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ART. I.—*Ethnographic View of Western Africa.*

WESTERN AFRICA may be divided, according to its population, into three grand divisions. *First*—Senegambia, extending from the southern borders of the Great Desert to Cape Verga, a little south of the Rio Grande, and so named from its being watered by the two great rivers, Senegal and Gambia. *Second*—Upper, or Northern Guinea, reaching from Cape Verga to the Kamerun mountain in the Gulf of Benin, about four degrees north latitude. *Third*—Southern, or Lower Guinea, sometimes called Southern Ethiopia, extending from the Kamerun mountain to Cape Negro, the southern limit of Benguela.

The term *Guinea* is not of African origin, or at least not among those to whom it is applied. There is, according to Barbot, a district of country north of the Senegal, known by the name of *Genahoa*, the inhabitants of which were the first blacks that the Portuguese encountered, in their explorations along the coast in the fifteenth century; and they applied this name indiscriminately afterwards to all the black nations which they found further south. In the two succeeding centuries it was applied in a more restricted sense to that portion of the

ART. V.—*The Results of Missionary Labour in India.* London: W. H. Dalton. 1853.

It is not the Christian and philanthropist alone that ought to take, and would find too, much interest in the history of missions: the historian, the philosopher, the speculator on the philosophy of history, would here find a field for investigation, and a clue through the labyrinthine paths which man's destiny travels, that have been overlooked a hundred times by the most pains-taking, as well as by the merely pretentious *littérateurs* in histories.

Why some missions succeed, and others fail; why one type or phase of Christianity seems more adapted to one nationality than another; why and how Christianity has been planted in one region, although successive attempts previously seemed to have demonstrated the futility of every effort, whilst another region was abandoned by the messenger of peace after a single trial; why some people show spiritual capacities which excite the highest hopes merely to disappoint them after a short period, whilst others have retained their hold on Christianity from the earliest times; and among these latter again, some with a conscious determined firmness, others with a convulsive grasp, and still others barely through the *rigor mortis*; why, for instance, some regions of Northern Germany remained heathen for centuries after the rest of Europe had bowed to the cross, and yet those same regions passed from the trammels of the medieval Church over to the Protestant camp without a struggle, as if by magic; whilst Spain, so early electrified by a spark of the Reformation, extinguished it so easily, so speedily, and so utterly, as to defy history for a similar instance—these are questions that will hardly be satisfactorily answered, if taken singly. We must find a solution for the problem, not such as will answer for the nonce, but one involving a principle, exhibiting a law; or else we shall never get rid of that incubus which weighs us down, and perplexes our senses, and prevents our understanding the history of the Church, of the world, of nations, and of men.

There is a way, to be sure, we were almost going to say, an indolent way, of answering such questions, by referring to the sovereignty of the divine agency in all spiritual operations; and it is a good answer in as far as it manifests the direction of the mind giving it, towards the great centre and fountain of all truth and light. But does it not also betray in many instances an apathy to inquiry and action, bordering on fatalism? Should we not rather keep alive a vivid remembrance of the fact that we are co-workers with God; that the Lord has deigned to appoint human means for his divine ends; that men are responsible for the use of those means, and missionaries, and missionary societies, as well as others, and that there is a philosophy of conversion to be studied, as well as a general philosophy of religion and of Christianity?

It is not for the purpose of supplying this philosophy, or of answering these questions, that we start them. We are firm believers in the legitimate uses of the inductive process, and for this, sufficient data are as yet wanting, perhaps. The primitive missionary efforts are so remote in time, and detailed accounts of them are so scant, as not to permit a venture of sinking a shaft in that direction; whilst the era of modern missions is as yet so recent, that correct inferences might not readily be drawn from facts otherwise sufficiently numerous, and sufficiently within our reach.

There is one heathen country alone, which might possibly reward a diligent search after material for this purpose; and that is India. Of no other country but India could we affirm, with an equal degree of certainty, that it has seen, in every age, attempts at propagating Christianity within its borders. That such attempts were made in India at a very early period, there can hardly be any doubt. We are too prone to reject the historical testimonies extant, on the plea that the term "India" was used in a very indefinite sense. But what was the reason of this indefinite usage? The name was applied to Ethiopia, to Arabia, and to some neighbouring islands, as well as to India proper, on account of the lively intercourse subsisting between those countries and India; there were colonies in them for commercial purposes; they possessed depots for Indian productions, and their coast-towns formed the few direct intermediate

stations for the ships that navigated those seas. But is it correct to suppose that regions maintaining such a lively intercourse for commercial or any other objects, would remain uninfluenced by the rise of such a religion as the Christian in any one of them?

Indeed, there were two modes of communication between India and the West, and both were duly appreciated; the one by caravans, and the other nearly the same as the "overland" route of the present day. By the latter route, from the port of Eziongeber on the Red Sea, Solomon sent his fleet to Ophir, (1 Kings ix. 26,) and it is to the former that the building of Tadmor by the same king, (2 Chron. viii. 4,) as a "store-city," points. It lay on the great commercial road between Palestine and Thapsacus on the Euphrates, and was doubtless designed as a depot for provisions to be given in exchange for goods brought by the merchants from India. Tyre and Sidon received all their lustre and glory from the gold brought from India, and Arabia received the appellation of *Felix*, not on its own account, but from its neighbourhood to India, and its commercial connections with it. The genius of Alexander the Great had a full appreciation of the value of such connections. He founded Alexandria with a view that it should become the centre of commerce between the eastern and western worlds, and within a short time its marts were crowded by Greeks and Persians, Hindus and Goths, the children of Shem and the children of Ham. Standing on the banks of the Indus, he sent Nearchus with his fleet down the river to reach *Egypt*; and when he heard that they had anchored in the Persian Gulf, he swore by the Libyan Ammon and by the Greek Zeus, that he was more rejoiced at this than at the conquest of Asia.

His successors, Seleucus in Persia, and Ptolemy in Egypt, were the inheritors of his grand commercial plans. Seleucus penetrated still further into India, and sent Megasthenes as far as Palibothra, in the vicinity of what is now Allahabad; his great work was the regulation of commercial intercourse in the whole region from the Indus to the Oxus and the Caspian Sea. Under Ptolemy the city of Alexandria became the commercial metropolis of the world; and he sent his caravans by Koptos to Berenice, and his ships thence to India. About the year

50, A. D., an Egyptian navigator, Hippalos,\* was bold enough to abandon the practice of coasting along the shores of Arabia and Persia, and to attempt the open sea from the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, with the regular Monsoon, and he reached a city Musitis (probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of what is now Vingorla;) his success gave the name of Hippalos to the South-west Monsoon.

Nor did the Hindus play a passive part in this intercourse; on the contrary, after the conquests of Alexander, and for many centuries after, there seems to have been an eager desire in India for foreign arts and sciences, curiosities, instruments of music, and other things. According to Ælianus and Dio Chrysostom, the Hindus had the works of Homer translated into their native language; and Philostratus says that they were well acquainted with the ancient heroes of Greece, and that they had statues made by Grecian artists. The kings of Magadha repeatedly wrote to the successors of Alexander for sophists from Greece. Hindus, attracted by the libraries of Alexandria, its museum, and the encouragement of its rulers, often visited that famous city; and one of the Ptolemies, in the third century, conversed with several, who appear to have been well-informed men. Some Hindu travellers had long conferences at Seleucia, with Bardesanes, a Syrian theologian and writer of much repute, about the close of the second century.

There was an embassy sent by Porus, a king of India, to Augustus; the ambassadors went to Spain, where he was at that time, (24 B. C.) according to Orosius. Some years after, another embassy was sent, who found the emperor at Samos. With them were also ambassadors from Pandion, a king of the Deccan; and they had in their train a Brahmin, who remained with Augustus in the capacity of an augur. Claudius also received an embassy from a king of Ceylon. There were ambassadors from India sent to Antoninus Pius, to Diocletian, and Maximian; to Theodosius, Heraclius, and Justinian.

Damascius, who was contemporary with Justinian, in his life of Isidorus, relates several curious anecdotes of Severus, a

\* This name is entirely wanting in Smith's Dictionary.



Roman, but by birth an African, who lived in the time of the Emperor Anthemius. Severus was a philosopher of great learning, and fond of the society of the learned. After the death of that emperor, in 473, he retired to Alexandria, where he received at his house several Brahmins from India, whom he treated with the greatest hospitality and respect. Their food, it is added, consisted only of dates, rice, and water.\*

That these travels and embassies of Hindus appear to have ceased after the seventh century, is easily accounted for by the rise and ascendancy of the Mahometans, and the notable revolutions which they effected all over South-eastern Asia. But the unmistakable traces of a brisk and lively intercourse of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, with India, will prevent our meeting with skepticism the few positive testimonies which we have of an early introduction of Christianity into India, however much we may be inclined, and perhaps authorized, to modify the statements of the early writers.

Eusebius of Cæsarea mentions† a report, according to which the apostle Bartholomew preached the gospel in India, and left there the gospel of Matthew in Hebrew. Socrates‡ repeats this statement. Still, we are told in the same connection, by Eusebius, that Pantæus, the master of the catechetical school in Alexandria, the favourite teacher of Clemens Alexandrinus, the “philosopher,” as he was called anciently, visited India as a missionary, about the year 189. As it appears, he found no apostolical church there, only some who had come to a knowledge of Christ, (*τισὶν ἀπτόθει τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνωκόσιν.*) Nor does he himself appear to have met with much success, for he returned to Alexandria; and the writings of his great pupil betoken some acquaintance with Brahmins and Yogis, but they afford not the smallest evidence that Christianity was introduced into India by Pantæus.

Philostorgius narrates that Theophilus, a native of Diu, (an island at the southern extremity of the Red Sea,) was sent as a hostage to Constantinople, in the time of Constantine the Great, and was there educated for the ministry. Under Con-

\* Photii Bibliotheca, p. 1040. Suidas, s. v. Severus. As. Researches, Vol. x. p 111.

† Hist. Eccl. v. 10.

‡ Hist. i. 19.

stantius he returned to his native island to preach the gospel, and from here he went to India proper, (*ἔκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν ἄλλην ἀφίκετο Ἰνδικήν*), where he found Christian churches in existence. To this notice we must add the fact that one of the signers of the decrees passed at the Council of Nice, (325,) was "John, Metropolitan of Persia and Great India." These facts would lead to the inference that Christian merchants from Persia had settled in India, formed churches, and John the Metropolitan represented them, as well as his proper diocese. This will at the same time explain how the apostle Thomas came to be regarded for a time as the founder of the churches in India, inasmuch as there is a great probability that he did preach in Persia.

The St. Thomas Christians, however, who are found on the Malabar Coast, derive their name from another person, or perhaps from two different persons. Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian monk, who flourished in the reign of Justinian, and who had followed, in early life, the employment of a merchant, came also to India, where he did find Christians, but he does not call them "Thomas Christians." The first trace of this name appears, and that not very clearly, in a letter of the Persian Metropolitan Jesujab, in the seventh century. It has been conjectured, not without good grounds, however, that a Manichee, by the name of Thomas, made converts in India, in the fourth or fifth century, and that his adherents called themselves after him, or were called after him, to distinguish them from the other Christians. It is still more certain that another Thomas—Thomas Kana—a rich Armenian merchant, became the benefactor of the Christians in Southern India, in the eighth century, and that he made a lasting impression on them.

Their number must have been very considerable in the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese became first acquainted with them, as they had more than a hundred churches. They are indiscriminately called St. Thomé Christians, Nestorians, Syrians, and sometimes the Malabar Christians of the Mountains, by the Portuguese writers of that time, and by the subsequent missionaries from Rome. The most common name given to them by the Hindus, is that of *Nazarani Mapila*, or

*Suriani Mapilá*, (Nazarenes or Syrians.) The name of St. Thomas Christians has never been very common amongst themselves. The Syrian version of the Scriptures is the only one which they regard as authentic. All traditions and Malabar records agree, that the Syrian Christians were known, and had been settled on the Malabar coast, long before either the Arabs or the Jews. There is still a common tradition amongst them, that they descend (at least those that are of Syrian origin) from four principal Syrian families, who had successively settled on the coast. It is not unlikely to assume the violent persecution of the Nestorians, under Theodosius I., (435,) to be connected with this ancient church in India, if we take into consideration the general use of the Aramaic idiom in all their religious functions, even in those churches which have since embraced the Romish rite, and that to this day they take their Christian names from the same language.

When the Portuguese first came among them, these Syrian Christians obeyed their own archbishop, as the Portuguese writers affirm, both in ecclesiastical and civil matters, paying a very moderate tribute to the different rajahs in whose territories they lived, who very little interfered in their concerns. They paid no tithes to their clergy, but at their weddings they used to offer the tenth of their marriage-gift to their churches. The girls were precluded from all inheritance, even if no sons were in the family. This singular law, which is so contrary to all Malabar customs, has unquestionably been imported from Syria. As to their religious tenets, they followed generally the doctrines of Nestorius. They called the Virgin Mary only the Mother of Christ, not of God. They also maintained that the Holy Ghost proceeded only from the Father, and not from the Father and the Son. They rejected images; they had three sacraments, including orders; they rejected the doctrines of transubstantiation, of purgatory, of celibacy, the supremacy of the pope, the Romish traditions, auricular confession, the mass, the mediatorship of saints; they dispensed the sacrament in both forms, and ascribed its efficacy to the Spirit, not to the priest; they regarded the sacrifice of Christ as the only ground of forgiveness, and the Scriptures as the only rule of faith. The following extract is from one of their prayer-books:



“Jesus Christ, my Lord, thou hast suffered for us sinners, who have been worthy of condemnation on account of our sins, and thou hast freely saved us without our merits, thanks be to thee. Oh Jesus, thou art sweet indeed, and the light of my eyes. Thy sufferings have been very bitter, and grievous indeed, which thou sufferedst with thy condescension, and this for our sake. Oh how deeply do I feel that we have so heavily sinned, that thou hadst to suffer for it,” etc.

We must not suppose that the Hindus, whether they followed Brahma or Buddha, were indifferent altogether to the progress of foreign creeds. On the contrary, conferences were often held, where the principles of these religions were inquired into, and the history of their founders investigated. This was practised in Ceylon in the ninth century, according to Renaudot’s “Two Mussulman Travellers.” These conferences were called *Charcha* (Search, Investigation), and towns appointed for this purpose were called *Charchita-nagari*. One of these places is mentioned in one of their sacred books. “In the year 3291 of the Kali-yug (or 191 A. D.) King Sudraca will reign in the town of Charchita-nagari, and destroy the workers of iniquity.” This points to a religious persecution; and although this particular passage may refer to the Buddhist heresy, yet there is no doubt that the Christians were occasionally involved in these persecutions, as they were considered as Buddhists; and either their divine legislator, or the founder of the church in India, is asserted to be a form of Buddha.\*

Before we examine the result of the contact, or rather collision of these Christians with the Portuguese, we would advert for a moment to the remarkable embassy King Alfred is stated by several of the English chroniclers to have sent to India. They simply mention that Suithelm, or Sighelm, the Bishop of Shireburn, carried the benevolence of Alfred to India to St. Thomas, and returned in safety. The words of Florence of Worcester, are: *Assero Scireburnensi episcopo defuncto succedit Suithelmus, qui regis Alfredi eleemosynam ad S. Thomam, Indiam detulit, indeque prospere retulit.* Malmsbury, who gives the fullest account of the incident, says that the king sent

\* As. Res., Vol. x. p. 91.

many presents over sea to Rome, and to St. Thomas, in India; that Sighelm, the Bishop of Shireburn, was his ambassador, who penetrated with great success to India, to the admiration of the age; and that he brought with him on his return many foreign gems and aromatic liquors, the produce of the country.\* Sharon Turner, by a careful investigation, has attempted to prove that it was long before believed that Thomas the Apostle had been in India; that in the age of Alfred he was presumed to have died there; and that at that time there were Christians living there, and that such journeys were in those days attempted. His inference seems to be correct, that the assertions of so many chroniclers are not counteracted by any improbability in this remarkable embassy. A vast number of authorities, Greek and Latin, Oriental and Occidental, have been collected by him in the Appendix to Book V., Chap. VI., of his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*.

Although, therefore, the existence of these Christians was not unknown in Europe, yet there was no connection between them and Europeans until the arrival of the Portuguese in India. Within 33 years after their first landing in Calicut, they had conquered nearly the entire Western Coast, and established settlements on the Eastern. The Syrian Christians had confided themselves to their protection, but had reaped no advantage, nor sustained any injury from them. The Franciscans who had come with them, had done nothing; they had made neither proselytes among the Christians, nor converts among the heathen; but they had built convents, and accumulated property. The Jesuits, who soon followed them, were more active; they instituted seminaries, in which Syriac was taught to the young clergy; they translated the Missal and their own Catechism into the same language, and distributed them amongst the Christians. These measures, however, did not shake them in their faith.

But now, the worthy fathers proceeded to more effectual means to accomplish their end, viz. the recognition of the Papal authority. The Viceroy and the Romish Archbishop of Goa arrested Mar Joseph, the then Bishop of the Syrians, and sent

\* *De Gestis*, p. 44.

him prisoner to Lisbon; but he ingratiated himself with the Queen Donna Catharina, and the Court, so that in the year 1564 he was permitted to return, with orders to the Viceroy Noronha, to restore, protect, and assist him, and to afford him every aid he should need in his endeavours to "reclaim" his flock from their "errors."

In the mean time the Thomas Christians had applied to the Patriarch of Babylon for a new bishop, whom they obtained in the person of Mar Abraham. Hence, on the return of Joseph, there were two bishops to the same diocese. The consequence was a schism involving the whole Malabar Christians. But Mar Joseph, being supported by the Portuguese government, had his opponent seized and delivered to the commandant of Cochin, to be sent to Europe. On his way thither he made his escape, probably during a storm, on account of which the vessel touched at Mozambique, and reached Babylon or Mosul over land. But instead of returning to Malabar, he resolved to go of his own accord to Rome, where he recanted the Nestorian heresy, was newly ordained and consecrated by Pius IV., and loaded with the highest ecclesiastical dignities; though amongst his papers were found afterwards a protestation of his steadfast adherence to his former doctrine, which he abjured only to save his life.

Mar Joseph, indeed, had acted precisely in the same way; for once again established, he continued his opposition to Rome; he was, therefore, transported a second time, first to Portugal, and afterwards to Rome, where he died, probably a violent death. Abraham, having with difficulty regained his episcopal seat, continued to profess his previous belief, in which he died, about the year 1597. The archbishop of Goa, Don Alexio de Menezes, a man of great cunning and dogged perseverance, immediately appointed a Jesuit to fill the vacant seat of Angamalee, but to no effect; he was not acknowledged.

Menezes now, well guarded and with a splendid retinue, travelled among the Malabar Christians; he went from place to place, used fair means and foul, was most lavish of his wealth, displayed an astonishing energy, simulated the greatest devotion, zeal, and humility, employing at the same time the most unworthy stratagems, the meanest frauds, the boldest de-

ception, together with the haughtiest violence, and the most heartless cruelty. He appointed, at last, a mock Synod, at Udiampur, in the year 1599, where he assembled most of the Syrian priests; and after some show of disputation, he prevailed on them to renounce their faith and to adopt the Romish creed. All their books and records, which he could obtain, he destroyed or corrupted; and, to appearance, the Nestorians of Malabar were united to the Romish Church.\*

Menezes thereupon passed through the country in a showy procession, and with an imposing ceremonial; deluding the people by juggling miracles so as to excite the suspicions of the heathen even; overawing the timid by the voice of authority, and punishing the contumacious with death. There are awful mysteries resting on the sudden death of some priests who would not thrust their neck into the Roman yoke. The proud Archbishop soon made his entrance into Goa as Viceroy, and finally into Lisbon as the Apostle of the Indies, thinking his victory secure. But the Portuguese power waned, and the Syrian Christians were merged among the heathen, and whatever of light there had been shining in that dark place for thirteen centuries, was almost extinguished, and whatever there remained, in name, of Romanism or Nestorianism, was but white-washed sepulchral Hinduism.

Don Menezes' measures had begotten a sad period; and the ecclesiastical history of India during the seventeenth century can be told in a few words. Nestorianism, more than half effete, and Romanism of the corruptest type, were engaged in a contest, in which victory on either side could be but the precursor of a speedy dissolution; the Jesuits became more and more odious to all; they quarrelled with the other orders which the Popes favoured; the unity produced by the sword of the Viceroy and the fagots of the Inquisition was of short duration, and the Bishops from the different quarters, Nestorian from Mosul, Jacobite from Antioch, and Romish from Italy, goaded their people, not to emulation in well-doing, but to hatred and strife and fanaticism.

Such was the work done by Romanism among an ancient,

\* For an account of the still existing remains of the Nestorians in India, see *As. Res.*, Vol. vii. p. 373.



though perhaps lifeless, Christian Church. A picture by no means more pleasing is presented by their labours among the heathen. We shall quote from an excellent authority, Sir J. Emerson Tennent:\*

“When Christianity was first preached by Xavier to the natives of India, it was proclaimed by him with much of the simplicity and apostolical zeal, which have since characterized the ministrations of his Protestant successors. But notwithstanding the multitude of his converts, St. Francis has recorded in his letters to St. Ignatius Loyola, his own disappointment at discovering the inward unsoundness of all he had outwardly achieved; and the open apostasy which afterwards manifested itself among his converts, suggested to those who succeeded him in his task, the necessity of adopting a more effectual machinery for arousing the attention of the Hindus, and overcoming their repugnance to the reception of Christianity. The Jesuits who resorted in prodigious numbers to Hindustan during the period which followed the death of Xavier, persuaded themselves, by the partial failure of his system, that no access was to be gained, and no footing established in the confidence of the natives, without an external conformity to their customs and habits, and a careful avoidance of any shock to their prejudices, religious and social. Under cover of such a policy, it was conceived that a silent approach might be effected, and the edifice of their ancient superstition undermined, almost before its defenders could discover that its assailants were opponents. In pursuance of this plan of assault, Christianity, in the hands of those by whom it was next offered to the heathen, assumed an aspect so extraordinary, that the detail would exceed belief, were it not attested by the evidence of those actually engaged in the execution of the scheme. The Jesuits, who now addressed themselves to the conversion of the Hindus, adopted the determination to become all things to all men for the accomplishment of their object; withholding, till some more favourable time, the inculcation of Christian simplicity, and adopting in the interim, almost without qualification, the practices of heathenism. To such an extent did they carry their policy, that, in the charges which were eventually lodged against them be-

\* *History of Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 17.

fore the Holy See by the other religious orders in India, it was alleged to be doubtful, whether the Jesuits by affecting idolatry and tolerating it amongst their proselytes, had not themselves become converts to Hinduism, rather than made the Hindus converts to the Christian religion.

“They assumed the character of Brahmins of a superior caste from the Western world; they took the Hindu names, and conformed to the heathen customs of this haughty and exclusive race, producing in support of their pretension, a deed forged in ancient characters, to show that the Brahmins of Rome were of much older date than the Brahmins of India, and descended in an equally direct line from Brahma himself. They wore the *cavy* or orange robe, peculiar to Saniassis, the fourth, and one of the most venerated sections of the Brahminical caste. They hung a tiger’s skin from their shoulders, in imitation of Shiva; they abstained from animal food, from wine, and certain prohibited vegetables; they performed the ablutions required by the Shasters; they carried on their foreheads the sacred spot of sandal-wood powder, which is the distinctive emblem of the Hindus; and in order to sustain their assumed character to the utmost, they affected to spurn the Pariahs and lower castes, who lay no claim to the same divine origin with the Brahmins.”

In unison with their whole system of advancing the kingdom of truth with lies, they composed a pretended Veda, in which they sought to insinuate the doctrines of Christianity in the language and phrases of the Shasters.\*

This subject has been often treated. It is painful, and we will not enlarge upon it. The Jesuits were not the only order thus active in India. Whole swarms of monks of all names and colours, Black, White, and Grey, were sent over from Europe. But what fruit could be expected from these rude, ignorant, immoral, debased, sensual priests, but such as their

\* This forged Veda is full of every kind of error or ignorance in regard of the Indian religions. Its subsequent history is curious and instructive. After lying a long time in the college at Pondicherry, it found its way to Europe, and a translation of it came into the hands of Voltaire, who in his ignorance became its dupe far more than the most ignorant Hindus; for he used it eagerly to show that the Christian doctrines had been anticipated by the wisdom of the East. *Habent sua fata libelli!*

mission in Bengal exhibited, where there were about 20,000 "converts," but all, the shepherds and the sheep, sunk in the lowest depths of vice, and crime, and iniquity, of avarice and sensuality? The Jesuits themselves finally gave them up, as hopeless. The same had been done with the Madura mission, by the Franciscans.

The Abbé Dubois, himself a Romish missionary, could consider all those converts merely as heathens under a Christian name. For they had changed the names of the heathen festivals, and continued to celebrate them with great splendour; they had introduced the heathen dances into the Christian worship; they kept up the distinctions of caste, with all their heathen rites and customs, pretending to regard them not as religious demarcations, but as designations of civil rank; they held processions, in which images of the Virgin Mary were carried about on cars, just like the idols of the land; they employed even the music of the heathen temples at those processions; and the consecrated wafer, and the coat of St. Xavier were worshipped by the side of the Buddha's tooth, and Vishnu's foot. There is no exaggeration in this; to the present day the Roman Catholics in India continue to celebrate their worship with fireworks and drums, and encompass their chapels with processions, conducting decorated cars, bearing idols and garlands, which differ only in name from similar observances and processions of the Hindus.

Thanks, however, to the rivalry and jealousy existing between the different orders in the Church of Rome, attempts were made to mend this awful prostitution of the Christian name; for a long time they were in vain. The Cardinal of Tournon was sent to them to remonstrate and reform: the Jesuits poisoned him. The papal chair sent letters, and briefs, and bulls; all to no purpose. Finally a more energetic pope enforced obedience, and the consequence was a rapid diminution of "converts." For the Hindus with the greatest readiness apostatized, and returned openly to heathenism, rather than that they should submit to the practices of that stark idolatry by which Indian Romanism was characterized, without at the same time adhering to their paternal usages. They had on no occasion shown even the faintest spirit of Christian endurance, or the

remotest desire of martyrdom for a religion which they had adopted for a great variety of worldly considerations. There is extant a copy of instructions of John, king of Portugal, to the Viceroy of India, John de Castro, in which the king enjoins upon him to bestow offices in the custom-house, etc., only upon Christians. These new converts were to be exempted from impressment in the navy; nine hundred quarters of rice were to be distributed among them yearly from the royal revenue; Christian fishermen were to be allowed to dispose of their pearls at their own price; heathens and Mahometans were even to be excluded from the pearl fishery; in short, such as embraced Christianity should be encouraged in every way.

When, therefore, a tumult arose in Tanjore, caused by the Christians, which eventuated in a persecution, thousands at once returned to heathenism. When Tippu Sahib forced 60,000 of these Christians to embrace Islam, not a single one had the courage to refuse circumcision. The Madura mission, counting 245,000 one year, could not show a register of 40,000 the next; and, in modern times, it is only the return to the Jesuits' method of conversion, which has retarded the utter disappearance of every trace of Romanism from India.

Ceylon, like the continent of India, had early witnessed the establishment of Manicheism and Nestorianism on its soil, but neither extensively, nor lastingly. The Portuguese, on their arrival, found them extinct. At this period, Xavier laboured here also, and baptized between six and seven hundred *paravars* or fishermen, but the Rajah of Jaffnapatam put them all to death. The Portuguese, as is well-known, took possession of a large part of the island, and divided the territory under their jurisdiction into dioceses and parishes. The priests made no great demands, the Singhalese were docile, and in a short time the population of entire provinces had received baptism, of whom, however, it needs no demonstration, probably not a single family changed their faith. Baptism was the means to gain offices, distinctions, and emoluments; the ceremony was easily put up with, and a high-sounding Portuguese name was all that adhered to the recipient of the ordinance.

In 1638 the Dutch occupied Ceylon, and one of their first steps was to proclaim the Reformed faith as the established



religion. Perhaps the only points in which they were superior, as to their moral effects, to their predecessors, were the absence of all outward force and violence to induce the natives to become Christians, and the establishment of numerous schools. Nevertheless, the propagation of Christianity, which was undertaken, proceeded from a government, a State, and not from the Church, the pillar and ground of the truth, and the results were accordingly.

The Dutch maltreated and expelled the Romish priests, prohibited the administration of baptism by them, and obliged hundreds of the Romanist families to take refuge in the interior of the island; subsequently no one was taken into the employ of the government, or permitted to farm land, who had not signed the Helvetic Confession; and pecuniary mulcts obliged the children to receive catechetical instruction, although the government were averse to their obtaining any higher intellectual culture. In five years Jaffna alone contained 180,000 of these converts. But, as in all like cases,

“They melted from the field, as snow,  
When streams are swollen and south winds blow,  
Dissolves in silent dew.”

In 1796 the English took the island, and the pay for conversion ceased. The consequence was that in the whole province of Jaffna, in 1806, there was but a single catechist to be found, and not a single church member; Christianity was “extinct.” Of 340,000 Singhalese Christians in 1801, more than half had relapsed into Buddhism by 1810, and others were fast going. And where is the wonder? Of 97 ministers who had come from Holland during 80 years, only eight learned the language of the country.

In the meantime, a new sun had arisen over the continent of India, where the first Protestant mission was founded by Barthold Ziegenbalg, a man of erudition and piety, educated at the University of Halle. He sailed for India in 1705, in his twenty-third year. In the second year of his ministry he founded a Christian church among the Hindus. This was in Tranquebar. The mission was begun by the king of Denmark, and supplied almost entirely in men, and subsequently in

money also, from the church and University of Halle, sustained by A. H. Francke and his successors. The precious revival of evangelical religion which that place experienced, with the outer circle of its undulations, touched even Southern India.

Ziegenbalg, with his companions and successors—(during last century more than fifty missionaries arrived in India, in connection with the Tranquebar Mission)—employed the same agencies in their work as others do at the present day. They preached in the native languages; they undertook extensive journeys; they gathered Christian congregations, taught numerous schools, translated the Bible, and laid the foundation of a Christian literature. Several of their native converts were ordained to the ministry, while others aided them in their schools. In addition to this, the Europeans claimed a large share of their attention, and a thorough study of the literature, religions, and history of India, became more and more indispensable to the missionaries.

The result of these labours, however, did not appear in the sudden or rapid conversion of large numbers: 678 was the number of converted heathen after the mission had existed for twenty years; ten more years passed, and the number of those gathered in, dead and living, amounted to 3300. Altogether, the number of their baptized members may be estimated to have been over fifty thousand; and, had the labours of these missionaries been properly sustained, and the places of those who died been filled up, they would have done much towards bringing the whole of Southern India under Christian instruction and influence. But the springs whence their waters came began to dry up. The drought of neology was blighting the fair fields of Germany. The missionaries that came towards the end of the century were gradually diminishing in number, and at last ceased altogether. In 1806 only six missionaries, and in 1816 only three remained, supported, too, with one exception, entirely by English funds. Under these circumstances, many of the native churches, as was natural, fell away and were scattered; the schools were closed; the missions lost their distinctive character; and at length their remnants became totally absorbed in the proceedings of other and more active agencies. Doubtless one cause of their rapid decline

arose from the mighty error, which had been committed from the first, of allowing native converts to retain their caste usages; an error which long existed in subsequent missions, and is retained by the successors of the Tranquebar missionaries at the present hour.

We must not leave out of view, however, the consideration that the eighteenth century was a period, humanly speaking, very unsuited to the progress of Christianity in India. The anarchy occasioned by constant and destructive wars, the confusion and distress which rolled over the land, wherever the Mahrattas on their swift horses hastened to plunder, the oft-recurring famines, the diseases, the strong tie of superstition, the power and influence of heathenism almost unchecked, and therefore in its largest force, all tended to raise mighty difficulties in the way of the spread of the gospel. Add to this the tremendous stumbling-block reared by the conduct of Europeans. The English in India were sunk in an absolute slough of profligacy, and the most disgraceful corruption; knavery and extortion were dominant in all their offices, and rioting and drunkenness in their houses; almost no honesty, no sobriety, no Christianity was to be found among them. Even as to outward ordinances few were the altars erected to the true God, few the ministers of the true religion. Living in a heathen land, they were contented to live as heathens. Here and there a solitary chaplain, if he chanced to be off the bed of sickness, and at his post, and not out on a hunting expedition, ministered to an unwilling congregation, in some riding-school or court-house; married and buried the few who were within his reach, and left the rest to the good offices of laymen. Persons leaving England at an early age, and residing in India, perhaps for twenty or thirty years, would never hear divine service until their return.

In those days the existence of the Sabbath was hardly recognized. All the daily concerns of life went on as usual, with the exception, perhaps, that there was somewhat more than the ordinary abandonment to pleasure. At the military stations the flag was hoisted, and they who saw it knew that it was Sunday; but the work-table and the card-table were resorted to as on week days. The presence of a chaplain even at a military station was in those days no guaranty for the perform-

ance of divine service. Often the commanding officer set his face steadfastly against it. Claudius Buchanan was for some years chaplain at Barrackpore, without once enjoying the privilege of summoning the people to public worship. The first Governor of Calcutta, Job Charnock, cared so little for religion, that it was said the only sign of any regard for Christianity he ever exhibited was that when his Hindu wife died, instead of burning, he buried her.

Shall we not admire, then, the Christian missionaries who bore the burden of that day? Shall we not say that, as a whole, they were giant men, fit to bear the weight of the duties and the cares which fell to their lot?—giants, not in intellect, though many among them were learned and most able; but giants in that moral excellence which constitutes the peculiar charm of the Christian life, in those graces which only the servants of Christ can display; in depth of faith, and love, and zeal, and Christian courage, and diligence, and patience, and forbearance, and steadfast resolution to do only good.

Many of them, even the most devoted, are all but unknown to fame; still they have their reward. But Schwartz, who, besides his spiritual-mindedness and patient zeal, peculiarly exhibited the character of which it is said, "Let your conversation be without covetousness;" the meek, and gentle, and liberal Guerike, the judicious, prudent Schubre, faithful Jänicke, brave Fabricius, and Pohle, and Kohlhoff, and Breithaupt, and many others, are men whose praise is in all the churches.

A spectator of the scene of their labour writes: "The story of their toil is full of the most interesting and instructive lessons, and he who reads it must be cold indeed, if he cannot thank God for the wondrous grace vouchsafed to that church, in furnishing it with the noble men whose deeds it records. It is a story that is so fraught with interest, that we question whether the history of any mission in any country can furnish anything superior to it. All honour be to the men who thus marched in the van of the great army, to whom the conquest of India, and its subjection to the King of kings, is entrusted. Their weapons were not the sword that hews down, the cannon that destroys; their sword was the word of God. No martial



music roused them to the conflict; no shouts speeded their footsteps, or urged them onward with a false courage, to their heavy toil. They were soldiers of the kingdom which cometh not with observation; and they were content to pursue their career, unhonoured, unobserved, and oft despised. They sought not glory in fields, whence arises the wail of widows and orphans; theirs were bloodless victories; for they came not to wound, but to heal; not to enslave but to set free; not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. All honour be to the men who thus bore the brunt of the conflict; but highest honours be given to the great Captain of their salvation, who so wondrously endowed, and led, and blessed them; and who in their example, and in their tale of labour, has left such lessons of profit for the ages that have followed them!"

A few incidents in the lives of these missionaries may illustrate their position at that time. On the capitulation of Cuddalore, in 1782, Mr. Guerike, the missionary in that town, dissuaded the French general from delivering up the place to the troops of Hyder Ali, and thus preserved it from the most cruel devastation. He concealed in his own house seven English officers whom Admiral Suffrein had promised to surrender to the usurper, and thus saved them from the most aggravated tortures and miseries. Shortly after the commencement of the war, the fort of Tanjore, numerously peopled, and scantily provisioned, was reduced to such extremity by famine, that the Sepoys dropped down dead with hunger at their posts, and the streets were every morning strewed with lifeless bodies. There was grain enough in the country; but the countrymen, having formerly been denied full payment for the supplies which they furnished, would bring none, notwithstanding the orders, entreaties, and promises of the Rajah. As the enemy was at hand, and the exigencies of the fort were every moment increasing, Mr. Schwartz was at length empowered to treat with the people; and such was their confidence in that venerable missionary, that he had no sooner circulated letters through the surrounding district, promising to pay with his own hands all persons who should come to the relief of the fort, than he obtained upwards of one thousand bullocks, and so considerable a quantity of corn, that the place was saved, and the inhabitants relieved.

Such, indeed, was the high and universal esteem in which this missionary was held, that a military officer of the time affirms that the integrity of this irreproachable man retrieved the character of the Europeans from the imputation of general depravity. And even Hyder himself, whilst refusing to negotiate in a certain treaty with other persons, was heard to say, "Send me Schwartz; send me the Christian missionary. I will treat with him, for him only can I trust."\*

These men have left their record behind them; 70,000 native Christians in Southern India there are who are either the offspring or the successors of those who heard the simple story of the cross from their mouths. Even Calcutta, the metropolis of British India, received its first missionary from the same glorious group; for Kiernander, a Swede by birth, had come to India under continental auspices. In 1758 he left the coast and began a mission in the capital of Bengal. An English society afterwards took this mission up, and the names of David Brown, Thomason, Claudius Buchanan, and Henry Martyn, are still remembered with grateful recollections in India. But this brings us to the modern era of missions in India, which may be dated from the Serampore Baptist missionaries entering upon their field in 1799. This last period is much better known than the previous history of Christianity in India; and we shall be brief, availing ourselves freely of the statements contained in the production of an English missionary in India, which we have named at the head of this article. It is the title of a pamphlet reprinted in England, from the *Calcutta Review* of 1851.

The continental Christians had retired from the work; but the churches of England and America had awoke to their duty, and were seeking to fulfil it. Within a few years stations were established in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the respective capitals of the three presidencies, and began to push outward into the accessible parts of the country. The beginnings were slow but sure. One society, then another—one missionary and then another, landed on the coast, and took up their posts on the great battlefield of idolatry. North, South, East and West, the Church of Christ was pushing forth its men and

\* Choules and Smith, History of Missions.

means into the land with vigour and earnestness of purpose. The Bible Society aided the missionaries in translating the Bible, and within a few years it was circulated among the various nations of India, in several languages for the first time. At first, from want of experience, the missionaries fell into numerous errors and mistakes; mistakes to which all new colonists are liable in all lands. They had to create facilities for acquiring the languages of India, for learning the superstitions, notions and habits of its people. They had to create their various agencies, and to begin the very simplest plans for applying gospel truth to the ignorant objects of their care. But in spite of inexperience, in spite of discouragements and difficulties arising from the language, the people, and the irreligious Europeans, they laid a broad and solid foundation for future sure success.

At the close of 1850, the stations at which the gospel was preached in India and Ceylon, were 260 in number; and engaged the services of 403 missionaries belonging to 22 missionary societies. Of these missionaries 22 were ordained natives. They had founded 309 native churches, "containing 17,356 members or communicants, of whom five thousand were admitted on the evidence of their being converted." The number of schools taught by the missionaries is quite large; but we abstain from giving any more figures; in most cases, they are too bare to convey a correct impression.

Of translations of the Bible, the Tamil Bible of Fabricius, and the Telugu Bible of Schultze, belong to the last century. To the present century belong Dr. Carey's Bengali Bible, his Marathi Bible, and his Uriya Bible; Hunter's Hindustani, and Colebrooke's Persian Gospels; Henry Martyn's Hindustani, and Persian New Testament; the other versions from Serampore, including the Sanscrit Bible; the labours of Dr. Buchanan and Professor Lee with the Syriac Scriptures; Mr. Thomson's commencement of the Hindustani Bible; Mr. Bowley's Hindi Bible; Archdeacon Robinson's Persian Pentateuch; the Malayalim Bible; the Telugu Scriptures prepared at Vizagapatam; the labours of Rhenius with the Tamil version; the Bombay translations of the Bible into Marathi and Guzerathi; the Canarese Bible completed at Bellary; the publication of the

entire Hindustani Old Testament by Mr. Schurman and Mr. Hawkins; the labours of Dr. Yates and Mr. Wenger in a new version of the Sanscrit and of the Bengali Bible; Dr. Glen's Persian Bible; the Punjabee and Urdu Scriptures, prepared by the missionaries of the Presbyterian Board in America; Dr. Sutton's Uriya Bible; and all the various labours of other missionaries in preparing new editions of some of these works; and the translations of separate portions for minor tribes or nations, as the Nepalee, Lepcha, Khasia, Scindee and Cutchee.

In some of these languages a considerable Christian literature has been produced, especially tracts. Missionaries have also established and now maintain twenty-five printing establishments. The total cost of this missionary agency during the year 1850, amounted to £187,000, of which £33,500 were contributed by Europeans in India.

The various missionary societies, from whom these efforts spring, are twenty-two in number; besides the great missionary societies of England, the Established, and Free Church of Scotland's missions, and the American Board, they include the American Presbyterian Board; the American Baptist missions; six societies from Germany, of which the Society of Basle ranks first in its amount of agency; the General Baptist Society; the Wesleyan Society; the Irish Presbyterian Church, and others. The practical and efficient Christian union existing among these different missionaries, is one of the most gratifying phenomena evolved in the Church of these latter days. While occupying stations apart from each other, and thus avoiding occasion of mutual interference with each other's plans, in numberless instances the labourers of different societies cultivate each other's acquaintance, and preach together to the heathen. Almost all use the same versions of the Bible; and the tracts and books written by one missionary become the common property of all others. At Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the missionaries of all societies are accustomed to meet monthly, for mutual conference and united prayer.

During the year 1850 four missionaries died. And here we would mention a fact, to which the pamphleteer alludes, which may go to correct a widely prevalent misapprehension in relation to the length of missionary service. It is stated by Dr.



Duff, in his work on India Missions, and generally believed, that, owing to the deadly climate of India, the average duration of missionary life is seven years. But this is a great mistake. From a careful induction of the lives or services of two hundred and fifty missionaries, it has been found, that hitherto the average duration of missionary labour in India has been sixteen years and nine months each. It was, doubtless, much less at first, and numerous cases can be adduced in which young missionaries were cut off after a very short term of labour. But a better knowledge of the climate, and the precautions to be used against it, has tended very much to reduce the influence of the climate and preserve health, so that the average duration of life and labour is improving every year. Several living missionaries have been in India more than thirty years. "We must, however, mention here, that some societies sustain their missionaries on a starvation allowance. Numerous missionaries in India receive less than a hundred and fifty rupees a month; and some, little more than one hundred. This is economy at the wrong end."

That the labours of these missionaries, as to the morals and spirituals of the people of India, are not in vain, our missionary journals and reports faithfully tell us, from month to month, and from year to year. Their literary labours, aside from the translation of the Bible, have been by no means insignificant. Coming to a foreign land, and to nations speaking a variety of polished languages, it has been their duty to adapt their instructions to the capacities of their hearers, to address them in their own way, and construct, *ab initio*, a system of agency that shall directly apply Christian truth to the native mind. This object they have kept steadily in view. To missionaries the languages of India owe very much. They found the higher range of terms appropriated by the learned, and they have given them to the common people. They found many of the languages stiff; they have made them flexible. They have brought down the high language of the Brahmin; they have elevated the *patois* of the Sudra, and thus formed a middle tongue, capable of being used with ease and elegance by the best educated classes. Missionaries have compiled more dictionaries and grammars of the tongues of India than any

other class of men. Nor is this without its significance. The first gift poured out upon the newly constituted church was the gift of tongues; and it is the business of the missionary to carry to distant nations, by means of intelligible and intelligent speech, through the word of knowledge, the knowledge of the word.

On a general review of the whole subject we see, then, that the connection of India with the history of the Church catholic has been much closer than would appear at first sight. India shared in the missionary zeal of the post-apostolic age through Pantænus; it was brought into connection with Arianism through Theophilus of Diu; it received the seeds of Manicheism; it harboured Nestorianism for a very long period; it listened to the prayers offered by Jacobite priests; it bore the yoke of the Papal supremacy; it had its limbs stretched by the ropes and pulleys of the Inquisition; it was beguiled by the wiles of the Jesuits, engaged in disputes with the Franciscans, and felt the scourges of the Dominicans; it was forced to sign the Dutch Reformed symbols; it enjoyed the enlightening and warming rays proceeding from pietistic Halle; it was saddened by the decline of religion during the reign of Rationalism, and has again been opened to the genial influences of the reviving Church, having now within its borders representatives from every part and section of the whole Church. Truly, India must be reserved for great things!

The Brahmins, like the classical nations of antiquity, assume four periods in the world's history; we have endeavoured, in another place, to sketch the outlines of a quadripartite periodology of the civil history of India; its ecclesiastical history, also, easily falls into four periods: the first being that of the Ancient Church as represented by the Syrian churches in Malabar; the second is occupied by the stereotyped corruptions of Romanism; the eighteenth century with its orthodox Lutheranism in Tranquebar, and its preparations for the next period might form the third; and the fourth period would begin at the new era, the commencement of what may emphatically be styled *The Age of Missionary Effort*.

This effort has now extended over half a century; and it has often been observed that a large proportion of the labour,

hitherto has been prospective: but its effects are already in incipient operation; and, on all ordinary principles, a power once in motion is calculated to gather velocity and momentum by its own career. When the time shall have arrived for the mighty masses of India to move with a more simultaneous impulse, it is impossible to calculate the effect; but looking to the magnitude of the operations which have been so long in process, and the vastness of the agencies which have been organized, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the last conquests of Christianity may be achieved with incomparably greater rapidity, than has marked its earlier progress and signalized its first success; and that, as Tennent has observed, in the instance of India, "the ploughman may overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth the seed," and the type of the prophet be realized, "that a nation shall be born in a day."

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*Wm. Henry Green.*

ART. VI.—*Jewish Expositions of Malachi.*

WE hope that we shall not be suspected of Judaizing tendencies if we present our readers with a specimen of Rabbinical exposition, selecting for this purpose the book of Malachi. The most ancient authorities consulted are the Septuagint version (LXX.), the Targum of Jonathan (T), and the Commentary of Jerome (J), who, as is well known, was instructed both in the language and the interpretation of the Old Testament by a Jew of Palestine. From a later period the commentaries most carefully examined are those of the distinguished Rabbins of the twelfth century, Aben Ezra (A), Solomon ben Isaac, frequently called from his Hebrew initials Rashi (R), and David Kimchi (K); also the Commentary of Solomon ben Melech (M), entitled the "Perfection of Beauty." To avoid unpleasant repetition these will be referred to by their initials as given above. In the execution of our task we shall not single out merely what is frivolous and fanciful, with the view of reducing the labours of the Rabbins to contempt, nor, on the other hand, shall we conceal their weaknesses in