ شامل مثل ہونگے یا بذریعہ روبکار ضلع یا غیر ضلع کوئی مقدمہ موقوفہ ضلع خاص دوسرے محکمہ و ضلع میں بنیاد پذیر ہو کر اوپینگے وہ کاغذ روزنامہ سے پاس اہلمد سنگین یا خفیف کیے جاوے گا اور اوسکی آمد مثل تھانا متصور ہوگی مگر اوسکو واضح ہو کہ معاملات ضلع و غیر ضلع میں اکثر چٹھیات انگریزی کے ذریعہ سے بھی کارروائی ہوا کرتی ہی * اوسکو چاہئے کہ جب بوصول کوئی چٹھی کسی محکمہ ضلع یا غیر ضلع یا پلٹن بتحریر روبکارات علاحدہ بنام تعمیل کوئی مراتب کی قائم ہوے اوسکو بھی مثل روبکارات موصولہ غیر محکمہ و ضلع تصور کر کے اپنے رجسٹرون پر قایم کرے و اہلمد قانون ۴ سنہ ۱۸۴۰ع کے پاس صرف وہی کاغذ حاوپینگے جو متعلق اس قانون ہون خواہ بر عرائض مستغشان یا بر رپورٹ تھانہ داران یا روبکار سررشتہ بنیاد پذیر ہوں اور اسی طرح اہلمد چوکیدارہ و ملازمان و مصارف و ڈپازٹ کے پاس بھی اپنی اپنی مدد کے کاغذات اوپینگے اونکے علاوہ جو اور کاغذ ہونگے سب اہلمد متفرقات کے پاس جاوپینگے * روزنامہ نوپس اور اہلمدان بروقت دینے و لینے کاغذات تنقیح تعلق اس کاغذ کی بخوبی کر لیا کریں مگر واضح ہو کہ سوائے کاغذات متعلق رجسٹر کلیات و رجسٹر محافظ دفتر و رجسٹر سنگین و خفیف و مرافع و تعمیل روبکارات و قانون ۴ اور پانچ مدوں کے کاغذات غور طلب ہونگے یعنی چوکیدارہ و ملازمان و مصارف و ڈپازٹ و متفرقات سو تشریح اسکی

کھاتی ہسی یعنی چوکیدارہ کے تعلق چہہ قسم کاغذ ہین مقررہ
و معزولی و معطلی جرمانہ رخصت تقسیم تناخواہ اور اسی طرح
پانچ قسم کاغذات متعلق مد ملازمان ہین سوای تقسیم تناخواہ کہ
کل ضلع کی ایک مثل ہوگی * اور مد مصارف مین وے کاغذات
ہونگے جو متعلق بصرف کنٹاجنٹ ہین جیسے سائر خرچ عدالت
و خرچہ جیلخانہ مثل تناخواہ ملازمان و خوراک قیدیان وغیرہ
و اور صرفہ متفرقات مثل انعام بگرفتاری مجرمان و صرفہ خوراک
گواہان دورہ وغیرہ جو متعلق صفای کنٹاجنٹ ہون * اور مد ڈپازٹ
مہن بہت سی رقوم ہین کہ تا صفای کامل امانت مین رہتی
ہین جیسے مال لامالک و مال منضبطہ و زر مرمت تھانہ و زر
ٹکس و زر تناخواہ ملازمان غیر حاضر * علاوہ اسکے جو کاغذات ہونگے
سب اہلمد متفرقات کے پاس جاوینگے چنانچہ کاغذات ٹھیکہ
گذرات و اعانت قرقی بمالگذاران و مرگ مشتمہ و انتظام ضلع
و سوالات سائلان متعلق بجیلخانہ نسبت ملاقات و درخواست
دینے ظروف وغیرہ بقیدیان و عذرات ٹکس و حصول از خرچہ
وغیرہ و نقشجات معمولی تھانجات کے و روز نامحات تھانہ
و عرائض نسبت بہ صرفہ خوراک اسامی و گواہان متعلقہ دورہ
بابت اضلاع غیر و مثل اسکی و مد فراریان مین کوئی کاغذ علیحدہ
اوسکے اہلمد کے پاس نہ آویگا کاغذات متعلقہ مد سنگین و خفیف
و تعمیل روبکارات غیر ضلع سے ترتیب رجسٹر فراریان کی ہوگی
اہلمد رجسٹر مفروران کاغذات موجودہ پاس اہلمدان مذکورین
سے ترتیب اپنے رجسٹرون کی کرلیا کرے اور رجسٹر محافظ دفتر
بعد آنے امثلہ منفصلہ کے مرتب ہوا کریگا *

دفعہ ۶

متعلق مد چوکیدارہ و مد ملازمان جو کاغذ چھ اقسام ہیں اونہیں سے جو کاغذات معزولی بسبب ضعیفی یا بسبب تخفیف عہدہ ہیں و درخواست های رخصت و تقسیم تناخواہ اپنے کاغذات بلا دقت سدھے پاس اہلمد چوکیدارہ و ملازمان پہنچ سکتے ہیں اور جو علاوہ اسکے احکام معزولی و معطلی و جرمانہ مصدورہ مثل متعلقہ مد سنگین و خفیف ہونگے اوسکا کاغذ بلا دقت بدون علحدگی جز ثانی آ نہیں سکتا ہی لہذا اہلمد کو ضرور ہی کہ ایک روبکار مختصر برای ترتیب مدات مذکورین علیحدہ اس طرح لکھے کہ مقدمہ فلان اج نسبت فلان ملازم حکم معطلی یا معزولی یا جرمانہ صادر ہوا لہذا یہہ روبکار برای ترتیب فلان مد حوالہ فلان اہل مد ہوے کہ وہ اہلمد اوسی روبکار پر بنیاد مثل ثانی کی سمجھ کر ترتیب اپنی مد کی کریگا اور پروانہ نویس پروانہ موقوفی یا معطلی و جرمانہ کا اوسی روبکار مختصر کے بموجب لکھے اور جو احکام مقرری شخص دیگر بجای معزول یا معطل صادر ہون اوسی مثل منتخبہ کے اوپر نافذ ہون * اور ترتیب مثل نسبت تقسیم تناخواہ چوکیداریہ طریقہ ہے کہ مثل اوس کی تھاناوار ہوگی اول عرضی اطلاعی نہانہ داران بااطلاع بھیجنے برآورد چوکیداران بہ تحصیلداری پرگنہ باستثنای چوکیداران شہر کہ ٹکس سے پاتے ہیں سررشتہ میں آنا چاہئے کہ وہ سب عرایض اطلاعی حوالہ اہل مد چوکیدارہ ہونگی اور بعد

تقسیم بھی ایک ایک عرضی تہانہ داران باطلاع تقسیم ہو جانے کل تناخواہ چوکیداران یا باقی رہنے تناخواہ بعض چوکیداران آنا چاہئے * اگر تقسیم ہو جانا تناخواہ کل چوکیداران پرگنہ پایا جاوے تو وہ مثل بعد صدور حکم خاتم داخل دفتر ہوگی اور کل پرگنہ میں سے کسی چوکیدار کی تناخواہ تقسیم سے باقی رہے تو تا صفای کامل وہ مثل پیشی میں رہیگی مگر واسطے تقسیم تناخواہ چوکیداران شہر اور طریقہ ہوگا کہ جب بخشی ٹکٹ بذریعہ عرضی درخواست تقسیم کریگا تب یہ صدور حکم خزانہ تناخواہ تقسیم ہوگی * اور نسبت تقسیم تناخواہ ملازمان جو منحصر اوپر منظوری بل کی ہے اہلمد ملازم کے ذمہ ہی کہ بعد آخر ہر ماہ ایک ایک براورد تناخواہ ہر تہانہ اوسکے پاس آنا کریگی جب سب جمع ہو جاوین اور منظوری بل کی اجاوے تب حساب ہر ایک یا بندہ خوب جانچ و صحیح کر کے ایک پرت براورد بناوے اس تفصیل سے کہ یافتنی ملازم اسقدر اور وضعات مرمت و سائر خرچ و جرمانہ اسقدر اور واجب یافتنی اسقدر بعدہ ایک روپکار مفصل باند راج حساب کلیات بتفصیل جمع و وضع و یافتنی لکھ کر ہر ماہ پیش کیا کرے کہ ضابطہ معمولی حکم خزانہ محکمہ کلکٹری سے جاری ہوا کرے * جب کہ کلکٹری سے حکم خزانہ واسطے دینے فوجداری کے جاری ہو گیا تب فوجداری سے پروانہ بنام خزانچی یہ تفصیل حساب کلیات اسطرح چر جاری ہوگا کہ خزانچی بعد وضع اسقدر رقوم مرمت و جرمانہ وغیرہ اسقدر روپیہ عمال تہانہ حات کو بہ مجرای عرض ارسال تحصیلداران میں اور اسقدر روپیہ نقد یکمشت ناخذ رسید کوتوال و داروغہ جیلخانہ کو دیکر اسقدر

روپیہ عملہ صدر کو بذریعہ اہلمد ملازم بمقام کچہری معرفت اپنے گماشتہ کی تقسیم کرا دیوے و رسد سائبندگان زر بکشت کی واسطے شمول مثل کے بھیجے مگر اہلمد کا ذمہ ہی کہ قبض الوصول عمال صدر وقت تقسیم بہ العبد و مہر ہرایکٹ یا بندہ مرتب کرتا جائے اور بعد تقسیم بذریعہ عرضی پیش کرے * کاش اگر کوی ملازم بسبب رخصت یا سبب دیگر غیر حاضر ہو تو زر یافتنی اوسکا بعد پندرہ روز کے بصغہ امانت رکھ کر اپنے رپورٹ میں ذکر کرے کہ پروانہ بنام خزانچی واسطے امانت رکھنے اوس روپیہ کے جاری ہوگا اور جب کہ اصل یا بندہ آویگا تب باجرائی حکم خزانہ اوسکو دیا جائیگا اور یہ کام تقسیم اندر پندرہ روز کے ختم ہونا چاہئے مگر جب تک کہ تقسیم کامل نہ ہو جاویگی تب تک وہ مثل درپیشی میں رہیگی اور جب کہ بالکل صفای تقسیم کی ہوگی بعد نفاذ حکم خاتم مثل داخل دفتر ہوا کرے * کاغذات وضعات بطور دستاویز شامل مثل تقسیم رہین جیسے پروانہ جات جرمانہ و درخواست تہانہ داران واسطے ملنے حلدات و کاغذات سادہ کارخانہ جیلخانہ سے اور مدد مصارف میں وہ کاغذات داخل ہیں جتنکی صفای حکام اعلیٰ سے متعلق ہی جیسے صرف سائر خرچ عدالت یا صرف تناخواہ ملازمان و خوراک قیدیان جیلخانہ و خوراک گواہان مقدمات ضلع خاص مدایرہ محکمہ دورہ و انعام بگرفتاری مجرمان * چنانچہ اہلمد مصارف کا ذمہ ہی کہ مثلین ہرایکٹ صرفہ کی بطریق مناسب مرتب رکھے اور فکر کرے کہ کوی رقم بلا منظوری پڑی نہ رہنے پاوے جو رقم جس محکمہ سے صفای طلب ہو اوسکی صفای کے

واسطے روانگی رپورٹ میں غفلت نہ ہونے دیوے مثلاً خرچہ
 کنٹاکٹ جیلخانہ متعلق صاحب انسپیکٹر ہی و صرفہ متفرقات
 متعلق صاحب کمشنر و سائیرخرچ متعلق صاحب سوپرٹنڈنٹ
 استمشنری و صرفہ دورہ متعلق صاحب سشن جج اور آخر کو یہ
 سب رقوم بمنظوری کامل متعلق صاحب سول آڈیٹر ہین * حب
 کہ منظوری جنرل آجاوے تب وہ مثل بصدور حکم خاتم داخل
 دفتر ہوگی اور جو کارروائی نسبت ترسیل رپورٹ منظوری یا آمد
 منظوری محکمہ حات ہوتی جاوے اوسکی سند کے واسطے روبکار
 لکھکر شامل مثل کرتا جاوے مگر جو صرف نسبت انعام مجرمان
 ہی اوسکی مثل علیحدہ ہونیکی وہی صورت ہے کہ اہلمد یا
 مثلخوان ایکٹ روبکار علیحدہ لکھدیا کریں غرض کہ جو امر اسطرح
 کے ہین کہ ترتیب مثل اونکی علیحدہ ہونا ضرور ہی ایسی
 کارروائی کا خمال رکھین * اور مد ڈپازٹ میں چند کاغذات اسے
 ہین کہ بلا وقت برای ترتیب مثل علیحدہ اہلمد ڈپازٹ کے
 پاس جاسکتے ہین جسطرح زرنیلام مویشی اوارہ یا زرنیلام مال
 اقدادہ کہ حسکا دعویدار کوی نہو اور وہ جزو احد ہی مگر جو مال
 کہ متعلق بمقدمہ ہی جیسے مال منضبطہ و مفروقہ برای ترتیب
 مثل علیحدہ اسکے لئے یہ طریقہ بہتر ہی کہ جب مال منضبطہ
 کے واسطے حکم نیلام و جمع ہونے بخزانہ بنام ناظر حکمنامہ
 جاری ہوے تو روبکار علیحدہ اہلمد ڈپازٹ لکھدیا کرے کہ اوس
 سے بنیاد ترتیب مثل ڈپازٹ کی قائم ہوگی یا زر مرمت تھانہ
 کہ بنیاد اوسکی مثل تقسیم تنخواہ سے متعلق ہی * اہلمد ملازم
 و ڈپازٹ کو چاہئے کہ ایکٹ روبکار اس مضمون سے لکھ لیا کریں کہ

جو تقسیم تناخواہ فلان ماہ بمنظوری بل ہو کر زر مرمت اسقدر
 بابت تھانہ حات فلان فلان وضع ہوا لہذا یہ روپے بمد ڈپازٹ
 جمع ہوئے اور اسطرح نسبت تناخواہ ملازمان غیر حاضر بھی
 عمل در آمد ہونا چاہئے * اور نسبت امانت زر ٹکس بخشی
 کو چاہئے کہ جب روپیہ وصول ٹکس کا داخل خزانہ کرے ایک
 عرضی اطلاعی بتصدیق خزانچی عدالت میں بھیجا کرے کہ وہ عرضی
 برای درستی حساب ڈپازٹ اہلمد ڈپازٹ کے حوالہ ہوا کرے
 اور جب ڈپازٹ سے کوی رقم خرچ ہوا کرے سند اوس خرچ کی
 از روی کاغذ ہوتی جاوے الحاصل سند کاغذ کی واسطے در آمد بر
 آمد زر ڈپازٹ و کل صرف زر کے ضرور ہی * اہلمد کو چاہئے کہ
 جس مثل میں سند کسی رقم کی پای نہ جاوے اوسکو بغور تامل
 دیکھ کر حسب ہدایات یا کارروای عمل میں لایا کرے ایسا نہو کہ
 ملاحظہ کسی مثل سے عدم وجود اوسکا پایا نہ جاوے ورنہ سخت
 جوابدہی اس بے ترینبی کی ذمہ اُسکے ہی * تقسیم مدات سے
 محض صفای سررشتہ کی مراد ہی نہ کہ استری علاوہ برین اہلمد
 ڈپازٹ کے پاس دو نقشہ حساب ڈپازٹ ایک داخلہ و ثانی
 خارجہ کا اور ایک رجسٹرواسطے مثلین ڈپازٹ کے کہ اوسمیں
 مندرج ہونگی جملہ تین کتاب رہینگی چنانچہ عنوان رجسٹر
 مثلین ڈپازٹ کا اوپر لکھا گیا اور نقشہ حات حساب داخلہ
 و خارجہ کا حسب ذیل بموجب ہدایت صاحب ایکوٹنٹ عمل
 درآمد کرے *

اور اہلمد متفرقات کے پاس مثل ٹھیکہ گذرات رہیگی اوسکو
 واضح ہو کہ ٹھیکہ گہات کا سالوار ہوگا یعنی یکم جنوری سے ہر سال

کو دیا جاویگا اور دسمبر کو ختم ہوگا * جب کہ ماہ نومبر ختم ہوے
یکم دسمبر کو واسطے کارروائی معمولی مثل کو پیش کیا کرے
اور بعد مقررہ ٹھیکہ جو جو مراتب تعمیل کی منظوری ٹھیکہ میں
طی کرایا کرے اور وصول باقی قسط بندی کا ہر ماہ لحاظ رکھے جب
کہ آمدنی کسی مرتبہ کسی ایام معینہ پر نہ داخل ہوے اُسکی
اطلاع کیا کرے اور مثل اسکی تا اختتام ٹھیکہ اور وصول ہو جانے کل
آمدنی متعلقہ ٹھیکہ کے اوسکے پاس بمشی میں رہیگی اور بعد
طی حملہ مراتب معاملات بعد صدور حکم خاتم داخل دفتر ہو
ویگی درخواست اور کاغذات اعانت قرقی و مرگ اتفاقہ و روزنا
محاجات تھانہ ماہوارہ مرتب ہو وینگے * اوسکو واضح ہو کہ شامل
روزنامچہ تھانہ کے کوئی پروانہ یا عرضی نہوگی اور نہ روزنامچہ شامل
کسی مثل کے ہوگا جبکہ ضرورت شمول کسی روزنامچہ کی مثل
میں ہوا کرے اہلمد مذکور نقل روزنامچہ کی لکھ کر بعد دستخط
حاکم شامل مثل کر دیا کرے * اور نقسجات تعمیل و عدم تعمیل
پروانجات کی مثل بھی تھانہ وار ہونگی اگر دو پانزدہ روزہ مہینے
میں اتے ہین تو دو مثل فی تھانہ ماہوارہ مرتب ہوگی اور اگر ایک
ہی نقشہ ماہوارہ آتا ہے تو انک مثل ماہوارہ تھانہ وار مرتب
ہوگی اور اسی طرح نقشہ حات جرایم سنگین و متفرقات و معمولی
انک انتہی میں ہر تھانہ سے آیا کرینگی مثل اُسکی بھی تھانہ
وار ماہوارہ ہوگی اور نقسجات سہ ماہی و ششماہی و سالانہ کی بھی
مثل تھانہ وار ہوگی مگر یہ نقسجات اول تعمیل واسطے اہلمد
تعمیل کے پاس حسکا ذمہ ہو جاوینگے مثلا نقشہ خلاصہ پروانجات
اول پروانہ نویس کے پاس واسطے مقابلہ و ملان نمبر پروانجات

و دیکھنے حال تعمیل و عدم تعمیل اُنکے جا کر بعد صدور حکم اہلمد متفرقات کے پاس آوینگے اور نقشہ جات جرایم سنگمن وغیرہ بھی نقشہ نویس کے پاس اول جا کر بعد کارروائی تمام و کمال اہلمد متفرقات کے پاس آوینگے * اوسکو چاہئے کہ بموقع مناسب بعد حکم خاتم رجسٹر پر چڑھا کر داخل دفتر کرے مگر اوسکو واضح ہو کہ اگر ایک انتہی میں کسی تہانہ دار نے کل نقشہ مقررہ نہ بھیجا اور کوئی نقشہ علاحدہ بھیجا تو اوس نقشہ علاحدہ کی کچھ ضرورت علاحدہ مثل قایم کرینکی نہوگی شامل نقشہ جات دیگر ایک ہی انتہی میں رکھے * اور نسبت سوالات سادہ مستدعی ملاقات قیدیان و دلائل جانے ظروف و پارچہ وغیرہ بقیدیان ایک مثل ماہوارہ مرتب ہوگی صرف تعداد کل سوالات اسی قسم کی فہرست میں لکھی جاویگی اور سوالات سادہ بعدرات بیشی ٹکس بھی ایک جگہ شامل ہوا کرینگے اور باقی کاغذات متفرق مثل انتظام ضلع وغیرہ فرد فرد مثل تصور ہو کر مندرج رجسٹر ہونگے *

دفعہ ۷

سررشتہ روزنامچہ سے جب کاغذ اہلمدون کے پاس اوے اولاً اونکو ضرور ہے کہ ایک ورق سادہ پر بطور سر مثل کہ وہی نہ منزلہ فہرست ہوگا اُس کاغذ پر لگا کر اور اوسکی پیشانی پر بعد کہینچنے مد نام مدعی و مدعا علیہ بقید سکونت و علت نقد تاریخ و ماہ و سال و جالے وقوع جرم و تہانہ و تاریخ دایر لکھکر اور تاگے سے انتہی کرکے بدون لگانے قیدک مثل قایم کرے اور اوراق مثل

بصورت اوراق کتاب مسلم رکھین و بعدہ بہ ترتیب نمبر و تاریخ ماہ و سال رجسٹر پر مندرج کر کے نمبر رجسٹر کنسارہ فہرست میں لکھے * اگر اسی کاغذ اول پر نصاب ابتدا و انتہا مثل کی ہی یعنی صرف اسی کاغذ اولین پر حکم آخر صادر ہو چکا تو حکم قطعی اُس مثل کا سمجھ کر بہ اخذ رسید اپنے رجسٹر پر حوالہ محافظ دفتر کرے اور اگر درپیشی میں رہنے کے قابل ہی اوسکو اپنے پاس طبعی دایر میں رکھ کر جس جس طرح حاجت پیش و روبکار کی ہوتی جاوے معرفت مثلخوان بہ اجلاس حاکم پیش کیا کریں و تکمیل و ترتیب مراتب معمولی مثل اپنے ذمہ واجب سمجھیں * اگر جایزہ پروانہ نوشتہ شدہ وغیرہ کا مندرج خاتمہ حکم نہ ہو وے اُس مثل کو ہرگز بدون تعمیل اپنے پاس نہ رہنے دیویں اور حسب مثل بالکل بصدور حکم ناطق طی ہو جاوے تب بعد ترتیب فہرست وثبت دستخط حاکم بر پیشانی فہرست داخل دفتر کریں اور رجسٹر پر رسید محافظ دفتر سے لیویں مگر کوئی مثل سوای قابل سشی کے پاس مثلخوان نہ رہیگی اور بعد پیشی کے پھر اہلمد کے حوالہ ہوگی * در آمد بر آمد مثلون کے روبکار کے واسطے ذمہ اہلمد ہے اور اونکا ذمہ ہی کہ کوئی بات مثل میں واجب التعمیل و تکمیل نہ رہ جاوے جیسے کوئی اسامی ضمانت یا مچلکے پر ہی یا نسبت کسی مال کی حکم قطعی صادر نہوا یا کسی اظہار میں یا روبکار وغیرہ کا غذات مثل میں دستخط حاکم یا عنوان سہوا رہ گیا یا بسبب منظوری ونا منظوری ضمانت کسی مجرم روبکار اطلاعی محکمہ کلکٹری میں بھیجنا یا مثل کلکٹری میں یا مثل کلکٹری یا اور کسی محکمہ کی واپس کرنا ہی ایسے سب

مراتب بروقت صدور حکم ناطق و قبل سپردگی دفتر بخوبی دیکھ لیوین اور طی کیا کریں اور کوئی کاغذ مشکوک یا محکوک مثل میں اگر ہوے اس جگہ دستخط حاکم کرا لینا ضرور ہے اور کاغذات مثل جبکہ بالکل فہرست پر مندرج ہو گئے خاتمہ فہرست پر العبد اور پیشانی فہرست پر تعداد قطعات مثلاً عہ قطعہ یا عہ قطعہ یا عہ قطعہ جسقدر کاغذ ہوں رقم میں لکھ دیا کریں تا کہ پھر پیچھے سے اختتام کمی و بیشی کرنے کاغذ کا فہرست میں کسی کو باقی نہ رہے * اور بعد داخل دفتر ہونے مثل کے اگر برطبق اپیل احد الفریقین و بسبب صدور حکم منسوخی فیصلہ وہ مثل پھر دایر تحقیقات ہوتی ہے تو وہ مثل بہ نمر جدید رجسٹر پر قائم ہوگی اور کاغذات ما بعد فیصلہ کی فہرست علاحدہ ہوگی مگر بعد طی ہو جانے مثل کے جملہ کاغذات ما قبل و ما بعد کی ایک جگہ ایک انتہی میں رہینگی *

دفعہ ۸

اکثر ایسا ہوا کرتا ہے کہ مقدمات دایرہ سنگین یا خفیف میں سے مجرم قبل تجویز مقدمہ فرار ہوا تو مثل فراری اُسکی علیحدہ مرتب ہونا چاہئے یا مدعا علیہ ناگواہ نے عدول حکمی یا روپوشی اختیار کی یا ملازمان میں سے نعلت غفلت عدم تعمیل مراتب مامورہ سزایاب ہوا اُسکی مثل بھی علیحدہ ہونا ضرور ہے یا مقدمات مداخلت بیجا و انعدام جاہد کہ اوپر بنای اراضی و باغ وغیرہ ہی و بعد تجویز اصل جرم تصفیہ شی متنازعہ

بھی لازم پڑتا ہی تو سبب تصفیہ شی متنازعہ کے مثل اُسکی
 علاحدہ ہونا چاہئے وگاہ گاہ ایسا بھی ہوا کرتا ہی کہ اول مقدمہ
 بعد جرایم سنگین دایر ہو کر بعد تحقیقات یا در میان تحقیقات
 بعد خفیف ہوا یا خفیف سے بجرم سنگین قرار دیا لہذا اہلہد
 سنگین و خفیف کو چاہئے کہ جب کوئی ایسا مقدمہ واقع ہوے
 رجسٹر سے خارج کر کے اہلہد سنگین کو دیوے اور اونکو بڑی تاکد
 ہی کہ کوئی چٹھی انگریزی سوای چٹھی ڈاکٹر صاحب در باب
 کفمت زخم مثل میں شامل نہھے ترجمہ اونکا کر کے بعد کرانے
 دستخط حاکم شامل مثل کر دیا کریں *

دفعہ ۹

واضح ہو کہ اکثر ضلعون میں یہ روہ ہے کہ جتنے پروانجات
 عدالت سے جاری ہوتے ہیں اونکی نقل بالکل کتاب پر ہوا کرتی
 ہی اور ہمیشہ پروانہ بعد تعمیل کے ہرایک تھانہ دار کے پاس سے
 واپس آتا ہی ماورا اسکے اسقدر طوالت میں ایک گونہ بجز
 توقف روانگی کچھ متصور نہیں ہی * مناسب ہی کہ بموجب
 نقشہ مندرجہ ذیل کے خلاصہ پروانجات کا ہرایک کتاب تھانہ
 وار میں لکھا کرے کہ اسمین بالکل مطلب براری ہوگی اور توقف
 و محنت نہ ہوا کریگی البتہ پروانہ نویس اسکا ذمہ دار ہوگا کہ
 جسقدر پروانجات عدالت سے جاری ہوتے ہیں اونکا نقشہ
 ہرایک مہینے میں تعمیل و عدم تعمیل کا پندرہ پندرہ روزہ
 یا ماہواری آتا ہی وہ اونکے جانچ اور ملان ہرایک پروانہ کے

نمبر دار کر کے کمفمت گذرانا کرے کہ کون کون پروانے کس سب سے بلا تعمیل اب تک پتڑا رہا اوس کمفمت کے اوپر حاکم حکم مناسب صادر کریگا لیکن پروانہ نویس کو چاہئے کہ جس کاغذ کے اوپر حکم پروانہ کا صادر ہوے معہ نمبر لفظ پروانہ نوشتہ شد لکھ دیا کرے اور ایک حکم کے دو پروانہ لکھے تو دونوں پروانوں کے نمبر حکم پر درج کر کے نیچے اوسکے دو قطعہ پروانہ نوشتہ شد لکھے اگر ایک حکم کے کئی قطعہ ہوں تو ہر ایک پروانہ کے نمبر اوس حکم پر درج کر کے نیچے اوسکے تعداد قطعوں کی لکھ دے کہ اسقدر پروانے لکھے گئے * اور علاوہ تھانہ وار کتابوں کے کتاب های مندرجہ ذیل بھی سررشتہ پروانہ نویس میں رہنا چاہئے

متفرقات — سرکلر — اشتہار بھی — خزانچی رسید بھی *

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF THE PANJÁB.

“*Et cujus pars parva fui*” : 1845-6.

I CAME by a mere chance on a file of manuscripts written by myself between the 11th of February and March 31, 1846, just fifty-two years ago. I recognize my handwriting, but I had forgotten the existence of the document: it proves to be a transcript of a portion of Vol. II of my Journal, which I have kept day by day since I left England September 15, 1842; and I must have made the transcript to send to my Father, for it came back to me when he died in 1861, amid the file of my letters to his address, which I had sent without fail every Sunday from January, 1843, when I parted with him in the Bay of Naples, to May, 1861, and one letter arrived to his address from me after his death, proving that I had never forgotten him.

This transcript gives an account of the first British invasion of the independent kingdom of the Panjáb, and the capture of Lahór. I had accompanied the Army from Ambála, December 6, 1845, to the River Satlaj. I had been present at the battles of Múdkí on December 18, and Ferozshahr on the 21st, where my superior officer, Major George Broadfoot, Agent to the Governor-General, was killed. I was his Personal Assistant, and I buried him at Ferozpúr, and was appointed Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office, living as a guest with Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, and his two sons, my old Eton friends, Charles and Arthur Hardinge. My superior officer, Mr. Frederick Currie, was Secretary to the Foreign Department. On the 10th of February, 1846, I was present at the battle of Sobráon, and witnessed the defeat of the Sikh Army: and the next day the narrative, now printed, commences. As far as I can judge, every person named has long since been dead, and the only person, except myself, of whom I am certain, that he was present, and is still alive, is Field-Marshal Sir Paul Haines.

Colonel Henry Lawrence, then Resident at Nepal, was summoned to take the place of my dead Chief, Major George Broadfoot, and when he arrived in Camp I went back to my old office as his Personal Assistant.

The Governor-General was good enough to make the two following notices of my services. I was only twenty-four years of age, but I did my best; my knowledge of the languages, of the political environment, and the individual Chiefs, with whom we came into contact, and my ability to give orders, and discuss matters, in the Vernacular, made me of some use, as everybody else was an entire stranger to the country, language, and people.

“ Mr. Cust, of the Civil Service, Confidential Assistant to Major Broadfoot, the Agent to the Governor-General on the North-West Frontier of India, both in the field, and his own immediate Department, has shown great intelligence in duties, which were new to him, and I notice him as a most promising officer.—
Dispatch of Governor-General to the Secret Committee of the Directors of East India Company. Dec. 31, 1845.”

“ GENERAL ORDERS OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL. Feb. 14, 1846.

“ The Governor-General acknowledges the able assistance which he has at all times received from the Political Secretary, Frederick Currie, Esq.; his acknowledgments are also due to his Private Secretary, Charles Hardinge, Esq., and the Assistant Political Agent, Robert Cust, Esq.”

Fifty-two years have passed away since I sent this Document to my father, years of joy and of sorrow, sunshine and shade, wonderful success, and bitter disappointment. Crushed by domestic misfortune, I left India in 1867, thirty years ago, without Pension, Honours, or the completion of my career by occupying the highest Posts of the Empire, which seemed within my grasp. But Life is one of compensations, and after the lapse of fifty-two years since my first battle I can truly say, that all has been ordained for me in the wisest, and best, and kindest, way. I remember as we rode out of the battle of Múdkí, in the dark, on December 18, 1845, asking my dear and honoured friend, Sir Henry Havelock, whether that was a real battle, which we had just taken part in, as to me, fresh from the Eton playing-fields, it seemed to be only a confused scrimmage; and his reply was: “ I should rather think that it *was* a battle”; but we had heavier experiences in a couple of days at Ferozshahr, when my Master, Broadfoot, was killed, and equally heavy, though more magnificent to look at, in the following February at Sobraon.

Life is indeed one of compensations: at the age of seventy-seven I look at events from a different point of view to that, from which I regarded them at the age of twenty-three, when I began my Indian career, and forty-seven, when I ended it abruptly under the pressure of domestic affliction, and in spite of the protests of my life-friend and Master in the Art of Rule, John Lord Lawrence, then Viceroy of India. And perhaps the quiet satisfaction of seeing large folio leaves in the British Museum, and the Bodleian, and similar Libraries, entirely filled with the names of the Books, written by my hand on the two Subjects of Language and Religion, in all their aspects, is greater than that, which might have been afforded by a five years' Government of my dear Panjáb, or the transitory honour of the Star of India, and the Indian Empire, which has fallen to the lot of my contemporaries and my

subordinates, and well deserved by them, though, alas! so many wasted away, and found their way to early graves in the fifties and sixties. Others may have deserved and desired such honours, but have not attained them, owing to the obliquity of vision and prejudice of those in power. I can say with truth for myself.

“Sunt qui non habeant; est qui *non quaerit habere.*”

And of some of my contemporaries, who made a pretence of ruling Provinces of India, it may be truly, though sadly, said in the scorching words of Tacitus, that he seemed

“*Dignus Imperio si non imperasset.*”

Fortunately I have escaped that risk, but have run a chance of the opposite stigma of being deemed

“*Capax scribendi si non scripsisset.*”

But those who, without any selfish object, commit their thoughts and experiences to print, realize the pleasure and joy of doing so, whether the readers like or do not like the bold assertions of independent opinion, or the severe and searching criticisms of bad methods in affairs Material, Intellectual, or Spiritual. The voice crying in the wilderness against the unwisdom of the “wise,” the feebleness of the “strong,” and the goody-goody follies of the “good,” may be listened to in the Twentieth century, though scores of letters from unknown correspondents in different parts of the round world have convinced me, that they have had some effect even in the Nineteenth century.

February 11, 1846, Wednesday.—Returned early this morning from the field of Sobráon to Ferozpúr; found the whole of the force in motion towards the bridge of boats at the Kanda Ghát; the Attári force had actually crossed the preceding night without any opposition, and everybody was in the bustle of preparation. The effects of the victory of the preceding day had been most complete, and there was reason to anticipate, that no opposition of any kind would be offered between Ferozpúr and Lahór.

Thursday, 12th.—Rode down to see the baggage of the Army crossing the river by the bridge of boats. One of the great difficulties to be contended with in Indian warfare is the boundless quantity of baggage, and the numberless camp-followers, with which the Army is encumbered. Everybody allows this defect, but no one seems to take one step towards correcting it. The sight I this day witnessed was one, which brought the defect more particularly to my notice. The River between Ferozpúr and Lahór is divided into three branches, two of which are fordable;

the centre had been spanned by a bridge of boats brought for that express purpose from Bombay. The course of the River varies every season, sometimes encroaching on the North, and sometimes on the South Bank; and as the line of the deep stream, from immemorial custom, forms the boundary of the two states, the cultivators on the immediate banks find themselves transferred from being our subjects to become those of Lahór, as the course of the current varies. The soil of the Island is heavy, as might be expected. The bridge had been connected in the space of thirteen hours and a half, and an uninterrupted stream of camels was now passing over it. The struggle at the head of the bridge was terrific, as the different lines of baggage converged into the one centre, and it sometimes happened, that in the jostle a camel with its burden was precipitated into the stream. For three days without interruption the line of camels might have been seen crossing the river; a second bridge was in course of preparation to enable parties to recross, which by the single bridge to beasts of burden was impossible. I crossed the bridge, and for the first time stood exulting in the Lahór territory, and beheld our camp rapidly forming upon the main bank, separated from me by a fordable stream. A small party had pressed forward and occupied Kusoor, the first march to Lahór.

Friday, 13th.—A day of doing nothing and everything. The chance of baggage being plundered in a foreign territory induced me to leave everything behind me, which could be spared.

Saturday, 14th. — A busy morning spent in making final arrangements. I started about midday for the first march to Kusoor, whither the Governor-General had already preceded me. The weather was already waxing warm, and the rays of the sun oppressive. When I arrived at the bridge, I found that the line of camels, which had commenced at midday on the 11th, had now well-nigh ceased; the division of the Army had, however, not yet crossed. We found the fordable stream on the Northern side of the river deeper than had been anticipated, and the vast iron 24-pounders were with difficulty dragged through them by the two elephants, which on tolerable roads marched along with them with ease. The engineers had decided to remove the bridge to a more favourable spot, higher up the stream. We cantered along the road leading to our halting-place, and, as the shades of darkness closed round us, found ourselves in the midst of the vast débris of ruins, which mark the site of the once flourishing Mahometan city of Kusoor. Here the intelligence met us, that the Maharája had through his Wazír, Rájá Guláb Singh, tendered his submission; that the Wazír was actually in the immediate neighbourhood, and that the first interview was to take place on the morrow. The effects of our victory appeared to have been complete: the spirit of the Khalsa had been effectually humbled, and no further

occasion for resort to arms was anticipated: our four battles on the South of the Satlaj had not been without their effect.

Sunday, 15th.—The Rájá had been expected in the morning, but delay succeeded delay, and it was midday, ere we started on our elephants to meet him in the usual ceremonious style, about two miles from our tents. Colonel Lawrence, the Agent to the Governor-General, and myself were the party deputed, and a son of Mr. Currie, the Secretary, accompanied us, as an amateur. As we passed out, the lines of our troops appeared to amazing advantage, extending in a vast semicircle as far as the eye could reach round the town of Kussoor. At the picquet we descried the cavalcade of Rájá Guláb Singh emerging from a village, and at length we met, and the Rájá transferred himself to the howdah of the Agent to the Governor-General, the place of honour, to which his rank entitled him. His appearance was that of a stout, heavy-looking man, past the prime of life, with nought of bearing or dignity, no spark of Rajpút nobility to distinguish him from the common herd. His manner, as that of most Natives in their dealings with Europeans, was cringing. With him were a select though small body of his own horsemen, in brass helmets, and picturesque habiliments. His immediate companions were men well known to me by name, Diwán Dina Nath, Fakir Núruddin, Sirdar Sultán Mahommed Khan Barukzye, and a few other Sirdars of inferior note, whose insignificance had preserved them from the rage of the Khalsa, and whose good luck had brought them home unscathed by the English bayonet. As our cavalcade swept towards our tent, the whole Army turned out to look at us, and the crowd of Europeans swarming round the elephants appeared to startle, if not alarm, the Rájá. We conducted him to the tent of the Agent, and after some private conversation, he was handed by the Agent and myself on foot, followed by his attendants, to the Durbar, where the Governor-General was in state to receive him. The Governor-General then informed him of the terms, which were offered to him, which were translated to him by the Political Secretary. Among the party was Dr. Martin Honigberger, whose dress and manner led one to suppose that he was an Asiatic, though in reality a European. The whole party then adjourned to Colonel Lawrence's tent, and the discussion of the terms to be imposed was commenced upon. On the side of our Government Colonel Lawrence and Mr. Currie, on the side of the Maharája, Rájá Guláb Singh, Diwán Dina Nath, and Khalifa Núruddin, were the appointed Commissioners. Outside, under the wide-spreading Shameána, were seated the various Sirdars, who had swelled the cortége; and on one occasion, when the Rájá went among them, and addressed them, I marked with astonishment how much the man was changed, and how different was his bearing towards his countrymen

and towards us. I made acquaintance and conversed with many of those assembled, and the night closed over, ere the discussion ceased; and it was not until one o'clock in the morning, that the Rájá could be brought to concede to the hard terms imposed upon him by the Government, and to evade which he brought into play every species of delay, and chicanery, which a Native, and a Native alone, calls on such occasions to his assistance.

Monday, 16th.—A halt to allow the heavy train to come up. I rode in the evening along our widely-spread lines, and surveyed with mingled astonishment the vast Army, which we had assembled upon this remote and distant frontier: we had actually with us 23,000 fighting men of all arms. The hospital at Ferozpúr and the battlefields of Múdkí, Ferozshahr, Aliwal, and Sobraon, had diminished our force by upwards of 5,000; our camp-followers alone must have amounted to 100,000; Beasts of Burden, Elephants, Camels, Horses, Bullocks, Mules, to an amount frightful and incalculable.

Tuesday, 17th.—A halt. Rode through the ruins of old Kusoor, of an immense extent and very picturesque: ruined domes and solitary arches mark the spot, where once stood the Mosque or place of Sepulture of some one of the old Mahometan Nobility. Time has effaced all other traces.

Wednesday, 18th.—The whole force marched this morning in order of battle, forming a vast square of Infantry and Cavalry, in the centre of which was the baggage, heavy guns, and other ammunitions of war. I galloped onwards to the advanced guard, consisting of a detachment of Her Majesty's 3rd Dragoons, and accompanied the Quarter-Master-General's department, by which means I was freed from the dust, which was oppressive to a degree, and was able to see the country, through which we were passing, covered with a high jungle of jhund and bun. Arriving at Lulleali, I ascended a high mound, where the villagers were assembled, watching with terror and awe the forerunners of the cloud of locusts, who were preparing to overshadow them. I assured them, that no wanton injury would be inflicted upon them, that their village would be protected, and I stood among them watching the advancing host. At first along the wide plain the only object I could descry was the dust enveloping the squadron of cavalry in the advance, amidst which the lances were glancing in the sun; a dull ominous cloud enveloped the horizon, and at length the distant columns on the wings and the centres discovered themselves, first only by their dust, and afterwards by the black mass, which appeared sweeping down the plain. Onwards they came, fresh parties of Cavalry appearing on the flanks, until the whole was enveloped in one vast cloud of dust; as they neared the village each column turned off to the encamping-ground

marked out for them, and the whole plain presented a confused mass of camels and elephants; two hours more, and the whole had subsided into order and regularity, and the white tents, springing up on all sides as if by magic, transformed the quiet fields into the appearance of a thickly populated town. This was the day fixed for the reception of the Maharája, and I was deputed to proceed to his tents to bring him in; a larger party of different ranks and at different distances were stationed to meet the cavalcade, as it approached the tent of the Governor-General. About two miles from our tents I met their advancing cortége, and was the first European to doff my hat to the Ruler of Lahór, Dulíp Singh, who had never hitherto been seen by any British Subject. He appeared to be a child of an intelligent and not unpleasing appearance, tastefully dressed; the expression of his mouth was unpleasant, and for a boy seven years old he was small; of utterance he had no powers. Onwards we swept, receiving at intervals an increase to our numbers, by the different officials deputed to conduct the Maharája to the Governor-General's Durbar, and we found the great centre street lined with troops, and six 24-pounders drawn up at the end of it. Alighting at the tent we entered in a fearful crush, and so dark and so miserably arranged was the Durbar, that figures were scarcely distinguishable. The whole proved a very bear-garden: officers in uniform and out of it, who had no business to be there, had pressed in, and there was scarcely room for us to spread on the floor the magnificent presents offered to the Maharája, and his Wazír. The Maharája departed under a salute from the 24-pounders, which must have astonished the Sikhs.

Thursday, 19th.—Continued our march this day in the same order to Khana Kuchwa. I accompanied the advance as usual, and lay myself down to repose under some delightful trees adjoining the house of a Fakír, on the margin of a tank; here I remained for upwards of three hours until the Army had settled itself, and I amused myself by reading the last number of the *Calcutta Review*, and discussed some Chupatties and cold meat. Here I was at least free from the dust and heat, and when I at length emerged from my retreat our camp was in a forward state of preparation. This day was fixed for a return visit of ceremony to be paid to the Maharája in his tent about two kos distant, and we accordingly proceeded thither on elephants. His Highness's tents were picturesquely pitched upon a rising ground, and his small escort so disposed, as to produce an imposing effect. On alighting we entered the Kanats, or canvas-walls, and beheld a beautiful scene of order, and magnificence. Shawls and Kashmir carpets covered the floor; above were Shameána of the same material, and under them were seated the inferior officers of Government. Under the tent was seated in a silver chair the Maharája, a range of chairs on each

side, but the Sirdars were standing behind their Sovereign. We were four in number, and seated ourselves on each side of the Maharája, while the nobles of the Court, even to the Wazír himself, remained standing; there was no crowding, no confusion. All were handsomely dressed, the carpets were most beautiful, and one side of the tent being thrown open, admitted air and light, a view of the country before, and the inferior dependants seated in the distance. On the whole it presented as mortifying a contrast to our Durbar of the preceding day, as can be imagined. Some general conversation ensued, when we adjourned with the Rája and his confidential advisers to his private tent, and, while high matters were being discussed, fruit, pears, grapes, apricots, were handed round. The conference was rather suddenly interrupted by the arrival of a squadron of Lancers, which ought to have accompanied us, but arrived late. We returned to camp at a very late hour, and dined with the Governor-General. The main points of the new treaty appear to be the disbandment of the Army, the cession of the Jalunder Doab, and payment of the expenses of the war.

Friday, 20th.—Started by daybreak on the march to Lahór. I accompanied the advance as usual, and before we had proceeded far the tall buildings and white cantonments of the Imperial City came into sight, glittering in the morning sun. Our halting-place was to be the plain of Mian Mir, distant about two miles from the walls of the city, but actually adjoining the suburbs. This was the Parade Ground of the Khalsa Army, which we had destroyed. A general air of loneliness prevailed in the extensive Cantonments, in which not a single soldier remained. Two months previously upwards of 40,000 had gone forth to fight, confident in their own strength, confident of victory, talking of extending their Empire to Dehli, Calcutta, and London, a place of the very existence of which they had no certain knowledge. Where were they now? Dispersed to the four winds. Many had fallen on the bayonet, or left their bodies, disfigured by the blow of a cannon-shot, to feed the vultures on the Southern bank of the Satlaj. Many thousands had perished in the stream, which they had wantonly crossed; the rest were scattered over the land, friendless, houseless, moneyless; their boasted cannon left as a trophy in the arsenal of Ferozpúr; an avenging Army taking possession of the Capital, which they had for the last five years disgraced with scenes of outrage and rapine and murder. It would have been impossible for anyone deeply interested, as I had been, in the course of events for the last two years, that had been happening, not to feel a momentary triumph in the hour of advancing with an irresistible Army to take possession of a city, the rulers of which had but two months before been wantonly engaged in plans hostile to our very existence in India. I galloped up to the Tomb of Mian Mir, a beautiful Mahometan building kept

by the liberality of Ranjít Singh in excellent repair; and, tying up my horse to a tree, I ascended to the roof of the mosque to watch the advent of our columns: there I remained till the tide of men rolled up to my feet, and I hastened to my tent. The roof of this mosque commands a fine general view of the town and suburbs of Lahór, amidst the towers of which the Residences of Generals Avitáble and Court are conspicuous, with the lines of their respective Brigades adjoining, and the long and handsomely built gunsheds no longer bristling with cannon. In the afternoon it was arranged that a large deputation, headed by the Agent and Political Secretary, the different Staffs, Military and Civil, should conduct the Maharája back to his Capital, and reseate him on the throne of his Father, from which he was supposed to have fled to take refuge with us, though in fact we had defeated the *de facto* Ruler of the country, the Khalsa, and the Kingdom was at our mercy. We started about two o'clock from the camp, with about twenty elephants, and an escort consisting of two Regiments of Lancers, the 9th and 16th; two troops of Horse Artillery; two Regiments of Native Cavalry; and at Anarkáli, where is the house of General Ventura, we met Rája Guláb Singh, and the chief officers of the State. The dust was terrible, and we were all in a dreadful state of disorder; hair, eyelashes, moustaches, etc., all brought to the same dirty white colour. However, there was no help for it, and we waited patiently till the Maharája and his cortége hove in sight, when we proceeded with him up to the walls of the town, and along them till we reached the Roshnai Gate to the North, and immediately adjoining the citadel. The appearance of the city from the exterior is very imposing: the high brick walls, with deep ditch, scarp and counter-scarp, and bastions at intervals, the roofs of the houses appearing from the inside, the gates carefully covered and flanked, were all calculated to give us a high idea of the strength, wealth, and size, of the Capital of the Panjáb. The abundance of trees and gardens in the immediate suburbs made a pleasing contrast, and considerably improved the general effect. The Saman Barj with the adjoining buildings actually in themselves form part of the defence of the town. Arriving at the Roshnai Gate, the Cavalry drew up on the left of the road in double rank, and a right noble appearance they presented; the party on the elephants entered the gates. Passing under the fatal arch, where Nou Nihál Singh had been killed by the falling of stone upon his head on his return from the funeral of his father, we left the Maharája at the gate of the Hazára Bagh, which in fact leads to the entry of his Palace: a Royal Salute was fired by our guns, as His Highness entered. We then made the complete outer circuit of the City, and returned rather exhausted, but much gratified, to our tents.

Saturday, 21st. I was despatched in the morning to conduct

Rája Guláb Singh to the Agent to settle upon a measure, which was very ungrateful to his feelings, but which had been decided upon by us, viz., the introduction of English troops into two gates of the City, and into the Hazára Bagh, and adjoining mosque. I entered the city at the nearest Gate, and threaded on my elephant the narrow and dirty lanes, with a filthy stream of water finding its way down the centre, not without feeling that I ran a very good chance of being assassinated, as in the character of a hated Feringi I was passing as it were in triumph through the Capital, the first European that had done so, since we had entered the Panjáb as enemies and conquerors. The city appeared densely populous, and to the inexpressible credit of our system with a vast army in the immediate neighbourhood, no excess of any kind had taken place, and the inhabitants were quietly pursuing their daily avocations, with greater security, indeed, than when at the mercy of a ferocious soldiery. At length I reached the outskirts of the Palace, and passing through crowds of scowling soldiery, looking daggers at the Feringi, I came immediately under the walls of the citadel of Lahór. Many traces were there of the sieges, which it had twice undergone during the revolutionary struggles of the four preceding years: the high walls were broken in many places, and the battlements, lately repaired, gave evidence of the violence of the attack. Some few pieces of artillery still remained. Passing under the archway celebrated for a most dreadful massacre of the Sikh soldiery during the time of the Revolution of 1840, I entered the beautiful garden of the Hazára Bagh, in the centre of which was the stone building (Barahderi) in which the daily Durbars were held. The Garden is square, laid out in formal beds; on one side is the Mosque, and immediately facing it is the entrance of the Citadel under a lofty arch. Opposite the gate, by which I had entered, was the gate at which we had yesterday evening deposited the Maharája. Passing under the gate leading into the fort, I found myself in a narrow passage, from which I ascended up an inclined plain into another arch, and alighted from my elephant in a small garden. After passing through two more courts, thronged with attendants, I found myself in a small enclosed quadrangle, with a tank in the centre, and balconied buildings surrounding. This was the Saman Barj, and immediately before me were the chambers occupied by the Maharáni. The Rája came forward to meet me, and, taking me by the hand, seated me under a Shameána in front of the Shish Muhal, a small chamber adorned with looking-glass according to native taste. Diwán Dina Nath, Bhai Ram Singh, and Núruddin were present. I told the Rája, that I had come to conduct him to the Agent, and begged him to prepare. He seemed very unwilling to come, and began to invent every kind of excuse, commencing a discussion

of the whole affair to me, although I assured him, that I had not come to deliberate, but only to conduct him to the camp. He was evidently trying to wear away the time; to put off, if possible, the unpalatable step of admitting our troops into the Fort. The Rájá was constantly raising new points, upon which he pretended that the orders of the Maharáni were necessary. At one moment he feigned ill-health; at another he was ready to go next moment. At length I got him to start, when he insisted upon taking me to see the Maharája, who was playing about the quadrangle, dressed as a General Officer; and a nice little boy he appeared. He drew his sword, when I came up, and made a cut at a small boy with the blade. I made my Salám, and we proceeded down to the elephants. Here the Rájá invented new delays: he would show me where the soldiers were to be placed: fresh difficulties were started: he was too weak for an elephant; he must go in a palki. I threatened to return without him, which at length induced him to start. As a security of their not giving me the slip, I made Diwán Dina Nath come into my howdah, and so had one of them prisoners. We then started, and the Rájá dexterously managed to take me by the longest route through the city, thus adding considerably to the distance. At length we were clear of the walls, and steadily approaching the camp, when the Rájá said that he must stop at a garden-house half-way to take a dose of opium, and that he only required a halt for half an hour. I tried in vain to dissuade him, so I left him, and, drawing off my escort, carried the Diwán to camp, and told the whole state of the case. A message was sent to the Rájá to warn him, that if he did not come immediately, the troops would be ordered out. This brought him quickly; but he had gained his point, as it was too late to send the troops into the fort that night, although it was settled to do so on the morrow.

Sunday, 22nd.—A quiet day at home, free from the Rájá, and the troubles of Ceremony. The troops were introduced without opposition into the Mosque and the Citadel to a certain extent covered. The terms of the treaty to be arranged with the Maharája were beginning now to ooze out: they seemed to comprise chiefly the cession of the Jalunder Doab; the payment by the Maharája of the expenses of the war, amounting to one million and a half sterling, the first instalment of half a million to be paid down at once; the disbandment of the Army, who were to receive three months' pay at Maharája Ranjít Singh's rates, and lay down their arms. As yet no signs of any intention to guarantee the Maharája have appeared. There is no prospect of a Resident, or Contingent Force. The old terms of a treaty of Amity and Friendship seem those now intended to be resorted to; how this can end it seems difficult to say. Total annexation of the whole country, though neither desirable *per se*, and unquestionably

difficult as involving the necessity of a fearful increase of our Army, would be in this case undoubtedly justifiable, and would perhaps be the soundest policy, looking to future events, and being unbiassed by temporary motives, such as the exposure of the troops to the inclemency of the season, the outcry at home against aggression, etc. Against this the Government have now decided determinately, and seem inclined to take a middle course of remunerating themselves by an annexation of territory, of protecting themselves by destroying the Army, which endangered their peace, and leaving the Maharája to form as good a Government as circumstances would permit, uninterfered with by them. How will this work? We have taken away the cat's claws: how will she be able to gain her livelihood, and keep the mice in order? At present the trumpet of revolt is always ready to sound, and nothing but the formidable Sikh soldiery has kept in awe the Governors of the distant provinces. Who will now control Sawan Mal in Multán, Fathi Khan Towána in the Derajat, the Barukzye in Pesháwur, the Sheikhs in Kashmir, the Mahometan chiefs in Mozaffarabád? lastly, the Wazír Guláb Singh in the hill dependencies of Jamu? He is now Wazír, but let us suppose his death, or his being ejected by intrigues from the councils of his Sovereign. Even how will he control the distant and detached provinces of the Empire? In all human probability, if the English Government follows out the policy stated above, the close of the current year will see Multán, the Derajat, Kashmir, and Peshawur, detached from the kingdom of Lahór, and forming themselves into independent Governments. However, who can venture to predict coming events? We must be content to look on, and see how the plot develops itself.

Monday, 23rd.—Rode in the morning through the extensive cantonments erected for the Sikh infantry, now empty and deserted: comfortable fellows they were, and had erected themselves buildings putting to shame the humble huts, in which the British Sepoy resides; but their numbers and extent were also a subject of surprise. Capital wells were in the centre of each set of buildings, and in fact every convenience seems to have been studied for the benefit of the Army ruling the State, and disposing of the Throne with the liberty of the Praetorian Guards. We visited the house built by General Avitábile, as also that by General Court, which bears an inscription to that effect in three languages, French, Persian, and Panjábi, over the gateway. The house built and resided in by General Ventura is considerably to the left, at a place called Anarkáli, from the abundance of Pomegranates (*Anar*). It is singular, that the only three dwellings of any distinction outside the town of Lahór should have been built by, and still be known as, the Residences of Europeans. In the evening I cantered down one of our lines: the Infantry are in one vast

extended line facing the city, with troops and batteries of Artillery associated with the different Brigades; the bulk of our Cavalry is on our right flank, looking towards the position supposed to be occupied by the enemy in the neighbourhood of Amritsar. A most formidable appearance is presented by the assembled hosts.

Tuesday, 24th. — By the blessing of God I have finished my twenty-fifth year, and have completed my first quarter of a century: how rapidly the last five years of my life appear to have passed, and how much I have seen during that period! Grateful indeed should I be for the bountiful kindness, by which so many favours undeserved have been showered upon me, and opportunities most desirable offered to me. In my morning ride I visited the villages to the left of our lines, and was struck by the high state of culture, and the richness of the vegetation, which I found around me. The approaching Spring crop will be an abundant one. The abundance of wells renders these villages independent of the elements, and the great scarcity of rain this season has no whit affected them. The Palm-tree of Bengál here appears in abundance, and I was struck with admiration at the sudden change from the desert, upon which our camp was pitched. Still, our camp-followers like locusts were overspreading the smiling cornfields, and many a complaint was brought to my ears by the cultivators, with whom I conversed. The whole of these villages are occupied by Mahometans, who are hostile to the Sikh rule. However, the state of the villages shows, that they had little to complain of. The whole country appears covered with the remains of Mahometan magnificence, and at every step some venerable relic of antiquity attracts the gaze, although the generality of Mahometan buildings do not repay a closer inspection. They are picturesque in their general outline, but when fallen into decay there is little to reward those, who penetrate among the ruins, and no sympathy can be awakened in the favour of a people, who built such vast edifices to gratify a momentary pride with no object of public good, nought save a lust of personal distinction to the deceased or his family. I made a point of writing to my mother on this anniversary, as doubtless I was not forgotten by her on this day.

Wednesday, 25th. — Started again about midday to bring in Rájá Guláb Singh. Half-way from the town I was met by a Sirdar, who had come thus far to meet me. By some accident, whether purposely contrived or not I cannot say, as I entered by one gate of the town, and proceeded along the narrow streets, the Rájá managed to emerge by another gate. Consequently, when I arrived at his house, the dwelling-place of Rájá Suchét Singh, I found him gone, and had to retrace my steps. The town was thronged with our camp-followers, who resorted thither to make their purchases. Regularity seemed to prevail throughout,

though the bearded Sikhs of the Khalsa were walking through the same streets with the closely trimmed Sepoys. In advance of our camp were strong picquets, to prevent any officers or European soldiers finding their way into the town. Parties of officers were allowed to pass upon an order from the Governor-General's Agent. I hurried back through the streets out of the Dehli Gate, and overtook the Rájá, who had been pulled up at the picquets. Of course there was abundance of apologies at the mistake. We conversed together until we arrived at the Camp, and I found him very much more sociable and agreeable than before. I heard to-day that I was to have one of the new districts in the Jalunder Doab, the change of policy in high places having rendered unnecessary a second Under-Secretary in the Foreign Department. There are advantages in this, and corresponding disadvantages. On the one side, I shall lose Simlah for my Summer residence this year, and shall leave the Department of the Secretariat, into which I had got a footing; perhaps I may not get back again. I shall also have the misery of a hot Summer in tents or under imperfectly-made houses, perhaps at the price of a severe fever. On the other hand, I shall have active employment, and plenty to do in a stirring and interesting country. I shall make a more intimate acquaintance with the Sikhs, and Land-Revenue matters. I shall be able to store in a great deal of useful information, if my health permits. However, all is best ordained for us, and I must show myself to be more than a mere spoiled child of Fortune, and may reasonably put up with some little *contretemps*.

Thursday, 26th.—Rode in the morning to our extreme right, and then made a dash towards the city, passing through abundance of Mahometan ruins, which form the wonder of the place, and mark the site of ancient Lahór. One building in ruins particularly struck me, as I entered, and stood in admiration under a dome of dimensions, which might rival the dome of Florence, and of a lightness and airiness far superior. I made the tour of the city walls, and was particularly struck with the noble appearance which the Palace presents on the side facing the Rávi. Lahór is indeed a noble city when viewed from the outside, with its high red-brick walls, its battlements, turrets, and flanking towers, its fine broad ditch, with reverted scarp and counter-scarp, and the ravelines covered with trees, which break the line. Second, indeed, it is to none, save Dehli and Agra. I entered at the Roshnai Gate, now occupied by our sentries, and defended by a troop of Horse Artillery. Passing under the gate fatal to Nou Nihál Singh, I entered the Hazára Bagh exactly opposite to the direction in which I had on a former occasion entered. Changed, indeed, was the scene since then. The measure then debated on had now been carried into execution, and our troops were in full possession,

and with that singular assurance and levity, which mark the Englishman, wherever he goes, the officers of the Regiments had converted the small stone building in the centre, where the Durbars of the Maharája were wont to be held, into their mess-house, and were calmly eating pork and beef, to the abhorrence and detestation of the late occupants, if they had only known of the defilement. I ascended the steps to the great royal Mosque, long a desecrated building, and gazed with admiration at the vast space enclosed in its ample court, and the lofty dome in the front, and graceful minars at the corners. This was also occupied by our troops, and its defences were being strengthened. I mounted the roof of the cloisters, which encircle the building, and it struck me, that I had rarely seen a more beautiful scene than the one which now met my eyes. A verdant meadow of a luxuriant green unknown to England led down to the Rávi, about a mile distant, on the opposite bank of which rose the minarets of the tomb of Jehanghír, at Shahderah, in the midst of palms. The numerous gardens in the neighbourhood added to the richness of the scene. I ascended the highest point of the building over the arch, and looked over the town; the weather was particularly favourable. The Overland Mail arrived this day, and announced the return of Lord Ellenborough to the Ministry. In the evening I rode to see General Gilbert, the only man, who had accompanied Lord Lake on his previous invasion of the Panjáb forty years ago: in the year 1806 we had advanced to Rajpúra on the Beas, and at that place made treaties with Jaswant Rao Holkar, and Ranjít Singh, the one our most perfidious enemy, the other our most steady friend. The General remarked, that he had been present at the capture of the three greatest cities in India, Dehli, Agra, and Lahór.

Friday, 27th.—Accompanied the Commander-in-Chief (Sir Hugh Gough) and a large party to visit the Shalimár Gardens. Taking an unnecessary circuitous route, we again passed under the walls of the town, and proceeded along the rich meadow of the Rávi. We passed several encampments of the Sikh Army, who were now coming in to receive their pay and their dismissal. One spot which we passed deserves notice. A small garden-house with a shrubbery is pointed out as the place, where the late Maharája Shír Singh was treacherously killed by the Sindhanwala Chiefs, which has led to so much murder and retribution during the last two years. Every place within the immediate neighbourhood of this Capital is marked by some act of bloodshed and atrocity: here it was, says the guide, that Sirdar Ajít Singh killed Shír Singh, here he killed Dhian Singh, here Híra Singh killed Ajít Singh, here Híra Singh killed his uncle Suchét Singh, here his rival Kashmira Singh, and Uttar Singh. Here Jawáhir Singh killed Híra Singh, here the Khalsa killed Jawáhir Singh, here the Army of the Company

utterly destroyed the Khalsa. Passing outwards we at length arrived at the far-famed Shalimár Gardens, surrounded by a high wall. In the interior were the usual straight alleys, fountains, reservoirs, and umbrageous walks, which Natives admire so much. Owing to the waterworks being in disorder the fountains did not play, which took off much from the effect. I returned home by the direct road. This day I again started, about two o'clock, to bring in Rájá Guláb Singh, and met him outside the city walls. He was accompanied on this occasion by Rájá Lal Singh, and Sirdar Tej Singh, the latter of whom had just come in. These two had been the promoters and leaders of the late invasion of our territories, and had commanded in the actions against us. Their characters are neither of them good. Men devoid of talent, they sought for power by truckling to the caprice of the Army, and were hurried eventually into a line of conduct, for which they had not been prepared. Rájá Guláb Singh and Rájá Lal Singh are bitter enemies, and prepared to proceed to any length against each other. This was instanced remarkably enough at the conclusion of the interview. Rájá Lal Singh waited until the rest of the party had started, and then got into his palanquin, which was closely surrounded by men from his own village, who thus prevented any attempt on his life on the part of Rájá Guláb Singh from succeeding.

Saturday, 28th.—Started early in the morning on a visit to the tomb of Jehanghír at Shahderah. It is situated to the North of the Rávi. Accompanied by a couple of Sikh sowars, I proceeded under the city wall, and then across the open plain, which divides the city from the river, to the ferry. Here I embarked with my horse in one of the large ferry-boats, and found among my companions some of the soldiers of Ventura's Battalions, whom we had so lately defeated. Sturdy and wiry fellows, they gave me no friendly looks, but entering into conversation with them I found them civil enough. They told me, that they had received two months' pay, and were proceeding to join their Regiment, which was encamped under the trees before us. Each man had his musket and sword with him. They appeared sadly crestfallen. Landing on the opposite bank, and wading through another and a smaller stream, I found myself in a deep sandy soil, showing that the Rávi, like the other streams of India, was uncertain in its course. Half a mile distant was the tomb of the Emperor. There appeared to be three vast square enclosures of brickwork in a sadly dilapidated state; the end one contained the Mausoleum, a large square building of a solid and compact form, with four lofty minarets in the corners: the building was ornamented in the usual Mahometan style with scrolls and patterns in different coloured marble. The inside was very rich in decoration, and the tomb itself was costly and elegant, and in good preservation. The style of the decorations was kindred to those, which have excited so much admiration in

the tomb of Shah Jehan at Agra. The buildings, archways, etc., are sadly dilapidated, and the river Rávi, which once flowed actually under its walls, has carried away the Southern wall altogether. What Time has spared man had defaced, and Sirdar Sultan Mahommed Khan Barukzye of Pesháwur had contributed his share by turning a part of the tomb into his residence for the last six years. To secure the privacy of his Zanána, he had built up all the stairs but one that give access to the roof, and thence to the Minarets. I sent my Salám to the Sirdar, and obtained his permission to ascend, but I was to confine myself to one side of the building. I mounted to the highest Minaret, which commanded an extensive view of the surrounding country, and of the noble city with its palaces, domes, and minarets, appearing to great advantage on the further bank of the stream. My elevated position enabled me to see into the Sirdar's Zanána, and catch a sight of one of his wives, a dark-eyed beauty. Returning to the ferry, I fell in with a large number of the soldiers of Ventura's Brigade, who, like my other friends, had just received their pay. It surprised them rather to see me among them and alone, but they neither annoyed me nor spoke to me. One remarked in my hearing, that he had seen a *topi* (a hat) like mine at the battle of Ferozshahr. I was glad when I got clear of them, as a chance shot from any of their muskets might have finished my story, however severe a punishment would have fallen upon the offender. Passed by Generals Ventura's and Allard's houses at Anarkáli.

March 1, Sunday.—Rode in the morning to the City, and visited the troops in occupation of the Palace, taking a more leisurely survey of the place. I was particularly impressed with the havoc, which had been inflicted on the buildings during the different sieges. The great arch of the mosque was covered with black shots, where the bullets had struck, and the numberless holes in the masonry and brick wall told, where the cannonballs had fallen. Our troops had added considerably to the strength of the place during the short time of their occupation, and it was now able to stand a siege: sandbags had been placed round in every direction to furnish secure loopholes for our Infantry, and our guns so disposed as to command the Saman Barj. I entered the Barahderi, a small square building of exceedingly elegant workmanship; the material being marble, and the decorations in the usual Oriental style, the great defect of which is the shortness of the supporting columns, and the absence of solidity to the base. I visited the magnificent Samads, or Cenotaphs, now in the course of erection to Maharája Ranjít Singh, Kharak Singh, and Nou Nihál Singh: the buildings are small and symmetrical, and finished with the exception of the dome. In the centre is a marble cenotaph, covered with drapery, over which wreaths of flowers are spread, and an attendant standing over it day and night with a Chauri, while a Priest is

incessantly reading passages of the Granth. I returned by the road leading round the town, and at the Dehli Gate stopped to look at the Bangi Gun, an enormous machine, now useless, and placed under a shed, but its possession was a subject of great triumph to Ranjít Singh during the early stage of his career.

Monday, 2nd.—The surrendered guns are now coming in, though slowly, and a portion of the money is being counted out in camp, great difficulty being experienced on account of the extraordinary variety of coinages. I started again at 1 p.m. to bring in Rájá Guláb Singh, and had to proceed as far as his house ere I met him. We then had to wade through the filthy streets amidst the crowds which thronged them, and emerging at the Dehli Gate proceeded towards the camp, being joined outside by several of the Chiefs. An incident occurred on our route, which is characteristic of the time and the place. As we were plodding on in the midst of dust, a shot was heard from the rear, immediately behind us. This brought us all to a halt, and each Chief looked at his rival, and then an inquiry began to take place to see who was the offending party; he was, of course, not to be found, though it was clear, that the object of the party was to take away the life of his rival. Every time I proceed upon one of these missions I feel that my life is in risk, as a chance bullet intended for the Rájá is as likely as not to hit me. In the evening I rode to General Avitábile's house, which commands a magnificent view of the city and neighbourhood of Lahór. It stands in the centre of the ruins of ancient Lahór, and the surrounding country is dotted by Mahometan buildings in various stages of ruin and decay. The city of Lahór presents a noble appearance, and at the moment, that I stood there, the vast empty cantonments, so lately the residence of these fire-eating Khalsa legions, were not the least interesting objects in the scene. In the distance, dimly visible through the smoke, which surrounds every evening a large Indian Camp, appeared the tents of the Conquerors. In the rear of the town I could distinguish the winding course of the Rávi, and the minarets, which mark the spot of the tomb of Jehanghír. The house which commands this view is a small summerhouse attached to the residence of General Avitábile, and known as Avaki Patu. It stands on one of the old brick-kilns. The dwelling-house contains one highly ornamented chamber, with paintings very much superior to those usually found in the works of a Native Artist. They represented Maharájá Ranjít Singh and his Court, his sons, and other distinguished members of his Army. The General also introduced a portrait of Napoleon, and of a European lady, to which no name was attached. On each side of the door some most inelegant Angels held scrolls in their hands, with French and Latin Inscriptions. One was a favourite quotation of Avitábile, and one

that has great force in its application to the state of things in an Oriental country :

“ Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos ;
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.”

The French quotations were :

“ La Mort jamais surprenait le Sage ;
Il est toujours prêt a partir,”

and such like. The house was guarded by six soldiers of the General's Brigade, and with them I entered into conversation with regard to late events. They had not shared in the battle, having been left behind, but they were keenly alive to the progress of events. They spoke as parties fully aware of what their position was, and as persons in the habit of discussing public matters. Their manner was civil, yet still independent, and one of them, a native of Nadoun, exhibited a degree of geographical knowledge as to the course of the Beas, which I did not anticipate. One of them was a resident of Khythul, and as such, under the new Régime, expected his discharge. I asked them what had induced them to attack Ferozpúr; they said distinctly the orders of the Ráni, who had promised them gold bracelets, and assured them of abundance of plunder. After hearing this, it was most provoking to reflect, that we were entirely playing into the hands of the Ráni, and that the many brave soldiers we had lost had perished to carry out her plans of getting rid of her own rebellious Army.

Tuesday, 3rd.—Sir Charles Napier, Governor of Sindé, arrived this day. He had been summoned under the impression, that the campaign would prove a long and a tedious one, but it had long been concluded before he arrived, and he had only to share in the triumph. His Army, consisting of 16,000 men, had been halted at Baháwalpúr; the Bengál division to move up to these Provinces, and the Bombay to return to Sindé. I rode in the evening to Anarkáli, Ventura's house and Cantonments. The lines for the troops are admirable, and there is accommodation for four Regiments of Infantry, three of Cavalry, and about twenty Guns. The house of the General is immediately facing, a long and low building, attached to the ruins of an old Mahometan tomb, which had been converted by General Allard into a dwelling-place. Beyond this I fell in with a dry bed of a branch of the Rávi, and the violence of the torrent here at one time was attested by the ruins of the buildings which had been washed down. One magnificent arch still remains of grand proportions, and adorned with the painted mosaic work which abounds about Lahór: one of the angular minarets had, however, been rent away by the stream. Behind is a space entirely covered with tombs and sepulchral remains.

Wednesday, 4th.—Rode out again to visit the Shalimár Gardens, and ascended to the summit of the garden-house, which commands a fine view of the gardens, and the country surrounding. On my road thither I stopped to view the spot where the gallant but unfortunate Rájá Suchét Singh was massacred by his nephew. The place is called the “Mian Baddi ka Khangah.” The Rájá had been invited down from Jamu by some of the Brigade, who were dissatisfied with the Government of Rájá Híra Singh. In the interval, however, they had agreed to remain firm to the old Government upon the receipt of a golden butki (a coin) each. Rájá Suchét Singh arrived, and finding no one to join in his party he retired into the buildings of Mian Baddi, refusing to return to Jamu, but prepared to die. On the following morning all the troops moved out against the Rájá, who had with him only sixty men; they all fell, fighting bravely, having killed more than a hundred of their opponents. Rai Kesri Singh was with his cousin, and fell by his side. The old building was entirely demolished, but it has now been rebuilt.

Thursday, 5th.—Went to the town to meet Rájá Guláb Singh, and found him in his house. We had scarcely passed out of the city gates when I received a messenger from Colonel Lawrence, saying that he would not see Guláb Singh that day, but that to-morrow a positive answer was demanded on the three points, the payment of the rupees, the cession of guns, and the cession of territory. I explained this distinctly to the Rájá, and then took my leave.

Friday, 6th.—Turned out early in the morning to see the grand review of troops. It rained slightly, but not more than sufficient to lay the dust. Sir Charles Napier was with the Governor-General, and a most extraordinary figure: a half-dress military coat, leather pantaloons, and a velvet hunting-cap, added to an enormous beard and moustache, gave to his narrow and marked features, and pallid countenance, a most grotesque appearance. However, there was something in his appearance, that marked him to be the great man he really was. We all rode down the line; and the Governor-General, when we arrived in front of Her Majesty's 50th, introduced Sir Charles Napier, their old Commander, to them in an appropriate speech. After passing down the whole line, we returned to the flag-staff, and the whole force defiled past us. The appearance of the heavy guns, drawn with the greatest ease by two elephants, was very magnificent and imposing. The wonderful ease, with which these animals drew along the heavy guns, was astonishing. The whole appearance of the Army was magnificent in the extreme, and the consideration that this Review was now held at the Capital of Lahór added greatly to the interest. I felt that there was nothing to oppose this Army East of the Euphrates. About midday I went to meet Rájá Guláb Singh; and my old friend Herbert of the 10th accompanied me.

I alighted in a pleasant garden outside the city walls to await the coming of the Rájá, and talked to the proprietor till the cortége came in sight. Thence I accompanied him to the Camp. In the evening we had a grand dinner at the Governor-General's of 150 people. Speeches succeeded, and after toasting nearly everyone, the Governor-General drank the health of the Political Officers, including me by name. Sir H. Hardinge spoke well, but too much; he gave a general sketch of the campaign, and I only wished that he was really sincere in the passages in which he alluded to the Commander-in-Chief. Many of his expressions were exceedingly happy, but his speech lacked sincerity. The Commander-in-Chief spoke his thanks from his heart. Sir Charles Napier spoke with ease, and with his accustomed familiarity; his sepulchral voice was heard all over the room. No other speaker was remarkable, save one General Officer, who disgusted all by his loquacity.

Saturday, 7th.—Accompanied Cunningham, Colonel Irvine, and two others in a most interesting excursion over the Palace, for which we had received permission from Rájá Guláb Singh. We entered at the Eastern Gate, and found ourselves at once in the spacious court, in the centre of which is the Diwán Am, a building much resembling the Diwán Am of Agra and Dehli. There the Monarch, seated above his people, received their adulations. On the opposite side are rows of gunsheds, occupied now chiefly by the plaything guns of the Maharája and his boyish artillerymen. Passing under the arch called Rokna Durwáza, I remarked the spot, where the proud Minister Rájá Dhyán Singh fell by the blow of the assassin. Here, turning to the right, and passing through two small courts, we came into the immediate precincts of the Saman Barj, to which place I had on a former occasion penetrated. There is a small Shish Muhal here, where Ranjít Singh used to hold his Durbars. Inferior English prints have in some instances been introduced, and produce a grotesque effect. They were chiefly portraits of females; but one appeared especially out of place in a Lahór Durbar, a French print of our Saviour in the Agony of the Garden. The windows command a pleasant and fresh view of the Rávi and the country on both sides, amidst which arose the four pinnacles of the tomb of Jehanghír. Standing at the windows of a palace, looking over a champaign country and a meandering stream, fancy carried me back to the terrace at Windsor, and I could find a resemblance between the pinnacles of the Emperor's tomb and the spires of Eton College. Above me, at a window of the Saman Barj, the little Maharája appeared, to have a look at the English strangers. Rájá Lal Singh and the younger son of Rájá Guláb Singh, a nice, sweet-looking youth, had joined us, and showed us over the Palace. Returning again to the vast courtyard, into

which we had first entered, we turned to the right, and saw the door of the Moti Mandar, the receptacle of Ranjít Singh's hidden treasures, which the folly of his successors had exhausted. Passing through some ruined and dilapidated buildings, we emerged in a beautiful little court with marble buildings, a cheerful garden, and an elegant little marble hall with fretted screens: this was called the Kwabghur, or sleeping apartment, of the Emperor. In the corner of the court was a tall building, which Jawáhir Singh had erected for his women during his short incumbency. The style of building showed that the ex-Wazír was not more successful as an Architect than a Minister. Passing under a narrow archway, we came out in another court, part of the apartments of the family of the Emperor, now deserted, or occupied by the surviving widows of Ranjit Singh, his son, and grandson; here was a large pile of buildings, where lived the unfortunate widow of Kharak Singh, who, in an ill-fated moment, aspired to royalty, and was beaten with shoes to death by her slaves at the instigation of her Rival. We then ascended into the apartments immediately to the rear of, and connected with, the Diwán Am. These rooms are small and dark, but elaborately ornamented with looking-glass and painting. They were last occupied by Maharája Kharak Singh, and he died in them under the effects of the slow poison administered to him by his ambitious Minister Dhyán Singh, not, it is supposed, without the privity of his son, Nou Nihál Singh, who himself perished miserably on the day of his father's funeral, a victim to the same deadly intriguer. In these apartments Nou Nihál Singh and Dhyán Singh put to death the favourite, Cheyt Singh, who stood in their way, and the son all but destroyed the Father at the same time. One of the apartments open out upon the throne of the Emperor, elevated above the heads of his subjects. In the courtyard below we stopped to watch the distribution of pay among the remnant of the Khalsa Army. The clerks and office-people were squeezing these unfortunates in every way, and reducing the small allowance settled to be given to its very minimum; it was their day now, and they were making the most of it, though, like fools, they were laying up coals of fire for themselves, as the moment our troops are recalled, vengeance will be exacted by the exasperated soldiery. This day the Treaty with the Lahór Government was signed: the terms were the cession of the countries between the Satlaj and the Beas; the disbandment of the Army; the payment of a crore and a half of rupees; and, in lieu of the crore of rupees (a million of pounds sterling), the cession *in toto* and *in perpetuum* of the hill countries from the Beas to the Indus, Jamu, Kashmir, Hazára, Rajaori, Bhimbera. This was the Treaty with Lahór, with the Maharája, and his Minister, Rája Lal Singh. But what were we to do with these distant countries? A purchaser was

at hand; Rájá Guláb Singh had resigned the Wazírat of Lahór, and had agreed, in a separate treaty, to pay down a crore of rupees, and accept in lieu the countries alluded to as an independent kingdom. He, who forty years ago, was a poor menial, undertook to pay down in a given period a million of money; and he had at the same time so managed matters, that to him the occupation and holding of the country would be feasible.

Sunday, 8th.—Rode to Shahderah with Macdonald. We crossed the Rávi, and on entering the inclosure of the tomb of Jehanghír we found two Sikh Regiments on parade, which made us hesitate some time ere we proceeded to the tomb. I visited also the tomb of Núr Jehán, the beautiful wife of the Emperor, a building of ninety-nine arches, and now occupied by a party of Ghórchara horse. I entered into conversation with them, and one showed me an unhealed wound, which he stated he had received at the battle of Sobraon. A lad was brought forward, and introduced as the son of a man who had been killed at Ferozshahr. They spoke without any bitterness, and one man remarked with regard to the Khalsa, “apui kya paia.” “What they had suffered was the result of their own actions.” There is something very free and independent in these Ghórchara, and an absence of that grovelling manner, which is the bane of India. Between the tomb of Núr Jehán and her Lord is a vast dome, which covers the remains of Wazír Khan, her brother, which is similarly desecrated by having become the stable of Sikh horses. In the evening I visited again the houses of Generals Avitábile and Court: the latter fitted up a vast dome, belonging to some Mahometan place of sepulture, as a chamber for the hot weather, and a most delightful one it would be. This house is also taken care of by four Púrabi soldiers of Court’s Brigade, with whom I conversed, and found that they were only waiting to receive their pay ere they turned their back on the country and sought service elsewhere.

Monday, 9th.—A delightful ride through the cornfield to the left from the encampment. The whole appearance of the country is rich and fruitful in the extreme, the population is Mahometan to a man, and owing to the neighbourhood of the Rávi the wells are not deep, and are consequently abundant. The whole country therefore bears the appearance of a garden, and is strongly contrasted by the bleak appearance of the country, upon which our tents are pitched, which were beyond the influence of the streams. This day the Governor-General held a grand Durbar, at which the Treaty was signed. Measures had been taken to prevent the unseemly crowd, which disgraced the Durbar at Kussoor, and a large tent was pitched of an unusual size, and every preparation made to render the Durbar worthy of the head of the Government of India. Ninety officers, staff and field officers, were invited. About two o’clock a party of officers, of

whom I was one, started upon elephants and proceeded amidst suffocating clouds of dust to the city gate, at which place we met the Maharája and his cortége. Joining with them we marched back to the camp, a vast moving body of men, elephants, and horses. On approaching our camp we found the streets lined with a troop of every Regiment of Cavalry, and a company of every Regiment of Infantry, and the effect was very imposing. At the end of the street the Governor-General, in the State-howdah, accompanied by Sir C. Napier and Sir Hugh Gough, advanced to meet the Maharája, who was transferred to the Governor-General's howdah. Crush and confusion were then the order of the day, and great difficulty was experienced in admitting the respectable natives to the tent. This was at length effected. The company was seated; the Treaty was sealed and signed by the Governor-General and the Maharája, and a copy was interchanged amidst the roar of cannon, which announced the event to the Army and the City. The little boy took up his pen and signed his name in the usual Sikh style, with the greatest gravity and coolness; poor fellow! he little knew, that he was making away with 'one-half of his dominions. The Governor-General then made a long speech, explaining the policy of Government, and the motives which had actuated him, and each sentence, as delivered, was explained to the Chiefs by the Chief Secretary in Urdu. The Governor-General distinctly stated the reason for leaving troops at Lahór, that it was against his own wishes, but consented to on the earnest request of the recognized heads of the State, and that they would be removed certainly at the close of the current year. Presents were then distributed among those, whose rank entitled them, and the whole party moved back amidst the same pomp and show which had welcomed their arrival. I accompanied Rája Guláb Singh, who had now turned his back on Lahór, and had pitched his tents within our picquets. He was full of gratitude to the Company, and only regretted that what was now being done had not been effected some ten years ago. In the evening we had a grand dinner at the Commander-in-Chief's; a less extensive assembly, but the same routine of speeches.

Tuesday, 10th.—I started early in the morning to Rája Guláb Singh's tents to bring him to see the Review of the assembled forces. On my road I met Cunningham with Rája Lal Singh, who had donned a complete suit of armour for the occasion. I found the Rája prepared to mount an elephant, to which I objected as most unmilitary; and after assuring him, that neither the Commander-in-Chief nor the Governor-General would, as he supposed, be on elephants, he mounted his horse and we rode onwards to the parade ground. On the Governor-General's arrival, the usual salute was fired, and the whole party, English and Sikh, moved down the line. It was a curious

sight, and every step we stumbled against an ungainly-looking man, the very reverse of what appears to us soldier-like, who was called General Saheb. After riding down the line the troops all passed us; but the dust was so thick that the Cavalry could scarcely be distinguished. Mr. Currie this day informed me, that I was to leave the Secretariat, and have a district in the Doab, with allowances of 1,000 rupees per mensem. I could have wished it otherwise, but have little reason to complain, having been so much the child of fortune; advantages there are, and a share of disadvantages. This was the day for the return visit to the Maharája in his Palace. Under a special pretence of wishing to see whether all was ready, I started in advance of the rest of the party, and thus avoided all dust. I arrived there unexpectedly, and was handed up by Rája Lal Singh, from the doorway to the courtyard under the Saman Barj. Many of the officers of the State were assembling for the Durbar, and I sat conversing with Lal Singh at the windows, which command a lovely view. Lal Singh left me to prepare to accompany the Maharája to meet the Governor-General at the city gate. I then entered into conversation with some of the venerable old whitebeards, who crowded round me: they were the officers of the Ghórchara Horse, and some of them had been with Ranjit Singh in his earliest fights; all spoke of their old leader with enthusiasm. As soon as Lal Singh had started with the Maharája, I entered the Saman Barj to see the preparations for the reception of the Governor-General. This was the same court, into which I had once before entered to fetch Rája Guláb Singh. It had now been decked out in its finest gear, the purdahs had been removed from the apartments in which, when I was last there, the Ráni had been seated, and a magnificent apartment, decorated with looking-glass on all sides, was disclosed. The effect was very striking. The ground was covered with carpets of Multán and the shawls of Kashmir, on which it appeared a crime to place my booted heel. Chairs were arranged around in an ample circle, and shameánas of shawls in front extended the length and increased the effect of this brilliant chamber. I was introduced to several of the Sirdars and Generals, who were waiting. The fat old General, Guláb Singh Pohopindia, bothered me exceedingly by his politeness. He had commanded the force, which had accompanied General Pollock's force to Cabul, and pretended to know the habits of the English; he was attired in a costume half English, half Sikh, and was a very grotesque figure, as he handed me about, taking hold of the tips of my fingers in his. Not so, however, were the magnificent figures and features of several of the Sikhs of the old school, with whom I exchanged salutations. They spoke sensibly of the last battle, and told me how they escaped by swimming their horses across the stream. Two little boys were

brought forward to be introduced to me, the sons of Sirdar Sham Singh Attáriwala, who had been killed at Sobraon, one of the last specimens of the genuine Sikh Sirdar. I was then taken into a tent of Kashmir shawl, one of the presents designed for the Governor-General, a most costly bijou. I next ascended to the top of the building, which commanded a magnificent view of the Palace, with all its numerous courts, and of the city and the surrounding country. This is the highest point of the Palace and the town. The Pádashái Musjid, and the garden, where our troops were cantoned, lay below us. I had scarcely left the Saman Barj, when a discharge of Artillery from the outer court announced the near approach of the Governor-General, and presently under the arch were seen approaching the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General, leading between them the boy Maharája, each holding one of his little hands. After him pressed a crowd of Officers and Natives. We at length found ourselves comfortably seated in the Durbar. Great irregularity had, however, been allowed, and many an uninvited guest had forced himself in without a "wedding garment," who neither added to the comfort nor the appearance of the place. This Durbar was a scramble, compared to that of the Governor-General. Everybody was so entirely dusted that the effect was extraordinary: hair, whiskers, moustaches, and eyelashes, well covered with white powder. The usual presents were distributed, and to my share fell three or four handsome shawls and a jewelled head-ornament. According to the rules of the Service I could not keep them, and they were made over to the officers of Government. After the Durbar I again visited the roof of the Palace, to enjoy a few moments more the delicious prospect it commands. Upon our first arrival we caught sight of some of the ladies of the Palace in a neighbouring balcony; but on one of our party making a profound bow to them, there was an immediate scuttling to the rear.

Wednesday, 11th.—Visited the city to inspect the buildings which have been set apart for the accommodation of officers and men in the city: one European Regiment, and eight Native Infantry, with three Troops of Horse Artillery, and four heavy guns, are selected for this duty. We visited the house of Rája Dhyán Singh, in the centre of which is his Samad or Cenotaph. The magnitude and grandeur of the buildings are on a par with the character of the man, who was scarcely content to be the second man in the kingdom. Beneath is a beautiful tykhanah for retreat in the hot weather. The Governor-General marched this evening to the Shalimár Gardens, and I was disappointed to find, that I was to be left behind to accompany the Commander-in-Chief, who would not march for ten days. Bad luck again; I shall miss seeing Amritsar and Govindghur, as the Commander-in-Chief will return *viá* Ferozpúr. I rode out with Mr. Currie as far

as the Shalimár Gardens; the band was then playing, and the whole place appeared to great advantage under the sloping rays of the sun. I visited also the delightful baths, which Shír Singh had prepared in the most luxurious style. They were most beautifully and tastefully ornamented. I returned again to my tent, which was now standing nearly alone, the canvas town around it having vanished. Just before starting I had a few words with Sir Charles Napier, who introduced himself to me as I was talking to his nephews, and I was glad to have the opportunity of making the personal acquaintance of this remarkable man.

Thursday, 12th.—I awoke and found my tent quite alone, and my friends and my occupation gone. I made use, however, of the leisure to commence upon an article for the *Calcutta Review* on “The Countries between the Satlaj and the Jumna.” (This was the first of a series, which has lasted more than fifty years, and which is not ended yet.) I had long had it in view, but had never found time to place upon paper the material, which I had all ready in my head. I joined the mess of the Staff Officers at the Commander-in-Chief’s camp. I wished very much to accompany the Commander-in-Chief on an expedition to the town of Amritsar, which was proposed for the following day, but many reasons conspired to determine me not to go, and to put off seeing the town and fort to a more favourable opportunity.

Friday, 13th —We moved our camp about two miles to our right, and I pitched my tent near the Commander-in-Chief’s. The force destined for the city moved down to the banks of the Rávi, and as a large force had accompanied the Governor-General to Jalunder, our Army appeared much shrunk and reduced; still, a formidable one, as composed nearly entirely of European Regiments. I rode in the evening across the green cornfields, which were in front of us, to the city, and visited some friends, who were establishing themselves in their new quarters. Those in the house of Rája Suchét Singh seemed tolerably comfortable, and might be made endurable; but how will the other officers fare? The gates of the town had all been occupied by our troops, and we might, indeed, be said to have complete military possession.

Saturday, 14th.—Commenced upon the business of settling the compensation to be granted to Zemindars for the injury, which their crops had suffered during the time the Army had been before Lahór. Towards evening most tremendous rain commenced, and lasted, with unusual violence, for the whole night.

Sunday, 15th.—Everything appeared drenched and wretched. The camp partially swamped. I was obliged to pick my way as best I could to the mess-tent. Rode out in the evening to visit some villages, and inspect the actual loss which they had suffered. No sooner do these people find that our purse-strings are unloosed than they attempt every means of deceiving us, and exacting from us just as much as our simplicity will allow them.

Monday, 16th.—Rode to the rear to inspect the state of four villages, who claimed compensation, and were, indeed, objects of compassion. On the road between Lahór and our last stage all our camp-followers seemed to have systematically plundered; from one of these villages everything was gone, roofs, doors, the grain stored for winter consumption, the seed to ensure the next harvest. Such are the miseries of war. Most of the inhabitants of this unfortunate village had fled precipitately, and a few old men were present to point out the place, which had once been their home. Such crops as the village had possessed had been ruthlessly cut away, and even the woodwork of the wells had been removed.

Tuesday, 17th.—Stayed at home. Dined in the evening with the Commander-in-Chief, who had returned much pleased from Amritsar. Severe work, however, they had, as the distance can be little less than forty miles.

Wednesday, 18th.—Out in the morning to see a couple of villages between the camp and the town. I visited also General Ventura's house at Anarkáli: the upper rooms are painted in native style to represent the conquests of Multán and Pesháwur; the figures are most grotesque, and the absence of all perspective most amusing. Immediately adjoining is a large dome, which has been converted from a tomb to a dwelling-place. Rode in the evening to the city to see Colonel Lawrence. We went to visit Sir John Littler's camp, most prettily situated near a garden of Ranjít; the view of the Palace is very beautiful. On our way we found a poor man, who had just been knocked over, and his leg broken; it was a compound fracture, and the bone was actually protruding through the flesh, and the man was rolling in agony. Even after all the horrid sights I have lately seen, this almost distressed me more than any. We sent for a Doctor and a Dooley; but the man's life or limb will be lost. Slept in the garden of Rájá Suchét Singh.

Thursday, 19th.—Up early and rode among the quarters preparing for the European and Native troops. I was astonished at the rapidity and success, with which these buildings had been adapted for use: doors had been broken open to admit air, and arches bricked up to exclude sun; filth of centuries removed; the whole thing promises exceedingly well; all the barracks are connected together. The General has taken up his quarters in the Barahderi in the centre of the Garden, beneath which is a capital Tykhanah. Returned across the fields to camp: breakfasted with the Commander-in-Chief, who invited me to join his party while with their camp.

Friday, 20th.—Rode into the city, and breakfasted with Colonel Lawrence in his new Residency. Back again to camp across the charming green fields; the crops are now rapidly ripening. The

Overland letters arrived to-day: one from my brother Henry with account of a visit to Belton.

Saturday, 21st.—Read the Number of the *Quarterly Review* for June, which had just arrived. A meeting was held to-day of Officers of the Army, Commissioned and non-Commissioned, to take into consideration the scheme for educating the children of European soldiers in the Hill-Stations. The proceedings of the Meeting were very irregular, and there was much desultory conversation quite beside the subject. A very serious objection appears to me the determination of the subscribers to introduce such regulations as practically exclude the children of Roman Catholic parents, while in fact the majority of the European soldiers in India are of that persuasion.

Sunday, 22nd.—A most disagreeable dust-storm prevailed throughout the morning, making life scarcely worth having as long as it lasted, as nothing could be done of any kind. Rode in the evening into the town, having sent on all my tents, etc., to the next stage. Slept at Colonel Lawrence's house in the city.

Monday, 23rd.—Off at an early hour, and right glad to leave Lahór, of which I had had enough. I had visited every spot of interest more than once, and as the season was advancing I was anxious to be on the move again, and make my way to my quarters for the hot months. Marched to Khana Kaehwa. In the evening the Overland Express arrived, bringing the news of two interesting facts: first, the arrival in England, *viâ* Trieste, of the news of the great battles, or rather of a great battle, near Ferozpúr, in which we had been victorious. That same mail would convey to Ministers Sir George Arthur's report, founded upon the concise account which Sir Henry Hardinge had furnished him with on his arrival at Ferozpúr. Great anxiety was said to prevail in England among those, who had friends engaged in the contest. The other piece of intelligence was Sir Robert Peel's announcement of his intentions regarding the Corn Laws; his speech at the opening of Parliament, stating his determination, if he remained Minister of England, to remain so unshackled, appeared to me to be a very brilliant and eloquent speech.

Tuesday, 24th.—Marched before daybreak to Lulliáli. At this place on our advance we had suffered very great inconvenience from a want of water, but the heavy rains, which had fallen during our stay at Lahór had removed that inconvenience, and we now had abundance, though not of the purest or best quality.

Wednesday, 25th.—Off early before daylight for Khan Kurman this was the route taken by the over-confident Khalsa, when they started to attack Ferozpúr and Calcutta. There is something very grand in the movement of large bodies of troops, especially in the early grey of the morning, and I particularly remarked it this morning. I was riding in front of the whole force, and,

though the landscape was not distinctly visible in the twilight, I could distinguish the vast war-cloud of dust rising over the advancing masses, a heavy dun cloud. In a few moments the head of the column could be seen clear of the jungle, and the flash of a bayonet. On the flanks dense masses of cavalry were half seen, half obscured, a few solitary horsemen in the advance spurring across. All the time was heard that peculiar sound, which can be compared to no other, a suppressed hum of men, and a rolling of wheels on the hard soil; occasionally the voice of a trumpet would speak forth: the whole effect, both to the eye, and ear, is such as cannot be produced except by the movement of vast bodies of men.

Thursday, 26th.—The morning march was rough, and broken ground, over or rather through which artificial roads had to be made for the Artillery, brought us down to the banks of the Satlaj, that noble stream so long the boundary of our Empire, and still so in this particular spot. A bridge of boats had been prepared at Nagar Ghát, and a most complete thing it was, with an entrenched *tête du pont*, to defend it against the enemy. It had a double roadway, so that two Horse Artillery guns could cross side by side. The planks had been well covered with earth, and the effect generally was that of a regular road over a permanent bridge. The road leading to it was kept clear for the passage of troops by lines of troopers, and beyond it two Regiments were drawn up in line to do honour to their triumphant brethren on their return from the Capital of the enemy. The formidable battery of twelve 12-pounders was prepared to salute the Commander-in-Chief as he recrossed the River. In the rear the white tents of the Camp were springing up along the bank of the noble stream. The scene was strikingly beautiful, as it first presented itself to my sight, on this bright and cloudless morning. I was far in advance of the column, so I passed over and stationed myself on the precipice of the Southern Bank to watch the crossing. I could then see far inland to the trees and houses of the villages on the opposite high bank, beyond the wide extent of alluvial land that intervened. Presently the “war-cloud” of dust advanced, and, though the columns could not be distinguished, the scenery was obscured. At length the Commander-in-Chief and his numerous Staff were seen entering the *tête du pont*, and as they stepped on the bridge our guns fired a salute, and the whole party prudently halted lest their horses should be alarmed by the flash and report. The effect of this was capital. When the salute had finished, the Commander-in-Chief advanced, followed by an unbroken chain of Cavalry defiling over. After them came the Artillery thundering across; and at length the Infantry Columns, with band playing and colours flying, commenced the passage; and a more beautiful sight than that, which the bridge then presented,

entirely covered with a dense column of European Infantry, their bayonets glittering in the sun, and the line free from any particle of dust, I have never witnessed. Below the bridge another busy scene was going on. No elephants were allowed to cross the bridge, as their ponderous weight would have endangered the security. Each of these vast beasts, therefore, whose number must be counted in this Army by thousands, deposited its burden on the bank, and swam across, while the tents, etc., were conveyed in boats to the other side. As each Regiment crossed, they were drawn up, and addressed by the Commander-in-Chief, who congratulated them on their return. Many of these Regiments had been sadly reduced during the Campaign, but they loudly cheered their gallant leader. Though late out in the sun, I thoroughly enjoyed the scene. It was the last closing scene of the Army of the Satlaj, which the following morning would see broken up, and it is improbable that these Regiments would ever meet again. In the evening I walked down again to the Bridge. The river was full of European bathers, who were doing justice to the opportunity of a bathe. A large party at the Commander-in-Chief's of all the Commanding Officers closed the day and the Campaign.

Friday, 27th.—Morning march to Khol. Arrived there at sunrise, and immediately accompanied the Commander-in-Chief to the battlefield of Ferozshahr, distant about six miles. We passed by Sultán Khanwala, and pursued the same route, which the Sikh Army had followed at the time of their exulting invasion. At length the trees and villages of Ferozshahr, a name, that will not soon be forgotten, came into sight, and we rode over the field, still covered with the bodies of the slain. The month, or rather six weeks, which had elapsed since my former visit had worked a change, and the shining white skeletons had now assumed the place of the dark decaying corpses, which had met my gaze on my former visit. Still, Time and Decay had been fanciful in their ravages, and many bodies retained their consistency and some their colour. The European was clearly distinguishable from the Native. The long flowing hair marked the Sikh, and the cropped forehead the Hindu Sepoy. Many of our poor fellows had been disinterred, but the buttons of their jackets or the stripe of the pantaloons told us to what Regiment they belonged. Many graves had burst from the expanding of the bodies beneath, the effect of gunshot wounds, and heads and legs, and occasionally a grinning skull, were seen protruding from the grave, and produced a most ghastly effect. The people had returned to their fields, and villages, and but for the bones of the slain all traces of the great and memorable fight were being effaced. With what different feelings did we look now on that village to those, with which it first met the gaze of the gallant army, which was prepared to storm its entrenchments. We rode back to camp, much gratified with our morning's excursion.

Saturday, 28th.—By a long detour of some thirty miles we managed to embrace the battlefield of Sobraon in our morning march. Starting at three o'clock, on elephants, we arrived by early dawn at the outskirts of the former position of our Army. The Cultivator had now resumed his ancient Empire, and we directed our horses through abundant crops of wheat, which had sprung up during our absence at Lahór. At length we reached the village of Rodawála, then our fortified outpost, now again converted into a village. The inhabitants had returned, and roofs and outhouses were now conspicuous on both sides of the deep ditch and entrenchment which our Engineers had constructed. Passing onwards we came to the watch-tower, or rather the mound on which it had stood. How changed was the dreary spectacle from the busy scene, upon which my eye had rested when I last stood on that spot! Forty thousand men were then engaged in deadly combat; the valley of the Satlaj was resounding with the roaring of the cannonade, and the rapid and incessant discharge of musketry. Smoke then obscured the opposite bank, and to the rear glistened the swords and lances of our Cavalry. The scene before me now was one of unbroken and uninterrupted silence and solitude. The fields were green with the springing harvest up to the entrenchments of the enemy, which rose in triple and quadruple strength between the spot where I then stood and the River. The opposite bank, too, was silent now. There were no tents whitening the high ground; no busy crowds running about; no guns roaring defiance. Descending from the slight eminence, we moved down to the entrenchments, and with difficulty induced our horses to enter them amidst the foetid masses of mouldering and corrupting dead bodies remaining here, not skeletons, as at Ferozshahr. The vultures were satiating themselves, and dogs were gorging with human flesh. All garments had been carried away, and the weak mortal frames appeared in every attitude, in every stage of stinking and half-eaten corruption. Who can wish for war, and its glories, after witnessing such a scene! Still, there remained some tokens to remind us, that these miserable remnants of weak mortality had once been imbued with a spirit divine. Lying with outstretched arms, and dark flowing hair, we could pity the fate, we could glory in the defeat, but we could not despise the bearing, of our foe, who still seemed to breathe defiance, who showed by the position, in which he fell, that he had fought manfully, and deserted his life rather than his colours. The more we examined into these defences, the more we were struck with the audacious boldness of the Army, which had ventured to cross in the face of our Army. Immediately defending the bridge was a *tête du pont*: this was their first defence to protect their bridge of boats. Immediately after our foolish and unsuccessful cannonade early in January, they advanced and

threw up more extensive works, taking in a large circuit. After we had deserted the watch-tower, they erected a third line of works, stronger and more formidable than any of the previous ones; and these we stormed and took. We advanced down to the River, which I had last seen choked with the dying and the dead. Some corpses lay half in and half out of the stream. The bridge of boats still remained, in a half-sunken state. We crossed the stream in one of the ferry-boats, and were surprised to find the high ground so far from the River. The village of Sobraon was at least two kos distant, and the bank, on which were the batteries, was at a distance which left unprotected the further portion of the camp, which we had supposed to be sufficiently protected, and which was the most daring feature of our attack. We found entrenchments thrown up on the heights for eleven guns; but our guide assured us, that only seven were in position on the day of the battle. Entering our boats again we pushed over the wreck of sunken boats, which formed the bridge, and returned as fast as possible to our camp, anxious to escape the heat of the sun, which has now become excessive after nine o'clock.

Sunday, 29th.—Left the Commander-in-Chief's camp, and, accompanied by Sir Henry Havelock, marched to Indagurh. Met at Dharamkót the Shikawátu brigade, a force small in numbers, but of all arms. The road to-day was covered with a long train of captured Sikh guns, which were being forwarded on to Dehli. These guns were being dragged along in a species of triumph, three of them yoked together behind oxen, without limbers, and guarded, as if in derision of the Sikh Artillerymen, by a few ragamuffins, burkundazes, and Customhouse guards. Joined at this place Christie's Irregular Horse, on their route to Lúdiána.

Monday, 30th.—Off early this morning to Siddhun, at which place we were joined by the Commander-in-Chief, who, active old gentleman, had made another long detour to visit the battlefield of Aliwál, where Sir Harry Smith had defeated the Sikhs. We rode on about five miles, and on arriving at the slightly elevated village of Poundri we commanded a fine view of the whole field, and a fairer scene and a prettier plain for an action cannot be imagined, and could not be wished for. The horizon was bounded to the North-East, East, and South-East by a gently swelling line of hills, dotted with villages, and groves of trees: from the midst of them Sir Harry with his force had emerged. To our West was the River Satlaj, on the banks of which the Sikhs had entrenched themselves, but on this occasion, puffed up by a temporary advantage, they had left their entrenchments, and taken up a strong position beyond a sudden drop in the plain from the village of Poundri to that of Aliwál; from this they had been driven, their flanks being successfully turned, and had taken to flight

towards their Camp, and were cut down in numbers as they recrossed the river. We rode down to the River, which in this place had ceased to be our boundary, and thence returned by the village of Aliwál. The position taken up by them was very skilfully selected, and was so entirely masked, that till the guns actually opened, our troops in their advance fancied, that there was nothing betwixt them and the river. The green crops had now sprung up, and very little traces of the slaughter could be found, but a few skeletons here and there reminded us, that a battle had been fought here. At the door of my tent I found the skull of a European, known to be so by the red hair, and arms and legs were strewed here and there through the encampment, brought thither by dogs. In the evening I again rode over the field, and visited the graves of three young officers, who had been killed in the engagement. The sun was then setting, and melancholy reflections rose in my mind, as I gazed on the three small heaps that marked the last resting-place in a strange land, and a solitary spot, of three young Englishmen. I had seen during the last few months, crowded together in a small space, more scenes of pain and distress, of death and massacre, than often falls to anyone's lot; but all will fade away from my memory, ere I forget those three turfy mounds by the side of the Satlaj, as I then saw them under the evening rays of an Indian sun.

Tuesday, 31st.—Rode into Lúdiána, distant about sixteen miles, to exchange my sword for the pen, and to assume again the peaceful garb of the civilian.

March, 1846.

“ Days of my early youth, I fain would give,
 “ Ere the dark shadows o'er my eyelids close
 “ All the dull days I'm destined yet to live,
 “ For one of those! ”—R. N. C., *Jan.*, 1876.

I find from my Journal, and Life Diary, kept day by day, that I stayed at Lúdiána a few days to collect servants and furniture, and on the 4th of April crossed the River Satlaj into our newly annexed Province of the Jalunder Doab, the country betwixt the Rivers Satlaj and Beas, the Hysúdrus and Hýphasis of King Alexander of Macedon, at the latter of which rivers, he was reported to have erected a Monument, which I searched for in vain, rendered by Latin Authors

“ Ego Alexander huc perveni.”

He came from the West, and I came from the East, and I could record that I, after an interval of two thousand years, had reached

to his furthest Eastern point. I took off my hat in honour of the great Grecian King, whom I had learned to know so well at Eton College. It was still at that time an unknown land to European Geographers, and a Fairy land to me, as I rode alone to my first stage at Phagwára on Palm Sunday, 1846, and then, turning off from the great high road to Amritsar and Lahór, felt my way from village to village until I reached, and saw for the first time,

HOSHYPÚR,

my first district, and, like my first love, never to be forgotten. Here, seated under the trees, I found my great Master and Leader, John Lawrence, whom I was destined to serve for twenty-one years, having been a Member of his Legislative Council when he was Viceroy. Seated with him at that time was Henry Riddle, the Postmaster-General of the Agra Province, and Henry Lumsden, then a young officer, copying John Lawrence's letters: all have been dead many years. Here we issued, under the order of the Governor-General, to the assembled landed Proprietors the famous Trilogue:

- (1) Thou shalt not burn thy widows!
- (2) Thou shalt not kill thy daughters!
- (3) Thou shalt not bury alive thy lepers!

A law which was right and good, and yet after half a century has eventuated in the existence of Twenty-two Millions of Widows, a large number of unmarried women, a social feature unknown before, and armies of Lepers passing and repassing over the country.

A few days after my interview, when I had received my instructions from my superior officer, I was left alone in my new kingdom for days and months, and even years, the happiest period of my life.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST.

London, March 11, 1898.