



WILLIAM CAREY

SHOEMAKER, LINGUIST,
MISSIONARY

ARTHUR DAKIN. B.D., D. THEOL.

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By

A. DAKIN, B.D., D.Theol.

President of Bristol Baptist College

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*To
the Missionaries
trained at
Bristol Baptist College*

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PREFACE

THE life of William Carey is a good story. It is here told in brief space and allowed to make its own appeal, with few words to point the moral.

For the material I have relied on the standard biographies. First that of S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey*, published in 1923 (eighth edition, 1934), very detailed and based on careful research ; then, the earlier one by George Smith called *The Life of William Carey* to be obtained in the "Everyman" Series ; also *William Carey, Missionary Pioneer and Statesman* by F. Deaville Walker (S.C.M. 1925).

The present sketch is written in time of war as Carey's work, much of it, was done in time of war. Also it is published in the year of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society. It goes out with the hope that the next one hundred and fifty years may see such results in India, and for that matter in the world, as will bring out still more clearly the greatness of Carey's vision and the sound wisdom of his planning. If this retelling of his life-story can help the missionary movement, be it only in a small way, it will fulfil its purpose.

I should like to acknowledge indebtedness to Rev. W. J. Lush, Secretary of the Bristol Auxiliary of the Baptist Missionary Society, for his interest and help : and also to the Rev. E. A. Payne, B.A., B.D., B. Litt., for valuable suggestions and for his book *The First Generation*.

A. DAKIN

CHAPTER I.

THE PREPARATION

I.—INTRODUCTION

CAREY was born in 1761 and inherited the outlook of the eighteenth century. He lived long enough to see the first steamship arrive in India, and had himself a part in taking the first steam engine to that country.

The period through which he lived is recognized to-day as one of the most important in the history of the world. It marked the transition from the outlook of the eighteenth century to that of the nineteenth with all the change this brought in the civilized part of the globe. There was a ferment of thought which augured a new age; there were changes in world conditions which demanded a new mind.

In the realm of thought Classicism was everywhere giving place to Romanticism, which, later, was to flower in both literature and religion. In the political sphere Europe was disturbed by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, while in the new world the United States of America began its career as an independent nation.

With all this there came the discovery of new lands, particularly in the Pacific, and the opening up of the whole wide world pretty much as we know it to-day.

The consequences for England herself were far-reaching. During the period she became conscious of her destiny as an imperial power and began to assume the responsibility which her widening interests in every part of the globe necessitated. At first she had slipped into empire almost unconsciously, facing the obligations of it in a very grudging spirit, even resenting the growth of her territory, as for example in India

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itself. But all this was altered before Carey died. More and more the homeland was drawn into imperialistic purposes and more and more compelled to accept heavy commitments, until, at last, Englishmen, becoming conscious of their country's destiny, came to feel a great pride in the Empire "on which the sun never sets."

Such was the background of the modern missionary movement. That movement was itself but another feature of the life of the day. It sprang out of the new thought and the new world conditions. But also it was a factor creating the new conditions. Offspring of the ferment of the time, it helped to bring that ferment to its head.

Among all the changes that came during the period one of the most important was that in the attitude of the civilized nations to the native populations of the world. At the beginning of their contact with them they adopted either the attitude of cynical indifference or that of open hostility. Everywhere a very low estimate was taken of the native's capacity and worth, and practically no responsibility at all was felt for his welfare. He was either simply dispossessed and dismissed to perish, or flagrantly exploited, as for example in the slave trade. Any idea that he could be christianised or indeed that Christianity had any message to him—this had scarcely entered the European mind.

However, by the time of Carey's death a very different sentiment had been born. The principle of responsibility for the native peoples had by then become firmly established, at least in all enlightened minds. And Carey, with the movement he started, was one of the chief factors in working the change. There were other influences, of course, humanitarian and economic as well as religious. But here, as often in history, it was religion that both pointed the way and blazed the trail.

It was Carey's achievement that he set the missionary enterprise with its lively concern for the good of the native in the heart of the Protestant Church. This he did partly by the ardency with which he advocated it and perhaps even more by the shining example which he and his colleagues gave. The preacher and enthusiast in England, then later the missionary in India—he was both the pioneer of the idea and at the same time the practical illustration of it. A missionary big and

successful enough to appeal to the Church's imagination, he was able to turn the thought of the whole Church in this direction.

In religion, he was a Baptist; and at his instigation the *Baptist Missionary Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen* was founded, October 2nd, 1792. This was followed by the *London Missionary Society* in 1795, and the *Church Missionary Society* in 1799: others followed soon after not only in England but also in America and on the Continent of Europe until at length practically every section of the Protestant Church had its missionary organization.

The movement set a task for the Churches of the nineteenth century, a task closely related to the new developments in world-life, thus making their work seem particularly relevant. By means of it Christianity went to almost every part of the globe so that the nineteenth century saw the spread of the religion over a greater area of the world's surface than had taken place in all the preceding Christian centuries put together.

That William Carey should have been raised up as the pioneer of this development is in itself a noteworthy fact. He was of obscure family living in an obscure village in the heart of England, and had united himself to a branch of the Christian Church which at the time was thought little of, yet he was destined to think in terms ecumenical and world-wide and to cross the sea to India in the days of the old-sailing ships; he was to a large extent self-taught, with little school and no university education, yet destined to become the master of the languages of the East, a translator of the Bible on a truly colossal scale, tutor in a government college, and founder of a college of his own; further, he was poor, with a long fight against poverty, until, in India, he was able to earn big money, all of which he gave to the mission. The choice of such a man for such a task is as surprising on the face of it as that of Paul, the Jew, to be the apostle of the Gentiles. Its justification, however, is seen in Carey's life. Like his great predecessor he was not disobedient to the heavenly vision. It led him to what for him was a strange world, yet one for which he proved to be singularly fitted, and one which, when he got to know it, was found to be entirely congenial. Once in India he never returned, and never was man more wholeheartedly happy in his work. The sequel abundantly authenticated the call.

2.—CAREY'S BOYHOOD

His early associates had no difficulty later in recalling characteristics of the boy which became settled traits in the character of the man. Also it was easy to point out influences on the boyhood which made in the direction of the subsequent career.

He was small of stature but evidently of wiry constitution, the foundation of his good health being laid in the open-air life, including much walking, which a village lad inevitably enjoys. That he was from the start full of the zest of living was evidenced by the fact that he shared to the full the games and other activities of those of his own age, if anything with a greater degree of persistence than most. A fall even in tree-climbing was to him a challenge not to be beaten.

The village was Paulers Pury, in Northamptonshire, set amid the rolling lands and woods and grey skies of middle England. Also it was the time before the industrial revolution had begun its devastating work in English village life, when handicrafts still flourished, and when, to a large extent, the village was self-contained if not self-supporting. He was born near the soil. At the time, in the great centres of population, there were horrible cesspools of poverty, dirt, and gin. These have often been described in text-books of eighteenth century life, but it would be a great mistake to see that life solely in terms of what Cobbett later called the great "wens." The countryside was still the real England where a good proportion of the population still lived in enjoyment of the solid benefits of eighteenth-century stability and culture. Robert Hall, the famous Baptist preacher and orator, contemporary with Carey, has left us a description of the Leicestershire village of Arnsby where his father was Baptist minister, contrasting it before and after the industrial change. Speaking of the county, he writes : "The writer well remembers it when it was the abode of health and competence ; a temperate and unstrained industry diffused plenty through its towns and villages ; the harsh and dissonant sound of the loom was not unpleasant to the ear, mingled with the evidence of the activity which it indicated, and the comfort it produced ; the advance of summer invited the peasant to a grateful change of labour, while the village poured forth its

cheerful population to assist in preparing the tedded grass, and reap the golden harvest ; content resided in its valleys, joy echoed from its hills ; the distresses of poverty were almost unknown, except by the idle and the profligate, its natural victims ; and even the transition from peace was rather heard at a distance than felt as a positive calamity." In similar strain, G. M. Trevelyan, the historian, referring to the best-known song of apprentice life, as he calls it, namely, *Sally in our Alley*, by Henry Carey (died 1743, of the Carey clan, but not a relative of our Carey), says that the popular songs of the century remind us that the common life, though often narrow, ignorant and rough, was more near to beauty and to poetry than it has since become in a world driven by machines, and vulgarized by hustle and advertisement. All this is a necessary reminder to us in our different conditions that there really was a life in the eighteenth century village and an atmosphere playing on the growing boy which might well fit for future tasks as surely and effectively as the more elaborate schooling of our time. It was good for the apostle of India, the land of villages, to have been brought up in a village. His future work shows that he had absorbed to the full that detailed knowledge of human nature which probably only the close contacts and leisurely intimacies of village life can give. He was obviously endowed with a receptive nature to pick up easily, almost unconsciously, all that concerns men, women and children. From his earliest days he made good use of it.

He was, in fact, interested in all forms of life, and this above the ordinary. Early he seems to have won a local reputation for his knowledge of plants and flowers, while he filled his room with birds and insects of all kinds. As a youth he took over his father's garden, made it his pride, and in it tried out many experiments, acquiring no doubt the patience of the gardener and getting acquaintance with the fact of disappointment. His long views and long-distance schemes in after years betray the type of mind that has won complete emancipation from the policy of quick returns of profit ; as a missionary he knew how to wait for the latter rains.

Incidentally, this interest in plants and animals served him well to the end. It was a life-long hobby, rich in recreative virtue and unfailing delight. And, as we shall see later, it

enabled him to make a contribution to India other than religious. Evidently there was in him the scientific mind delighting to observe and record. In his religion also he stuck close to fact; he was never the visionary, even though he had his vision.

His home-life was happy. He was the eldest of five, with two brothers and two sisters. His father was village school-master and parish clerk—not much of a position truly in those days but conferring a rustic respectability and a steady, if modest, income. One gets the impression that they lived the conventional life of the day and found it neither tedious nor irksome. All his later relationships with his family were pleasing.

He himself enjoyed the atmosphere of the school (they lived in the school-house) and such learning as it could supply, mainly, of course, the three R's. But also there were books, and his was a mind to learn. He read; preferably books on science, history and voyages; novels and plays had no attraction and were probably frowned on by the domestic piety; even the *Pilgrim's Progress* made no direct appeal. *Robinson Crusoe* he knew, and it may have had more influence upon him than his mind actually registered, but more of this later. The Bible, the catechism and the prayer book, were absorbed to some extent through his regular attendance at church, where for a time he served as choir-boy. Also he received religious instruction and the influence of example in the home.

Concerning voyages, a further word is required.

He was nicknamed Columbus because the word was so often on his lips. What did he know of the great explorer? Well, whatever he knew was made real by the fact that his uncle Peter, now installed as expert gardener on a neighbouring estate, had been in Canada. How much this Uncle Peter counted in giving direction to the youngster's mind it is impossible to say, but the combination is interesting—gardening and travel. In the early days, anyway, the uncle was the point at which the great wide world came to Paulers Pury, and in time the world, the great wide world, would be found in Carey's brain.

At what point in his growth he first came to know the name of Captain Cook, this also is unknown. The voyages of Cook were made while the boy was still at school, but he could hardly

have failed to hear of Cook's death in 1779 (he was then eighteen). As we shall see, the narrative of the voyages played an important part in the forming of his missionary purpose.

All in all, then, we see a healthy, normal boy, neither conspicuously wicked, nor particularly religious, no erratic genius, but a live and enquiring mind, with a tenacity above the ordinary. His own word, written years later to his nephew is true: "I can plod. That is my only genius. I can persevere in any definite pursuit. To this I owe everything."

3.—TOWARDS MANHOOD

The first work to which he was put, at the age of twelve, work very much to his liking, was gardening, but curiously enough he was not able to stand exposure to the English weather. It brought irritation to his face and hands and at last compelled him to seek another job. His biographer, S. Pearce Carey, quaintly comments, "He who was to endure forty years of Bengal heat was turned out of his first chosen path by distress of English sunshine."

Gardening being excluded, his father then apprenticed him to a shoemaker at Piddington, one, Clarke Nichols, a man of hot temper and sharp tongue, who seems to have been in the habit of relieving the monotony of the week with a regular drinking bout on Saturday. Carey wrote of him, "A strict churchman, and, what I thought, a very moral man. It is true he sometimes drank too freely, and generally employed me in carrying out goods on the Lord's Day morning; but he was an inveterate enemy to lying, a vice to which I was awfully addicted." The youth of sixteen, however, soon began to feel the discrepancy between the older man's practice and profession, and this may well have been the first stirring leading to his conversion.

Anyway it was in Nichols' workshop that his religious awakening began; the instrument of it being his fellow apprentice, John Warr, three years older than himself.

Warr came of good Christian stock, his grandfather having been one of the founders of the Independent (Congregational) Church at Potters Pury, the neighbouring village. Though not as yet himself an avowed Christian, his very presence in the workshop brought up the question of Dissent and its relationship to the Anglican Church. As became the son of the parish

himself also unexpectedly passed away, the former apprentice became master of the business.

The obligations that he accepted with it, however, were very heavy, and for a time he was in straitened circumstances. He opened an evening school in the village to eke out his slender income. Meantime he was a firm member of the Hackleton Dissenting Church.

4.—CAREY'S RELIGION

It may be well at this point to pause for a moment and ask what it was that Carey was converted to, for it is important to know the sort of religion he took to the East.

We have seen that he joined the Baptists. These originally sprang from the groups of Puritans who, in the reign of Elizabeth, separated themselves from the Established Church and met together for the reading of the Scriptures and the exercise of free prayer. They were at first one with Congregationalists, or Independents, as they were called at the time. Baptists later hived off on the question of baptism, believing that the logic of the Independent position along with the teaching of Scripture, led to the idea that only those who could consciously make a personal profession of faith, ought to be baptized and admitted to the membership of the Church. This meant the repudiation of infant baptism.

However, far more important than this repudiation of a particular ceremony, were the essential ideas concerning the nature of Christianity and the way of salvation which underlay the Baptists' position. Their protest concerning infant baptism aimed at establishing and preserving certain spiritual values, and it is these values which determine the type of Christianity they stood for. These values were shared by many who, nevertheless, did not feel it necessary to go the whole way with the Baptists. But the point of importance here is that it was this particular outlook which coloured the religion of Carey and which to a dominating extent determined his policy as a missionary.

With his fellow Baptists, he held by all the main tenets of the Christian creed. Thus they confessed the one God who is Father, Son and Spirit : that He is both Creator and Saviour : that He sent His Son Jesus Christ, who by His life, death and resurrection, especially by His atoning death, wrought salvation

for sinful man with the promise of eternal life : that the Holy Spirit leads men to God, and, by His indwelling, renews the inner man to the ability of living a good and righteous life. Further, that all this is made clear in the Scriptures which are the Word of God, the unique if not the sole revelation of His life and will. Also they maintained that God in Christ founded the Church, a fellowship of saved people and the instrument of evangelization by the preaching of the Word ; and in this Church, two sacraments, Baptism as the seal of entrance into the fellowship, and the Lord's Supper as the sacrament of the continuance in it.

Then, holding these beliefs, which are common to all Christians, the Baptists were of that outlook which is called evangelical. That is to say, they put the stress on personal faith and obedience as the way of salvation rather than on attendance at church services, or reliance on the sacraments, or even on man's natural ability to live a good life. In the individual's religious development, they emphasized the sense of sin, witnessing to the need of God and His salvation : the sense of deliverance and the joy of it once the heart yields to God and knows His forgiveness : then a life of consecration in obedience to the divine will, springing out of gratitude for God's mercy and aiming at the further extension of His rule in the world by the commending of the Gospel to others.

We have already seen that Carey himself passed through these three stages—a period of disquiet, troubled by the knowledge of sin ; a definite moment of decision, in his case leading him to cast in his lot with the Dissenters ; then finally peace in the service of the Kingdom. The same stages are clearly marked in the development of Christians like John Bunyan and John Wesley. Bunyan also had his period of what we may call respectable conformity, and his conversion, according to his own account, took place when he was emancipated from this to something more intimate and vital. Wesley was already an ordained priest of the Church of England and actually on his way to take up the duties of his ministerial office in Georgia when he was shaken by the discovery in certain Moravians aboard the ship of a sense of peace over and above anything he himself possessed. The finding of this deeper peace after his return from Georgia was his conversion, and so vivid was its

coming that he was able to mark the moment of it even to the quarter of the hour. The same experience with the same clearly marked stages has been repeated in many lesser men.

We have here, then, a type of Christianity which is conceived not only in contrast to blatant scepticism and evil living and general neglect of God ; but also, and this is the important point, a type of Christianity which will not be content with any merely formal acknowledgment of God, which indeed almost demands from the sinner a clean break away even from the conventional forms and expression of the religion itself in order that he may find a personal intimacy with his Saviour. The emphasis is firmly on the personal—personal faith, individual decision, a sense of individual responsibility.

Now these particularly were the values which from the beginning the Baptists had sought to make prominent and which they believed were safe-guarded in their doctrine and practice of believers' baptism. No salvation by proxy. Rather each himself must come face to face with God, and each for himself must in the abandon of faith, utter his vigorous response to God's grace, his soul's "yea" to the divine mercy.

It so happened that at the time when Carey was converted, this original Baptist emphasis was being reiterated in the Evangelical Revival which was then in full flood and spreading over the whole of England. Carey may have seen and heard Wesley, for the great evangelist had frequently preached in the neighbourhood, but whether he had heard him or no, he could hardly have escaped the spirit of the time. The Methodist movement heavily underlined the evangelical emphasis. But it did more. It set conversion forth and commended it as a right and reasonable experience. It showed with abounding clearness that conversion was possible, that it really happened (thus prodding and shaking the lethargy of the old Calvinism). Further it proved the efficacy of conversion and demonstrated its possibilities. It showed that it could happen in the open air and, what is more, that it could happen in most unpromising people, even the ignorant and besotted.

From all this it is not a very far step to the preaching of the Gospel in the villages and bazars of India with the fullest expectation of similar results to those which were following the preaching in England. The Carey of the closing years of the

English eighteenth century had every reason to go out even to India with a towering confidence in the power of God to redeem through the preaching of the Word, in fact to redeem anybody, and in any place. There was no longer the possibility of any limitations of either race or theology hemming in the activity of God : the way was cleared for the full belief in the free flow of His free grace.

Everywhere and always, in accordance with this outlook, Carey expected the sense of sin, the moment of decision with the joy of it, and the subsequent consecration of the life in obedience.

The sense of sin he believed could best be produced by confronting men with God, His character and purpose. This he held was revealed in the Scriptures. Hence a primary need was that the Scriptures should be made available, a judgment which involved the work of translation.

Then the life of obedience, following conversion, required the discipline of the Church with its regular worship and fellowship and instruction. Hence, as we shall see, he founded churches. Indeed, it is true to say that his unit of evangelization was the local Christian community, quite as much as the converted individual. His churches were ordered after the Baptist model, each learning to be self-governing under the Lordship of Christ, but all united in a common spirit and endeavour. There was thus both independence and unity.

Within the churches individual responsibility was specially stressed. Both men and women were encouraged to trust themselves, to use their powers and exercise their gifts, to organize, and to venture on the task of living together in newness of life. Carey believed that the Gospel above all else gives people both the impetus and the power to do this : it sets a man on his feet.

Could there be a better way of dealing with backward tribes or a policy more calculated to teach them the responsibilities of democracy and to lead them forward to their rightful place in the commonwealth of nations ? It is here that the Gospel is clearly seen to be a really effective civilizing agent. When conceived as Carey conceived it, it carries in it a life-long scheme of education and self-discipline, such as alone can be the basis of a true communal life. In this way it has meant more to India than the saving of a few million souls : it has had much to do with the creating of the soul of India itself.

5.—THE CALL TO PREACH

Once converted it was inevitable that a man like Carey should move on to preaching. He had the gift, the call followed.

How he came to be a recognized minister in the Baptist denomination casts an interesting light on the conditions of the time, and especially illustrates how the door of opportunity was open to a man of parts on the principle of the priesthood of all believers. To enter the ministry one had to give evidence of having received the divine call and then demonstrate the reality of the fact to the churches. The churches, however, were fully alive to their responsibility in the matter as is illustrated in Carey's case. Not every claimant was accepted, nor was a man's estimate of himself taken at its face value ; his Christian brethren also had to be convinced.

Carey's recognition came about through his removal to the neighbouring village of Moulton, where he went in 1785 for the purpose of establishing a school, the one previously existing there having been closed. But before this, he had already become what is called a local preacher, that is, one who is allowed to preach as occasion requires in any near-by church that cares to call upon his services. It was in such itinerant work that men moving towards the ministry served a sort of apprenticeship, trying out their gifts, and at the same time giving the churches an opportunity of forming a judgment. Usually the young Christian was set to this work by some discerning older person, and it was the same Thomas Chater, who had helped towards Carey's conversion, who now started him on the preaching way. A beginning was made at Hackleton, where the young convert frequently took part in the Sunday worship. Then later an arrangement was made by which he preached once a fortnight at Earl's Barton. This continued for three and a half years, thus affording some insight into pastoral work in addition to the preaching. He soon became known amongst the group of churches and not infrequently officiated at his own village of Paulers Pury. His sister tells how their father, the parish clerk, who naturally had not been too well pleased at his son becoming a Nonconformist in days when feeling about these matters was very strong, not to say bitter, was, nevertheless, curious to hear him preach "if he could do it

unseen by him or anyone." When the opportunity came the father took it, and afterwards said little about it, but the family judged that he "approved of what he heard and was highly gratified by it." Later we find Carey soliciting his father's advice even about the ministry and finding a sympathetic and shrewd counsellor. Even the elder Carey was not uninfluenced by his son's development.

Also in these early days of preaching, Carey succeeded in leading his two sisters in the way of the faith. Ann, who later, when widowed, was evicted from the farm she rented because of her nonconformity; and Mary, a paralytic from the age of twenty-five, who yet lived to be seventy-four, and left behind her in the whole neighbourhood a name for patience and cheerfulness and Christian faith. Her regular letters to her brother after he got to India giving all the details of home-news must be reckoned as part of the great missionary adventure.

When Carey arrived at Moulton to open his school he found there a Baptist Church, but of very feeble spirit and little strength; in fact its door often remained shut, even on the Lord's Day. He quickly revived it and indeed re-formed it with a solemn reiteration of the covenant. Then the members asked him to be their minister. So the call came from this humble source.

With a view to getting it ratified, he applied for membership in the comparatively large and influential church at Olney, agreeing to submit his fitness for the ministry to its judgment. He was accepted as a member and appointed to preach on the following Sunday (July 17th, 1785). The verdict is interesting, especially in the light of later events. He was not accepted, but neither was he turned down. "Resolved," so the church minute reads, "that he should be allowed to go on preaching at those places where he has been for some time employed, and that he should engage again on suitable occasions for some time before us, in order that further trial may be made of his ministerial gifts." Next year, after further preaching, a unanimous vote of the church expressed satisfaction with his abilities, and he was sent out "to preach the Gospel wherever God in His providence might call him."

His ordination took place at Moulton in August, 1786. Twenty ministers assembled for the event which was conducted

by Ryland, Sutcliff and Fuller—all destined later to be life-long helpers in his great work. It gives a peep into Baptist life at the time to read that his suit of black for the occasion was paid for by money collected in the village by one of the church members.

His ministry at Moulton was very successful, even to the extent of necessitating an enlargement of the chapel. But his means of subsistence were very slender. The church could pay very little; he kept on his school, though it did not greatly prosper: also he continued with his shoe-making, working now regularly for a boot-manufacturer named Gotch of Kettering. He knew poverty, but he had blessing.

After two years he moved to Leicester to become minister of the Harvey Lane Church. Here, unfortunately, he found division, and a spirit of quarrelsomeness, and he passed through a time of great difficulty until he had reconstituted the church and set it again on a sure foundation. From that time his work prospered; there were conversions and a steadily growing congregation, until here, as at Moulton, the building had to be enlarged. It says something for Carey's work at Harvey Lane that thirteen years after the close of his ministry there, the church could approach the famous Robert Hall to be its minister, and with success. A friend writing to him in India was able to tell him that Harvey Lane was the most prosperous church in the Association, but by then it had felt the effect of his own missionary example.

He remained at Leicester till he set out for India in 1793.

6.—EDUCATION

During his two pastorates at Moulton and Leicester, Carey was vigorously educating himself. There was in the denomination at the time a value set on education; a minister was expected to take pains to equip himself for his task, and Carey had before him the example of the leading ministers of the neighbourhood, all of them men of both education and ability. But he had more—his insatiable thirst for knowledge of every kind and his strong sense of his own deficiencies. He was a country youth, beginning to move in town circles, a fact which meant much more a century and a half ago than it does to-day.

In his early years he had shown, if not a precosity of ability, at least a precosity of desire. We have already noted his

scientific bent and his early attempts to satisfy it. His leaning towards languages was even more remarkable once it was awakened. At the age of twelve he began the study of Latin, by committing to memory a Latin Vocabulary. Later, when he first began preaching at Earl's Barton, Sutcliff, the Baptist minister at Olney, gave him a Latin Grammar. While still an apprentice he began his acquaintance with Greek. In the library of Nichols, his employer, he found a New Testament commentary containing Greek words: these he carefully transcribed, and with the help of a youth in the village, one, we read, whom dissipation had reduced from college to weaving, he began his study of the New Testament original. Hebrew he acquired later, with the help of neighbouring ministers. As a minister he made it a practice to read his portion of Scripture regularly in the original tongue; specimens of his Hebrew writing are still preserved.

He also acquired a reading knowledge of Dutch and of French, with a smattering of Italian. It is obvious that he had a gift for languages, with a natural interest in them, and a phenomenal memory.

He used every opportunity as we should imagine. We have a glimpse of him sitting at his cobbler's bench with the open book propped up in front of him, knocking in the language with the hammering of the leather. (At a later day, Livingstone, in a similar manner, had his Latin Grammar fixed on his weaving loom). Also Carey had plenty of time in his long weekly walks from Moulton to Kettering, taking in his work to his employer, Thomas Gotch, to chew over what he had read. A great impetus came from this same Thomas Gotch. He discerned Carey's ability and his value in the ministry, and agreed to pay him regularly the amount he was earning by boot-making. "I don't mean you to spoil any more of my leather," he said one day with wit in his eye, "Get on as fast as you can with your Latin, Hebrew and Greek, and I'll allow you from my private purse ten shillings weekly." Incidentally, there is no truth in the suggestion that Carey was turning out bad work as the result of his devotion to study. Gotch's joke need not be taken too seriously. There is plenty of evidence that Carey was a good workman. He was not the man to leave his conscience out of any part of his life. Nor was he a mere cobbler in spite

of many assertions to that effect. He was a journeyman who had served his apprenticeship.

Throughout his whole English ministry he was a diligent student of the Bible, reading the book itself with commentaries and the relevant history. His preaching was mainly expository, after the fashion of the time, aiming at the awakening of the conscience and the building up of church members in sound doctrine and a righteous life. It was not spectacular preaching, but workmanlike and solid, and we have the testimony of the increasing congregations in both his churches to its effectiveness. Its success was in part due to the careful study and long meditation that lay behind it, and to the fact that for his day Carey had made himself a well-informed man.

In Leicester, especially, there was added to the poring over books, the benefit of contact with educated people. Particularly valuable was his association with a group interested in science, which met in a library and lounge opened by Richard Phillips, the man who had founded the Adelphi Philosophical Institute. He had, in connection with the Institute, arranged lectures by leading scientists and explorers, among them Howard, of prison-reform fame, and Priestley, the scientist. The Institute possessed electrical and other scientific apparatus.

Also the group brought Carey into touch with men of other denominations. Phillips himself was a Quaker. Brewin, who seems to have been particularly friendly with Carey, often inviting him to his home and to his garden with its rare plants, was a Unitarian. William Ludlam, another of the group, was a clergyman of the Church of England; and Gardiner, the musical composer and author, with an interest in astronomy, was a Deist.

These men frequently discussed public questions and, sometimes, in such an outspoken manner as to provoke the opposition of the authorities. Phillips was responsible for the town's first newspapers in which he expressed his strong views in favour of the French Revolution, views with which Carey himself at the time sympathized. Phillips actually suffered imprisonment for selling Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*, though he lived to be knighted and to become Sheriff of the City of London.

All this went into the making of the future missionary. He

was at home in the atmosphere of free enquiry, both scientific and political ; and he learnt early that there are fundamental unities of thought between men of different theological schools. There was nothing sectarian, obscurantist or bigoted in his make-up. Though self-educated, he became a cultivated man, as we shall see when we come to note his contacts and policies in the far East.

On the religious side his education continued apace through his fellowship with his ministerial colleagues, and through his strenuous efforts over a period of years to get the missionary idea which had now come to him accepted and acted upon by his fellow Christians. He learnt a good deal through his propaganda, a good deal of both theology and humanity.

CHAPTER II.

THE FOUNDING OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY

I.—THE BIRTH OF THE IDEA

WE have already seen that Carey had a sort of contact with the wide world through his uncle Peter, and we have plenty of evidence of how he sustained and deepened this interest during the period of his ministry. Geography was evidently a favourite subject with him in his school-teaching. We learn of his making a leather globe with the countries coloured and of his large map on the wall opposite his cobbler's bench. He studied it until he knew even the small islands of the seas.

But always his main interest was the people—their number and their estate. The multitude of them particularly seems to have impressed him. During the years he amassed an amazing array of facts which later he was to use with success in his effort to win his brethren to the missionary idea. His concern for the natives became very deep, deepened still further by his habit of mentioning them regularly in prayer, until at last he felt their condition to be a challenge to the Christian Church. What was God's purpose with these vast multitudes ? How did the matter

appear in the light of the Christian Gospel? Was it not the duty of the Christian Church to evangelize, to overcome the darkness of these great tracts of the earth's surface with the light of the knowledge of the true God? The thing that burnt itself into Carey's mind was that these great multitudes were pagans; the thing he visualized was that they ought to be Christians; and the conviction that came to him was that according to the New Testament they were destined to be so. Had not Jesus said to the apostles, *Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature?* That obligation, Carey maintained, still rested on the Christian Church. It was in fulfilment of it that he determined to found a missionary society.

For the right understanding of the matter, it cannot be too clearly stated that Carey's idea sprang from his religion, we might almost say his theology. It was, of course, not uninfluenced by the humanitarian sentiment which was at the time producing the French Revolution and the abolition of the slave trade, and preparing the manifold social reforms of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It certainly had in it some idea that man everywhere is man. But the springs of the movement were other than romanticism or humanitarianism. The inspiration came from Christ, not Rousseau; its roots were in the religious life rather than the political; its textbook neither *The Rights of Man* nor *The Social Contract*, but very definitely the New Testament. At the back of it was the compelling power of the revelation of God in Jesus Christ.

So the aim was conversion. It is not denied that Christianity will have a civilizing influence on backward races, lifting them to a higher standard of material life and giving them the benefits of education, but all that is quite subsidiary. The great desire is to bring the heathen to the saving knowledge of God. Carey's mind always is not that the heathen are poor or naked or ignorant of human arts, but simply that they are heathen. His scheme is to do away with heathenism by the propagation of the gospel, to bring the light and life and joy of true religion to men who are destitute of it. Superstition is the evil; God's truth, revealed in Jesus Christ, the sovereign remedy.

This does not mean that he interpreted the missionary's job on narrow lines. Far from it. But it does mean that the

religious interest dominated from start to finish, and was never allowed to slip into the background. It is easy to see now that it was just this compelling religious interest which determined the lines of the missionary activity, saving it from futile sentimentalism in the treatment of the natives, and particularly dictating a long-term policy. What may well be called Carey's statesmanship as a missionary owes not a little to this outstanding fact. It is true that we have here a movement of humaneness within the framework of humanity, but a correct judgment is bound to emphasize especially that it was a religious movement in the line of Christian history.

In his *Enquiry* Carey himself relates it to the whole missionary activity of the Christian Church from the early days beginning with St. Paul, down to his contemporaries Eliot and Brainerd and the Moravians. These latter had already touched the very people whom he contemplated. Both Eliot and Brainerd had experienced good success amongst the Red Indians in North America and the Moravians were setting a fine example to Christendom by their labours and endurance of hardship in the West Indies, Greenland, South Africa and other places. All this Carey knew. He made it his business to know it. Indeed Eliot and Brainerd were his heroes, the journal of the latter being his constant companion to the end. He desired that the whole Church of Christendom should be filled with their spirit and thus discharge the obligation laid upon the first apostles.

But while we emphasize this essentially religious aspect of the movement, we must not overlook the fact that it was born at a time that was ripe for it. It owed much to the age. The interest in the native populations of the world had been greatly stimulated in English thought. The agitation for the abolition of the slave trade was in full swing during Carey's pastorates (he himself along with his co-religionists renounced the use of sugar by way of protest). This agitation naturally brought the whole problem of the treatment of the native into the focus of attention and particularly registered a protest against the attitude of mere exploitation. Cowper the poet (living near Carey at Olney) was expressing the more humane point of view in both his poems and his letters. Also the published accounts of Captain Cook's voyages greatly affected the popular mind as well as the mind of Carey. Cook's own attitude to the natives,

as it reveals itself in his narratives, was a strong stimulus to kindly consideration. He himself took everywhere a spirit of fairness and justice, and often in his narratives expresses strong sympathy for the natives' point of view. They are never less than men in his pages. Indeed it is scarcely too much to say that Cook's story cast a glamour over the natives which not even the navigator's tragic death could completely erase. One gets the impression that the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands at least are friendly, inquisitive, harmless, laughing children, given to thieving truly, and easily excited, and some of them cannibals, but on the whole very interesting, not to say entertaining, people. Carey himself thought of going to Tahiti, and the London Missionary Society sent its first missionary there—a clear testimony to the influence of Cook's writings.

Cook's narratives, however, did but reinforce impressions that had previously been made upon the English mind, and it is worth recalling here that, some fifty years before, one other, an arm-chair navigator and explorer, had greatly stirred his countrymen with interest in distant parts of the earth and particularly with a conception of the native. *Robinson Crusoe*, according to its author, was a religious book after the type of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. As such it was widely read even in religious circles, and for many in Carey's day, as indeed for Carey himself, the first contact with the heathen world must have been in these thrilling pages, and the first idea of a native that of man Friday. And what a man! What a character! Yet this lovable, faithful, trusting soul (and the very essence of Christianity according to the teaching of the day, be it remembered, is to trust) is portrayed on the background of a horrible cannibalism. Thus there is in the book both the individual and the community, the individual charming when brought under right influences, the community literally crying out by its sins for redemption.

Nor was this portrayal unintentional on the part of the author. In the book Friday himself becomes a Christian, and himself burns with a desire to save his fellow savages. Then in Part II. a good deal of space is devoted to this very problem of christianizing the inhabitants of the island, with amusing accounts of the attempts on the part of the rough, ignorant seamen-settlers to convert their native wives; while in Part III.

called *The Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*, Defoe actually reviews the religious state of the world and unfolds a plan whereby the Christian princes are to unite to conquer the heathen world and so make "an open door" for the spread of the gospel. Defoe was obviously interested in the matter although he regarded it as but a dream "too apocalyptic and visionary" for his time. His dream, however, and the expression of it in his charming pages was not without its influence in ultimately shaping the project. The mark of his greatness is seen in the fact that not even yet have we emancipated ourselves entirely from the conception of the native which he incorporated in man Friday.

On one point Defoe was quite emphatic—the native is capable of taking it—easy to be civilized, he says, and as capable of the reception of sublime things as we are. This Carey never questioned. But here again, Carey was indebted not to anthropology, but to his religion. The natives everywhere were children of God, created in the image of God and destined for life in God's fellowship; in a word, the objects of His saving grace in Jesus Christ. It was God's will that they should be saved, and to further this divine purpose in the heathen world—this was Carey's aim.

2.—THE LAUNCHING OF THE IDEA

Carey had a strong Church consciousness and from the beginning his idea was of a society within the Church and expressive of the Church's life to carry out his project. He had no thought of a one man mission. He believed the obligation rested on the Church as such and he would have a society whose life would be continuous with that of the Christian body. He sought that all denominations, each in its own way, should engage in the task. "There is room enough for us all," he wrote, "without interfering with each other; and if no unfriendly interference took place, each denomination would bear goodwill to the other, and wish and pray for its success."

His first aim, therefore, was to get such a society formed in his own denomination.

For this he had to win the support of his fellow Christians and particularly of his brother ministers. How he did this is a story of the persistence of the enthusiast and an illustration of

that spirit of plodding which he himself singled out as his chief qualification of success.

At the time the rallying point of Baptist life in a district was the meeting of the Association as it was called. This was held at regular intervals and was composed of the ministers of the area, together with many of the leading laymen, church secretaries and deacons, and such of the rank and file as could make it convenient to attend. It was usually a great day for the Baptists of the district with the chance of hearing eminent preachers and of making contacts with fellow believers. Also for the ministers themselves it was a much appreciated opportunity of fellowship; they often gathered together in the evening, and groups staying the night in the same house found occasion for serious spiritual talk as well as for much good-natured banter. It was in one such group that Carey planted his precious seed.

A remarkable group it was. It included Andrew Fuller, of Kettering, who by his preaching and writing, particularly by his book, *The Gospel worthy of all Acceptation*, was doing much to change the theological atmosphere of the denomination, bringing in a wider outlook than the old Calvinism allowed; John Sutcliff of Olney who had previously called the churches to a protracted period of prayer for the extension of the Kingdom of God; Ryland senior, who by virtue of his long pastorate at Northampton now exerted a wide sway in the neighbourhood; and John Ryland, his son, who in 1793 became president of the one Baptist college in the country for the training of ministers and missionaries, the college at Bristol. In close touch with the group were also Samuel Pearce, the leading Baptist minister of Birmingham, and Robert Hall, through his association with the district. It would seem as though just at this time not a little of the Baptist talent of the country had been gathered around this one centre—providentially, they themselves thought as they came to look back on the event.

Carey tackled these men one by one as opportunity occurred. At the meeting at Clipstone he secured more general discussion of the project as they sat round the fire. Then at the time of his own ordination at Leicester, he was able to read to Fuller, Sutcliff, Ryland and Pearce a part of the *Enquiry* which he had written and was preparing for the press.

This little book, *An Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to use means for the Conversion of the Heathen*, he had been encouraged to write by Thomas Potts, a layman of Birmingham, who had himself had experience of the American Indians in the region of New Orleans. Potts gave Carey ten pounds towards publication. The work played a great part in the conversion of his brethren to the idea and is still read as a cogent presentation of the missionary case. The main body of it is a careful survey of the religious state of the world—Defoe's idea but here done in closest detail. In tabulated form each continent is surveyed, with the size of the separate countries and the estimated number of inhabitants, then in the fifth column the religion of the inhabitants. The writer's summary is, "It must undoubtedly strike every considerate mind, what a vast proportion of the sons of Adam there are who yet remain in the most deplorable state of heathen darkness, without any means of knowing the true God, except what are afforded them by the works of nature ; and utterly destitute of the knowledge of the gospel of Christ, or of any means of obtaining it." Then the author insists that the project he has in mind is practicable ; he deals with possible objections, which he has no difficulty in brushing aside, then indicates more clearly his plan and urges strenuously the obligation on all Christians to undertake it.

The result of the publication of the *Enquiry*, together with his persistent agitation, gained for Carey the invitation to preach one of the Association sermons at the next meetings at Nottingham, May 30th, 1792. The subsequent events made the sermon famous. It was very simple, particularly in contrast to the usual heavy theological fare of the time. He took for text the appropriate passage, Isaiah liv. verses 2 and 3 : *Enlarge the place of thy tent ; stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations. Lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes. For thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left. And thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles and make the desolate cities to be inhabited. Fear not.*

In his address he stressed the deadness of the Church as he knew it, maintained that this deadness was not unconnected with the Church's failure in the task of evangelization, and then brought his audience face to face with Christ's great commission to the apostles and pleaded for immediate action. The

sermon made a profound impression. It gave the movement and the denomination the famous slogan : *Expect great things from God, attempt great things for God.*

However, as so often happens, the advantage won had to be pushed home. When it seemed as though nothing again was to be done, Carey laid hold of Fuller and, with urgent pleading, won his first home convert. Through Fuller's prestige, a resolution was passed that a plan be prepared against the next Ministers' Meeting at Kettering for forming a Baptist Society for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. Carey at once became the first contributor, offering all the proceeds from the sale of his *Enquiry*, thus demonstrating his firm faith that the society would be born.

The meeting at Kettering was held on October 2nd, 1792. In the morning Ryland preached, and Pearce in the afternoon. Then towards evening the ministers met for business. They met in what, according to the phraseology of the time, was called the back-parlour of the house of Beeby Wallis. He himself a deacon of Fuller's church had recently died, but his widow still carried on his good work. It was here that the resolution was passed and the Society founded.

The resolution ran as follows :—"Humbly desirous of making an effort for the propagation of the Gospel amongst the heathen, according to the recommendations of Carey's *Enquiry*, we unanimously resolve to act in Society together for this purpose ; and, as in the divided state of Christendom each denomination, by exerting itself separately, seems likeliest to accomplish the great end, we name this *the Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen.*"

Subscriptions were at once solicited on the guinea and half-guinea basis, and the sum of £13 2s. 6d. was promised, made up of two subscriptions of two guineas each, six of a guinea and five of half-guineas.

Of the fourteen founders, there were, in addition to the five leaders—Carey, Fuller, Sutcliff, Ryland and Pearce—seven pastors of small village churches, one student for the ministry, and one layman. No London church was represented, nor was anyone else present beside Pearce from any other Baptist Association. The Society so formed had to commend itself to other Baptist churches in other parts of the country as well as

organize the mission abroad. Small as it was, it set itself bravely to the dual task.

3.—THE DECISION FOR INDIA

One of the earliest decisions of the new Society was "to consider in the most diligent and impartial manner in what part of the heathen world do there seem to be the most promising openings." But before the consideration could get under weigh, Carey sent a letter telling of information he had received from one, John Thomas, who was endeavouring to raise a fund for a mission in Bengal. Carey asks whether it would not be best for the Society to unite with this effort and so make one appeal for the purpose of sending the gospel to the heathen generally. As yet, clearly, he does not visualize the Society itself working in India, still less his own going thither, but he sees the inconvenience of two appeals for one object being issued simultaneously to the Baptist churches. Yet it was through this eventuality that India became the Society's first field and Carey its great missionary.

Thomas was what we may well call a free-lance missionary. So far he had had a remarkable career. Born at Fairford, Gloucestershire, running away to London where he settled down for a time to a medical course, then surgeon in the Navy and later practitioner in London, he had finally reached Calcutta as surgeon on one of the East India Company's boats. Always erratic, he had landed himself into many difficulties especially through his debts, for he was one of those optimistic characters in whom the spirit of adventure far exceeds the practical sense. But he was a sincere and enthusiastic Christian, and in Calcutta and neighbourhood he was bitten with a sense of the wretchedness and suffering of the Hindus. He gave himself to them with whole-hearted devotion, ministering to the sick, learning the Bengali language, and translating into it the gospels of Matthew and Mark. In his evangelistic work among the Hindus he was encouraged and helped by a group of English people living at Malda, in Bengal, chief of whom were Charles Grant and George Udny. These Thomas alienated at times by his erratic conduct, but his strenuous labours and sincerity were readily acknowledged. After five years of labour he returned to England to get support for his mission, to secure a colleague if possible, and to fetch his

wife and daughter. He had dedicated his life to India. "I think I could do anything for Christ," he wrote in his journal, "I would suffer shipwreck and death to glorify Him but a little. But if he should tear me from these Indians, there would be a bleeding ; for my soul is set upon them."

This man, looking for help in England, heard of the doings at Kettering, and wrote to Carey.

After enquiry, the Society invited him to meet them. He had no difficulty in firing their minds with the stories he had to tell of India and with a sense of the greatness of the opportunity in that country, though he gave, what proved to be later, all too glowing accounts of the cost of living. But he made the situation clear.

The upshot was inevitable. Carey volunteered to be Thomas' companion.

The days of preparation for the departure were trying. At first, Carey's wife, who was expecting her sixth child, refused to go, though afterwards she was somewhat reconciled to the scheme. His father thought him mad, as no doubt did many others. Also the church at Leicester was sad and disappointed at losing a good minister. The London leaders of the denomination were doubtful of the wisdom of the attempt and gave only lukewarm support to the Society. On the other hand, Carey's visit to Yorkshire secured the strong support of John Fawcett, the minister at Hebden Bridge and leader of the Baptists in that neighbourhood. He was soon able to send a good contribution. The main centres of the movement were Kettering, Northampton, Birmingham, Bristol, and Olney, from all of which both money and expressions of goodwill began to flow in.

Carey was solemnly set aside for the work at his own church at Leicester—Thomas giving an account of the things he had seen illustrating India's need of the Gospel, and Fuller giving the charge to the missionary-elect. Later that day the five leaders, Fuller, Sutcliff, Ryland, Pearce and Carey met together, and Carey drew the others into a covenant that, as he went forth in the Society's name and their Master's, they should never cease till death to stand by him. Of this meeting Fuller later expressed himself in the following words :—"Our undertaking to India really appeared at its beginning somewhat like a few men deliberating about the importance of penetrating a deep

mine, which had never before been explored. We had no one to guide us ; and whilst we were thus deliberating, Carey, as it were, said : *Well, I will go down if you will hold the rope.* But, before he descended, he, as it seemed to me, took an oath from each of us at the mouth of the pit, to this effect, that whilst we lived we should never let go the rope."

With fine Christian loyalty the oath of that memorable day was strictly kept. Carey was fortunate in the men who guided the home front. Pearce, unfortunately, died young, but Sutcliff had yet twenty-one years of service to give, Fuller twenty-two, and Ryland thirty-three. Carey outlived them all.

In those days no one could land in the territory administered by the East India Company without a special licence. Missionaries, particularly, were not wanted. After fruitless efforts to get the necessary licence, the two men decided to risk going without it, and they, with Thomas' wife and daughter, at length found themselves on board ship. The ship, however, was held up for six weeks in the Solent, waiting for convoy, and after that time the missionaries were finally refused passage, owing to some difficulty about Thomas. They were compelled to re-land. It was a bitter blow. However, it had its compensations. Carey's wife had, in the meantime, passed through her confinement and the delay enabled her to be ready to go with her husband, which she now consented to do. After not a little negotiation, in which Thomas particularly exerted himself with conspicuous success, at length the party, consisting of Thomas, Carey and his wife, his wife's sister, Kitty, and his sons Felix, William and Peter and baby Jabez, found themselves under sail from Dover in the Danish ship *Kron Prinsessa Maria*. The journey took five months, from June 13th to November 11th, when at last they landed at Calcutta. Carey wrote in his diary, "For nearly a month we have been within two hundred miles of Bengal, but the violence of the current set us back when we have been at the very door. I hope I have learned the necessity of bearing up in the things of God against wind and tide when there is occasion, as we have done in our voyage."

CHAPTER III.

INDIA

I.—EARLY BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

THE modern history of India begins with the voyages of Vasco da Gama which established Goa on the west coast as the capital of Portuguese India in 1530. The Portuguese maintained themselves as the chief European traders for a century when they gave place to the Dutch. Other countries having interests in the region were Denmark and France. Gradually, however, Britain became predominant.

The East India Company, founded as early as Elizabeth's reign in 1600, established in due time its factories at Surat (1613), Madras (1639), and Hugli in Bengal. Bombay followed, and the site of modern Calcutta was occupied in 1690.

The victory of Clive at Plassey laid the foundations for British rule. Under successive governors, notably Clive, Warren Hastings, Cornwallis, Wellesley, and Lord Hastings, British influence steadily penetrated further and further into the country, and after the victory over the French in the Napoleonic wars peace was secured over most of the peninsula. Then during Lord Bentinck's governorship, 1828-35, the effective control passed from the East India Company to the Crown though the Company actually continued to exercise administrative functions down to 1858.

"The English," writes G. M. Trevelyan, "were entering into the third period of their relations with the East. A hundred and fifty years of quiet trading had been followed by fifty years of conquest not unaccompanied by plunder. The third period, of organised rule for the benefit of the Indians, had now fully set in."

Carey began his work in the second of these periods and lived long enough to see the great administrative reforms which are connected with Lord Bentinck's name. At the beginning he had to deal with the Company, and, as we shall see, it gave him not a little trouble. But before his death in 1834 India was definitely on the map of the British Empire.

During the period from Clive to Bentinck, that is, the period of the decline of the Company's influence before that of the

Crown, a great change naturally was registered in the British attitude to India, a change which could not fail ultimately to affect the native population. The Company was a trading concern pure and simple, its servants enriching themselves as best they could by private enterprise. Inevitably there was exploitation: dividends to a large extent determined policy: many of the Company's officials fell far short of English, not to say Christian, standards: even the Church of England chaplains, who went out to minister to the Britishers in the Company's service, were, with some exceptions, "not respectable characters"—the phrase is that of the governor-general in 1795, the time of Carey's early days in the East. The Company itself in Carey's time having departed from its earlier attitude, would not allow missionaries in its area, obviously feeling no compelling responsibility for the natives and certainly none for their spiritual welfare.

The British government, however, as distinct from the Company, found itself on a very different footing. As it came to be increasingly involved in Indian affairs it was obliged of necessity to pay more and more regard to the conditions of the people. As government it could no longer confine itself solely to matters of trade: law and order had to be established in the interior as well as on the coast, and details of government and administration attended to. All this meant a responsibility which the British Government, however unwilling, was bound to assume, and the sense of responsibility inevitably grew as the government became increasingly committed. In fact we may say that as soon as government proper began to take the place of purely trading interests the welfare of the people emerged as a political aim that simply could not for any long continuous period be ignored.

This sense of responsibility was also heightened by England's new position in the world. From being one among the other nations of Europe, and that not one of the most important, she suddenly found herself on the high road to becoming the first of all nations. Possessed of vast territories in the New World and now dominant also in the East, she could not but be touched with a sense of growing power: nor could even the loss of the American colonies, serious as that was, lessen her consciousness that she had a destiny to fulfil far

beyond the confines of her own island shores. Under such stimuli the mind of the nation was naturally affected. Of necessity empire meant service even apart from any exalted idealism. And the realization of this fact was bound to come sooner or later.

In this connection the protracted trial of Warren Hastings had significance. In the trial, both by the fact of the trial itself and in the speeches that were made, England, all unconsciously, was hammering out and registering in her mind this very policy and decision, namely, that government must discharge its responsibility to the governed. Whatever may have been the excesses of Burke as he laboured at the impeachment, he certainly made plain the idea that the public service of public men is public and not private, and must in the end justify itself at the bar of public opinion. Also he uttered something new and striking when he said, "I impeach him in the name of the people of India whose rights he has trampled under foot." In that one sentence the natives of India immediately became human beings in the eyes of every enlightened Englishman, and India itself a country ; and though it might be a long time before those rights would be fully acknowledged and conceded, yet it was by no means a small gain that so early in Britain's relationship with India they were granted to exist.

This change of atmosphere in the political world coincided with the new religious trend in the country. The Methodist revival, the growing humanitarian sentiment, Cowper's poems, Cook's voyages, in fact all the influences which we have seen went to the making of Carey and the missionary movement, were not without effect in producing some regard for the native even in people who were not particularly religious. The government as such made no move in the direction of taking the Christian religion to the races under its charge but clearly it could not escape the influences of the time. In the long run it counted for a great deal that the very beginning of Britain's dominion over so many millions on the earth's surface coincided with the religious awakening of the eighteenth century.

Hence we may say that British imperialism and modern missions grew side by side, the one influencing the other. The very reports sent home by the missionaries and circulated amongst the subscribers did not a little to teach common

men geography, and to inform the public mind concerning native conditions. Nor shall we know the cause of the widespread support of the missionary movement in England throughout the whole of the nineteenth century unless we see it in this relationship to the growth of empire. Not that the missionaries thought of their work as empire-building ; far from it ; they were often critics of the government policy. But all the same they were firmly rooted in their own age, and whether they fully realized it or no the missionary movement was the counterpart in the religious realm of the national development overseas. It was thus in line with the best political thought—an early effort to discharge in some degree the responsibility which the great extension of dominion had inevitably brought.

Here we can see the significance of Carey's going to India even though he himself had thought of Tahiti. It was in India pre-eminently that Britain was to face the problem of a native population. She touched the native in America and Canada but there the future was to be with the white race ; the same is true of Australia and New Zealand ; also, though to a less degree, of South Africa. In the islands of the seas she would continue to have a native problem but nowhere else on the scale seen in India. There she would have to face the supreme test of imperialism, namely, the ability to rule for their good vast millions of a different stock. India is a country as big as Europe leaving out the U.S.S.R., with a population about one-sixth of the total population of the world, consisting of many races with over two hundred languages and dialects. Thus Carey went not to a dying race. Whatever he did was bound to be done for the future. It was bound to have its part in the destiny of humanity as a whole. In going to India he stepped, not out of, but into, the main stream of human history. The work he began was auspicious for all time.

2.—HINDUISM

The religion of the majority of the people of India is Hinduism. Alongside of it are Mohammedanism and other faiths as well as spirit-worship and animism. But it was mainly Hinduism that the early missionaries in Bengal had to face.

It is not a religion in the sense that it presents a compact and coherent body of doctrine to be accepted by the mind and then acted upon. There is encysted in it, certainly, a pantheistic philosophy expressing itself in certain ideas or beliefs which the missionaries sooner or later would have to take account of. But Hinduism is far more a social system enshrined in the very structure and organization of society, a thing of traditions, manners, customs, institutions and ceremonies. These make up the religion for the mass of the people and it was these, the visible manifestations of it in social life, that the missionaries had to deal with as it was indeed from these that they received their first impressions.

At the back of the whole is some vague belief in Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, who form a sort of triad having to do with the creation of the world. But in addition to this triad there are many gods, demons, spirits, ghosts, and mystic objects and symbols beyond enumeration. It is a land of temples, shrines and idols.

One of the most popular of the gods is Krishna, a manifestation or avatar of Vishnu; stories are circulated of his many love affairs, which naturally give colour to his worship. With him is his mistress Radha, also his two consorts Durga and Kali.

The worship of these many gods took the form of chants, repetitions of texts, magical rites, holocausts of sacrifices, and particularly great assemblies of the people at stated times in different localities. Such assemblages usually culminated in riotous excess with much horse-play, the singing of obscene songs, indecent dancing, fanaticism leading often to self-mutilation and even immolation, drunkenness, and almost always, as indeed throughout the whole of the religion, a prominence given to the facts of sex with much immorality. The student of to-day recognises it all as a debased relic of nature worship, going back to primitive myths not unlike those of Demeter, Bacchus and the rest. Unfortunately in the India of Carey's day there was little that was elevating about it, and much that was positively degrading.

Many of the festivals were also celebrated in private houses and often with similar orgies and excesses, and in the early days it was not uncommon for Europeans to accept the invitation to be present and join in the fun.

Then the daily life of the Hindu was hedged about with appropriate ceremonies for every conceivable domestic occasion, and for many that we ourselves would scarcely recognize. No event, from birth to death, was omitted, and for every ceremony there was required the presence of the Brahmin or priest, who, of course, on each occasion had to be paid. So that the religion was like a great octopus with its tentacles stretching out to every nook and cranny of daily life. The social ramifications of it were legion.

One of the operative ideas in it was the theory that the diligent and careful observance of the ceremonies brings merit to the individual. The idea of the transmigration of souls was firmly held ; each must go through the cycle of existence and the nature of the next phase of existence, it was held, was determined by the amount of merit acquired in this. This idea is the drive at the back of the earnest and serious acts of devotion noted by every observer of Indian life, the long pilgrimage sometimes made by measuring the length of the road with the human body, the throwing of children into the Ganges, the devotion of the whole life to asceticism and the many other customs which in that land of strange contrasts the religious spirit has devised.

With the notion of the transmigration of souls goes the doctrine of karma, or fate. This is held to control the Hindu's life in all its details from birth to death, and indeed through all the phases of his existence. So that, whatever he gets here, the station in which he is born, and all his subsequent fortune, whether good or bad, all is but the working out of his karma. This easily explains all the suffering in the world, and every kind of evil is readily ascribed to it, with no attempt made to discover any other cause. And, of course, no one can interfere with karma. Indeed, any attempted interference would be the grossest impiety.

Then on the notion of karma rests the caste system. At the first in the dim beginnings of Hindu history society was divided into four main castes according to occupation. First the Brahmins, regarded as "earthly gods" : next the fighting men : then the cultivators of the soil : and lastly the Sudra caste, born to be servants of the other three. These divisions in time became further subdivided, till the whole

system became very elaborate. Beneath all the castes were the untouchables, these again divided into seven grades.

The evils of such an arrangement have often been pointed out. Not only does it condemn the untouchables to a life that is scarcely human, but it prevents altogether any real conception of brotherhood and in a thousand ways interferes with normal intercourse—complicating the ordinary relationships of life almost beyond belief. It puts difficulties in the way of doing the simplest jobs, each being afraid of even touching a tool which has been handled by an inferior. Together with the doctrine of karma, inhibiting all practical expressions of sympathy and help, it sets an impenetrable barrier in the way of social progress. Its incidence on the individual was often terrible. B. S. C. Bose, himself a converted Indian, gives many instances from the time of Carey, of individuals who committed suicide because they had lost caste, or for fear of doing so, also of child-murder for the same reason. The effects of ostracism resulting from loss of caste were often little less than a living death. The very dread of being contaminated, so strong in the India of Carey's day was a sufficient indication of the serious consequences which it entailed.

Among the many ways of losing caste, one was a change of religion—obviously a very great barrier in the way of Christian missions. Writing to a correspondent from the field Carey says, "All are bound to their present state by caste, in breaking whose chains a man must endure to be renounced and abhorred by his wife, children and friends. Every tie that twines round the heart of a husband, father and neighbour must be torn and broken, ere a man can give himself to Christ."

Other evils which faced the missionaries of Bengal were child-marriage, with its terrible consequences, both physical and moral; the self-immolation of the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband; the keeping of widows in perpetual widowhood, even when the husband died in childhood; organized prostitution in the precincts of the temples: and the immuring of women in the zenana, where they were condemned to a life of no interests beyond domestic events and gossip. Even on the surface there was more than enough to show what the missionaries regarded as the baneful fruits of idolatry. Nor would it be possible to exaggerate the amount of sheer

misery and suffering that existed. The need was great. And, for a long time after the mission had got under weigh, it was the portrayal of this crying need in letters sent to the homeland that stimulated missionary zeal and incidentally taught the people of Britain a great deal about the true state of India. The environment of the mission gradually came to be known along with the difficulties and successes of the work. Carey's early judgment seemed confirmed; the root trouble was the pagan religion, and it was the religion that needed to be changed. It could only be changed by the bringing of a better.

3.—CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA BEFORE CAREY

The first coming of Christianity to India is hidden in obscurity. All that is certain is that there has been a Christian Church in Southern India from before the close of the fifth century. Its origin is unknown, and though it claims to trace its ancestry back to St. Thomas, the apostle, the best evidence we have, which is archaeological, suggests contact with Persia. Through the centuries it has maintained itself in Travancore and Cochin, but it has never been a missionary Church.

In the Middle Ages, India was often visited by Europeans and sporadic attempts were made to convert some of the natives. Thus in 1292-93 John de Monte Corvino spent thirteen months in South India on his way to China. But the real work of the Roman Catholic Church began with the Portuguese settlements. Goa was constituted a bishopric in 1534, and it was here that Francis Xavier came in 1542, the first of the Jesuits. He established a college for the training of natives who might become missionaries, gave a good deal of attention to the children, and made extensive journeys in the country. His devotion was such as to win for him an honoured place in Christian history, but his superficial methods—he never even learned the language—left only meagre results. To his leader, Ignatius Loyola, he wrote after five years of the work:—"The natives are so terribly wicked that they can never be expected to embrace Christianity . . . We must now, therefore, limit ourselves to retaining those who are already Christians."

After Xavier other Roman Catholic missions were undertaken, notably three to the court of the famous Akbar, the great Mogul ruler of northern India. These had some success,

Akbar himself being sympathetic. Adherents of this work were found later at Lahore, Agra and Delhi. Agra had a college for a time.

Another mission of the Roman Catholics centred at Madura where the Italian, Robert di Nobili, laboured with singleness of purpose from 1605 to his death in 1656. His particular aim was to convert members of the highest caste, and to this end, he adopted, as far as possible, Indian methods and customs, wearing the dress and sacred thread of a Brahmin and having the sandal wood sign on his forehead. He retained the caste system in the Church—a policy which influenced later Roman Catholic practice. His methods brought severe criticism, but he showed the right way at least in learning the language and preaching in it, and in mastering Sanscrit and reading the Hindu sacred books.

To Bengal itself Jesuits came from Goa in 1576. Augustinian monks followed towards the close of the sixteenth century, then later Dominicans. However, by the close of the eighteenth century there was little to show for their activity.

Protestant missions began with the interest of King Frederick IV. of Denmark. He sent out Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau, two German Lutherans, educated in the Pietism of Francke of Halle, Saxony. They came to Tranquebar in 1709. Their work was helped financially by the English Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. Schulte, a successor, here translated the Bible into Tamil, all the New Testament and part of the Old Testament into Hindustani, and also compiled a Tamil dictionary. The mission on the whole had good success.

The most notable of the German missionaries was Christian Friedrich Schwartz, who was still alive when Carey arrived in India, and with whom the English missionary had some correspondence. He received his call when at Halle he met Schulte, then on a visit home in order to pass through the press a new edition of his Tamil translation of the New Testament. Schwartz did excellent work on sound lines in Tranquebar for ten years, then for sixteen in Trichinopoly and finally at Tanjore from 1763-1778, where he had the confidence of the Rajah and acted as a sort of prime minister. He travelled widely in Southern India and also established a number of

schools. Many Hindus were brought into the Church, and his work had a wide permeating influence reaching even as far as Bengal.

Then also the Moravians began work in 1760 in connection with the Danish factories at Patna and Serampore, and in Calcutta. However, the difficulties proved too great and by 1803 all their stations had been given up. "The little company of the *Unitas Fratrum*," writes K. S. Latourette, "which so gallantly sought to carry the Christian Gospel throughout the world, and which had pioneered so many difficult fields, had here met defeat."

And here was Carey's field.

We must not overlook, however, that here in Bengal there was already a not inconsiderable body of Europeans, all of whom were rooted in Western civilization and nominally at least adherents to Christianity. Amongst them were some choice spirits who had a genuine concern for the spread of the Gospel. Some of these served Carey in various ways and without their help his work would have been very difficult, in fact well-nigh impossible.

Kiernander was a Swede who had laboured in India since the time of Clive, mainly in Calcutta. Though he had spent most of his time with the descendants of Europeans and had never learnt the native language, his "mission church" was a great influence for good in the city, to which crowds of natives had flocked. Kiernander was eighty years of age and nearly blind when Carey arrived.

Charles Grant we have already met. He arrived at Calcutta in 1773, commencing on the voyage out a life-long friendship with Christian Friedrich Schwartz. He became commercial resident in charge of the silk manufactory at Malda, where he rapidly amassed a fortune. He won the respect of the Governor-general Cornwallis who made him a member of the Board of Trade at Calcutta. He left India just before Carey arrived (1790).

While in India, where as a matter of fact he was converted at the age of thirty, Grant took a deep interest in the spread of Christianity, both amongst the Europeans and the natives. He was the prime mover in the building of the Church of St. John at Calcutta, and also redeemed Kiernander's church

and estate when this was seized for debt. It is interesting to note that as early as 1787 he had appealed to Charles Simeon of Cambridge, a leader of the evangelicals in the Church of England, and Wilberforce, for eight missionaries to be sent to Bengal, but without result.

After his return to England, Grant was a prominent member of the Clapham sect, which included Zachary Macaulay and Wilberforce. With these he worked for the good of the natives, using his influence as a Director of the East India Company to further the progress of Christianity and education in India. In 1797 he wrote his *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain*, which though not published till 1813, yet had its place in the missionary movement. It was largely due to Grant's advocacy that chaplains of the type of David Brown, Claudius Buchanan and Henry Martyn were sent out. We have seen that he was a helper of Thomas in his work around Malda. His successor at Malda was George Udny, who has a place in Carey's story.

The three chaplains just mentioned all came into contact with Carey. Brown laboured from 1787 to 1812, and, in addition to his work amongst Europeans, opened a boarding school for Hindus. His correspondence was one of the factors leading to the creation of the Church Missionary Society by the Anglican evangelicals, to which circle, as we have seen, Grant also belonged.

Claudius Buchanan, who arrived in 1797, was similarly instrumental in the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Henry Martyn, the most famous of them all, had great influence—in India by reason of his choice personality and spirit of prayer, and in both England and America by reason of the story of his brief life. It meant a great deal at this early stage of the missionary cause that one who had worked his way from grammar school to senior wrangler at Cambridge, should give his life to missions. It was Charles Simeon's remarks commending William Carey that led Martyn to his life's work. Arriving in Calcutta in 1806 in the capacity of chaplain under the East India Company, he settled for a time at Aldeen House, Serampore, where he had intimate contacts with the Baptist missionaries. Later he moved to Cawnpore. For the sake of

his health he was induced to take a journey into Persia, but unfortunately died during the course of it, at the early age of thirty-one. He translated the New Testament into Hindustani and also into Persian. He, with the others, all influenced by the Evangelical movement in the Church of England, formed a most helpful Christian background for Carey's work in India.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MISSIONARY AND THE MISSION

I.—EARLY DAYS IN INDIA

THE early days in India were like the last days in England, bringing a series of difficulties, overcome by what the eighteenth century evangelicals would have called remarkable interventions of providence.

Carey was in his thirty-third year when he landed in India with his wife, her sister, and his four boys. He and Thomas lost no time in getting to work. He took as his pundit or helper, Ram Ram Basu whom Thomas had previously converted, though during Thomas' absence in England he had fallen away again to heathenism. After the necessary business had been transacted in Calcutta, since they were not allowed to stay there as missionaries, they moved thirty miles up the Hugli to Bandel, a Portuguese settlement. Here they went from village to village, Thomas preaching in Bengali, of which he had a good knowledge. Carey was impressed by the crowds who gathered to hear, and by their eagerness to listen. "Their attention is astonishing," he wrote in his diary. "Every place presents a pleasing prospect of success." It was the enthusiasm of the beginner.

They were next attracted to Nadia, a stronghold of Brahminism, Hindu worship, and Sanscrit learning. Here Carey indulged his dreams concerning language and translation. Roping his children into the work in the keenness of his spirit, he conceived of Felix learning Sanscrit, William, Persian, and Peter, Chinese.

However, dark days were ahead. Thomas returned to

Calcutta to take up his practice as a doctor, Carey to try for a post in the Company's Botanic garden. He was not successful in his application, though the incident led to a life-long friendship with Dr. Roxburgh, who got the appointment.

Unfortunately their money was gone. Carey's view, clearly expressed before leaving England, was that the Society should back the missionary for the first year and then that he should support himself by farming or other available work. However, the £150 with which Thomas and he started the venture was found to be quite inadequate, with the result that the family of seven knew the bitterness of want before the brighter day came. A money-lender, Nelu Datta, through the good offices of Ram Ram Basu, allowed them to live rent free in a dilapidated house in Manicktolla near Calcutta. In addition to money difficulties, Carey had the trouble of both his wife and his son Felix, down with dysentery.

At length he accepted the offer of a few acres of jungleland rent free, in the Sundarbans, known to be infested with cobras, tigers and crocodiles, and for that reason almost deserted. He was given permission to occupy the Salt Department's bungalow, but when he arrived, after the three days' boat-journey, he found it occupied. However, help was near. Charles Short, the Company's servant in the Salt Department, was out with dog and gun and was surprised to see the English family. He at once invited them to his home and, though he was not too enthusiastic about the missionary purpose, he showed them true British hospitality, allowing them to remain in his home till they could get established. (Later he married Carey's sister-in-law, met for the first time in these unusual circumstances).

Carey had now come near his original dream, namely, that of cultivating the land while he carried on the work of a missionary. He delighted in preparing his own bamboo and mat house, and in working on the clearing separated from the house by the Jubuna arm of the Ganges; also the district gave him welcome opportunity of following his hobby of botanizing and studying nature. He had great joy in the people of the many villages which lined the banks of the river. The multitude of them still impressed him. "I would not renounce my undertaking for the world," he wrote, and he goes on to express his hope that the Society will keep its eye on Africa and Asia "where

it is almost impossible to go out of the way of hundreds, and preachers are needed a thousand times more than people to preach to." Yet he was ever faced with idolatry ; it came very near to him when the festival of Krishna was celebrated in the district, the crowd on the occasion overflowing into Short's garden.

However, fate had something other in store for him than this quiet life, in what, after all, was only a backwater. Thomas, through his contact with George Udny, who had succeeded Charles Grant as the Company's commercial resident in Malda, had secured lucrative work as overseer of a plant connected with the manufacture of indigo dye, and he was able also to persuade Udny to offer Carey a similar appointment. The latter gladly accepted, so that, even before his house by the Jubuna was finished, he was on the move again, this time for Mudnabati in the Malda district.

This change in Carey's circumstances opened the door to his real career as a missionary. The regular salary put an end to the worry about money, and indeed allowed him both to free the Society at home from further financial responsibility for his keep, thus making it possible for other missionaries to be sent out, and also to contribute very largely himself to the work. Projects long entertained in the mind could now be thought of as practical possibilities.

Also the job itself was an admirable preparation. It brought him into close contact with the natives. He was the only white man in the area, Thomas being his nearest neighbour and he eighteen miles away. Carey had a large district over which he had to move regularly, making arrangements for the growing of the indigo, himself being obliged to do all negotiations with the natives. Thus he became thoroughly familiar with rural North Bengal, noting and recording details concerning animals, birds, insects, fishes, flowers, trees and shrubs, and all the time entering more and more into the mind of the people. He states that the experience made a year's difference to him in the acquiring of Bengali and Hindustani, while he learnt to appreciate the fact of vernacular, so important to one who would work near the heart of India. Also, once he had got the job organized, there was a fair amount of leisure in which to engage in his proper work.

The appointment brought him into intimate contact with his employer who was an earnest Christian, thoroughly in sympathy with the missionary work. Udney's house at Malda, which he frequently visited, was his meeting place with Europeans and with the Christian circle of Bengal ; it was an oasis in his loneliness and must have meant a great deal to his cheerfulness of mind.

2.—MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

The welcome change in his circumstances, however, was soon clouded over with new sorrows. He set about his work with the usual zest, but in the autumn, at the time of the first monsoon, he paid the price of his ignorance of the climate, falling a victim to a lingering fever. At the same time his third son, Peter, died of dysentery. Also Carey's wife went down again with the same disease. For her it marked the beginning of the end ; she gradually went out of her mind with that form of mental trouble which causes its victims to turn in bitterness against those they love. This was a heavy cross for Carey, who bore it with great patience until his wife died thirteen years later.

However, once he had become acclimatized, his missionary work began to take shape. With his steadily increasing command of the Bengali language he was able to give himself to preaching regularly and in earnest. His own village consisted of Hindus and Mohammedans, and he concerned himself with both, working at Hindustani as well as Bengali to meet the Mohammedan population. "The missionaries," he writes to the Society as he contemplates others being sent to join him, "will do well to associate as much as possible with the natives, and to write down every word they can catch, with its meaning : also if they have children with them, it is by far the readiest way of learning to listen to them, for they will catch up every idiom in a little time." It was his own method. And soon he was holding regular services each Sunday and making extensive tours in the villages around. He describes this phase of his work as follows :—"I have a district of about twenty square miles, where I am continually going from village to village to publish the Gospel ; and in this space are about two hundred villages, whose inhabitants from time to time hear

the Word. My manner of travelling is with two small boats ; one serves me to live in and the other for cooking my food. I carry all my furniture and food with me from place to place, viz., a chair, a table, a bed and a lamp. I walk from village to village, but repair to my boat for lodging and eating." He could record in time a congregation on Sundays of from two to four hundred. At the festivals, both Hindu and Moham-medan, he eagerly seized the opportunity of addressing the crowds.

In his journeyings he ministered to the sick as far as he was able. Thomas did a great deal of such work and truly deserves credit as the first medical missionary in India. From him Carey learned a smattering of medical lore and made full use of such medicines as he could acquire.

He naturally had many opportunities in the course of his daily contacts for personal dealings with individuals. Thus at the very beginning of the indigo enterprise he was asked by his work-people to join with them in making an offering to Kali, regarded as the goddess of luck, the idea being to ensure the success of the new undertaking. So, on another occasion, he came across one of them making an image of the goddess of learning. All such openings were readily seized by him for showing the folly of idolatry and speaking about the one God. Gradually also he learned to approach them through their own ideas ; thus he would begin near a temple, asking first what it was, the name of the god in it and whether he was dead or alive ; or again he would lead them from their own belief in the nine incarnations of Vishnu to the idea of the true incarnation in Christ. It was Paul at Athens over again.

At the same time he steadily worked at language—for preaching, but even more for the greater work of translating the Scriptures. His decision to learn Sanscrit was momentous. He discerned that it is the parent language of all the Aryans in the peninsula and therefore the mother of all the vernaculars ; also the language of the sacred books and classics of the Hindus. With the enthusiasm of a scholar, he wrote to Ryland at a later date, of one of the two great Vedic epics, " I have read a considerable part of the *Mahabharata*, an epic poem written in most beautiful language, and much upon a par with Homer ; and if it was, like his *Iliad*, only considered as a great effort of

human genius, I should think it one of the greatest productions in the world." (A verse translation of it was published by the mission press at Serampore in 1802.)

The translation of the Bible into Bengali had been begun by Thomas, and the two of them had worked at it on board ship as they came out from England. Since landing Carey had never lost sight of it, and, as occasion offered, he had devoted himself to it. It now went on apace. He has described both his method and difficulties. "My pundit," he says, "judges of my translation's style and syntax: I, of its faithfulness. He reads the translation to me and I judge by his accent and emphasis whether he fully understands. If he fails, I suspect my rendering—even though it is not easy for an ordinary reader to lay the emphasis properly in reading Bengali, which, except for the full-stop, has no punctuation." His difficulties lay in the poverty of the natives' vocabulary in spite of the richness of the language; naturally they went scarcely beyond such mastery of it as ministered to their simple wants. In religion, especially, such basic ideas as *love*, *repentance*, *cross*, and many others had to be expressed in roundabout clumsy phrases, there being no single words for them as in English. "This sometimes discourages me," he writes. And no wonder. It meant implanting a new idiom in the Hindu mind as a preliminary to the understanding of the faith. Carey was not slow to draw the conclusion—a stable system of education beginning early was an essential requirement of the mission.

He actually began a school in these indigo days, but it was found impossible to retain the scholars long enough to make the venture a success. Also in these days he planned the setting up of two colleges for the training of twelve youths in each. The idea was to clothe, feed and educate them for seven years. They were to learn Sanscrit and Persian, study the Scriptures and the most profitable sciences. With this was to go hand in hand the printing of the Bible and "other useful things in Bengali and Hindustani." All this, however, was as yet mere dream.

The truth is that, in this period, as Carey came more and more to grips with his task, he began to realize both the difficulty of it, and the essential requirements. For all his labour there was little to show; in fact, after nearly six years, there

was not even a single convert amongst the natives, though several Europeans were won, who later both helped Carey financially and started good educational work in the district. But among the natives it was everywhere the same, a willingness to hear, but nowhere a willingness to commit themselves. The hold of tradition and the strength of caste were too strong. It had been a revelation to Carey, when his boy Peter died, to find that no one could be got to dig the grave or touch the body. Obviously the real problem was to drive a wedge into the very social system itself. Even Ram Ram Basu, who had remained a faithful servant and had helped considerably with the translation into Bengali and of whom Carey had entertained great hopes that he might become the first convert, fell away, caught again by the old sins, and had to be dismissed.

Carey was often depressed as he thought of the lack of success. Yet he blamed himself more than the natives. He deploras his spiritual stupidity, and prays, "O God make me a true Christian." At the same time he refreshes his soul. "I have God," he says, "and His Word is true . . . When I reflect on how God has stirred me up to the work and wrought wonders to prepare my way, I can trust His promises and be at peace." He re-reads the story of Brainerd and draws strength from his gardening experience—"the wise husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience over it."

3.—SETTLEMENT AT SERAMPORE

Carey had to leave his house and station at Mudnabati because his employer decided to give up the business. He was thus on the move again, and, to provide for his needs, he went into indigo on his own account, buying with his savings a plant at Khidurpur twelve miles further north. However, he was not destined to remain here ; he had scarcely moved in before he was brought out again, this time to find his permanent home to the end of his days.

How he came to Serampore to make it a famous name in missionary history is an interesting story. It has to do with colleagues who now came from England to join him.

One colleague had already arrived in the Mudnabati period. "One day," he writes, "as I was sitting with my

pundit at my desk on the ground floor at Mudnabati, and was searching into venerable Sanscrit, in bolted a man with a neighbour of mine whom he had picked up twelve miles off ; and before I could make enquiries I found it was a brother-missionary. This spoiled all my Sanscrit for that day : but it was pleasant." It was equally pleasant to John Fountain, who, stirred by what he had heard in England, had pushed his way until he had persuaded the Society to help him get to India. His republican ardour, born of the French Revolution, made him somewhat suspect, but for all that, or because of it, he did good work as a missionary in the brief span allotted to him. After being with Carey for a time, he went to Dinajpur where he worked with Ignatius Fernandez, a merchant and manufacturer, whom Carey had been instrumental in converting and whose life-long missionary work in his own district of Dinajpur was perhaps the chief result of the six years' indigo experience.

But now other men and women were on the way. A party consisting of William Ward, Joshua Marshman and his wife, Hannah, with their two children, Daniel Brunsdon, William Grant, with his wife and two children—both these men from Ryland's church at Bristol—and with them a Miss Tidd, going out to marry John Fountain, all these were on board the American ship *Criterion*, under the command of Captain Wickes, a Presbyterian of Philadelphia, and a good friend of the missionary cause. The ship anchored in Saugor Roads at the mouth of the Hugli on October 5th, 1799.

As they had openly entered themselves on the passenger list as missionaries, in spite of Carey's advice to the contrary, the party was not allowed to land at Calcutta. Hence they took boat to Serampore, then under Danish rule. From there they intended to move up country and join Carey. However, the move up country was through territory under the jurisdiction of the East India Company. They were forbidden to go.

Here then was a dilemma, and all Carey himself could do by way of influence with his friends in Calcutta proved in vain. However, events happened in Serampore itself which pointed the way out of the difficulty. Colonel Bie, now nearly seventy years of age, who controlled the Danish territory and lived at Serampore, had been influenced by Christian Friedrich Schwartz and was heartily in sympathy with the attempt to convert the Hindus.

Consequently, when the missionaries arrived in his town, he gave them cordial welcome, joining with them in divine worship. He also refused to hand them over to the English authorities who were making their presence a difficulty for Captain Wickes in the matter of the clearance of his ship. Then when the utter impossibility of getting passes to go north became clear, the old Colonel urged them to settle at Serampore itself. He could offer them great advantages ; complete freedom, with the active co-operation of the government, in place of the open hostility of the East India Company ; the privilege of working a press without interference ; and, perhaps, best of all, a not unattractive centre on the main stream and but two hours' journey from Calcutta itself. It seemed to the men from England a veritable divine leading.

But what about Carey ? After all, he was the leader and for all they knew was already at the centre of a well-established mission. Would he be willing to move ? Amongst them all Ward only had ever seen him, and that was in England, when, just after Carey had offered for India, the two had had a fleeting word with each other at the close of a meeting, and Carey, finding Ward to be a printer, and having already great plans in his own mind, had said to him in effect, " You must come and print the Bible for us in India." Ward obviously was the man to get to Carey somehow and tell what had happened at Serampore.

Carey was not long in making up his mind. It meant financial loss on the newly-acquired property at Khidurpur, but the advantages were clearly very great from the point of view of the Mission. His biographer, S. Pearce Carey, writes : " The divine leading was soon manifest. Almost at once George Udny was promoted to Calcutta. His Malda successor, strongly hostile to missions, would have embarrassed all their work. Lord Mornington, too, for reasons of State, had just forbidden any press in British Bengal beyond Calcutta, which would have vetoed even their printing of the Scriptures in Khidurpur."

So began the life at Serampore in the year 1800. Carey was thirty-eight years of age, he had been in India six and a half years. Serampore was now to be his home till his death thirty-four years later.

Once having taken in the situation at Serampore, Carey planned on a generous scale. He saw here not merely village life but all India, nay even all Asia. He determined to have a real and worthy centre for the spread of the Gospel in the East. So, boldly venturing, partly by pledging the Society in the hope that they would support him, and partly, by raising a loan in Calcutta, he launched out into a comprehensive scheme for establishing a community of missionaries all living under the same roof and, by means of its press and schools, being self-supporting. For the purpose he bought a large house with ample grounds. One room was turned into a chapel, the six families were accommodated, and space also was found for the press which had been purchased cheap in the Mudnabati days. Later the site was extended to accommodate a boys' school and a girls' school, a paper mill, the college with the principal's house, and a hostel for native students. In the end it covered an area of five acres, two of which formed Carey's botanical garden. It was all laid out on the right bank of the Hugli, opposite the park of Barrackpore.

Here the little company agreed to live together, devoted to the work. Grant, unfortunately, had already died after barely three weeks in India. Fountain died nine months after his marriage, his widow later marrying Ward. Carey, with his sick wife and four boys, settled down with the others in a sort of brotherhood, after the pattern of the Moravians. They adopted rules for the regulation of the household, with Carey as treasurer; Fountain, librarian; Ward and Carey's son, Felix, to look after the press; and the Marshmans, man and wife, to establish and take charge of the schools; each in turn to preach and pray and to superintend the family affairs for a month. A meeting was held every Saturday evening to adjust differences, and it was a point of honour never to carry any grievance over from that meeting. It was also stipulated that none should trade for private profit; all money coming in was to be devoted entirely to the Mission, except that, later, each was allowed a small sum to provide for dependants. The arrangements worked admirably and a brotherhood that stood the test of years was established.

Carey's hopes were justified. The schools, both boys' and girls', made a ready appeal to the European population,

and by the end of the first year the whole establishment was more than self-supporting. After that time finance was but a secondary consideration, save for one brief period. Thus one of the chief difficulties of the Mission was finally overcome.

4.—THE FIRST FRUITS OF ASIA

The year 1800, which saw the beginnings at Serampore, witnessed also the first fruits of the harvest. In May the first leaf of the Bengali New Testament was pulled off the press, the forerunner of a colossal amount of translation and printing; also on December 28th of that year the first Hindu convert was baptized.

In addition to his organizing and his continuous supervision of the Bengali New Testament, Carey threw himself into preaching in the vernacular, re-inforced by the help of leaflets from the press. However, the response was as before; the people waited for the Brahmins and the Brahmins were naturally strongly opposed to the new teaching. "We are often much disheartened, though we try to keep up each other's spirits" was Ward's comment.

Appropriately enough it was Thomas who brought the first thrill to the brotherhood. He came to join them for a time, and with him brought a workman of the name of Fakira who had for some time been enquiring, and had stayed with Thomas at his sugar-refinery in order to learn more of the faith. Now, in the November of this year, 1800, Fakira, a Hindu, stood up before the members of the Mission and told his experience, confessing Christ, and asking for baptism. It was a great moment; they sang the doxology "with new emotion," and no wonder! However, the joy was short-lived. Fakira had to go into the country to fetch his child and he never returned. Whether it was that he was prevented by his relatives or that at the decisive moment his courage failed, was never determined.

All the same, the great day to which they had so long looked forward was really approaching. And again it was Thomas who was the instrument. One day, meeting a carpenter, who was also a guru or teacher, he asked him how far it was to the nearest great school of the Brahmins, and on being told it was a long day's journey, he used the opening he had made to tell the carpenter how near was the school of Christ. The carpenter

was Krishna Pal. He had heard of Christ already from one of the Moravian missionaries. As a youth of nineteen, after an illness, he had become a pupil of one of the teachers of Mantras, and was now, at the age of thirty-five, a guru or teacher himself. Of an enquiring mind, he was willing to hear more of the Christian faith.

Then later, on the very day, as it happened, when Fakira thrilled the missionaries with his confession, Thomas was called out to attend a man who had dislocated his shoulder. He, Carey and Marshman, all three went, and Thomas was greatly surprised and delighted to find it was none other than Krishna Pal. They put the shoulder right and took the opportunity of speaking to him of Christ, then left him with a bit of Christian instruction in rhythmic Bengali, to be used as a sort of devotional chant. This was a method of evangelisation which Thomas had specially developed. The chant, roughly translated, ran :—

Sin confessing, sin forsaking
Christ's righteousness embracing,
The soul is free.

Next day Krishna Pal was brought to the mission house for further treatment, and then began a daily visit for definite instruction. In this both Ward and Carey's son, Felix, had the chief share. Krishna passed on such knowledge as he acquired to his wife Rasamayi and Jaymani, her sister. He brought with him also his friend Gokul, and on December 22nd these two, having confessed Christ and shown a good understanding of what they were doing, sat down with the missionaries to a meal. It was the breaking of caste. In the evening Rasamayi and Jaymani joined them. "Thus is the door of faith opened to the Gentiles," said Ward, "Who shall shut it? Thus is the chain of caste broken. Who shall mend it?"

However, Krishna Pal and his women folk had to face the wrath of their neighbours. These brought him before the magistrate who sent him to the Governor. And once again Governor Bie stood by the work, even going so far as to send a guard for the protection of the converts. In spite of much abuse, mobbing and mocking, Krishna stood firm, and his baptism took place on December 28th, 1800, Felix, Carey's eldest son, being baptized with him.

Carey's description of the baptism is one of the documents of the Mission. "December 29th :—Yesterday was a day of great joy. I had the happiness to desecrate the Gunga by baptising the first Hindu, viz., Krishna, and my son Felix ; some circumstance turned up to delay the baptism of Gokul and the two women. Krishna's coming forward alone, however, gave us very great pleasure, and his joy at both ordinances was very great. The river runs just before our gate, in front of the house, and, I think, is as wide as the Thames at Gravesend. We intended to have baptized at nine in the morning but, on account of the tide, were obliged to defer it till nearly one o'clock, and it was administered just after the English preaching. The Governor and a good number of Europeans were present. Brother Ward preached a sermon in English, from John v. 39—*Search the Scriptures*. We then went to the water-side, where I addressed the people in Bengali, after having sung a Bengali translation of *Jesus, and shall it ever be*, and engaging in prayer. After the address I administered the ordinance, first to my son, then to Krishna. At half-past four I administered the Lord's Supper ; and a time of real refreshing it was."

Ward adds one or two other details. As Krishna came from dressing after the ceremony, a Danish lady present took him by the hand and thanked him. Thomas at the time was confined in the school-house "raving mad," Brunsdon was ill and not able to be present (both died the next year). In the evening of the same day Krishna came to the Mission to say that his wife and her sister also desired baptism. These two, together with a third, were baptized soon after.

"May we have the true spirit of nurses to train them up in the words of faith and sound doctrine," wrote Carey. It reveals his mind. Again, "I think it becomes us to make the most of everyone whom the Lord gives us." His aim was to train all who showed the ability to become evangelists themselves, and Krishna, in spite of his faults, became one of the best. Two years after his conversion he sent to the Society his confession of faith and purpose. In it he said, "Now it is in my mind to dwell in the love of Christ : this is the desire of my soul . . . I was the vilest of sinners : He hath saved me. Now this word I will tell to the world. Going forth I will proclaim the love of Christ with rejoicing."

Incidentally it may be noted that one of Krishna's Bengali hymns translated by Marshman found its way into English hymn books :—

O Thou, my soul, forget no more
The Friend, who all thy misery bore :
Let every idol be forgot,
But, O my soul, forget Him not.

Jesus for thee a body takes,
Thy guilt assumes, thy fetters breaks,
Discharging all thy dreadful debt ;
And canst thou e'er such love forget ?

Renounce thy works and ways with grief,
And fly to this most sure relief ;
Nor Him forget who left His throne,
And for thy life gave up His own.

Infinite truth and mercy shine
In Him, and He Himself is thine ;
And canst thou, then, with sin beset,
Such charms, such matchless charms forget ?

Ah ! no : till life itself depart,
His name shall cheer and warm my heart ;
And, lisping this, from earth I'll rise,
And join the chorus of the skies.

Ah ! no : when all things else expire,
And perish in the general fire,
This name all others shall survive,
And through eternity shall live.

It is interesting to note that in connection with the Mission there was not a little hymn-writing, both in English and Bengali—a sure sign of the stimulus of the work on the minds of those engaged in it.

5.—PROFESSOR OF LANGUAGES

We have seen that, at the beginning of 1800, Carey was still seeking his way in a somewhat precarious financial situation hidden away in North Bengal. Less than six years later he wrote to the Home Committee outlining a programme which must have made even the boldest of them wonder. He asks for forty missionaries to be sent at once, saying the number is

not too many for the four hundred home churches to provide. They propose, he says, to make Serampore the language school for the whole of Asia. The Bible is to be translated into all the languages of the East, even including Chinese. He points out that Bengal is central for the whole Asiatic continent, and from Serampore he would radiate to every part of it. His grandiose plans are an indication of how far he had moved in the five or six years.

The great event that had made such plans possible was his appointment on the staff of the Fort William College.

The College was the creation of Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General. Up to this time youths of eighteen or nineteen had been regularly sent to India to take up the various posts connected with the East India Company, and afterwards, with the duties of Government. These youths, many of whom came from public schools in England, had no opportunity for further education once they arrived in India, and, being to a large extent free from the restraints of home society and in positions of authority in the new country, found it all too easy to spend their early days in laziness and pleasure. Lord Wellesley saw clearly that the responsibilities of Empire demanded a better equipped civil service. Consequently he founded the college which each newcomer was compelled to attend for a period of three years. The curriculum included law, political economy, history, geography, mathematics, the classics, modern languages of Europe, the history of India, and some of the sciences. But naturally a good part of its concern was with the native languages of India so that the students might be able to converse with the natives in their future work of administration.

Carey was offered the post of tutor in Bengali; Sanscrit and Marathi being added later.

That a missionary should be asked to take such a post right in the heart of the East India Company's territory, and that a Nonconformist should have a place on such a foundation, this in itself was sufficient testimony to the place Carey had won in the minds of the most influential Englishmen in Calcutta in the eight years he had been in India. He was recommended for the position by the senior chaplain, David Brown, who became Provost of the College with Claudius Buchanan, vice-provost.

His knowledge of Bengali was his qualification ; of that he was in no doubt, though of his limitations, due to his own lack of college training, he was at the start fully aware. However, he possessed the ability to adapt himself to the situation, and he soon settled down to the congenial task with characteristic energy and vision. He held the post till 1831, long enough to become the senior professor at least in the matter of length of service.

The new duties admirably fitted in with his interest in languages and it meant a great extension of his work on that side. He gathered round him a number of able pundits and, with their assistance, created and produced the text-books on which his teaching could be based. Thus they brought out a Bengali Grammar ; Bengali translations from the Sanscrit ; a verse translation of the *Mahabharata* ; the first Bengali translation of the *Gita* ; Carey published his *Colloquies*, or Indian stories ; his pundits produced the beginnings of modern Bengali literature. Through the Asiatic Society, of which he became a member in 1806, he was brought into contact with the circle of Europeans who cared for Eastern literature, and it was before this Society that he unfolded his plan for publishing, with the help of his Serampore colleagues, a series of Indian classics with text, English translation and notes. The prospectus of the series was sent by the President of the Society to the learned Societies of Europe, and Carey and Marshman began with the *Ramayana*. Ward, during the same period, produced his four volumes, *A View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindus* with translations from their principal writings (1811). This was the standard authority for half a century.

Three testimonies to the language side of Carey's work, all from competent authorities, will indicate its nature for modern readers perhaps even better than an enumeration of the details. Dr. Susil Kumar De said in his *History of Bengali Literature* : " Carey was the centre of the learned Bengalis, whom his zeal attracted round him. The impetus which he gave to Bengali learning, is to be measured not merely by his productions and his educational labours, but by the influence he exerted and the example he set." Ram Komal Sen, Secretary to the Asiatic Society, 1830, wrote, " I must acknowledge that whatever has been done towards the revival of the Bengali

language and its improvement must be attributed to Dr. Carey and his colleagues." Finally, Rabindranath Tagore said in 1921, "Carey was the pioneer in the revived interest in the vernaculars."

It was a day of real triumph when, at the end of the third year of the college's existence, before the Governor-General and a distinguished company including Wellesley's brother, the future Duke of Wellington, the senior pupils made speeches in Bengali and Carey himself spoke in both Bengali and Sanscrit. In his address to the Governor-General, dealing with the work of the college, Carey made clear reference to his own proper work as a missionary. It was the first Sanscrit speech ever delivered by a European, and Lord Wellesley's comment was, "I am much pleased with Mr. Carey's truly original and excellent speech. I esteem such a testimony from such a man a greater honour than the applause of Courts and Parliaments."

Here, then, was a strange situation at the very dawn of modern missions. A man sent out to convert the Hindus from their idolatry is found giving his time to the task of teaching them to appreciate their own language, and using his press to translate their scriptures into English. No wonder Fuller and the rest of them in England were somewhat impatient—"that piece of lumber" Fuller called the *Ramayana*—but Carey saw his opportunity. Here was a whole plant, with a body of the ablest pundits, whom he could use for the translation of the Scriptures first into Sanscrit, then into the vernaculars. To this task he dedicated the rest of his life. "If we are given another fifteen years," he wrote in 1803, "we hope to translate and print the Bible in all the chief languages of Hindustan. We have fixed our eyes on this goal. The zeal of the Lord of Hosts shall perform this." Actually they translated the Bible, or parts of it, into nearly forty different languages and dialects.

It was during this period also that the Chinese language, if not China itself, came to the Mission in the person of Johannes Lassar. He was the son of Armenians hailing from Macao near Hong Kong, having learnt Chinese, both Mandarin and the vernacular, in Canton. Coming to Calcutta, he made contact with Claudius Buchanan, who put him in touch with Serampore. Here he became a teacher of Chinese to Carey's son, Jabez, and Marshman's eldest son, John. Marshman also attended the classes

and became a competent Chinese scholar. The result was in time a Chinese grammar and the whole Bible in the Chinese language.

6.—SUCCESS IN EVANGELIZATION

During the preoccupation with language and translation the ordinary work of the Mission went on apace with steady expansion, bringing much encouragement. Carey himself still continued his regular preaching, and his was the organizing brain that ever saw and provided for the new opportunities as they arose.

After the conversion of Krishna Pal there was a period of rapid advance. Gokul, who had at first held back, now again came forward and was baptized, with his wife Kamal. Then, on New Year's Sunday, 1802, Carey baptized one of the high castes, Pitambar Singh, a "writer." He had been impressed by a pamphlet, and came thirty miles to Serampore to find its author and learn more of the teaching. His free association with Krishna, the carpenter, after his conversion, was a rare demonstration of the meaning of the new religion, particularly in its relation to caste.

The same month saw another of Kyast or "writer" rank converted, viz., Syam Das ; soon after another, a Kulin Brahmin, Krishna Prasad, who, when pelted with dung, replied, "Insults and stripes are sweet to me for Christ." Later he married Krishna's daughter, Anandamayi, the ceremony, after the English fashion with both man and woman signing the covenant, being a further blow at the caste system and the beginning of a new conception of marriage among the Hindus. The death of Gokul about the same time, was another occasion of demonstrating the Christian conception of brotherhood, and the unity which is in Christ ; his coffin was carried to its resting place by Marshman, Felix Carey, a converted Brahmin and a converted Mohammedan.

Unfortunately Syam Das was murdered within nine months of his baptism. Another, Ram Dahn, was decoyed home on pretext of his mother being ill, and was never allowed to return. Pitambar Mitra, another Kyast, was drugged by his father and became a victim of melancholia, and Kasi Nath was flogged by his neighbours until he recanted.

Yet, in spite of such persecutions, the spell had been broken, and from now on conversions were registered every month. The mission was indeed well under weigh. Frequent itinerations were made, sometimes far afield. In these, the natives who were capable, served their apprenticeship at preaching, and as more were won and trained, the work was correspondingly extended.

Also the faith was beginning now to become self-propagating. Thus in 1802 Ward had left a copy of the Bengali New Testament in Ram Krishnapur (modern Howrah). A certain Krishna Das read it and re-read it to his neighbours till the whole village was changed. After three years they sent three of their number to Serampore. All three were baptized, and next month Krishna Das himself came and was baptized, together with his wife; at the same service were baptized Krishna Pal's daughter Ananda, another girl, and also three printers engaged under Ward at the Mission press.

A similar sort of thing happened in Jessore. One of its ryots, Sita Ram, tramped seventy miles to Serampore and was instructed and converted. On his return he kept repeating the story and, in two years, though he could neither read nor write, he sent to Serampore for baptism, his sister, a Hindu widow, a Mohammedan, a Hindu Kyast and his nephew, and a field labourer. "We only want men and money," wrote the missionaries, "to fill this country with the knowledge of Christ . . . We have tried our weapons and have proved their power. The Cross is mightier than Caste."

Carey's plan for extended evangelization is given in his own words, namely, "to fix European brethren in different parts of the country at about two hundred miles apart, so that each shall be able to visit a circle of a hundred miles radius and within each of the circuits to place native brethren at proper distances, who will, till they are more established, be under the superintendence of the European brethren situated at the centre." In accordance with this plan, John Chamberlain went to Agra, near Delhi, John Peter to Orissa, William Carey, junior, and his wife to Katwa, while both Krishna Pal and Krishna Prasad laboured in Calcutta. Later many other stations were started as more missionaries arrived. Farther afield Felix Carey began a mission in Burma, later to be the scene of the labours

of Adoniram Judson and his wife—Americans who, converted to the Baptist outlook by the reading of the New Testament on board ship, began their missionary career in the East by calling on Carey at Serampore. Jabez, Carey's third son, went to Amboyna in the Molucca islands on the invitation of Byam Martin, one of Carey's former students in the Fort William College, now become Resident-Governor there; Chater went to Ceylon to begin the mission in Colombo; Robinson to Java; and the General Baptists, on Carey's advice, took up the work previously begun in Orissa (1822). Ward, writing to England in 1813, could say: "We are here carried forward, the prospects still widening. Ten presses are going and nearly two hundred are employed about the printing office . . . Serampore, Jessore, Katwa, Dinajpur, Patna, Digah, Allahabad, Agra, Sirdhana, Nagpur, Surat, Orissa, Calcutta, Ceylon, Burmah, Java have messengers of salvation. Now we have been called by the Governor-General himself to send help to Amboyna."

Carey's influence was thus widely extending. He became the friend and adviser of almost all from the various Protestant Societies who in this time contemplated missionary work in the East, enjoying at the same time the goodwill and fellowship of the group of Evangelicals of the Church of England, now in India. It was a happy and fruitful period of his life.

7.—OPPOSITION AND TRIUMPH

However, the steady progress of the Mission was not allowed to continue without some opposition. In 1806 a determined attempt was made to put an end to all missionary activity in India. This seemed a very serious crisis to the missionaries, yet, in the end, it really brought the old discussion to a head, both in India and in England, and opened the door wide for all future missionary activity.

We have seen that Lord Wellesley had been well disposed towards Carey, using him for the Fort William College, and forming a very favourable opinion of his abilities. Supported by the Church of England chaplains, he had at least turned a blind eye to the distinctively missionary activity, even when it entered the East India Company's territory; he had gone so far as to allow it in Calcutta itself. However, Wellesley was far

from popular with the people mainly concerned. His demand for efficiency was irksome to many on the spot, while the directors of the Company in London were not by any means appreciative of his ideals of empire; and regarded even the Fort William College as an unnecessary expense. When he retired in 1805, a period of reaction set in, and magistrates in several districts began to demand passports from the missionaries and to prohibit missionary work. Sir George Barlow, who was now in Wellesley's position, was careful to carry out the desires of the Board of Directors, and took the line that he had not the power to authorize missionary establishments in any place where his writ ran. The matter became still more urgent when the *Criterion*, still under the command of Captain Wickes, landed two new missionaries, Chater and Robinson. In the controversy over their landing it was intimated to Carey that "the Governor-General did not interfere with the prejudices of the natives and he must request Mr. Carey and his associates to abstain likewise from any interference with them." The meaning of this was made clear; they must not preach to the natives or allow Indian converts to do so, nor must they distribute pamphlets or take any step to persuade Indians to accept Christianity. Fortunately, they were still in Danish territory and the Governor, Krefting, gave them his protection, after the example of his predecessor. But for this favourable circumstance, they would probably have been compelled to leave India altogether.

A sort of compromise was reached, largely by the good offices of the senior chaplain, David Brown, whereby the missionaries were allowed to continue all their work at Serampore without hindrance; no objection would be raised to the circulation of the Scriptures; they might preach in their own room or in any other house in Calcutta, though not openly, or in the Lal Bazar; and natives might preach and teach wherever they liked, provided they were not sent out from Serampore. On these conditions they continued their work to the best of their ability.

Then the question came up again, when, in 1807, Lord Minto arrived as the new Governor-General. The mutiny of Sepoys at Vellore, near Madras, the previous year had caused all the officials in India to be unusually careful, and it was easy

to persuade Lord Minto that the missionary propaganda was a potent cause of unrest. A Serampore pamphlet, into which disparaging remarks about Mohammed had been inserted without the missionaries' knowledge, gave countenance to the suggestion. The result was a new injunction to Carey, demanding the immediate transference of the mission press to Calcutta, the cessation of all services in Calcutta itself and the discontinuance of all attempts at conversion.

It was a gloomy outlook for the Mission and, indeed, seemed the end. Happily, there being neither telephones nor wireless in that day, neither they nor their opponents knew that already England was at war with Denmark, so that they could still gain time by making use of Denmark's protection and the goodwill of Krefting. After much thought and prayer, they were led to approach the new Governor-General direct. Carey and Marshman waited upon him with a memorial, telling of their work and their aims, and indicating that they would rather suffer than abandon the enterprise. Lord Minto was impressed and evidently discerned that he had been misinformed. Anyway, when he laid the memorial before his Council, with his own mind already made up, he secured a decision in favour of the missionaries, only requesting that a copy of all publications from the press should be submitted. What is more, this decision was ratified by the Supreme Council of the Company in London.

The real battle in London, however, had yet to come. The mutiny at Vellore made as great a stir in England as in India, and while the missionaries were putting up a fight for existence on the field, their supporters at home were in the thick of a controversy defending missions in general, and Carey and his friends in particular. The controversy is interesting, if only for the attack made by Sydney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review*, with his famous phrase, "a nest of consecrated cobblers," replied to in the brilliant defence of Southey in the *Quarterly*. Southey told the story of what Carey and his colleagues had done, thus winning for it a wide publicity. "The anti-missionaries cull from their journals and letters all that is ridiculous, sectarian and trifling; call them fools, madmen, tinkers, Calvinists and schismatics; and keep out of sight their love of man and zeal for God, their self-devotement, their indefatigable industry

and unequalled learning. These 'low-born and low-bred mechanics' have translated the whole Bible into Bengali, and by this time have printed it. They are printing the New Testament in the Sanscrit, Oriya, Marathi, Hindi and Gujarati ; and are translating it into Persic, Telugu, Kanarese, Chinese and the tongues of the Sikhs and the Burmans ; and in four of these languages they are going on with the whole Bible. Extraordinary as this is, it will appear more so when it is remembered that of these men one was originally a shoemaker, another a printer, and the third the master of a Charity School."

Curiously enough, while this kind of propaganda for and against was making known to the general public of England what was going on in India, a misfortune happened at Serampore itself which advertized the Mission far and wide in religious circles. On March 11th, 1812, the printing works were destroyed by fire. The loss in manuscripts, type, paper and plant was little short of calamitous, and not a few projects already started came to an untimely end. However, the missionaries set to work at once to repair the damage as far as possible and get going again.

But the news of the sudden blow spread through England, bringing Carey, Marshman and Ward to life again in the old country and spreading everywhere the knowledge of their work. Within two months the whole of the ten thousand pounds required to replace the loss was subscribed, and the Home Committee had to put an end to the subscriptions. But, best of all, a new interest in missions was awakened in all denominations.

After this the stage was set for the victory which the friends of missions won in 1813 when the Charter of the East India Company came up for reconsideration by Parliament. The point at issue was whether a clause should be inserted in the Charter insisting on facilities being afforded by law to persons to go to India in order to introduce to the natives useful knowledge and religious and moral improvement. In the House of Lords, Lord Wellesley took part, referring especially to his own experience of Carey and the men of Serampore ; in the Commons, Wilberforce was the protagonist speaking much on the lines of the defence put forth by Southey in the *Quarterly*. The result was a decisive victory in favour. Wilberforce afterwards

declared that "this cause of the recognition of our Christian obligation to British India was the greatest he had lived for, not even excepting the emancipation of the slaves." It meant the open door for all time, and in every country under British rule. The devotion and work at Serampore, more than any advocacy, had determined the policy of the British nation.

8.—SERAMPORE COLLEGE

The crowning achievement of Carey's missionary activity was the founding of Serampore College. It was the logical conclusion of his conception of the missionary problem and of the methods on which he had worked from the beginning.

His long view, for which more than for anything else he deserves the name of pioneer of modern missions, is well expressed in a letter of advice sent in 1816 to the American Baptist General Convention with reference to their projected work in Burma. He writes, "We know not what your immediate expectations are, relative to the Burman empire, but we hope your views are not confined to the immediate conversion of the natives by the preaching of the Word. Could a church of converted natives be obtained at Rangoon, it might exist for a while, and be scattered or perish for want of additions. From all we have seen hitherto, we are ready to think that the dispensations of Providence point to labours that may operate, indeed more slowly on the population, but more effectually in the end: as knowledge, once put into fermentation, will not only influence the part where it is first deposited, but leaven the whole lump. The slow progress of conversion in such a mode of teaching the natives may not be so encouraging, and may require in all more faith and patience; but it appears to have been the process of things, in the progress of the Reformation, during the reigns of Henry, Edward, Elizabeth, James and Charles. And should the work of evangelizing India be thus slow and silently progressive, which, however, considering the age of the world, is not perhaps very likely, still the grand result will amply recompense us, and you, for all our toils. We are sure to take the fortress if we can but persuade ourselves to sit down long enough before it."

In line with this policy we have seen Carey working from the earliest days at turning the Scriptures into the vernacular

so that people might read for themselves ; we have seen him making use of native talent for the work of evangelization on his principle that "the great weight of the work must ultimately rest on the native evangelists."

Now all this implied obviously native education. The Scriptures made readable demand a literate population. Carey saw this at the start and, in his earliest days, attempted a school. Then the school went wherever he went ; it became an essential part of every mission station. Thus a sort of elementary system of education, including both sexes, was inaugurated—the first in India. Children were taught to read their own language and given a good general knowledge, all in the atmosphere of the Christian religion. But it should be noticed that though all was in the interests of ultimately winning India for Christ, the education given was not limited or circumscribed by any narrow idea ; there was in it from the beginning a really liberal idea of education as such.

Later this work was greatly facilitated by Lord Hastings, the next Governor-General after Lord Minto. Hastings visited Serampore and expressed his satisfaction at what he saw, and for his own schemes he consulted the missionaries and sought their help. So that, under his patronage, they were able greatly to increase the number of schools under their charge. The whole story at this point is a splendid illustration of the way in which the enlightened missionary policy fitted in with the best government policy, in fact to some extent shaped that policy, thus contributing to the well-being of India on the broadest lines.

Now all this development was bound to demand sooner or later a care for higher education to be the ground and support of the elementary. Carey found, as Calvin before him, that the open Bible leads straight to a college or university. Hence, when the opportunity offered, he took the bold step of founding Serampore College.

The prospectus was issued on July 15th, 1818, and a beginning was made in an old house near the mission site, with Lord Hastings as Patron, and the Danish Governor as first Governor of it. But Carey had planned liberally. A spacious and imposing building was erected and opened in 1821. The cost of £15,000 was borne entirely by the missionaries, though

other moneys for equipment and other expenses were contributed both in India, Britain and America.

The ideas incorporated in the foundation were in keeping with the bold conception of the building. While it was to possess a theological faculty, yet it was to be a real college of the arts and sciences. Especially was there to be in it the cultivation of the native languages and the study of Hindu literature. The curriculum embraced also the classical languages of the Hindus and Mohammedans, namely Sanscrit and Arabic; also the English language and literature for which there was now an increasing demand in Bengal. It was open to non-Christian Indians as well as to those who were connected with the Mission, and for these, careful arrangements were made to meet the requirements of caste, since nothing was to be asked of anyone which was repugnant to his conscientious feelings.

The main aims of the college were to prepare teachers for the schools; to give a sound theological training to such as were preparing for the task of evangelizing; and also to educate Indians of the better class in both Eastern and Western lore. Carey's mind was that these should know both their own language, literature and religion, as well as the point of view of Christianity and European science. From such a policy he had high hopes of being able ultimately to influence the Brahmin class. It meant that the sacred learning of the East, which up to this time had been the closely guarded preserve of the Brahmins, was now made available to such of India's sons as had the opportunity and were ready to take it. The college can claim that it was the first to offer higher education to members of the poorer classes in India—another direction in which the missionaries opened up the future.

Also the college was opened to students of all denominations. "In a country so destitute of all which elevates the mind," says Carey, "and so dependent on us for both political freedom and moral improvement, it is surely our duty to forget the distinctions which divide society in England, and to make common cause for the promotion of its welfare. It will be time enough a hundred years hence, when the country is filled with knowledge, and truth has triumphed over error, to think of sects and parties. Every public institution aiming at India's

betterment, ought to be constructed on so broad a basis as to invite the aid of all denominations."

The college was immediately a success and largely fulfilled the hopes of its founders. Carey was sixty years of age when it was begun and his later years were greatly brightened by his teaching duties and his associations with the students. It is a matter of interest to note that when Marshman was over in England in 1827, he went to Denmark to receive from King Frederick IV. a Charter for the college, granting it the right to confer degrees, also a gold medal for each of the Serampore trio, with a letter of appreciation to Carey.

The college remains to-day a centre of light and learning in India, the incorporation of Carey's idea, which the experience of the years has abundantly justified.

9.—CAREY AS SOCIAL REFORMER

Nothing had been heard when Carey began his career of what has since become known as the social gospel, by which is meant the attempt to do away with social evils and seek a better ordering of society by the application of Christian principles. However, the Evangelical revival in England was already moving towards such reforms as the freeing of the slaves and the cleaning up of the prisons. Carey undoubtedly had an impulse in the same direction from his religion, yet in his situation religious impulse was hardly necessary; the evils in India and the cruelty attaching to them were so obvious that ordinary humanity, one would think, would be sufficient to stir the demand for reform. And since the gravest social evils were the outcome of idolatry and closely connected with it, and since the missionary is there to overcome idolatry, some work of social reform becomes his concern automatically. That is to say, on the mission field there is not such a gap between work of this kind and that of simply spreading the Gospel as exists in the more ordered life at home. Anyway Carey was from the beginning the sworn foe of the blatant evils of Hindu life and, before the end, was able to do not a little to hasten their destruction.

He himself, in the letter to the American Baptists quoted in the last chapter, enumerates these evils. Thus he mentions the infamous swinging-post, as he calls it, men and occasionally

women having hooks put through the flesh under the arms and, by an ingenious arrangement, swung in the air on long bamboo poles for public amusement at the festivals. Often unwilling victims were compelled to gratify this depraved taste. The obscene dances and songs at the festivals were, of course, everywhere in evidence. Then there was the waste of life under the Jagannath car, which occurred regularly at Serampore itself as well as at the more famous Puri. Other evils were infanticide in its many forms; the taking of the sick and dying to the Ganges and leaving them to their fate; the wasting of property, strength and even lives, in long pilgrimages; the casting of lepers alive into burning pits; and, worst of all, perhaps, the burning of widows alive on the funeral pyre of the dead husband.

Carey recorded often enough his feelings as he came up against these cruel practices, all done in connection with the worship of the gods or for the religious purpose of gaining merit. His remedy for it all, of course, was the gradual enlightenment of the people and the spread of Christianity. But all the same he saw clearly that for the time being a great deal could be done by a willing government and many lives at least saved by good legislation. Hence he and his colleagues, through the years, lost no opportunity of revealing the facts both in India and in England. At home the regular reports of the mission built up an instructed public opinion, while in India the missionaries used the newspapers which they created and published, notably the *Samachar Darpan* in the Bengali language and *The Friend of India* in English.

An opportunity of doing something really effective came to Carey when, in 1802, as teacher in Bengali, he received an order to enquire into the child sacrifices at the Isle of Saugor in the Ganges, and make a full report to the Government. "You may be sure I shall do it with great readiness," wrote Carey. The result was that the sacrificing of children was declared illegal and almost immediately stopped.

The incident suggested to Carey a method for the attack on the greater evil of *Sati*, or the burning of widows. On his own initiative this time, he sent careful investigators into every village within thirty miles of Calcutta to find out how many widows had been sacrificed in the preceding twelve months,

their ages and the number of children they had left behind. The number was four hundred and thirty-eight widows, in this one area alone. However, Lord Wellesley's reign was just then nearing its close and there was, as we have seen, nervousness about interfering with the customs of the people. Carey, however, kept up the agitation, publishing the figures regularly. Even better, he was able to give the Government a handle by showing that the custom was of comparatively recent growth; the real Hindu law for a widow being a life of mortification for which, at some time or other, the burning had been substituted as a particularly meritorious alternative. It needs, perhaps, hardly saying that often the widow, when of age, was screwed up to the ceremony by pressure from her relatives.

It was a particularly glad Sunday for Carey when, as he was preparing for his preaching service, there was handed to him, as the Government's official translator into Bengali, the document prohibiting *Sati* in India. He at once left the preaching to another and applied himself to the translation, saying that every hour's delay meant many lives. The date was December 5th, 1829.

Carey's interest in the lepers led to the establishment of a leper hospital in Calcutta, pointing the way to deal with these unfortunate people, who admittedly were a grave embarrassment to their relatives.

Another way in which Carey speeded the work of social reform was through the influence he exerted upon his students at the Fort William College. We have already seen that one, Byam Martin, became Resident Governor of Amboyna and there called for a missionary. Many others caught something of Carey's spirit, taking it to the different provinces of India, and preparing the way for future reforms. One of the best known of these was John Lawrence, who, when in charge in the Punjab, made each farmer, as he touched the pen in acceptance of the assessment, recite a formula, signifying, "thou shalt not burn thy widow, thou shalt not kill thy daughters, thou shalt not bury thy lepers." It is worth recording here that Henry Havelock of Mutiny fame was converted by Andrew Leslie, one of the Baptist missionaries, and married Marshman's youngest daughter.

Here we may briefly indicate Carey's work for Indian

horticulture and agriculture; for though there was in it a natural love of botany and science, there was also a real regard for the betterment of the lot of the natives and for the prosperity of the country.

From the beginning he made accurate observations of all things growing and all things living that came under his notice; his observations were carefully recorded until he had amassed a rare body of knowledge. Similarly all native methods of tillage, tools, etc., were noted. In his garden, particularly at Serampore—to-day remembered as a veritable part of his being—he made many experiments with forest trees, shrubs, fruits and flowers. He sent everywhere for seeds—to his friends in England, to his missionaries in every part of the East and to America. He thus introduced not a few new growths to the country, and found ways of greatly improving those that were indigenous. He worked in close co-operation with Roxburgh, the head of the Company's Botanic Garden, and afterwards with his successor, Nathaniel Wallich. Through the Serampore press he published Roxburgh's *Hortus Bengalensis*, a catalogue of the plants of the Company's Garden in Calcutta, for which he wrote the introduction; also Roxburgh's *Flora Indica*. Best of all, perhaps, he founded in 1830, in Calcutta, the Agri-horticultural Society for India with membership open to both English and Indians. He published not a little through the *Transactions* of the Society and took a leading part in its proceedings till the time of his death.

For his work in these directions he was elected a member of the Horticultural Society of London, a member of the Geological Society, and a Fellow of the Linnaean Society; also a bust of him in marble was placed to his memory in the Metcalfe Hall, the home of the Agri-horticultural Society in Calcutta.

For the benefit of the country he advocated especially attention to the improvement of the land and to the best method of cropping land; the introduction of new and useful plants; the improvement of the tools of agriculture; the improvement of live-stock; the bringing of waste lands under cultivation; the improvement of horticulture; and also some method of dealing with the unsatisfactory tenure of land.

His spirit is shown in words of a letter sent to Fuller asking for seeds of all kinds of English forest trees; he writes:—"It

will be a lasting advantage to this country, and I shall have it in my power to do this for what I now call my own country."

One human touch in connection with this side of his life is worth recording. Having received a consignment of seeds from England he shook out the bag in which they arrived in an odd corner, careful to lose nothing. He describes the discovery he made on passing the spot a few days later. "I found springing up, to my inexpressible delight, a *bellis perennis* of our English pastures. I know not that ever I enjoyed since leaving Europe, a simple pleasure so exquisite as the sight of this English daisy afforded me—not having seen one for upwards of thirty years, and never expecting to see one again." Thus he could delight in nature; yet even his delight in nature became subservient to his one purpose of helping the Indians and India.

10.—CLOSING YEARS

Before he came to the last few years of quiet and content, Carey and the Serampore brotherhood had to face the bitterest sorrow they had yet known, harder to bear because it came from friends.

After the East India Company's territory was opened to missionaries by the revised Charter of 1813, a number of new missionaries came out from England. Unfortunately, however, it was not easy to fit them into the Serampore brotherhood, which now had existed for so long a time. Suspicions and resentment arose and were nourished, and in the end the newcomers started a mission at Calcutta, a mission which could easily seem a rival to Serampore. The whole affair was very distressful to Carey, the more so as the main opposition was against Marshman, his loyal colleague through so many years, and one whom he held in deepest affection.

Then, even after some measure of reconciliation had been effected and arrangements made to carry on the work both at Serampore and Calcutta, trouble arose with the Home Committee. In England rumours had been spread, reflecting the disagreement on the field and there was much misunderstanding and many false statements up and down the country. Further, the Home Committee had of necessity changed. Both Sutcliff and Fuller had passed away and new men were coming into power. These felt that the future of Serampore needed to

be safeguarded and controversy arose concerning the trusteeship of the property. Though the whole matter was a disturbing element for a decade, and things were said and written which gave Carey and his colleagues great pain, happily the question was ultimately settled to the satisfaction of both sides ; so that Carey's last years found him in peace in his beloved Serampore, watching the further growth of the Mission and happy in the success of his colleagues, both new and old.

Death naturally visited them in these years. In 1821 his second wife passed away, after a very happy married life of thirteen years. She was Charlotte Rumohr, the Danish lady who had taken Krishna Pal by the hand on the occasion of his baptism. An invalid, with some affection of the spine, she had come to India for her health, and met Carey in the Danish settlement. Being a gifted and cultured lady, she made him an admirable help-mate, giving most of her resources to the Mission, fitting easily into the communal life at Serampore, and finding a congenial sphere of Christian service in tending the blind and the lame. Her death was a heavy loss to all. Two years later Carey married Grace Hughes, who tended him on the last stages of his journey.

The next year, 1822, saw the death of Krishna Pal after a fine career of successful evangelism, during which he had wonderfully mellowed. Also the same year brought the death of Carey's eldest son, Felix ; the next year the loss of Ward by cholera.

Carey himself had an accident which brought him to a time of fever and weakness, and, while he was ill, a disastrous flood swept the area, destroying his house, damaging the school premises, and sweeping over the garden. Later a severe gale was to uproot some of his fine trees, smashing his conservatory. Also he was yet to see a difficult financial crisis. The great business houses in Calcutta began to crash, one after the other. The mission lost heavily, as much of its money was invested in these houses. Then, at about the same time, the Government, for purposes of economy, turned Fort William College from a teaching to a purely examining body, and although Carey was granted a pension in recognition of his long service, it meant a considerable reduction of the income of the mission. However, the appeal went out in England and once again brought a good

response, so that the threat of retrenchment and of abandoning some of the stations was removed, to Carey's great content.

So we see him at the end revising for the last time his Bengali Bible, enjoying his garden, being wheeled in it when no longer able to walk, and having his gardeners in the house regularly to talk about the plants and the planting, when no longer able to be wheeled out. He was blessed in his visitors—Lady Bentinck, wife of the new Governor-General; Alexander Duff, a young missionary, belonging to the Church of Scotland, who had come out to start an educational mission in Calcutta and was keen to have Carey's advice; and Dr. Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta. As he reviewed his life with Marshman he could say, "I have not a single desire ungratified."

His sun set in quiet splendour. Leechman, one of the younger missionaries, wrote:—"The last chord that vibrated in his heart was gratitude to God and to His people."

He died June 9th, 1834, aged 72.

He was honoured in his funeral as a great Englishman. The Danish flag was put at half-mast, the route to the grave was lined with Hindus and Mohammedans, as well as Europeans, the Governor and his wife and members of the Council stood at the grave-side. Lord and Lady Bentinck sent a representative.

By his express instruction nothing was put over his grave save his name *William Carey*, with the date of birth and of death, followed by the two lines of Isaac Watts' hymn:—

A wretched, poor and helpless worm,
On Thy kind arms I fall.

He had retained, through the years, the simplicity with which he began.

At the age of sixty-two he had written a word of advice to one of the missionaries then just beginning. "Remember three things," he wrote, "First, that it is your duty to preach the Gospel to every creature; second, remember that God has declared that His word shall accomplish that for which it is sent; third, that He can as easily remove the present seemingly formidable obstacles as we can move the smallest particles of dust."

These clearly are the principles by which Carey himself lived. It was by this faith and spirit that he brought into being the Society in England. It was by the same faith and spirit that he established the Mission in India—the Mission which now, after one hundred and fifty years, has in it the promise of yet greater things.